March 1916

New Review

Fifteen Cents

A CRITICAL SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

VOL. IV. 15c. a copy Published on the first of each month $1.50 a year No. 3

CONTENTS

PAGE

CURRENT AFFAIRS:
Leaders 49
The Awakening in Germany; The "Larger Americanism;" Schenectady and Elsewhere; Union Bureaucracy.
Notes 53
STATE SOCIALISM AND THE WAR... 56
Robert H. Hutchinson
THE ATTITUDE OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALISTS 60
Alexandra Kollontay
THE CHICAGO CLOTHING STRIKE.. 62
Ellen Gates Starr
THE ECONOMIC BOYCOTT IN INT'L DISPUTES 64
J. G. Phelps Stokes
BEYOND THE THREE R'S......... 66
THE BURNETT IMMIGRATION BILL. 67
Moses Oppenheimer
THE FARCE OF A "CITIZEN ARMY". 68
Frank Bohn
AN EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRATIZING DIPLOMACY 71
Wm. Leavitt Stoddard
THE WAY OF THE LAW WITH THE WORKER 72
Austin Lewis
THE FACTORY: A SKETCH....... 75
By Jeannette D. Pearl
EMILE VERHAEREN 79
By Amelia Von Ende
THE RUSSIAN BALLET........... 81
Floyd Dell
BOOK REVIEWS 82
Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia; Socialized Germany; "Jerusalem"; The American Municipality.
A SOCIALIST DIGEST............ 87
The German Socialist Opposition; Divisions Among the French Socialists; French Socialist Opposition to the "Union Sacrée"; The Real Meaning of Conscription in England; A Proposal to Conscript Wealth; "Jersey Justice" and Labor.
CORRESPONDENCE 91
From Mary M. Colum; Ernest A. Boyd.

Copyright, 1916, by the New Review Publishing Ass'n. Reprint permitted if credit is given.

Current Affairs

The Awakening in Germany

THE opening of the present session of the German Reichstag has brought matters in the German Socialist Party to a head. There is now no doubt of the fact that after the war is over there will be two Socialist parties in Germany. In fact there are two such parties there now, and the only reason formal unity is maintained is because each of the factions which formerly comprised the Social Democracy is manoeuvring for position as the successor to the old party.

As matters now stand the nationalists, the so-called Social Patriots (*Sozial-Patrioten*), are in control of the party machinery,—they have a three-fifths majority in the Reichstag delegation (66 out of 110) and even a larger one in the governing bodies of the party corresponding to our National Committee and National Executive Committee. They therefore speak in the name of the party, making it appear that the party as a whole, or at least its preponderating majority, is willing to identify itself with the German government's war policy.

This seeming preponderance of the war-Socialists over their opponents in the German party is increased by the lack of unanimity among the internationalist "minority" as to the proper method of fighting the nationalists within the movement. The fetish "Discipline" still overawes many of them. And so we find that out of the 44 men who comprise the minority of the Reichstag delegation only 20 dared to openly defy the party caucus and vote against the last war-credits, while the others contented themselves with demonstratingly absenting themselves from the chamber when the vote was taken.

It is believed, however, that the government majority in the German Social Democracy is more apparent than real. A careful analysis of the party-membership and voting-strength represented, respectively, by the majority and minority in the Reichstag delegation, (assuming that the deputies correctly represent the sentiment of their constituencies, except where the constituencies have expressed divergent views) has shown that the party-membership as well as the voting-strength is about evenly divided between them. Each side, therefore, hopes that it is in the majority, or will be when the time comes for the adoption of a policy that will determine the future character of the party,—that is when the next Congress will be held, which is not likely to occur until after the war is over.

Not that this would make much of a difference as far as the fortunes of the old Social Democracy are concerned. The fate of that once great and glorious organization is sealed. It was decided once and for all on that fateful day in August, 1914, when the opportunistic and nationalistic majority of its Reichstag delegation decided to disavow the glorious traditions of the party and discard the principles of internationalism upon which alone a true Socialist party can live and thrive. From that day on there never was any real doubt in the minds of those who know the German Socialist movement that the old party was doomed; and that after the war was over the German proletariat will again find itself in the unfortunate situation in which it was before the Lassalleans and the so-called Eisenacher united at the Congress of Gotha.

What was known to a few only eighteen months ago is now evident to everybody. Whether the nationalists or internationalists are now in a majority in the German Socialist Party, or will be at the time when its next Congress is held, really makes no difference,—in so far as the continued existence of the old Social Democracy is concerned. The dwelling together of nationalists and internationalists in one party will be utterly impossible after this war is over. Neither side will stay in the party if the other wins. Hereafter each will have its own party no matter what happens at that Congress.

Nevertheless it makes a great difference to the two factions—and therefore to the German working class, and to the international proletariat—which of them finds itself in the majority at the next party Congress, and thereby compels the other faction to secede. Neither side wants to bear the odium of having destroyed even the formal unity of the German working class, and each desires to inherit the "good-will" of the old organization, of whose glorious past all German Socialists are justly proud. The working class sets great store by the unity of its organization, and very properly so. Every "dual" labor organization is therefore under a handicap, no matter how great the urgency for the separation. In the German working class this feeling is stronger than in the working class of any other country. Hence—the painstaking fight of the two factions in the German Social Democracy "for position" which we are witnessing.

We must therefore be patient with our valiant comrades of the so-called "minority" in the German Party. Some of their actions may seem to us rather timid. But we must never forget that, aside from the rigorous censorship, the internationalists in the German Socialist movement must have the factional fight in view, and must therefore be careful not to give their opponents any tactical advantage unless there is absolutely no way out. We can afford to be patient now that even the blind can see the dawn of the new day which is surely breaking upon the Socialist movement of Germany. A day which may yet outshine in the near future anything that has gone before it.—*B.*

The "Larger Americanism"

IT is easy to sneer at Theodore Roosevelt, as easy as rolling off a log. But it is not as interesting or instructive as trying to measure his social significance in terms of the Imperialistic tendencies which are forging into supremacy in this glorious democracy of ours.

Roosevelt is a politician, but he is not a politician of the type of President Wilson who changes his convictions over night and sees realities through a haze of stale ideology. Roosevelt is a politician with a canny sense of realities; a politician who, representing certain class interests, has conformed to those interests in a series of logical developments. The war has given him a fine chance for assertion. And the first thing to note in all his recent declarations is not an abandonment of his former convictions, but a development, an elaboration, a systematizing of former principles in line with new conditions.

The "Larger Americanism" is what Roosevelt calls his present policy. And what is this "Larger Americanism"? It is a policy, a set of principles, identical in every fundamental respect with the "New Nationalism" enunciated by Roosevelt in 1912. The enunciation of the "New Nationalism" marked an epoch in American politics. It was a consistent formulation of the requirements of concentrated and collectivistic capitalism, and of the necessity for a compromise between warring factions of the capitalist class in a centralized national administrative control of industry—in all essentials, State Capitalism. The difference between the "New Nationalism" and the "Larger Americanism" is that the former emphasized a domestic policy, the latter emphasizes a foreign policy. But each flows from the other; and Roosevelt is co-ordinating his advocacy of preparedness and an aggressive foreign policy with the principles of his "New Nationalism."

There are many gaps in Roosevelt's policy,—ideas tentatively proposed or completely neglected,—but its essential meaning is unmistakable. In his address, "Fear God and Take Your Own Part," Roosevelt formulates the chief points of his policy:

Military training, starting in the high schools of the country; greater Governmental control over corporations and lessened State control, together with Federal supervision and encouragement of the manufacture of munitions; taking care of the working classes and the business interests at the same time; an efficient National Government system as the best instrument of industrial and military preparedness, all the forces to such an end to be under the regulation of a single power—the power of the National Government. Military policy to be planned from the standpoint of lasting national interests; and the workers to be given a stake in this Imperialistic "Larger Americanism" by the promotion of "prosperity" and the "just distribution of its blessings among employers and employees alike." Elsewhere Roosevelt has indicated the Imperialistic bias of his plea for national defense:

"For reasons I have given elsewhere I believe that we should base our military and naval program upon the retention and defense of Alaska, Hawaii, the Panama Canal and all its approaches, including all the points of South American soil north of the Equator, and of course including the defense of our own coasts and the islands of the West Indies. To

free the navy we need ample coast defenses manned by a hundred thousand men, and a mobile regular army of one hundred and fifty thousand men."

And the Imperialistic and State Capitalistic character of Roosevelt's ideas is underscored in his reference to Germany: "Germany offers a striking example of national efficiency on a gigantic scale."

The Roosevelt program should be considered in relation to developments in the world of American industry and finance, and then its ominous significance is plain.

The accumulation of capital and the necessity of seeking new outlets for its use is the financial urge behind Imperialism. Today, due to the war, the accumulation of capital in this country is proceeding at a terrific pace; and after the war means must be sought for its profitable investment. Already the prediction is being made that interest rates will drop. But capital refuses to remain idle, and if necessary *creates* opportunities for its use. Undoubtedly, this capital could be profitably invested in this country: our resources and industrial capacity are as yet only slightly developed; but the returns would be small and slow, comparatively. Accordingly, an irresistible tendency will arise to invest in undeveloped countries where returns are both quick and large. This tendency is now active in the circles of financial capital, where feverish preparations are being made for an attempt to secure dominance after the war in the investment markets of the world.

The organization of the "American International Corporation," capitalized at $50,000,000, with the purpose of promoting American investments abroad, is indicative of the tendency we have discussed. James A. Farrell, president of the United States Steel Corporation, emphasizes the necessity of foreign investments as "a commercial preparedness measure," the means of increasing our trade and exports by financing the need of those growing countries which are our best customers. Great Britain's $20,000,000,000 of foreign investments "retains and strengthens its hold on the neutral markets of the world." This standpoint gives foreign investments an importance not only to financial capital, but to the capitalist class as a whole.

In the light of these developments, the "Larger Americanism" looms as an attempt to prepare the United States for an aggressive rôle in world finance and politics. Armed force, potential and actual, is required to protect Latin America from European aggression and preserve it for "our own" monopolistic exploitation; armed force and an aggressive foreign policy are required to maintain the prestige of the United States in world politics and guarantee "our" capital an equal opportunity in Asia and the markets of the world; a strong centralized national government and administrative control of industry are required to secure an obedient and faithful working class the "just distribution" of the profits of Imperialism by means of slightly higher wages and social reforms; and an effective administrative control of industry is required to free the energies of concentrated capital by compelling small capital to compromise and satisfy its interests by participating in the spoils of an aggressive Imperialism. This is the "Larger Americanism," and Theodore Roosevelt is its prophet!—*F*.

Schenectady and Elsewhere

THERE is trouble in Schenectady, dissatisfaction among the members of the Local, growing out of the action of Mayor Lunn in filling the several positions of the city administration. Those comrades displeased with the Mayor complain of his tendency to "disregard, whenever it suits him, the letter and spirit of party rules." Some of the appointments by the mayor are particularly criticised on the ground that the appointees are not party members, and because qualified members could have been found for those positions.

This is not the first case of this kind in the history of our party. Similar troubles have arisen before in other municipalities carried by the nominees of the Socialist party.

As a matter of fact, such victories as we achieve are usually the result of a combination of forces: 1, party members; 2, enrolled Socialists who are not dues paying members of the organization; 3, Socialist sympathizers, more or less half-baked camp followers; 4, bourgeois elements, dissatisfied with the old party machines and hoping to get more satisfactory results from a personally honest and capable Socialist.

In all such combinations the regular party members are a comparatively small minority. Yet they feel morally responsible for the administration sailing under their flag, and naturally desire to steer its course along the lines of straight Socialist policies.

It so happens that in American cities Socialist victories are far from producing clear-cut Socialist administrations. The obstacles encountered are tremendous. Our municipalities are not self-centered political units like the medieval European cities with their self-governments under permanent charters. Nor are they economically as self-centered. They are treated as sub-divisions of the states, subject to state legislation constantly interfering with their internal affairs. Our legislatures are dominated by capitalistic influences. They create barriers to municipal activities interfering with the capitalist ideal. If need be they pass "Ripper laws" effectually tying the hands of daring reformers. Socialist officials bold enough to disregard such capitalistic handicaps may be removed in short order by state authority.

Hence we need not be surprised to find that our victories in Haverhill, Brockton, Milwaukee, Sche-

nectady, Butte, and minor places failed to bring the dawn of a co-operative commonwealth. If we are honest with ourselves we must admit that they are rather barren of results.

To some extent, at least, that is our own fault. We have thus far not even attempted a thorough study of municipal problems from the socialist point of view, nor have we formulated any definite municipal policy. Municipal victories found us unprepared and helpless. Eight years ago the present writer offered a resolution in the Rand School of Social Science calling for a regular study course of municipal affairs. Nothing came of it, although it was passed unanimously. Only this season such a course is undertaken with a teaching force and program that leave fruitful results somewhat dubious.

Some of our leading lights pride themselves in being constructive, practical. Our municipal problems offer them a fine chance to prove their mettle. Hic Rhodus, hic salta—*O.*

Union Bureaucracy

THREE years ago a general walkout of the tailors employed in the New York factories of men's garments brought over one hundred thousand new members to the United Garment Workers of America. The strikers had not been affiliated with that or any other organziation prior to the strike. The dictatorial attitude of the national officers of the United Garment Workers led to dissension between them and the leader of the strikers during the progress of the strike and resulted in a revolt of the rank and file against the terms of the settlement agreed to by President Rickert without consulting them. Another settlement upon more favorable terms was later arranged for them by outsiders, and they returned to work.

The new members of the organization now far outnumbered the old membership, which had been kept well in hand by Mr. Rickert's administration. There was every reason to apprehend that the forthcoming national convention would be controlled by the new element, which would retire the old officials and elect their own leaders to succeed them. But Mr. Rickert and his associates have shown expert knowledge of the steamroller methods by which the Chicago convention of the G. O. P. was manipulated in 1912—and with the same results. The delegates who were denied seats at the "regular" convention bolted and organized a convention of their own, which launched a new national organization, "The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America." Practically all the tailors went over with their local officers to the new national body. The national officers of the United Garment Workers retained nothing but the charters of the old locals, with possibly a few members here and there, sufficient to fill the vacancies created by the secession of the officials. The "regulars" also held the label which was used as a sort of trade-mark by the manufacturers.

The seceders were naive enough to apply for recognition to the American Federation of Labor. But the convention of the latter held at Philadelphia in 1914 refused a hearing to their spokesmen, as well as to their friends among the regular delegates seated at the Convention.

The National Executive of the A. F. of L. followed this action by a general order to all central bodies affiliated with it, to expel the delegates of the seceders. In New York there exists a central body consisting of delegates from unions of Yiddish-speaking workers, the United Hebrew Trades. This organization is also represented in the Central Federated Union of New York City. In obedience to the order of Mr. Gompers, the C. F. U. demanded the expulsion from the United Hebrew Trades of the delegates of the Amalgamated. The United Hebrew Trades tried to argue, with the result that all organizations affiliated with the C. F. U. were ordered to withdraw from the United Hebrew Trades. The latter then decided to send the Socialist Assemblyman Shiplacoff to argue the matter before the convention of the A. F. of L., which was about to meet at San Francisco. But the convention upheld Mr. Gompers, and the United Hebrew Trades promptly complied with his order. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers was forced to withdraw its delegates from the United Hebrew Trades at the most dramatic moment in the strike of the tailors in Chicago, when social workers, clergymen, university professors and society women were doing picket duty in behalf of the strikers.

The United Hebrew Trades is in effect an annex to the Yiddish Daily *Forward*, which claims to speak for the Socialist Party. In its editorial of November 5, 1915, extending its "good wishes to the A. F. of L.," it commented upon the controversy between the two rival organizations of clothing workers as follows:

"The old stand-pat leaders would act in the matter in the spirit of Russian officials. According to their interpretation of the letter of the law, a few officials of the Bible House are the 'regular' tailors' organization. Therefore the tens of thousands of organized tailors are 'seceders.' . . . Mr. Gompers quotes a resolution of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, clearly hinting at the tailors, to the effect that the 'seceders' must be dealt with sternly. And Mr. Gompers clearly intimates that he recommends it as a guide to the convention. Thus, according to the letter of the blessed 'Law,' tens of thousands of organized workers may go to ruin. And with them may go to ruin over a quarter of a million organized Jewish workers, the United Hebrew Trades, which is with the Amalgamated be-

cause they are blood of their blood and flesh of their flesh, and they know their condition and the justice of their cause. . . . The organized Jewish workers and the Socialists are no 'seceders,' no 'disrupters,' but they are interested, body and soul, to remain in firm union with the Federation. They demand a fair hearing, and that must be granted to them."

The editorial closed with the appeal: "Down with the letter of the statute, where so many life-interests of so large a section of the labor movement are involved!"

But the convention upheld the letter of the statute. That this action was not unexpected, is evidenced by the fact that at a meeting of that organization held before the opening of the A. F. of L. Convention it was decided to abide by the action of the Convention whatever it might be. When word was received from San Francisco, the Amalgamated was given a tip to withdraw voluntarily. A committee of the United Hebrew Trades, with its special envoy to the A. F. of L. convention the Social Assemblyman-elect Shiplacoff as secretary, recommended a set of resolutions, to the effect that "for the sake of the unity of the American movement" the U. H. T. would submit to the decision of the A. F. of L. The resolutions further read that "the life-interests of the Jewish workers require them to join the ranks of the American labor movement and to come under the banner of the A. F. of L., while maintaining friendly relations with the tailors' unions, which have hitherto stood in our ranks."

The labor editor of the *Forward*, in his report of the meeting at which these resolutions were unanimously adopted, said in part:

"The United Hebrew Trades pledged themselves to remain in friendly relations with the tailors, notwithstanding the fact that they were formally compelled to abide by the decision of the A. F. of L. . . . It could clearly be seen that both parties were separating against their own will. For years and years the tailors were a part of the U. H. T. They were bound together. . . . Suddenly, an order comes from above and the bonds are torn asunder."

We have quoted at length from the authorities, in order to bring out the principles by which the policy of the Socialist party toward the labor movement is guided. Let us briefly restate the main points.

The officers of the "regular" organization acted "in the spirit of Russian officials." They represented nobody but themselves. Their action spelled ruin to tens of thousands of organized workers. The A. F. of L. upheld these officials, without granting the formality of a hearing to the workers accused of "secession." The United Hebrew Trades knew "the justice of their cause," but a peremptory order came "from above" commanding them to sacrifice the "life interests" of the organized workers who were "blood of their blood and flesh of their flesh," and like unto Father Abraham of old, the revolutionary body obeyed the command.

Yet, while exposing its friends "to ruin," by order from headquarters, the United Hebrew Trades promises to them to maintain "friendly relations" with them.

All this is done "for the sake of the unity of the labor movement."

"The American labor movement" is held to be identical with the A. F. of L. The unity of the American labor movement accordingly requires absolute obedience to autocratic rule. The letter of the law, interpreted "in the spirit of Russian officials," must be obeyed.

This is the doctrine taught by one time Russian revolutionists and now staunch supporters of the American Socialist Party.

On the other hand, true to their early training, they cannot help secretly encouraging sedition against constituted authority.

This is presumably what is meant by "boring from within."—*H.*

The Philippines and American Imperialism

THE United States Senate, by a decisive majority, has passed the bill granting independence to the Philippine Islands not later than March 4, 1921. All the Democrats present and six Progressive Republicans voted for the measure. A provision, directing the President to induce foreign Powers to "recognize and respect the sovereign independence of the Philippines," was rejected.

The "change of sentiment" regarding Philippine independence is puzzling some of our publicists. The New York *Evening Post* says: "It [the 'change of sentiment'] is not confined to Congress. A few explosive newspapers cry out, in the old style, against the 'policy of scuttle'; but, on the whole, the press seems either indifferent to the bill or favorable to it." The *Post* attributes the change to the realization of the fact that the "far flung islands are a military weakness to the United States"; and also to a "quickened American conscience" in regard to the rights of oppressed nationalities!

But the reasons lie much deeper. The same Senate that passed this bill has just ratified a treaty with Nicaragua that would deprive that country of its administrative independence; and a similar treaty is pending with Honduras. These two treaties are shamelessly and barefacedly Imperialistic, and there is no "quickened American conscience" to denounce their iniquitous proposals. The same administration is behind the Philippine bill that deprived Haiti at the point of the bayonet of its administrative independence.

American Imperialism is not a unit in its objectives; as in Germany, it has various tendencies. German Imperialists have been divided as to whether over-seas colonial expansion or expansion in Europe and Asia Minor was the most desirable and feasible. The passage of the Philippine independence bill again emphasizes the fact that American Imperialists are divided. The Wilson administration conceives an aggressive Imperialism in the Far East a weakness to this country; it believes in concentrating its Imperialistic efforts nearer home, in Latin America,—an Imperialism that benefits larger groups of capitalists than could participate in financial adventures in the Orient. The "concentration of United States foreign investments in South America" was a demand formulated at the recent convention of the National Foreign Trade Council,—of which James A. Farrell, President of the United States Steel Corporation, is chairman. And the profits from this Imperialism appear larger and much more immediate. The motives behind the Philippine independence project are, therefore, both military and economic.

But this does not at all mean that the United States relinquishes all interest in the Far East. It simply changes the *form* of its interest. The United States will press more than ever the demand for the "Open Door" in China as the surest way of "conserving" "our" interests. The danger of war may be modified, but it is not abolished. And, furthermore, it is not at all improbable that the Administration in 1921 may be ultra-Imperialistic and reverse the action of the present Administration.—*F.*

The British Labor Party and the War

THE N. Y. *Volkszeitung* is puzzled over the action of the Bristol Conference of the British Labor Party which voted one day to support the war and the next day to oppose conscription,—each vote being by an overwhelming majority. We must confess that we are, in turn, rather puzzled by the *Volkszeitung's* lack of discernment. The situation is simple enough.

The Bristol Conference shows that the English working class dares do its own thinking even on the subject of how the war should be conducted, and that it has backbone enough to speak its mind freely and in a manner to impress its "betters." We may like its decisions or we may not, but there is certainly nothing inconsistent about them. The Conference in effect said: We believe that German victory would be a menace to our free institutions, and we are therefore ready to do our utmost to avert the impending danger. But there is one thing that we won't do: We won't surrender our free institutions to our enemy at home in order to prevent a possible danger to them from the enemy beyond our border.

Incidentally, the Bristol Conference has proven that in case of war the working class is not reduced to the pitiful alternative: either complete indifference to the great historical events which may leave their impress upon the world for generations to come, or complete surrender of its own independence and abject subserviency to the wishes of the ruling class. The decisions of the Bristol Conference completely disprove this theory of impotence,—so assiduously preached since the beginning of the present war by the opportunists on the one hand and the so-called "extreme radicals" on the other. These decisions prove that the working class may preserve its freedom of action, if it really has a mind to, even in the extreme case when it considers it necessary to enter into a national war. Even in this damnable business of war there are ways and ways: there is the way of the English working class, and that of the "majority" of the German working class.—*B.*

Italy's Failure in the War

WHILE the friends of the Allies are deploring the comparative futility of Italian effort, the situation holds great interest for the historian and economist. The talk of Italian treachery and duplicity falls wide of the mark; this cannot account for the fact that Italy's only hold in Albania—where Italian Imperialism conceives its interests as being "vital" and "paramount"—is now confined to a precarious occupation of Avlona. The capture by the Austrians of Mt. Lovcen and the disposal of Montenegro threaten Italy's supremacy in the Adriatic.

Italy's futility is not measured by her efforts in the Trentino and along the Isonzo, where the terrain is almost perfect for a triumphant Austrian defense, and where the valiant fighting of the Italian soldiers is admitted even by their enemies. Italy's futility is measured by her failure to exert any influence in the other theatres of the war—the Balkans and the Dardanelles.

The real reason for this futility is neither diplomatic or military, but essentially industrial. Italy is the poorest nation, industrially, of any of the six Great Powers. The social and industrial organization is of the weakest, and seems to have broken down under the strain of meeting the requirements of the war. The country is lacking in the chief requirements of modern warfare,—iron and other metals. It is easy, arithmetically, to figure Italy as able to put two to three million soldiers on the firing line; but it is another problem to equip that number of men, and Italy has been unable to do so because of her industrial backwardness. Strong in the arts of peace, Germany and France are strong in the art of war; weak in the arts of peace, Italy is weak in the art of war.

It is no exaggeration to say that the outcome of the war is being decided at the present time, even though

the fighting is of a desultory character. It is being decided by the social and industrial preparations now being made by the belligerents,—the mobilization of social and industrial resources for the decisive fighting of the coming spring and summer.—*F.*

Pat Quinlan

IN another page of this issue the NEW REVIEW reprints a letter that appeared in *The Globe* over the signature of Percy Stickney Grant. In its way it is as splendid and courageous an outburst of righteous indignation as was Emile Zola's celebrated "J'Accuse" in the Dreyfuss case. There is a difference, however, between the two *causes célébre.* Captain Dreyfuss was a member of the privileged class. Quinlan belongs to the element occupying the position of the under dog. The socialist press and the socialist organization has not seen fit to carry on an aggressive, vigorous campaign for the unconditional release of Quinlan. Its former militant spirit has been tamed. We have been told by high authority that we must be law-abiding. That, of course, includes respect for the courts. To steer any other course would be "ethically unjustifiable and tactically suicidal." Hence political wisdom required soft-stepping where the court of last resort has spoken.—*O.*

Milwaukee Reincarnations of Marx

THE *Milwaukee Leader* has made an attempt to meet the challenge in our issue of January 1st, in the following fashion:

THE SAME MARX.

Under the caption, "Where Is the Marx of Yesteryear?" the NEW REVIEW writes:

"In a recent issue the *Milwaukee Leader,* arguing against the internationalists, says:

" 'They don't want Socialism according to Marx. He indorsed national defense; a national militia; universal military education; Socialist partisanship in international problems for definite national governments offering the best outlook for working class growth; voting for the least objectionable old party candidate when Socialists were out of the running; centralization of power in the hands of the party executive, and affiliation of Socialists with the most representative labor unions for the purpose of supporting their most advanced members.'

"If the leader has any self-respect or any respect for the Socialist movement, it will prove these assertions by citing book and chapter.—*F.*"

The *Leader* has already cited "book and chapter," and, if necessary, can cite plenty more. It is a pity that some so-called "internationalists" don't learn first what Marx really stood for, before they undertake to teach others the principles of Marxism. NEW REVIEW please copy.—*Editor.*

This is, indeed, a conclusive answer, utterly shattering—to the *Leader.* Of course, we haven't "learned first what Marx really stood for;" it has been our misfortune to depend upon Marx himself for our knowledge of Marx, and not upon the *Leader,* Victor Berger's Brisbanesque editorials, or Ernest Untermann's pabulum for Socialist infants in the form of his book on *Marxian Economics.* But after all, we may be wrong; Marx may not have understood his own ideas; and the Socialist cardinals of Milwaukee may be right in their interpretation of Marx,—as right as the old Cardinals of the Church who created a Jesus of their own to further their political ambitions. But still—we are interested in that citation of book and chapter. Won't the *Leader* oblige its erring brethren?—*F.*

Will Congressman London Please Explain?

IN reporting the passage of the first two preparedness bills in the House of Representatives without a single dissenting vote, the N. Y. *Call's* Washington correspondent writes:

"Two national defense bills—the first of the session—were passed in the House to-day without the formality of a roll call.

"For some unexplained reason pacifist members took to their heels when the question of preparedness came up in concrete for

As Congressman London was among those who, according to the *Call,* "took to their heels" for some "unexplained reason," we should now call upon him to explain why he was not in his seat to vote "no" on the objectionable bills.—*B.*

BOARD OF EDITORS

Frank Bohn, William E. Bohn, Louis B. Boudin, Floyd Dell, W. E. B. Du Bois, Max Eastman, Louis C. Fraina, Felix Grendon, Isaac A. Hourwich, Paul Kennaday, Robert Rives La Monte, Joseph Michael, Arthur Livingston, Robert H. Lowie, Helen Marot, Moses Oppenheimer, Herman Simpson, Wm. English Walling

ADVISORY COUNCIL

Arthur Bullard, George Allan England, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Arturo Giovanitti, Harry W. Laidler, Austin Lewis, John Macy, Gustavus Myers, Mary White Ovington, William J. Robinson, Charles P. Steinmetz, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Horace Traubel, John Kenneth Turner

Published by the New Review Publishing Association

256 BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY

ALEXANDER FRASER, President — JULIUS HEIMAN, Treasurer — LOUIS C. FRAINA, Secretary

Subscription $1.50 a year in United States and Mexico; six months, $0.75. $1.75 in Canada and $2.00 in foreign countries. Single copies, 15 cents.

Entered at the New York post-office as second-class mail matter.

State Socialism and the War

By Robert H. Hutchinson

[This article is a chapter from Mr. Hutchinson's book *The "Socialism" of New Zealand,* to be published March 25th by the New Review Publishing Association.]

WHETHER the effect of the present war will be to accelerate the forces of Socialism or to strengthen the roots of Capitalism is a question open to argument. Whether the close of the war will see a perfect Socialism obtaining among the belligerent countries or a further development of class distinctions within a capitalist society and growing into a caste system, is a prediction that cannot be made off-hand. Prophesies are as dangerous as bomb shells and people who value their safety do not generally play with them carelessly. However, it may not be out of place to point out here a few facts which seem to be rather within the realms of current history than of prophesy. One or two phenomena are already evident among the warring nations which might help us to a clearer vision of the condition of things which the war will leave behind it.

A war is generally regarded as a critical time in a people's history. It is looked upon as a crucial turn of events, unlike, or rather contrasted to, the ordinary work-a-day life. It gives a twist or a turn to the normal development of a people's life and leaves them not quite the same as before. It is, in a sense, a revolution as contrasted to the process of evolution—the logical catastrophe toward which things have been silently going. A nation after a war will show a modified social structure, though the germs of that structure might be discernible within it before the war. Even apparently hostile forces may pass through the war only to be welded together by it and live on after it as a single whole. Whether, then, more Socialism or more Capitalism will result from the war would be not only rash to predict but even dogmatic to say. We can no more state that *both* will survive than we can say that *neither* will survive. Is it not possible that both of them—Socialism and Capitalism, *or some features of each*—will live on together in the form of an amalgam?

State Socialism means concentration. It means independent competing economic powers coming together in agreements, consolidations and pools and finally melting into one generally centralized body, its economic functions coinciding with its political. It is the result of the alliance of capitalist interests —and capitalist interests only—for the purpose of common advancement in economic power, and of their identification with the political government which they virtually own and control for their own profit. Such is a very rough portrait of State Socialism. It may vary here and there to a considerable extent, but the common characteristic of it is the amalgamation of hitherto competing bodies into a single body of conscious existence and definite purposes.

The difference between the course of civilization in our own days and that of earlier times is not so very great. There is a common trend of things running throughout all history. The early days of England saw that island divided into the kingdoms of Northumberland, Mercia and Wessex out of which grew in time the realm of England with its sovereign and nobility. So it was with France where during Feudal times—times of free competition in military affairs—the country was rent by the warring factions of Brittany, Normandy, Burgundy, Aquitaine and the small fiefs of the crown. Out of this grew the highly centralized state of Bourbon and Napoleonic times. So it was also with Spain in which Castile, Aragon, Asturia and Navarre were later welded into the monarchy of the Hapsburgs. The same trend is apparent in our own era. The union of the thirteen colonies, and the birth of modern Italy and of modern Germany belong to just the same trend of things.

The underlying motive is the same. The rival units, be they kingdoms, duchies or states, compete until their power has run its course; there arises within each a group which sees its way to power by common alliance with its fellow groups in the other units; there is common understanding and mutual assistance; and there is finally an ousting of the superior power and an amalgamation on the part of the new forces. We, however, live no longer in times of great feudal duchies and baronies maintaining their ascendency through military power and the religious submission of the people. Our day is not essentially that of battles and transfers of territorial power. The basis of our social life and our current history is commercial and industrial, not military or feudal. The Fiefs of feudal days find their analogies today in the shape of Corporations, Trusts and Companies. In the Middle Ages a man who was not able to stand on his own feet, to maintain his own estate unassisted, "commended" himself to some great lord by which act he became the vassal of the lord whose duty it was henceforth to protect him in return for service. Today the small shop-keeper who cannot keep his head above water closes his shop and gets a job as salesman in some department store. But the lesser nobility of the Middle Ages united because of oppression from the greater, and eventually effected their own ascendency to power. So today the smaller capitalists are uniting in their purpose of ousting the Trusts from their position of tyran-

ny. The process is one of concentration and the government is the rallying point of the forces.

Where free competition exists society is usually split up into groups. Or perhaps it would be more correct to reverse the statement and say that where society is split up into groups there is free competition, whether it is of military forces or of commercial rivalry. Each group struggles not only to suppress its rival but to gain ascendency over the whole as well. One of two things may happen. Some single group may rise more powerful than the rest and subdue them, as in the case of the Macedonians, or the Merovingians, or of Europe under Napoleon. Or there may be a voluntary association for the purpose of mutual protection or conquest, and out of which arises gradually the ascendency of the most potent of the factors. Such was the fate, for example, of the Delean League under Athens, and of modern Germany under Prussia. In every case it is some common purpose which causes the hitherto unassociated units to come together. That purpose may be one of aggression or one of protection.

The point we are getting to is this: that the essential difference between these groups of peoples before and after their association is that where previously there had been competing units, each perhaps divided socially into classes, there are now, in general, only two classes—the ruling class and the ruled. Now the same fundamental difference holds true when comparing Capitalism of the last decade and State Socialism. The former allows of as many classes as you please, as many diversely different units as there is room for, each directing its own course and struggling against all the others. But within State Socialism, however much diversity there may be among individuals in their own personal lives, there is a fairly distinct line of demarkation between the class of power and the class of dependence. Today, the forces which are at work to bring about State Socialism are no different in their essential nature than those which in other times have worked for association among people. There is no more effective thing than a common enemy for the bringing together of people. The Greeks united against Persia, the Italian states against Austria, the American Colonies against England, and in our day in the commercial world the smaller capitalists are uniting against the Trusts and Corporations and against the aggressions of the laboring class. This last factor in the struggle, this latest common enemy is absorbing more and more of the attention of the commercial and industrial powers. The great Capitalists, the Trusts and the Magnates seem to be on the decline to give place to associations of smaller men. In every country there are "Merchants' Associations," "Chambers of Commerce," "Manufacturers' Clubs," and the like. They are for the purpose, of course, of furthering the interests of their members in the economic field, but they are turning their attention and resources increasingly toward the repression of labor troubles. Their energy is used now to avoid or settle labor disputes and break strikes. Such, as an example of this trend of things, was the experience of the Manufacturers' Association of New Zealand in connection with the general strike of 1913-1914. Where before, in such cases, there was union for efficiency, now there is union for repression, for class war, and the new enemy is labor.

It does not require a great deal of research to appreciate the fact that this process of association is on the increase. Functions which formerly were performed by independent companies or single individuals are now either the work of the state or of large associations of individuals. Countries like Germany and New Zealand own and control most of the essential industries—the one manages them despotically, the other comparatively democratically. The process is already existing and if the war has any effect at all on its development it will be, it seems, to accelerate rather than to retard it.

This war stands in a curious relation to the economic world. Though born of economic competition and fostered by it, it is waged by the political machinery of the belligerent countries. It is a war of Germany against France and England, etc., and when we speak of Germany in that sense we mean the German government. For although the economic forces, the business men if you choose, are behind it, it is really the governments that engineer the war. One factor is causing the war, another is waging it. Now one characteristic of the passing age, the age of Capitalism *par excellence,* is that within society there is a dual power—the political and the economic—the State and the business world. The one has its governors, legislatures, and judges, the other has its presidents, directors and boards. The former has in most instances succumbed to the power of the latter, and in other instances it has risen superior to it to the extent of controlling several phases of business life. Capitalism is, however, essentially a thing economic and not political, it is of our commercial and industrial life and not of the state. But of the last decade the tendency has been for the political and economic world to become more and more identified, and with the balance of power largely in favor of the latter. The rate at which the warring countries are taking over the management of the important industries is evidence that the war is actually effecting the union of these two, and the result will undoubtedly bear resemblances to both of them. Indeed, the logical outcome would seem to be a closely-knit capitalist society coinciding with the political framework of the country—and that would be State Socialism.

The war is undoubtedly drawing into its vortex

many Socialists. But if after it is over the proletariat awakes to a realization of its subverted position the other class will have to use its power to maintain its own ascendency and repress labor. Concentrated energy for the purpose of efficiency and economy in output and management will now give way to concentration for the purpose of efficiency in power and in ruling force. Where before the war there were great capitalists, lesser capitalists, and small capitalists there will increasingly be but one kind—capitalists. This is a war of the rulers of our economic life against each other, not of labor against labor, and the effect of it is to unite all who have similar economic interests. In the case of the workman this may not be so strictly true, for he is in most cases not alive to his class position and fooled into thinking that his interests lie with his "country." The capitalists of a country know their common enemy whether he is the capitalist of another nation or the workman within their own. They know that those two men are the men they want to get ahead of, and the effect of this knowledge is to make them join hands with their fellow capitalists and sacrifice smaller differences. And when there is war there is added excitement, sentiment, patriotism and all the emotions which help to unite man and man in a common cause. So the effect of the war would be to concentrate the energies of Capitalism and to make more definite than ever the line of cleavage between the capitalist class and the proletariat.

The crisis of the war, the immediate need of provisions, equipment, transportation, and communication has already caused and will continue to cause the ruling classes to take into their control the most important of all businesses, the primary means of existence, food, clothing, shelter, and communication. To be sure these were already capitalistically managed, already in the hands of private concerns. The change then is not from something else into capitalism, but rather from one form of capitalism into another. It is a change from dissociated capitalism to associated and co-operative capitalism. The government which has become the rallying point of the nation is now to be the owner of these important businesses. They can no longer be allowed to go their own way. They can no longer be allowed to be run by unbridled capitalists. They must belong to the Capitalist *Class;* they must be commonly owned and controlled by that class. It is this change which is the ear-mark of the evolution of Capitalism to State Socialism, the merging of competing groups into a self-conscious, single-purposed unit. Perhaps nothing could bring about this thing more effectively than war.

As war is forcing governments to take over the most important of our economic institutions, so too will the expenses of war lead countries to nationalize the most paying of businesses. There will be a limit to the extent to which taxation can go, and a limit, too, to the people's patience in bearing its burden. But where the government owns a paying industry the burden of taxation may be lightened while at the same time the nation receives a handsome revenue. Germany at present is an example of the advantages of this scheme. Furthermore as the government increases its revenue and makes itself additionally indispensible to the life of the people so, *pati passo,* does the power of the associated capitalist class increase. There is no rise to power of individual captains of industry, but a general ascendency of the owning and employing class over the employed class.

The management of one thing leads to the management of others. If the government controls output, prices, and profits it must sooner or later settle the question of minimum wages and working conditions. But wages tend ever toward the cost of living, the employer seeking to pay no more than what his employees can live upon. The cost of living will, then, have to be determined by the government. Then the round will be complete—the government will control what the worker gets, what the capitalist gets, what the output will be, and what will be paid for the output. And the Capitalist class will control the government.

The result of the war is, of course, a thing which, until the war is over, can only be a question and not a surety. But from numerous evidences it does not seem as though the war was going to divert the course of our progress into any very new channel, or that civilization will bear an entirely novel complexion. Rather would it seem that the change will be one of degree and not so much one of kind. It will hasten us along the road upon which we are already traveling, and not divert us into an entirely new path. Such a divergence, if it did happen, would be not only unnatural and unprecedented but contrary to what evidences we have before us. As the present has its roots in the past, so also is the present the germ of the future, and what is to come must bear some resemblance to what is at present. Such a change as was attempted by the French in 1792 could last only a short time; what survived was, with some modifications, the same as before. Parenthetically it may be suggested that this is not a question of whether it might or might not be best to attempt such and such a course or at least aim toward it; it is an estimate of what it may be reasonable to expect the outcome of the war to be.

It is reasonable to suppose that the war is going to leave its martial stamp upon the civilization which is to follow. The fact of a nation being in arms, even for a brief period, cannot pass without leaving its mark upon the people. They become accustomed to soldiers, to martial law, to strict obedience, and to seeing things done without being consulted themselves. The victorious nations cannot

easily avoid the ascendency to high position of a military class, and even the countries which suffered defeat will be left with a military machinery vested with more than usual power. The captains and generals will not be so easy to oust from the position of prestige and power to which the war has fortuitously lifted them. They will tend naturally, as in Sparta or Prussia, to maintain and perpetuate their grip on society, by holding themselves aloof, cultivating a coterie of their own, and developing their caste into an aristocracy and the nation into a military machine.

Nor would this "Junker" class, if we might so term it, be alone and without support. Were these men alone there would be less chance for them to hold their place once the war was ended and the nation returned to the occupations of peace. It would be most natural that other interests, themselves outgrowths and concomitants of the war, would also foster the spirit of the military class. These interests would be the munitions manufactories, steel, iron, and powder companies, and all the host of industrial and commercial businesses which profit by war and militarism. At present there is a tremendous output of war material, and fortunes are being made through investments and speculation in that field. Factories which make anything at all which the warring countries use on the battlefield or at home are increasing their output daily, and money seeking investment is plentiful in their direction. Even manufactories, which prior to the war made only articles useful in times of peace, are now turning out explosives and engines of destruction. They are remodeling their plants at great expense for the purpose of equipping the belligerent powers, and there is coming into being a class of investors and entrepreneurs whose economic interests will lie more and more in the direction of militarism. If the war should end, for what use would all their equipments and investments be?

Whether, then, the State Socialism of the future is to be colored by this militarism, depends, of course, upon the circumstances of each different country. If there is State Socialism after the war we must not expect to see the same condition of things in every country any more than we do now. There are too many diverse factors which are determining the destinies of the different nations. But if a country is drawn into the war it may seem reasonable to expect that the impress of the war will be left on its people, and that such a course of economic and social development as we have been considering would follow. The ruling capitalist class would not necessarily itself be a military caste; it would not have time for that, so to speak; it would be too busy, too much occupied with business. But it might very well support or favor a military class, one which would, of course, be in harmony with its own views, and at bottom economically dependent upon it. Such a military class might be recruited and replenished from the less active in business of the capitalists, of men born of the ruling class but whose abilities lay not in the line of industrial and commercial things. It might be considered the proper thing for one of a man's sons to "go into the army" while the other took up the business; as in the Middle Ages it was customary for one of a noble's sons to go into the church while another tooy up his father's sword. The British army officers, the upper class of the army, were recruited in just this way. They were, for the most part, sons of the well-to-do; which suggests again that what changes the war brings about will be in differences of degree rather than of kind.

There are effects more subtle which the war may bring about in the character and social life of a people, effects which would not be so easy to appreciate or to change. The declaration of war is always liable to upset the stability of a people, and as a consequence nations take precautions against it. Upon the outbreak of war two things above all else are necessary—unanimity and prompt obedience to an unencumbered authority. Factions and insubordination are fatal to a nation at war. The Romans knew this when they created their office of Dictator, and this is why the outbreak of war or any such national crisis so often ushers in a coalition ministry. People are taught that they must think together and act together promptly and under a single directorship.

Now the prolongation of this state of things breeds in people's minds the habit of thinking in just such a way. People become accustomed to obeying without questioning and to regarding the authorities as men justly vested with rights to act as they see fit and to command obedience. "Their's not to reason why" becomes a mental attitude of daily life and common-place habits where before it was applied only to the crisis of war. What this will add to the economic power of the ruling class cannot be measured. But add to this the fact that the upper class will, through the press and other means, control public opinion, and it is not a very great step to the condition of things where the populous regards those at the top as being, by their own inherent nature, blessed with superior wisdom or even divine right.

It will be generally conceded that the course which civilization has taken of late has been, in our economic and social life, toward a closer association of the capitalist class, increased government ownership and operation of the chief factors of our economic life, and a growing care and concern for the worker himself seen in social legislation, factory laws, pensions, etc. The war is accentuating all of these things and accelerating their progress, and the logical goal of all this is State Socialism.

The Attitude of the Russian Socialists

By Alexandra Kollontay

THE Russian Socialist movement, divided into many party divisions and factions prior to the war, seems even more confused at the present time. But this confusion is in appearance only. The Russian Social Democratic Party parallels the movement in other countries, belligerent and non-belligerent, in which *three* tendencies are dominant. The Russian Socialists, like their comrades in Germany, France and even America, are divided into three groups: The extreme patriots, such as Scheidemann, Plechanoff, Hyndman, Vandervelde and Charles Edward Russell; the left or revolutionary wing, such as Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin and the whole Central Committee of the Majority Group in Russia; and the Centre, represented by Kautsky and Haase in Germany, and by the Organization Committee (minority group) in Russia.

The difference in this connection between Russia and Germany is that the *extreme* patriots in Russia have not the majority either of the party or of the working class with them; they have no official organization of the party supporting them, with the exception of local organizations consisting mostly of intellectuals (for example, the group of journalists supporting the social-patriotic monthly, *Nasha Sarja*).

The Russian social-patriots attempt to distinguish between their attitude and that of Scheidemann and Legien in Germany, or that of Sembat and Guesde in France; they reiterate and emphasize their unaltering opposition to the régime of the Czar. But perhaps it is not quite a quality of their own which prevents them from going as far as Scheidemann in their capacity as "obedient citizens" and servants of the feudal class government of Russia. . . . Who knows how far these social-patriots would go in endorsing the war and "civil peace" if the Russian Government were clever enough to exploit their patriotic feelings?

Their attitude is clearly expressed in the Manifesto bearing the names of Plechanoff, Leo Deutsch, and the members of the second Duma, Alexinsky and Beloussow, recently published in the NEW REVIEW,—an attitude quite identical with that of Scheidemann, Legien, etc. They support the war in the interests of the "democracy" and "freedom" of Europe; in order to defend their Fatherland from the ruin that a victory of German capitalism and militarism would entail; and in order to insure the conditions necessary for the unrestrained development of the national forces of production in Russia, which, according to Plechanoff, will eventually bring about the downfall of the Czarism. This implies a victory for Russia; and until that is achieved, no strikes, no revolutionary action, nothing that might prevent a victory over Germany. They replace the International concept with that of pure and simple Nationalism.

The attitude of the official centre of the Majority Group (the Central Committee), as well as that of other secret local organizations and the five exiled Socialist members of the Duma, is in direct opposition to the attitude of the Russian social-patriots. Starting with the fundamental fact that this is a war of Imperialism of all the nations involved, the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party maintains that the duty of the Socialists is to convert the war between the nations into a *civil war* of the working class against their class governments. They condemn the voting of the war credits by the French and German Socialists and denounce the civil peace. If a choice is to be made between two evils, victory or defeat, it is in the interest of the working class to desire a defeat of their government, as victory could only strengthen the Czarism. If the proletariat of all the belligerent countries adopted this attitude, if they would precipitate civil war, instead of supporting "civil peace," the war of Imperialism would soon cease. And the declaration of civil war would immediately revive the revolutionary spirit and international solidarity of the working class of the world,—rebuilding the International on a truly revolutionary basis.

This clear and uncompromising attitude of the Majority Group of the Russian party, expressed in a Manifesto as early as November, 1914, has rendered a great service to the Russian movement and to the whole International, formulating the ideas that have since been adopted by the revolutionary wing of the German party. By means of meetings, secretly printed leaflets, papers, and the work of the secret organizations, the revolutionary Socialists of Russia are fighting against the war by stirring up the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat. Hundreds of our comrades have been arrested for this activity and sent to jail by the agents of the government fighting for "freedom" and "democracy." And still the fight goes on. The great number of strikes which have taken place during the war are some of the good results achieved by the work of the uncompromising and international wing of the Russian party.[1]

[1] During the war the Russian workers not only managed to maintain their economic struggle, but organized a number of political strikes. In April, 1915, there was a large protest strike on the memorial day of the massacre of the gold workers in the Lena district, and 400 men were arrested. On the first of May, 35,000 workers went on strike in St. Petersburg. In June and July, the textile workers in Kostroma and Iwano-Wosnesensky engaged in an economic struggle ending with more than 100 workers killed, many wounded and a large number of arrests. As a protest against these bloody events the workers in St. Petersburg organized strikes. The movement developed great strength in August and September, when, after the dissolution of the Duma, the workers demonstrated against the government; their demand being "Down with the government!" In St. Petersburg 150,000 men were on strike, 25,000 in Nijni-Novgorod, and a large number in Moscow, Charkow and in the South of Russia. Not only has the war not crushed the revolutionary movement, but during the last six months the movement has grown in intensity.

Influenced by the Internationalists, the workers in St. Petersburg refused by a large majority to participate in the "Industrial War Committees," the purpose of which is to organize the defense of the country.

In the international movement, the Central Committee is supporting the idea of rebuilding the International upon a more definite basis of international class solidarity and revolutionary mass action.

In between the Russian social-patriots and the Internationalists stands the Centre, as in Germany. In Russia it is the left wing of the party, the International Socialists, that inspires the movement and that has the support of the majority of the working class.[2]

The Centre is represented chiefly by the so-called Minority Group, whose official expression is the Organization Committee. The attitude of the Organization Committee is as unclear as that of Kautsky's. Axelrod, one of the chief and best known leaders of the Minority Group, opposes the outspoken patriots in Russia, such as Plechanoff, but he is willing to forgive the acts of the German and French comrades who betrayed the principle of International solidarity and violated the decisions of the International Congresses of Stuttgart and Basle. The members of the Organization Committee, Axelrod, Martoff, Martinow, etc., issued an Open Letter opposing the Manifesto of the social-patriots Plechanoff, Alexinsky, etc., but have not broken their connections with the outspoken patriotc group, *Nasha Sarja,* affiliated with the Organization Committee, and that openly declares it does not oppose war.[3]

Their tactics are as unclear and as unsteady as those of the German Centre. Declaring themselves Internationalists, they do not accept the logical result of this position: the necessity of clearing the Third International of the spirit of nationalism and opportunism, of proclaiming the principle of International class solidarity more holy and sacred than the "defense" of any capitalistic fatherland. The Centre of the Russian party hesitates in the middle of the road; their's are tactics that help to perputuate confusion in the mind of the Socialists, presenting a serious obstacle to the rebuilding of the International on a sound class-conscious international basis.

All the three groups have their own press and papers. The Central Committee is not only publishing secret papers in Russia, but has a semi-monthly paper, *The Social Democrat,* published in Switzerland. It also issues a scientific review, *The Komunist.* The Organization Committee is affiliated with a number of daily papers and some reviews that are appearing openly in Russia, and has an official paper, *The Messenger of the Organization Committee.* The outspoken patriots publish a paper *Prisiw* in Paris, and a review, *Swobodnoje Slowo* in New York. Since the outbreak of the war a group of International Socialists under the direction of Trotzky, have published a Russian daily paper, *Nashe Slovo,* in Paris. This paper stands very near to the principles upheld by the Central Committee, with some tactical differences. Comrades who before the war belonged to different faction of the party, but who have since united on the basis of their Internationalism, are working on this paper. Another monthly paper, *Vpeirod,* also internationalist in principle, is edited by Comrade Lunaciarsky and his friends in Switzerland. Both these papers energetically oppose all shades of social-patriots and class alliances, and stand for a new and revolutionary International.

The Socialist members of the Duma since the outbreak of the war have opposed the government, vigorously criticising its activity and refusing to vote the war-credits. But it must be pointed out that the parliamentary group consisted of two factions: five members of the Majority Group (left wing) and seven of the Minority Group (right wing); and there is a difference in their attitude to the war, even though the Minority Group persists in its opposition to the government. The Minority Group did expel from membership the Duma member Mankow as soon as he declared himself an adherent of the outspoken patriotic policy; but in their attitude on the most important question of national defense there is a touch of unsteadiness, a lack of revolutionary decisiveness,[4] of that very spirit which animated the five exiled members of the Majority Group to oppose the war, in and out of the Duma.

The hour has come when the Socialists must assume a clear and uncompromising attitude to the faults and weaknesses of the past,—the only guarantee that the Third International will not repeat the "old faults" of the Second International. The time has come to decide decisively whether Socialism is a *revolutionary* movement, based upon *international class* solidarity; or whether Socialism is a movement of social reform, an integral part of the national liberal movement. The Majority Group in Russia has answered this vital question in a decisive and revolutionary way, and its great services to the Russian movement and the new International will be more and more appreciated as events shape their course.

[2] See the reports of the Central Committee published in the *Bulletin* No. 2 of the International Socialist Commission in Berne, issue of the 27th of November, 1915.

[3] In my letter to the New Review (January 1st issue) I put the name of Comrade Trotsky among those who signed the appeal of the foreign bureau of the Organization Committee. Trotsky did not sign the appeal, his attitude is not identical with that of the Organization Committee. The unfortunate mistake, for which I apologize to Comrade Trotsky, has only one explanation: the rush in which my letter was written.

[4] See the speech of Comrade Tscheidse in the *Bulletin* No. 2 of the International Socialist Commission in Berne.

If You Buy Books—

You want to concentrate
and get efficient service

NEW REVIEW BOOK SERVICE
256 Broadway, New York City

The Chicago Clothing Strike

By Ellen Gates Starr

THE strike of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Chicago, October-December, 1915, was a fine piece of human effort. To rate it at its true value it is necessary to turn back to a brief view of the strike of United Garment Workers in 1910-1911. That was more like a peasant's uprising than a modern strike. The workers were practically unorganized until after they came out. Although the movement out of the factories began spontaneously, eight or ten weeks passed before as many workers were out and organized as came out in perfect order and organization in two weeks last October.

The strike of 1910 was lost, though it had the sustained official backing of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and of the affiliated Women's Trade Union League. It would be as fruitless as uncongenial a task to go into the sordid details of the loss of that strike. Suffice it to say that the great majority of the strikers did not trust their leaders; and that less than two years ago (at the Nashville Convention) they seceded in overwhelming majority and reorganized under the name Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. They elected as their national president a man whom they trusted, Sidney Hillman. Although the new union includes the great majority of the old members, the A. F. of L. charter still remains with the small minority.

There are two clothing manufacturers' associations in Chicago, closely allied, both having offices in the Medinah Building. The Wholesale Clothiers Association (ready made clothing) and the National Wholesale Tailors Association (special order houses). Outside of these two associations are Hart Schaffner and Marx, far the largest firm in the country, working harmoniously under a trade agreement, and many small independent houses.

In the association houses, although the price of garments rose rather than fell, wages had been constantly falling since 1910, until in the autumn of 1915 they had fallen from 35 to 40 per cent. below those of 1910, and conditions were felt to be no longer tolerable. Note that at the houses of Hart Schaffner and Marx during the same time, wages had risen; the while the firm's profit sheets showed steady and substantial increase.[1]

Aside from wages there were many and grievous complaints arising out of the subjection of women and young girls to brutal and indecent foremen, subforemen and inspectors, in whose power they were. Many such instances were brought before the aldermanic council committee which investigated strike conditions; the proceedings were written up and are accessible at the city hall.

Great numbers of pay envelopes were brought before this committee, showing an average wage of seven to eight cents an hour for girls. The weekly wage in very many cases fell below $3, even below $2 a week. In the only public statement ever vouchsafed by any member of the association (up to almost the end of the strike the manufacturers had refused to appear before the Council or any body of people, or make any statement whatever of their position) Mr. Jacob Abt, president of the Wholesale Clothiers Association, accused Miss Abbott (without naming her) of basing a statement of wages upon one pay envelope which she had thrown upon a screen at a citizens' meeting for arbitration. The daily paper which published this statement of Mr. Abt's (following one by Mr. Hillman) refused Miss Abbott the opportunity to deny this charge. Many such envelopes were, in fact, thrown upon the screen, and Miss Abbott distinctly stated to the audience that many others were in her possession.[2] In every case she had given the week's wage, the number of hours and the rate per hour. The excuse was offered by Mr. Abt that the one girl in the one special case which he alleges to have been chosen, had worked very few hours. It will, one hopes, be granted that whatever the number hours, seven or eight cents an hour is not a living wage. Out of this much less than living wage numerous witnesses testified at the council hearing that charges were made for drinking water and towels and soap, only one towel being furnished free for two hundred girls.

The blacklisting system, in all its tyranny, was also brought out before this council committee. The existence of the blacklist has been amply proven.

These being the general causes, the strike was precipitated by the discharge, in large numbers, of union people. Hillman was most anxious to avert it and to that end sent a letter to every association house, proposing co-operation between the union and the employers for the purpose of "establishing and maintaining permanent industrial peace in the cloth-

[1] Net profits for 1912 .... $524,709.00
Net profits for 1913 .... 1,121,689.00
Net profits for 1914 up to November (eleven months) ... 1,159,766.00
Capital stock $4,300,000 earning sufficient to pay 7% dividend on all preferred and 6% on the common stock. Evidently the trade agreement has not been disastrous to the financial interests of Hart, Schaffner and Marx.—Figures taken from *Moody's Magazine* for 1915.

[2] Miss Abbott is so well known as a statistician and authority upon immigration that the state of Massachusetts had thought worth while to invite her to act for six months as a member of a committee to investigate conditions of immigration for the purpose of recommending legislation in that state. It seems unlikely that any informed person could believe that she would base a statistical statement upon a single instance.

ing trades in Chicago," citing the "protocol" in the cloak industry of New York City as a successful instance; and asking the employers to consider certain demands of the union, and proposing arbitration. *Not one of the firms replied.* Hillman then called out four houses as a warning, and there being still no response from the manufacturers, he called out the entire industry, excepting Hart Schaffner and Marx factories.

It was owing to the extreme orthodox attitude of Mr. Gompers on the charter question that, notwithstanding the hearty sympathy of most of the unions and the officers of the Chicago Federation, and the outspoken commendation of the strike by John Walker, President of the Illinois State Federation, the unions were deterred fom officially backing the strike; and though a good many contributed unofficially much support was cut off from this cause. Toward the end of the strike Mr. Gompers thought good to "sympathize" publicly. His expressed sympathy at the beginning might have made a very material difference. The manufacturers had, of course, made the utmost use, in their own interests and against the strikers, of what they were very pleased to call a "factional division in the ranks of labor."

The conduct of the police during this strike was reprehensible, even beyond the ordinary.

Some 1,700 arrests were made, of which about 400 have been non-suited. Five test cases were tried of the first 800, in all of which a directed verdict of acquittal was rendered. In no case represented by counsel has any fine or other penalty been imposed. The 1,200 cases (approximately) still undisposed of have been released on their own recognizance. These facts seem to speak for themselves.

On evidence introduced by the clothing manufacturers, through special counsel of their association and by detective agency people, many of whom were "stool pigeons," the Grand Jury returned seven indictments each (four charges of conspiracy and three of malicious mischief) against five strikers, two of whom were union officials.

On the other hand a fatherly rebuke was read to the police, but no action taken or recommended, notwithstanding the fact that eight affidavits were introduced of private detectives or "guards" hired by the clothing firms and turned state's evidence. These affidavits and several men who testified in person, bore witness to the instructions given them concerning methods of dealing with pickets. One disclosed the fact that an automobile, owned by one of the firms and manned by "private guards," went forth at night loaded with bricks, which were used to break windows of strike breakers. This violence was next day charged to strikers. One "private guard" whose operations were well known to the present writer, testified that his arms and hands were lame from blows administered to pickets. The affidavits were set aside by the grand jury, the foreman of which was Mr. David Forgan, a well-known banker.

Two men were killed during the strike—both strikers. No strikebreaker, policeman or private detective has been killed. The first man sacrificed—a deaf mute—was shot by a strikebreaker. There was no denial of the fact. The argument was "self-defense." The strikebreaker was discharged at a preliminary hearing in the Municipal Court. The death of the second striker was charged to fellow unionists! This case has not yet been tried.

The advertising daily press is an agency naturally much disposed in favor of those who advertise. To guess what each particular new sheet will see its interest in doing next, keeps the guessing faculty flexible. On the whole, this strike began earlier to get itself noticed than strikes usually do, a larger proportion of actual news got printed and, although there were certain adverse conditions not usual in strikes, the awakening of influential public sympathy did force the press to record it, to some considerable extent. One of the principal morning papers began with quite the best reports given of the strike. The reporter who was "handling the story" sympathetically was suddenly "pulled off" and the paper turned abruptly about, thereafter giving no space at all to the strike or treating it inimically. One of the chief evening papers, on the other hand, did little at the outset, but worked up to a very good report. One was sustainedly antagonistic to the strikers and some inexplicably erratic.

An entirely new section of the public came to the front. It was, indeed, an unwonted sight, that of ministers of religion and college professors—even department heads—taking their places, not once but several times weekly upon the picket line. The department of sociology might have been expected to show interest as a species of laboratory practice, but it was the philosophy, biology, Latin and English departments which were distinguished in their representatives. The pastor of one of the university churches was put under arrest for protesting against the brutal violence of a uniformed policeman to a striker; a stately professor of philosophy (who was a clergyman as well) seized by the shoulders, "hustled" and told to go about his business. (He might well have answered "Wist ye not—?")

The Mayor of the city was consistently hostile to the strikers, twice making appointments with a delegation and failing to appear. Shielding himself behind the charge of "violence," the Mayor refused to further, or even confer about furthering, arbitration. Even before the strike was called, the Mayor had conferred with attorney for the manufacturers Martin J. Isaacs, as had the chief of police, and arrangements were made for detailing as many police as they could for the private service of the manufac-

turers. All efforts failed to induce the Mayor to use his influence for arbitration; the Mayor, who had shown so vivid an interest in the affairs of the street car men, mostly voters, was indifference itself when the question of 20,000 foreigners, mostly unenfranchised, and 60 per cent. women.

The City Council, on the contrary, was astonishingly friendly, due largely to the efforts of some five aldermen, two of them Socialists. The intentions of the Council, however, were largely neutralized by the hostility of the Mayor, the chief of police and the corporation counsel. Among the orders passed by the Council were: an order to "investigate the alleged brutal conduct of the police and the unfair attitude they are charged with having assumed in this dispute;" a "police brutality order" asking the Committee on Schools, Fire, Police and Civil Service to "report the result of its investigation regarding the conduct of the police in the clothing strike"; an order "to revoke the commission of special strike patrolmen employed by the garment manufacturers and directing the General Superintendent of Police to present to the Council a list of all these private guards and sluggers in the service of the garment manufacturers with a list of their former occupations and criminal record, if any."

The strike ended, as so many strikes end, with no decisive victory on either side. The manufacturers' associations did not sign agreements or submit the differences to arbitration. Business to the amount of millions was not only lost to them for this year, but was deflected to other firms and cities, so that it will be years before it will return, if it ever returns. Meanwhile, Hart, Schaffner and Marx have enjoyed a season of great prosperity, as well as the smaller independent houses which signed trade agreements early.

The gains on the employers' side—the gain, rather, if it be a gain—is that of having refused to yield to the modern demand of democracy; of having persistently declined, as an organization, to recognize the principle of bargaining collectively with another organization. In effect they have recognized it, by treating collectively, as separate firms, with the people of the various factories in their shop organizations. The people of each shop and factory were allowed by vote of the union to make such arrangements as they could, through their shop officers, with the firm. In most cases the old employees were taken back and the temporary ones—the strikebreakers—sent away. This is to the real advantage of the houses, as the casual employees are, in most cases, incompetent. Most of the shops have reduced the hours from 54 to 48 a week and have raised the wages to make up to piece workers for this reduction in hours. Union headquarters are open, people who have not yet been placed are still being looked after, and benefits paid in small sums.

The Economic Boycott in International Disputes

By J. G. Phelps Stokes

THE Chamber of Commerce of the United States recently submitted to its members a referendum intended to secure an expression of their views with regard to certain proposals for effecting international peace. The membership of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States consists largely of Merchants' Associations and similar bodies throughout this country. The questions formulated in the referendum conveyed substantially the proposals of the "League to Enforce Peace," and were as follows:

1.—The Committee recommends action to secure a conference among neutral countries, on the initiative of the United States, for the purpose of defining and enumerating rules which will at all times give due protection to lives and property upon the high seas.

II.—The Committee recommends that for the decision of questions which arise between Nations and which can be resolved upon the application of established rules or upon a determination of facts the United States should take the initiative in joining with other Nations in establishing an International Court.

III.—The Committee recommends that for consideration of questions which arise between Nations and which do not depend upon established rules or upon facts which can be determined by an International Court the United States should take the initiative in joining with other Nations in esablishing a Council of Conciliation.

IV.—The Committee recommends that the United States should take the initiative in joining with other Nations in agreeing to bring concerted economic pressure to bear upon any Nation or Nations which resort to military measures without submitting their differences to an International Court or a Council of Conciliation, and awaiting the decision of the Court or the recommendation of the Council, as circumstances make them more appropriate.

V.—The Committee recommends that the United States take the initiative in joining with other Nations in agreeing to use concerted military force in the event that concerted economic pressure exercised by the signatory Nations is not sufficient to compel Nations which have proceeded to War to desist from military operations and submit the questions at issue to an International Court or a Council of Conciliation, as circumstances make the more appropriate.

VI.—The Committee recommends that the United States should take the initiative in establishing the

principle of frequent International conferences at expressly stated intervals for the progressive amendment of International law.

The Merchants' Association of New York, by its Board of Directors, endorsed items I., II., III. and VI., but declined to vote on items IV. and V., "because opinion in the Board was equally divided." The Secretary, however, "was instructed to inform the National Chamber that had Question No. 5 been submitted so as to include the proposition of international police power by the exercise of military force without predication upon the use of economic pressure, the vote of the Association would have been cast in its favor."

It appears to the writer that the position taken by the Association is entirely characteristic of the spirit of modern capitalism, and that it points a lesson to those Socialists and others who believe that international peace could be maintained, under capitalism, by economic pressure alone. Modern capitalism is quite willing to encourage any fraternal international relations that do not interfere with trade; but plainly foresees that such "concerted economic pressure" as is proposed in item IV. would seriously hamper commerce and the mechanisms of exchange, and not unnaturally finds itself unable to endorse such a proposal.

The point of greatest significance, however, is not that the dominating elements in modern capitalism could not sincerely endorse the proposal in item IV., but that even if they should for one reason or another give seeming endorsement to such a proposal, yet they have the means and would probably arrange to avoid compliance with it, notwithstanding such endorsement. For no amount of "agreement" to boycott economically a bellicose nation, would or could prevent illicit trade and commerce with it by those seeking the gains to be secured thereby.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States or any other eminent organization, might adopt the most humanitarian of phrases (and such phrases probably have, at times, a beneficial educational effect on many people), but evidently no such adoption of phrases would or could prevent utter disregard of them by many very large traders seeking profits from the condemned or forbidden trade. Small traders, to be sure, could, if identified, be boycotted by those from whom they would like to buy; but the big trader, who is at the same time the manufacurer of a needed product, and who directly or through a pooling of interests has adequate control of raw materials, could laugh at such attempted boycotts, and ship his goods to the buyers in the bellicose nation either directly or through a sufficient string of "independent" middle men to escape all possibility of effectual prosecution. For it is easy, under the conditions of modern capitalism, to so organize a manufacturing or trading enterprise as to entirely mask its real promoters, and those who profit from its operations. And no matter how many laws are made to prevent this, that or the other condemned practice, yet the astute promoter can generally discover some new method, that has not yet been declared illegal, to accomplish his purpose.

Even if all trade or commerce with a bellicose nation were forbidden by federal enactment, nothing but adequate military and naval force could prevent sufficient illicit traffic being carried on to satisfy the requirements of those seeking the profits to be thereby obtained.

Agreements to boycott are difficult enough to carry out even in small communities where all the boycotters know the identity of those against whom the boycott is directed. But in national or international affairs, under modern capitalism, where the identity of the real offenders can be masked by as many hired "dummies" as required, and where even the recorded names of stockholders may indicate nothing more than that the dummies named had once "held" the stock long enough (a few seconds maybe) to assign and transfer its ownership secretly to someone else—under such conditions attempts to discover and boycott or ostracize the real offender would resemble a joke.

Even a wholesale commercial boycott against an offending nation would be impossible, unless the boycotters were prepared to guard the frontiers of their country with sufficient military and naval forces to make forbidden traffic across those frontiers impossible. Every mile of accessible land and sea frontier would have to be adequately patrolled, and sufficient reserves would have to be held in readiness at convenient points and in sufficient numbers to cope with attempts at smuggling on a large scale, both from land and sea, and at widely separated points, by armed bands and even by well equipped military and naval forces, whether operating for their own gain or in the employ of those nations requiring the goods which our traders wish to sell them but whose export is forbidden.

We Socialists may not like to contemplate conditions as they are, but to shut our eyes to conditions as they are will not help us to work our way out from those conditions to others more to our liking. Naturally, we should all greatly prefer an economic boycott of an offending nation, to the employment of armed force against it. But armed force we should have to have, and very large armed force too, to maintain an effective economic boycott against powerful economic interests seeking to disregard it; as, for example, against an armed nation choosing to support the smugglers.

So long as large buyers of another nation wish to buy things that large dealers in this country wish to sell, the buying and selling and resultant traffic will continue either openly or secretly unless by

armed force it is prevented. We Socialists must face the categorical alternative: Under the conditions of modern capitalism we must either allow the use of armed forces, to give effect to the expressed will of the electorate and to the economic boycott which we desire, or we must oppose the use of armed forces and let the undesired and forbidden traffic, with all its consequences, assume any proportions that it will.

An effective economic boycott against a bellicose nation cannot be achieved under modern capitalism without the organization and maintenance of adequate armed forces both on land and on sea; nor can a peace-seeking and peace-loving democracy progress effectually toward ever larger freedom, if it permit the direction and extent of that progress to be controlled by the armed forces and threats and violence of less democratic powers. Whether we like it or not we Socialists shall have to choose between armed forces controlled and maintained by a democratic electorate through the machinery of democracy (imperfect though that be) to give effect to the electorate's will, and armed forces imposed upon an acquiescing electorate by powers other than their own, to give effect to the will of those others. We cannot escape the latter by merely refusing the former.

Armed force is a powerful arbiter in the affairs of mankind today, and it will continue to be such, whether controlled by the people or by their exploiters, until mankind has progressed so far as to prefer co-operation to strife, and brotherhood to ill-gained "wealth." But that day is still far off. Until it comes, which shall it be: armed forces in the control of the electorate for the maintenance and furtherance of such liberties as we have; or armed forces in the control of any groups that care to hire them, to limit still further our liberties in the furtherance of their unrestrained exploitations?

Beyond the Three R's

WE must all learn the three R's. Fortunately they are very easy to learn, even if some do find them hard to teach. Children for whom school is not made a nightmare master them quickly and happily. And at the same time they learn other things far more precious. Wm. E. Bohn, in the *Call*, indicates an interesting development along these lines.

Up at P. S. 45, Bronx, they have a printing shop. The boys are very busy and very happy there. I have no doubt they are learning to spell in the best possible way. That is, they are learning it without being taught. But this is merely incidental. One of the boys handed me a book of verses. It is called "A Number of Things." The verses were all written by pupils from the third grade up to the eighth. The book was designed and printed in the school shop. An expert printer tells me that it is a fine piece of work in every way.

But the poems. Notice the names of the young authors. Think of their ages. Picture them as I saw them, with their eager young faces, their quick, energetic movements.

Nicholas Guilano, 3B, may be 9 years old. He writes about "The Swing":

Brother, push me into the sky.
I love to see the bright stars.
When I see them
I feel happy.
If I could be hung
From the end of the moon,
I would rock in the sky,
And be happy always.

Pasquale De Gregoria, 4B, also loves to swing:

Wind! push my swing into the air,
The moon is waiting for me,
The wind is blowing in my face.
The birds won't catch me;
I can fly as fast as they.

There is sense of motion here, joy in the fresh feel of life, communion with birds and wind. Little Avetta expresses more than these:

Oh! you ceaseless wind, let me see your face,
You never stop in your onward race;
Now you sail east, another time west,
And never have time to rest.
Sometimes you're good, sometimes you're bad,
Just like any lass or lad.
And glad will we be in the summer glow
To feel your cool breath, you know.

Avetta knows the wind from east to west and from year's end to year's end. Life in a New York tenement has not stunted her young imagination. But there are pictures of a different sort. These young people have their eyes open. They see sharply what passes about them. Listen while Robert Schiamo, 6A, describes "Our Street":

The girls skate up and down the street,
The boys play ball and scream,
While the magnolia tree is budding,
He spreads his branches far apart;

'Tis a wonderful sight,
Our street, with the boys, the girls and the magnolia tree.

Who that knows New York conditions cannot see and hear "the boys play ball and scream?" Somebody ought to show Mr. Hornaday these words about "The Elephant," written by Carmen Cerelli, 5B:

There stands the elephant,
Bold and strong,
There he stands chewing his food.
We are strengthless against his strength.

Frank Intelesano, 6A, writing about "The Street Cleaner," opens up a world of youthful idealism:

The street cleaner,
A happy, happy man is he.
He sings a song
All day long.
He knows he must sweep,
So he does it with all his heart.

And this same Frank preaches an excellent Thanksgiving sermon about "The Coal Man;"

The coal man is as tired as can be,
For a very hard job has he
Carrying coal to me.

But a classmate of his, Frank Futalino, sees even farther into the world of human life:

The young child,
The world he does not know;
So he laughs, he cries, he plays;
That is what people do always.

And, in conclusion, I cannot resist the temptation to set down four lines which seem to me exquisite:

The sun is setting,
The light is fading,
The birds are not singing,
The garden gate is closing.

I am not sure whether Frank and Carmen and Avetta and Pasquale know how to spell. I strongly suspect that they do. But I am sure that they have learned a better thing. They know something about the joys of wind and weather, the noisy street and human activity. And this joy they can express in words, childish and stumbling, perhaps, but truthful and fairly gleaming with lively sense of life.

The Burnett Immigration Bill

By Moses Oppenheimer

AT the present moment, early February, it looks as if the Burnett Immigration Bill would again pass both houses of Congress. If it does, the President, on the eve of a Presidential campaign, is not at all likely to veto it again. Reasons for his change of front will be found as cheap and plentiful as blackberries.

The bill has two main features: one open, the other concealed. By the establishment of the Literacy Test it restricts the immigration of working people. By a change of the phraseology of the anti-anarchist clauses it seriously restricts the admission of political refugees and thereby undermines the right of Political Asylum.

In both respects it is contrary to the policies and tendencies of International Socialism. It should have encountered the most energetic opposition of the Socialist Party. It didn't. Aside from the Russian-Jewish element, there was not a ripple of resistance. No great mass meetings, no flood of vigorous resolutions, no persistent attack in the party organs. As an organization, the Party was as a dumb dog that cannot bark.

Why?

The Burnett bill is strongly backed by the A. F. of L. That organization brazenly follows a dog in the manger policy. The more workers it can keep out of this country the more it hopes to improve the chances for its members by keeping down competition.

Of course, that is not the position of well grounded and consistent socialists. But then "we must not antagonize Organized Labor" as they put it in the circles now deciding the destinies of the N. Y. *Call* and similar organs.

Yes, we must now march unswervingly behind the A. F. of L. Otherwise we could not get their support, their votes.

True, we don't get their votes now. The Lynchs, the Mitchells, the Jim Hollands know where the plum trees stand. They know that Berger, Hillquit, Untermann, Stitt Wilson and their crowd cannot have fat jobs for them. So they are not abandoning their old party affiliations for us. And to the rank and file those labor leaders are still prophets.

This contemptible vote-catching policy is all the more deplorable since it must be barren of results from another angle. We don't know how many voters the A. F. of L. comprises. There are hundreds of thousands of non-voters in its organizations, we know. But if we did catch every mother's son of the voters we would not and could not achieve the conquest of real political power with their help.

The Farce of a "Citizen Army"

By Frank Bohn

[In a coming issue we expect to publish another article by Frank Bohn on *The Dangers of a "Citizen Army,"* which will discuss the probable effects of militarism on the working class movement.—ED. N. R.]

IN the Revolutionary War, while Washington's army was within striking distance of the enemy, a regiment of militia proceeded to its regular election of field officers. The colonel, adjutant and major, who might or might not be reelected, as suited the rank and file, were so ill-advised as to climb the fence which separated their headquarters from the field in which the ballots were being counted. Whereupon the sturdy soldiery laid hold of these distinguished persons by the scruff of the neck and the seat of the breeches and replaced them on the opposite side of the fence.

It is said that when, during the Mexican embroglio, a crowd of I. W. W.'s and Socialist Party members from the Far West invaded Southern California, they were suddenly attacked by a force of Mexican regulars. What to do? It being quite beneath the dignity of a revolutionist to obey orders, they took a vote as to whether or not they were to retreat. How accurate the range-finders of the Mexican officers worked on the distance we are not told. But no doubt the revolutionary force had the spiritual satisfaction of being true to its principles. One of the amusing features of the position assumed by some of the leading American Socialists concerning the "citizen army" according to the "excellent Swiss system" is that they conceive it to have been established in Switzerland only. This form of national defense has been in existence in America since the settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth, and in England since the landing of the Angles and Saxons in the fifth century. It is the *comitatus*, the popular array, the nation in arms, of the primitive German tribe. In every State in America today, except perhaps Louisiana, where the Code Napoleon is the basis of law, the sheriff of a county, the governor of a state and the President of the United States may call every able-bodied male citizen into armed service without the consent of the citizenry. Far into the nineteenth century the old New England and Virginian "training-day" was universally observed, every able-bodied citizen taking part in the practice one day each year.

With the development of the elaborate technique of modern fighting on the one hand, and the passing of the frontier with the danger of Indian invasion on the other, "training-day," with its muster of the whole male population, fell into disuse. Even so, when Lee invaded the North in 1863, Pennsylvania and New York mustered one hundred thousand armed men each. At the battle of Gettysburg the first contingents were already on the field. Of course, all they could do was to get in the way of the veteran Union troops, cause delays, consume rations and otherwise endanger the morale of the army.

But the theory won't down. Last spring one of the editors of the Berlin *Vorwaerts* said to me with great etnhusiasm, "The training of our non-veteran Landwehr and Landsturm proves that we Socialists are right. We are now placing soldiers in the field for the defense of their country at the end of only a few weeks' training. If they would only do as we Socialists say!" etc., etc.

The orthodox Socialist position was recently expressed by one of our most distinguished leaders. "Every workingman ought to have a rifle in his home." I would like to take a look at that rifle after it had lain in the cellar or the attic of the average street car conductor or grocery-clerk for six months—the baby playing with the apportionment of cartridges on the sitting room floor, the old lady using his sabre bayonet to kill chickens and split kindling-wood with, and the rifle used to brace the cellar-door shut instead of the householder buying a new lock. The notion is indeed so preposterous as to be totally unworthy of serious discussion among those who have given any real consideration to the subject.

This ancient nonsense about a crowd of men with guns making an army has, of course, been exploded each time it has been put to the test. In the Revolutionary War the American army was composed of hardy farmers who were the best marksmen the world had at that time. During the first two years of the war they were beaten to a frazzle by British regulars every time they fought anything like equal numbers in the open. It was, let us not forget, the Prussian Baron Von Steuben who, as Inspector-General, licked them into shape for offensive fighting during the second half of the war.

During the War of 1812 the American militia again made a ludicrous record for itself. The surrender of Detroit, the so-called Battle of Bladensburg, where they ran as soon as they saw the British coming and permitted four thousand men to take Washington, and similar incidents, were repeated *ad nauseam*. The great victory at New Orleans was won by the frontiersmen crouching behind cotton bales because it was fought wholly on the defensive.

By the time the Mexican War occurred the effect of West Point was apparent. Trained officers laid hold of the volunteers and drilled them six hours a day until they were prepared for offensive operations.

During the Civil War, only one non-West Point graduate ever commanded a considerable army on either side—General John A. Logan—who, for a time, had temporary command of the Army of the Tennessee.

"A man can do anything without training."

Such is the American notion generally. Until very recently we selected worn-out preachers for college presidents, professors of science, etc. The loudest mouth in the district is still sent to represent the "people" in Congress. The best advertised breakfast food finds its way into our stomachs. However, in industrial life a certain degree of efficiency is, after all, necessary. If a skyscraper is not pretty decently constructed it won't hold together. If the drive wheels of a locomotive weren't mates the engine would run into the ditch. If a green hand is put handling the dynamite in the subway excavation, he doesn't do it more than once. For an army, or for a military system, there is no test but war. So a tom-fool notion, like the Socialist conception of a citizen-army, can go on existing so long as all the ignorant don't all die off.

Let us take an illustration from industry, where the matter can be clearly set forth to the lay mind. Let us proceed and enlist a thousand men for hard work. We take the out-of-works as they come, young and old—from eighteen to forty-five. They proceed and elect as shift bosses those who are in a position to pay for the most free booze and cigars. As superintendents of departments, those who make the funniest speeches, and general director someone who wears good clothes and looks as though he wouldn't fall off a horse at a walk. These thousand men are marched out and proceed to complete the New Haven bridge now being built across the East River. A drug clerk is set running the hoisting engine. A mixture of high school students and East Side tailors are told off to rivet structural iron a hundred feet above water. The motley crew work away till nightfall. Then without their suppers, those who are left alive are given double time from the Bronx to the Pennsylvania railroad station and ordered to run twenty passenger trains at full speed to Washington, Pittsburg and Chicago. The general superintendent, who is a Wall Street broker with a hundred weight of surplus to carry, superintends the switching on of the engines and shouts to his boys to "be brave." One of the shift bosses, yesterday a teamster on a brewery wagon, climbs into the tower and proceeds to manipulate the signal lights. Away they go! Are they not imbued with the spirit of democracy?

Such is the prevalent American notion of a citizen army. The conception that warfare is the most intricate and trying kind of technical work, requiring of rank and file, as well as of officers, the most highly specialized kind of training imaginable—training that will not only fit them to work together as skilled workers in an industrial establishment work together, but to perform their tasks through endless hours without sleep, with insufficient food, in constant danger of wounds and death. This is not perceived by persons who know nothing about the matter.

Let me add that it is not the Socialist International Congress which conceives that this can be done without training. The average old-fashioned farmer like William Jennings Bryan believes it with all his mind and heart.

Socialists and Bryanite pacifists are constantly pointing to Switzerland. Let it be remembered that the precious acre of refuge in the mountains is protected by custom, not by its armed forces. Its so-called "citizen-army" has not fired a hostile shot in more than a century. If a couple of divisions of Germans were to butt in it would last about five minutes, as it did against Napoleon.

If the American Socialist Party was ever to establish national service in the form it now seems to advocate, we should undoubtedly have the most popular Socialists elected to positions of distinction in the military organization. Imagine, then, the results of an election; Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief, Victor Berger; Judge-Advocate-General, Morris Hillquit; Chief of the General Staff and President of the War College, John Spargo; Major-General and Commander of the First Army, including the troops of New England and New York, Allan Benson; Brigadier-General and Commander of the Greater New York cavalry brigade, U. Solomon.

The present writer is not saying that, under certain conditions he might not again enlist, as in 1898, in the service of the country. It is within the reasonable bounds of imagination that such an event might, with Socialist victory, arise. However, in case he is ever so moved as to shoulder a new-model Springfield, he would much rather serve under the command of the officers of the regular army as it is now constituted than place the love and esteem he holds for the above mentioned Socialist comrades in jeopardy by being placed under their direction in the presence of the enemy.

"An army," said Washington, "must be in every respect an autocracy. If it is a democracy it is not an army."

"One poor general is better than two good ones," said Napoleon.

The cornerstone of discipline and efficiency in an army is the fact that the commissioned officers form a social class entirely distinct from that of the enlisted men. The commander is king. Unity and coherence of action is secured by perfect obedience only. Soldiers will not obey an officer who eats and drinks with them and shares their social life.

And thus we come to the fundamental fact of this discussion.

Democracy and militarism cannot exist in the same place at the same time. Either democracy will break the back of militarism or militarism will eat out the vitals of democracy.

A first class army is one in which you have for rank and file healthy, intelligent farmers or skilled and well-fed, well set up wage workers; and, as officers, young men, preferably of a leisure class, socially born and technically trained to command and instruct their inferiors. They must be big enough and fine enough to win the love and admiration of their subordinates. The hard-handed rank and file, while intelligent enough to learn all the ins and outs of the game, should be of a sufficient state of ignorance, combined with a very real sense of social inferiority, to think their officers demi-gods of intellectuality, prowess and morality.

In the Spanish-American War the second lieutenant of the company in which I served was elected by the militia company in time of peace because he was willing to spend two hundred dollars for uniforms and equipment, while none of the rest of us wished to sacrifice that much money. He was a clerk in a bakery, with a soda-fountain connection. He never did learn to take the company out to the parade grounds, give it "fours right about" and bring it back again. All the older soldiers in the company laughed at him—despised him. The first lieutenant was a young farmer, who, in time, would have made an officer. I recall one evening we pelted him with cold, boiled potatoes while he was taking a bath back of the mess tent. Our captain, who was a physical weakling, soon got sick and went home. Of such stuff is militia. Now there came a day on which the company and the regiment found itself suddenly imbued with a totally new *esprit de corps*. We were paraded in close formation at retreat (sunset). There rode out in front of the regiment an officer who *was* an officer. It was General Guy V. Henry, commander of our division, later Governor-General of Porto Rico. He had led a company at the battle of Bull Run and fought through four years of the Civil War and innumerable Indian campaigns in the far west. Now he was engaged in hurriedly rounding volunteer regiments into shape for Shafter's expedition to Cuba. "To day you are militia," he said, "tomorrow you must try to conduct yourselves like regulars." He soon established among us a totally new regime.

The reason why the British army could not possibly accomplish anything during the past spring, summer and autumn, lay primarily in the fact that it lacked trained officers. Given a young, healthy man you can make a good soldier in a year; but a colonel, fit to command a regiment in action—that takes more like ten years of training, of experience. It requires a bearing and an attitude toward life which a civilian is long in acquiring.

To conclude this portion of the subject, a "democratic" or "citizen army" is an impossibility. It is a theory, which, like a great many other political and social theories, are created out of thin air by thin-minded people and put into thick books to be read and believed by thick-skulled people.

If an army is wanted, let us *have* an army. If we want two million soldiers, then we must build, equip and organize twenty West Points to train officers. We must be ready to say good-by for the present, to the old democracy and the new, to the individualistic freedom which has been a glorious fact in the home of the American farmer, and to the communistic freedom which has been a glorious dream in the crowded factory of modern industrialism. Let us not deceive ourselves. We must choose, for most surely we cannot have democracy and militarism in America in the same generation.

We come back to the familiar soap-box speech—true as the multiplication table, essential as water and food to a self-conscious working class—the breath of life, if we are to live, move, and have our being in the crucial quarter-century just before us. War is not *our* affair, it is *their* affair. If *they* want armies, let *their sons enlist* in the armies. If *they* want the silver mines and the oil fields of Mexico, let *them* go and take Mexico. Let the American tombstones in Mexico, in China, perchance in Europe, bear *their* names and not *ours*. If *they* wish to grab business away from England, Germany or Japan, let those who *get* the business fight to *protect* the business.

Intelligent and honest Republican and Democratic peace advocates in Congress are now saying in debate that if a resolution is passed calling for public ownership of the arms and munitions plants and the ship building and armor-plate plants, the spirit of militarism now abroad in the land will die over night. A person who believes that there is danger of an unprovoked attack by Germany or Japan would believe in witchcraft, would believe that the earth was flat and not round, would believe that the story of Jonah and the whale came true in New York harbor yesterday, if they read it in the Hearst papers or in the New York *Times* this morning.

Meanwhile, toward such Socialists as wish everyone of us to have a gun to defend "our country," we have absolutely no enmity—only pity. But we hope that they will do what they advise others to do—enlist in the army, carry packs on their backs and stop writing and talking about Socialism and the working-class.

An Experiment in Democratizing Diplomacy

By Wm. Leavitt Stoddard

THE guiding reason why Congressman Meyer London of New York is pressing both Houses for a vote on his resolution requesting Wilson to call a conference of neutral nations to consider terms of peace is so significant that it has been almost entirely overlooked. It is not so much that London wants peace. It is more and mostly that he wants to try to get the American public to take diplomacy into their own hands and declare, by mass petitions and floods of letters and all kinds of manifestations of opinion, what it wants the diplomats of the State Department to do. The idea is fundamental and democratic. It is a first step towards terminating the underground, aristocratic and therefore terribly dangerous system of diplomacy by diplomats which exists in every nation of this world today. How they work it on Mars and on the other planets in this and other systems, I am not informed. A good topic for a congressional investigation.

A few years ago the Jews of the United States succeeded in securing from Congress a popular expression on a subject of the most sacred diplomatic character. I mean that treaty which Russia had never kept with us. The resolution for the abrogation of that treaty was founded in a mass movement of a large body of Americans who suddenly became tired of the attitude of the professional clerks at the State Department and decided to force their lily hands. They forced their hands quite effectively, using all sorts of political influence, moral and unmoral, if not actually immoral. Whatever the merits of that particular case, and no matter how great the unrighteousness of threatening the Republican party with the loss of Jewish votes, the great gain was that a bunch of the people rose in their might and dictated a foreign policy.

I see great hope in London's scheme. I am not very much interested in his particular peace terms, because I haven't studied into their merits sufficiently to be able to express a fair opinion. But in the principle of his scheme there is everything to praise. Power to it. Let the people back up this extremely sensible idea of an assemblage of the innocent bystanders, called for the purpose of bringing a cessation in the nastiest tenement row ever indulged in by Kings, Emperors, Czars, Tsars, Kaisers, or however you want to spell that which they each and all stand for and signify. It was time long ago that the people ceased to respect diplomacy and began to make it common by profaning it with their own touch.

I happen to live in Washington, D. C., the Capital of the United States, and my business brings me in touch with quite a lot of the public business of the United States. Especially during the last year it has been borne in on me more and more that the diplomats of the State Department are utterly unfitted for diplomacy, and that if it came down to a question of abolishing either the Senate or the State Department, I would vote to retain the Senate every time, even allowing it to write the notes to Germany and Austria about torpedoed liners.

Consciously or unconsciously, the Wilson Administration has staged more "crises" between this Government and some European power than occur in a five-reel film at a five cent emporium. Each time nothing has come out of these elaborately arranged "crises"—nothing except hatred and growing distrust of Germany. The State Department alone is not to blame; neither is the President; neither are the papers; neither are the people. But they all operate together and in a kind of undercurrent of sound, manage to swell forth with a devils' chorus that shakes the very air and makes the unthinking to tremble.

To illustrate this point by a concrete example, let me quote the following Washington despatch to a prominent and well-balanced newspaper:

"Washington, D. C.—Official Washington, speaking unofficially, does not expect a break with Austria, despite the present apparently alarming situation. It is confidently expected here in quarters particularly well informed that the Austrial 'crisis' will blow over within a few days.

"President Wilson himself is quoted here as authority for this conclusion. The Ancona note, which is considered by many to be the cause of possible trouble between this country and Germany's ally, had received the President's approval some days before Tuesday, December 7th, for it was despatched on Wednesday the eighth. Between the seventh and the thirteenth, on which date the note was made public, no event took place which could possibly add to or change the situation.

"On the seventh President Wilson told Congress, in words which, for various reasons, received little attention in the press at the time: 'We are at peace with all the nations of the world, and there is reason to hope that no question in controversy between this and other governments will lead to any serious breach of amicable relations, grave as some differences of attitude and policy have been and may yet turn out to be." The President went on to say that the gravest phase of the international situation was the activities of the hyphenated citizens, whom he proceeded to castigate in unmeasured terms.

"It is pointed out here that the President made the above statement with full knowledge of the contents of the Ancona note and of all the possible causes of difficulty between this Government and Austria. To

all intents and purposes, therefore, his remarks are as true today as they were a week ago.

"While few go so far as to charge that the Administration is playing politics with the international situation, there are nevertheless those in Washington who declare that the Administration has developed a tendency to surround each 'crisis' as it comes along with an air of gravity and seriousness which invariably turns out to be unwarranted.

A quite similar story could have been told of practically every "crisis" that has come to a head since the war started. Something happens—international law is violated. Great excitement. Washington is "grave"—of course it is, for gravity is the wisest refuge of an empty head or a reactionary personage. The situation becomes tense. This is mere newspaper slang, for every reporter knows that if he cannot secure facts on some important, front-page story the only way to keep it going is to call it tense and trust to luck that tomorrow something really horrible will occur. Then it leaks out "authoritatively" —and often, I regret to say, such truculent leakages are actually authoritative—that the note to the Foreign Power is to be in the nature of an ultimatum. Then there is another day or two or week or two or some more tenseness, thus enabling the diplomats and their subsidiaries in Europe to work up the scare locally and add fuel to the flame, now reaching across the Atlantic Ocean. Then, let us say, the note is finally published. The worst words in it are headlined. Their black ink commands the thoughts of the country, and those who do not realize the machinery whereby this ridiculous fright has been created, sit down to enjoy a thoroughly good spell of the war terrors.

These paper crises are amusing enough in historical retrospect, but it is not at all amusing to contemplate what they really mean; what bad impulses they are stirring up and generating and multiplying; how they accustom men's minds to belligerency; how they stimulate sentiments of national honor which never exist outside of the story books.

The war may have ended by the time Congress acts on London's resolution. Let us hope so. But neither war nor international complications that threaten absolutely needlessly the peace and happiness and opportunities for progress of the millions of the masses will end till the people walk boldly into the office occupied by Mr. Lansing and tell him and his successors that they are talking junk, acting junk, and tending to make junk of many very brave and self-sacrificing soldier men. Let us see to it hereafter that labor shows an intelligent interest in international affairs, because we now realize, some of us for the first time, that international affairs are not only bigger than national ones in physical size, but that in an unmaterial sense of the term, they comprehend, surround and dominate national affairs.

The Way of the Law With the Worker

By Austin Lewis

FRANK WELCH was held in the city prison on the charge of vagrancy. He had been arrested several weeks before and held in detinue for some time. This means that, contrary to the law, he had been segregated by the detectives and held incommunicado, without any charge having been placed against him. He sent for me to see him.

In the meantime a charge of vagrancy had been made and Welch had asked for a jury trial. This meant another month's confinement before the trial would be held. The police had a firm grip upon him and as he was penniless and a stranger in town his chances of still longer confinement were fairly good.

Before he could be seen it was necessary to get a permit from the captain of detectives. This was a little unusual, for Welch was charged with a mere misdemeanor and under such circumstances all that is required as a rule is to get a pass from the desk sergeant.

I knew the captain; he had formerly been chief, but a change in the administration had caused his reduction and he was in charge of the "inspectors." This is an euphemism, for the detective department which has the power of setting the constitution aside and of treating men in a fashion not contemplated by the code of any civilized country.

This particular captain is quite an unusual person. He has more than ordinary knowledge and is in some respects fairly well read. He is also a man of opinions, which he frequently has the courage to maintain, even in the face of public opinion and against the Puritanical influences which are so strong in a comparatively small city. It would be hard to find a more capable or a fairer man; all of which however makes it no easier for the hapless vagrant who has the misfortune to fall into his hands.

So I went into his office and asked for a permit to see Frank Welch.

"I thought that he would send for you," said the captain.

"What made you think of me in particular?" I asked.

"They generally ask for you," he said. And I wondered how often their requests went unheeded, for I have very few calls of this sort.

I remembered, however, that once it came out that a poor fellow who was grievously ill treated in the county jail had asked for me as a lawyer, but his request had been ignored. In that case the sheriff of the county had turned over the jail to a group

of private detectives who had charge of bringing him from Fresno. All night long these detectives had tortured him. They teased him by keeping him awake. They thrust sticks through the bars of the cell and whenever he tried to sleep they poked him. After a time nature dominated even these tortures, for this was the third night that he had been so treated, and he fell asleep. The detectives, private detectives, then took him from the cell and marched him up and down the corridors to keep him awake. Several times during this course of treatment he had asked for me, and each time he had been refused.

There is nothing more lonely and miserable than a poor prisoner in the hands of the police. His helplessness is complete. The detinue system gives the detective department the opportunity to commit any sort of cruelty with impunity. I knew a literary gentleman in this town who once had the misfortune to work late at night and to need a cup of coffee. It was about 2 o'clock in the morning when he set out to a little restaurant. Before noon next day he had been stripped naked, struck, Bertilloned and subjected to innumerable indignities. He was a Southerner with great ideas of his own personal dignity. He was also a man of independence, although at the time of his arrest he had no money in his pocket, having spent his small change for coffee. I shall never forget his amazed horror when he was informed that there was nothing which he could do to remedy the wrong that he had suffered.

"But I tell you, sir, they struck me," and he actually wept, "they took all my clothes off; they took my measurements and they photographed me. My picture is in their record at the jail and will be there always. I am disgraced, sir."

And so he was. The detective department has its own laws. It is not amenable to the laws of the land. It acts in secret and there is none to call it to account.

If such a thing could happen to a well dressed old gentleman of attractive appearance whose only fault was that he was not known to the police department, one may imagine the evils that might befall a rough workingman, a stranger in town, and with no money in his pocket.

"What has he been doing?" I asked the captain.

"Stealing copper wire," was the answer. Now, he was not charged with stealing copper wire, the charge on the book was vagrancy. The detective department suspected him of stealing copper wire and were holding him on the charge of vagrancy. This was the meaning of the detinue proceedings; this was the reason of his being hidden away in the recesses of the city hall for weeks before his friends could get any inkling of his whereabouts or do anything to help him.

The police had no case against him for stealing but they wanted to establish one and they were holding him.

"I don't know why they send for you unless they can get you cheap," said the captain with a half laugh, and I fancy a half sneer.

"You know all about it, captain," I said. "You know my views very well."

"I go a long way with you," said the captain, "a long way; I do not agree with you altogether, but I think you are mostly right."

I never know when they speak the truth or when they merely sneer. A life of agitation and close relations with the working class and particularly with that portion of the working class which is known as the unskilled, has filled me with an utter contempt for every department of the so-called administration of justice. Civil and criminal, it is all alike. Policeman, sheriff and judge, there is little to choose between them. They do not seem to be human beings. They are lying and leering images of humanity. But behind them there is a sort of institutionalism, an impending force, an impalpable sort of sublimated power, which says, "I am a liar and a bully and a scoundrel and you know it and you cannot do anything about it. Neither can I."

I have seen the same look on the face of a district attorney when he was making a case, the same look on the face of a judge when he was putting something over, the same look on the face of a policeman when he was making his official position serve the purposes of his private malice. I remember on one occasion having to go to the inquest of a twenty-year-old boy who had been shot and killed by a policeman. There was the same look on the policeman's face when he testified that he had done the shooting in self-defense. I saw the same look on the face of a judge who sentenced two men to imprisonment for life when he knew that they had not had a fair trial and that they had been obliged to face the prejudices of a hostile and unfair community.

The administration-of-justice face is not the ordinary fox face which is accepted as typifying the legal profession. It is rather the face of a fox which knows that it smells; the face of an inferior animal conscious of its own inferiority. And so I never know what they mean, for one cannot talk with them as with other men.

So perhaps the captain did think there were things that ought to be set right. Perhaps in his heart as a man there were feelings which he could not afford to harbor as a detective. At any rate he gave me the pass and I took the elevator to the top of the building, thirteen stories of it, in the tower of the city hall.

And the feeling against the prisoner was manifest directly I showed my pass.

"You can't see him," roared the jailer. "He can't be seen."

"But I have the pass from the captain of detectives," I said, and the infuriated jailer roared his denial of my admission until another look at the signature on the pass made him think that it might be genuine, and he threatened to telephone to the office to see if it was all right. Having carried out his threat and discovering that no fraud was being perpetrated on the jail, he consented to call the prisoner.

And when the boy came in I fell for him forthwith. He was close on six feet of the most perfect make. He was an Ouida hero in the guise of a hobo, the very beau ideal of young Teutonic manhood. His chestnut hair was an aureole to an almost perfect face, with strong chin and mobile mouth, and mild large grey eyes. He walked with the stride of physical perfection and confidence, the stride of the ideal aristocrat of the Nietzchean type, conquering, and with plenty of reserve. He was the sort of young man whom one would pick out of a group of students or athletes and point to him as a child of promise. Here was no criminal. His twenty-three years had put no blemishes upon him, no marks of dissipation disfigured the sweetness of his face. His complexion was clear and fine, tanned somewhat with the outdoors, but the vivid pink and white beginning to show itself where the prison confinement was bleaching the tan. His blue shirt had been torn and was lying open buttonless, and the column of his neck rose brown and strong.

His face twitched with nervousness and his lip trembled a little. Thinking that he might have the malaria which comes to the valley people, and that he might be in need of medicine, I remarked upon his apparent nervousness.

"Yes," he said, "I am nervous, the confinement breaks me down. I am not used to being indoors, I am in the open air all the time."

And there was not a touch of the foreign in his speech.

"What is your nationality?" I asked, and he told me that he was American, born in Portland of an English father and a Norwegian mother. And surely enough that physique of his bore witness to the origin. He had the best marks of both peoples.

He was educated at the Portland public schools and had gone as far as the seventh grammar grade.

How had he come down to this stage? I was interested to know. "And was he a member of the I. W. W.?" He certainly was. He had seen me at San Diego during the free speech agitation and had heard me make a speech and try the case of the Austrian, who had been afterwards shot by the police.

His father had been originally a miner, but had saved a little money and had opened a store in Portland, Oregon, which had failed in the hard times of 1894. Then his father had gone into farming but had not been fortunate, for he had settled on a homestead which afterwards was condemned under the land fraud cases in Oregon, so that all his work was wasted, and he was turned loose, destitute upon the world. He never recovered from this and drifted down to San Diego where he worked as a common laborer.

There the boy had grown up and had become a teamster, a good union teamster, a member of the A. F. of L. union of teamsters. But the iron had eaten into his soul. The poverty and misfortunes of his father bore revolutionary fruit in the son and he had joined the Industrial Workers of the World.

Thenceforth the lure of the adventure of agitation had been more to him than the drudgery of "wage slavery." The Norse romanticism which slumbered behind those grey eyes and to which he was so legitimately entitled had beckoned him along the revolutionary road.

The street-speaking fights, the short periods in jail for misdemeanors, the jungle, even the scarcity of food at times and the difficulty of making ends meet, had been more attractive than the drudgery of every-day work, than the making of profits for the boss whom he had already learned to despise.

From San Diego with its free speech fight, to the burning Imperial Valley where the local of Brawley of the I. W. W. had been engaged in fierce battle with the local authorities. Even there the migratory laborer had his heroes. The sheriff's posse had opened fire on Dodson and his companions just as they were on the very border of old Mexico, and they had been wounded and taken prisoners and sentenced to various terms from ten years down for horse stealing. The sheriff had burned down the headquarters of the Industrial Workers and had used every effort to drive them from the county, but he had failed, and the headquarters had been rebuilt and the sheriff was dead, suddenly and untimely, with a little air of mystery about his taking off.

Then there were the innumerable little fights on the ranches where one stopped and worked. The constant struggle to make one's self felt, to improve the condition of labor even in the matter of food and sleeping, and the constant strife with the employer, the grouping of the men of the same organization, the reading of reports in "Solidarity" of the struggle which was everywhere going on, the singing of the songs in the jungles in the evening when the stolen chickens bubbled in the pot or the suckling pig roasted in the ashes. The hot drowsy days when one never worked but slept, and the long warm starlit nights of the great California valleys, when life itself made a poet out of one.

There was also organization work to be done if it were only to paste stickers all over the countryside to remind the fruit pickers and the hop pick-

ers and the cannery hands that Ford and Suhr were still in jail and that they must remember that Ford and Suhr, though still in jail, had done much for the migratory laborers of the State of California; had gotten them clean beds and running water to drink, and baths and other comforts, which might appear minor to you and me, but which are quite important to men and women, and even children, toiling in the hot sun all day, tormented by insects and torn and scratched by the vines.

It was an outlaw's life with all its fascination and by all the facts of heredity it was a life for Frank Welch. The world has been colonized, nations have risen and empires grown from just that same spirit. The old viking blood which bubbled in his veins claimed its own. It was unfortunate for present society that there was no legitimate outlet for all that spirit and that hereditary fire; for it would not be denied. The free lands had gone. The chance of the pioneer and the settler was over. The net had closed around the working class. It was impossible to escape the exactions of the capitalist, and one had to be a laborer. The land of romance, the land of adventure, lay in the fight for the betterment of labor itself. Our Norse adventurer must perforce go berserking for the benefit of his class. And he was practically a berserk. As he stood, the six feet of him, in his overalls and cotton shirt, he reminded one of those ancestors of his, who, clad in nothing but their shirt, had gone forth into the world to fight their way; who "gained a gallant name and conquered Normandy," as the old song has it.

The berserk spirit had found its own in the proletarian fight, a fact which does not augur well for the existence of things as they are, for the berserk spirit has never yet been denied. And among the migratory laborers, at least among the active ones who take up the struggle, you find an ever-increasing number of young Americans of those Northern races in whom still lives the spirit of conflict and the joy of strife.

But to the outlaw comes always the finality of the law. And this Frank Welch was feeling, thirteen stories up in the tower of the city hall, with gratings all about him and the surly jailer for a steady companion.

I did not like that jailer, his manners had been so unnecessarily offensive, and I told Welch so.

"Oh, he is not a bad fellow," was the surprising reply. "He is a roughneck all right, but then you have the worst of him. He does not double-cross like the others."

He went on telling about his treatment after his arrest when he was in the hands of the inspectors or detectives. There was nothing new about it. Every migratory worker who had been unfortunate to fall into the hands of the police has practically the same story to tell.

"They took me into a little room and asked me where I got the junk which they found on me. I told them that as they had arrested me it was their business to find out. I was not helping them any. I had four and a half dollars on my person when they arrested me. They wanted to know where I got it from and I would not tell them. Then they got mad and one of them came at me and tore all the buttons off my shirt. And one of them made a pass at me to strike me and said that I would be glad to tell everything before I was through, and I did not answer until he struck at me the second time, when I said, 'You had better not hit me for you do not want to kill me, and if I am alive I shall come out of jail some day.' Then they left me alone."

There is something very convincing about Frank, and a policeman is no more anxious than anyone else to ford the black river. The poor and the lonely are the chief recipients of attention at the hands of the police. If one has an organization behind him, however small, it is different, for one is respected in proportion to the influence which one may exercise. Sometimes the influence is indirect, as social position; at other times it is more direct, as in the case of wealth, and at other times it is even more direct, as in the case of physical violence.

This last is the sole weapon of the migratory worker, for his organizations are usually very small and count for nothing in the community. If a member of the A. F. of L. is arrested there is generally behind him all the combined forces of the organization, with its political influences and its consequent ability to get bail. Hence the police will not ill-treat a regular organized workman if they know it. But the migratory is the defenseless subject of police brutality and against that there is but one method of reprisal, namely, to let the police thoroughly understand that there will be retaliation for brutality and ill-treatment. When once this fact has permeated the mind of the average policeman, he will be more careful in his employment of unnecessary and wanton force upon the persons of those unfortunate enough to come into his power.

"I do not see how they can hold me," he said, "I had four and one-half dollars when I was arrested, and no man is a vagrant with four and a half dollars in his possession."

"They put the charge of vagrancy against you because they expect to make good on the copper wire charge," I told him, and he understood that readily enough.

His further adventures cease to be typical and are merely personal, so I leave him here, merely adding for the satisfaction of the curious that the police finally persuaded him to plead guilty to vagrancy.

The Factory: A Sketch

By Jeannette D. Pearl

CONAWAY'S neckwear factory, situated between two tall modern structures, was an old decrepit building with a dark gap in its side through which the workers entered and freight was hoisted. It appeared all fallen in, crouching, as if conscious and ashamed of its decrepitude. Its walls were covered with sickly gray paint, bleached in spots and peeling off in blotches. The windows were dulled with dirt and the broken panes patched up with cardboard. Inside, the daylight was practically shut out, and all day long the gas was kept burning. The heat, sweat and odor of decay, produced a depressing gloom that seemed to whirl about with the revolving wheels of the machines.

At twelve o'clock the power was shut off and the wheels slackened and stopped. Slowly, laboriously, the workers stretched their stiffness and rose, a half-inert mass with here and there a tremor of life running through it. Then the mass split into segments that grouped themselves about stools and improvised tables, with a noise of shouting and laughter, a clatter and a shuffling of chairs. The workers had settled down to lunch.

A sandwich in one hand, a newspaper in the other, Evelyn, all flustered, was admiring the fashion pictures before her. "Some gowns at that Newport affair!" she exclaimed. "I would give a year of my life to've had one look at that ball-room," she asserted regretfully.

"Don't let that worry you, Evelyn," Mabel broke in good-naturedly. "Now you'll know how to make your wedding gown exactly as the illustrations in the papers."

"Gown? Burlap would do if she got the chance." Miss Murphy's sally provoked general laughter. Encouraged, she shouted over her shoulder: "How about it, Mrs. Berkowitz, ain't burlap good enough for your wedding gown?"

"Wedding gown?" Mrs Berkowitz repeated timidly. "A shroud is all I need." She was a dried-up little widow, with watery eyes and swollen eyelids. Her whole attitude was one of "Excuse me, please—for living." Everybody pitied her. But who has use for weakness? She was the punching bag upon which those so inclined tried their strength. She never hit back. Sometimes to the dog we kick, we fling a bone . . . Mrs. Berkowitz was the recipient of such bones and she was grateful. Her wages were five dollars a week. The forewoman, Miss Schwartz, kept her on because she hadn't the heart to send the "old woman" away, and then she was not exactly a loss.

"A shroud!" Miss Murphy cried derisively. "Guess you need the undertaker." This provoked tremendous laughter. Mabel laughed so heartily the tears came to her eyes. "It's too funny!" she spurted out, throwing Mrs. Berkowitz an orange.

The most fun was enjoyed by a group of girls in possession of the one real table. Here the girls were a bit more care-free. They received more pay, had more privileges, so they could laugh a bit more.

To eat lunch at the table was a mark of honor, like the iron cross—more so, since there was but one table. Spilt upon it were paper bags containing sandwiches, fruit and cake. Tea steamed from heavy clay cups, cracked and chipped. Fluids from fruit, pickles, spilt tea, formed rivulets, and scattered all about were orange and banana peels. It was a mess. Not exactly dirty, just careless, like the diners.

From a position of vantage springs self-assurance, a sense of superiority, and with it a desire for its indulgence. The girls at the table exercised that prerogative. They gave no quarter to offenders outside of their circle. They teased, tormented, laughed at—just for fun.

One of the special victims of their fun was a girl called Annie. She was a peasant type, ungainly, and very matronly, who felt keenly the fact that she was unmarried and experienced a sense of humiliation as she saw with each succeeding year her value depreciate. The girls at the table never missed a chance to pick at her. One noon hour they insisted on marrying her to the colored porter. The poor girl was frantic. She pleaded and cried until she became hysterical, and not until then did they desist.

Miss Schwartz, the forewoman, would never have permitted it, but she was out. She had gone to lunch with Mr. Conaway, the boss, and the girls resented it. So they cut loose. Miss Schwartz exercised an ascendancy over the girls. She understood them well, knew whom to humor and whom to urge. No one could get more work out of people than she, without appearing to drive. In dealing with the girls she put them upon a plane of equality with herself and won them by it. The girls liked to speak of her democracy. Mabel was fond of telling this incident: "I went to wash up and the sink was all stuffed up. Some pig had thrown all kinds of garbage into it. It just made me sick to look at. When along comes Miss Schwartz, rolls up her sleeves, plunges her hand right in, and cleans up the whole dirty mess without a word."

Miss Schwartz loved life, and when at sixteen Mr. Conaway had taken her to the theatre, restaurant,

and bought her pretty things—the deal was closed. For twenty years their intimacy had continued. When she was twenty-five she was to have been married, but Mr. Conaway persuaded her to break the engagement. He would have married her himself, but he was Catholic and would not divorce his wife; perhaps he speculated on her death.

When, eventually, Miss Schwartz did marry, Mr. Conaway was frantic. He had sought in every way possible to prevent the marriage, offering to divide his fortune with her. This time Miss Schwartz was determined. Confident that her fiancè was a coming man, grateful that he was making her position honorable, she loved him. But the heights she anticipated he never attained, and rumor had it that her relations with Mr. Conaway were later again resumed.

In recent years Mr. Conaway had urged her to retire, in order to have a firmer hold on her, for she gave him some cause for jealousy. But she insisted on remaining in the factory. Her position afforded her a sense of pride. She liked to be looked up to by the girls, consulted by the executives. She was no figure-head.

The hilarious proceedings of the marriage ceremony ended in grief. Mary Solkin had intervened and had become very excited. The excitement brought on a prolonged fit of coughing. Who does not know what that portends? Several girls became apprehensive, and there were tears. Tears for Mary, for afflicted relatives of their own—and their own sorrows.

What aroused Mary was not alone that Annie had been humiliated, but that the girls had so lowered themselves in the absence of the whip.

Mary Solkin believed in no god. Her faith was in an abstract working-class whose power, goodness, and unbearable sufferings must triumph over ignorance. That was her ideal, and when the girls lowered themselves, her ideal was outraged. So she fought them for her faith.

Mary's face was all eyes. Her other features, delicate and subdued, lay in shadow. But her eyes, large and black, were two transmitting centers that held you eager and speculating. In the warmth of her soft look you felt yourself drawing nearer, but abruptly your approach was checked by a cold zone and you drew back, as if repulsed. She was tall and her shoulders drooped a little, but not the head. The head was held up, tilting slightly backward. In that tilt there was a challenge, resentment, struggling for assertion. She walked slowly, preoccupied, but the step once taken was firm.

Mary was a "sample" hand. "That girl could make money," Miss Schwartz said of her, " if only she would put some steam in her work." Mary worked apathetically, though what she did, she turned out well. Her thoughts were not on her work, nor on finery. A none too well fitting navy-blue serge dress, devoid of any dainty touch, made her plainness more apparent. Something absorbing was coursing through her mind, gnawing at her heart. An air of preoccupation kept her distant. Yet girls came to her with their most private troubles—for solution—not for solace. Mary was not indulgent, and did not mother grief. Their heartaches left her like a live ingot plunged in water. The glow all gone, not cold, not hard—contracted.

It was Mary who secretly coached timid ones how to approach the forewoman for a raise. And in resisting the petty tyrannies of factory discipline, it was Mary who came to the front. It just fell to her, not that she sought it. She was retiring by nature and diffident. Her quiet fervor, fortified by her greater skill as a worker, lent much force to her arguments. It was her efforts that secured the concession: "Employees are hereby permitted the use of the 'phone noon-hour and after five-thirty."

She was very much admired by the girls, but intimate only with Louise, the factory's favorite. Mary was considered as one above them, not of them, but Louise they took to their heart. Complacent, smiling, Louise gathered everyone to her. Her one aspiration was to please, win people, and she succeeded. How she longed to be an actress! She was like a morning-glory, open and fragrant, and like a morning-glory she could fold up. Full of moods, pliant, vacillating, she changed her plans continually. Nobody seemed to mind, she was so lovable.

A rare and close friendship existed between Mary and Louise. At noon hour they sat together, apart from the rest, usually reading as they ate their lunch. Their machines faced each other. At each of the two hundred machines, closely packed together, running at high speed all day long, an operator was bent, transmuting life into fancy neckwear, electrolitically. Talking during working hours was forbidden. Stealthily the two girls chatted and openly sought each other's eyes in conversation. In an exchange of glances they found comfort.

Louise was pretty, slightly vain. She was affectionate, vivacious, you couldn't help loving her. She was not boastful, but wanted to be esteemed. She told her friends she worked in an office.

"Why, why this pretense, why?" Mary insisted. She could not tolerate hypocrisy.

"Because you don't give a rap about people's opinion, so you don't care, but I—I do care. And I am hurting no one." Mary had frequent occasions for reproach. Louise always defended and justified herself. Sometimes indicting Mary on a count or two. Mary's indifference to style afforded sufficient opportunities. "Why must you buy old-fashioned, unbecoming things when they are just as expensive?" Louise's clothes were always *chic*. Goodness knows how she did it. She wanted her friend to appear at-

tractive and was always touching up Mary's things.

Mary wore her hair drawn tightly into a knot at the back of her head, exposing at the sides two bald curvatures. Louise insisted that the nakedness ought to be covered up, and never tired rearranging Mary's hair.

"You can't make a society dame of me." Mary would laugh indulgently and undo the whole stunning effect.

Louise dressed her head in the newest fashion. Clouds upon clouds of hair seemed suspended on combs, fancy pins, barrettes, re-enforced by a rat or two.

"It won't detract from your mental glory to look decent," Louise pouted, jeeringly.

"But these things do not interest me." Mary lived in a world of ideas. A rebel by nature, her thought was confined to restrictions,—of nature, of man. She brooded and was often melancholy. She yearned for so much, and had so little. She would have loved to study, travel, and assist others in the realization of that aim.

Louise wanted to have things, Mary to know them. The two once stopped to admire some gems in a Fifth Avenue shop window. "How I would love to have one of those with a gown to match." Louise clasped her hands, pressing them to her breast in supplication.

"I wonder what the things are made of." That was Mary's need of possession.

Both girls felt keenly the hardships of factory life, its grind. What ate into them more than the fatigue was being timed, ticketed, and watched.

Louise, in her spare time, studied music as a possible escape from factory life. "Will the day ever come when I won't have to punch a clock?" That time clock got on her nerves and not infrequently, some one out of kindness, adventure, at the risk of dismissal,—would ring up for Louise.

Louise had musical talent, but she was no genius, and for an invitation to go out she would abandon her studies. Occasionally she would skip a lesson, and with that money go to the opera, though all she could afford was standing room. But it had to be in the orchestra. Her desire to feast her eyes on that brilliant life was perhaps as strong as the fascination of the music.

Louise was working on "specials" one day when her machine broke down. She was in despair. It was Beethoven night in Central Park, and the delay might necessitate night work. Irene, a pieceworker who was generally disliked and regarded as an informer, gave up her machine to Louise. Overjoyed, Louise invited her to join the crowd at the concert.

On learning that Irene was to be of the party, Mary declined to attend.

"You make me sick with your confounded loftiness. You 'just' people!" Louise, who was ever ready to forget the shortcomings of others, her own, could not understand this intolerance. Mary had suffered from remorse, castigation, and the standard she set for herself she demanded of others. Things rankled in her. How could she condone, when she could not forget? That is why she had so few friends. Yet her spirit was hopeful; her aspirations high. She believed in the potentiality of people, but the individual she held to account. Nothing of moment was undertaken by the girls without her. Even when they had decided to go out on strike, definite action was postponed because Mary was home ill.

This decision to strike gave rise to a suppressed feverish excitement. Placid faces turned thoughtful, dull eyes brightened with new hope: lethargy gave way to alertness, buoyancy of movement. Something living, vital, was surging through them all. There was hushed whispering, stealthy glances significant with meaning, and a deftness that quivered with life. It was the strike spirit.

A high tension prevailed. The girls were anxiously waiting for Mary. It had been decided that she should act as speaker.

"What's up?" Mary asked when she returned to the factory. The change of atmosphere was so apparent. Her face was slightly paler and thinner than usual. The girls informed her.

"Strike now?" Mary questioned in astonishment.

"You are not going back on us?" Louise indignantly demanded.

"You know very well I wouldn't scab it on you. But strike now? We are not organized, we have no treasury. It would be madness."

"O! We can get plenty of money," Evelyn emphatically asserted, her face aglow with a mental picture of herself in the papers: "The Pretty Strike Leader."

"Plenty," and she winked her eye assuringly.

"Not so plenty as you think," Mary brought her down to earth, "with the season about ended. We ought to strike when the season is in full swing."

"We ought," sneered Louise, "and let the strike spirit die."

Mary smiled condescendingly. "You think you can wage a strike just on strike spirit?"

In their excitement the girls failed to perceive the reproving glances of the forewoman, who thought it wiser not to intervene.

Miss Schwartz knew what was going on. When the matter was officially brought to her, she asked for time and spoke to individual girls, dissuading them. She later reported Mr. Conaway could do nothing now—not just yet. She pointed out to them their loss if they struck. "We can get more girls than we need," she concluded, and each girl knew it was so.

Miss Schwartz would have liked to see the girls get the raise. Business warranted it. But Mr. Con-

away was losing heavily on his real estate holdings on the East Side. The down-town business section was moving uptown, and property was idle. So the girls had to make good his loss.

Enthusiasm began to wane. Those who were doubtful of the strike were now convinced of its futility; eager ones became lukewarm; some disheartened. So the thing died.

It was all over. Louise sat at her machine, broken. She cried, cried bitterly. She felt like a sterile woman who, experiencing the mental joy of fertility, painfully realizes that it was all nothing—nothing; —that she cannot even miscarry.

Mary, too, was crushed. It is painful to see something living die. And the dissipation of that enthusiasm weighed on her. She was opposed to the strike, but not the strike spirit. That she wanted, mobilized, conserved, conserved for wider uses than a mere pittance. "Would that time ever come?" she reflected, the tension slowly leaving her face. Perhaps she recalled from her readings on nature how wasteful nature is. From an infinite number of seeds only a few fructify. Maybe so with social life? Seedlings upon seedlings perish before one takes root. But seed nevertheless means flower. "So it will come." A smile flitted across her face. Her eyes glistened with that far-away vision as she bent over her machine, apathetically resuming her work.

Emile Verhaëren

By Amelia von Ende

IT seems a singular irony of fate that it requires some great tragedy to direct the attention of the world at large to the individual or the people representing the still small voices in the mass chorus of the human race. Unheeded by the multitude struggling and scrambling for some goal of material compensation, those voices are lost in the clatter and the chaos of a life ruled by machines and turning out machines. Only when some great catastrophe changes their song to a wail of agony, does the world pause to hear them and to reflect on their significance.

Belgium has been such an element among the countries of Europe. Like Greece in antiquity, it has been the center of an intellectual activity quite out of proportion to its limited area. In the Middle Ages it was the home of men who laid the foundations of polyphonic music and inspired all the great musicians of the world far beyond Johann Sebastian Bach. Some centuries later it was the home of men who set their seal upon the art of the world and became the masters of the great painters that came after their time. That during the past twenty years Belgium has been the seat of a new renascence is a fact generally ignored. It is another irony of fate that this Belgian renascence had been remarked and hailed by Young Germany. For it was the foremost representative of that generation, Johannes Schlaf, who declared eleven years ago, that the essential achievement of our time would be the evolution of a distinct type of the perfect European and said of Lemonnier Maeterlinck and Verhaëren:

"In these three great Belgians is for the first time revealed and in a certain degree of perfection embodied the new European, the European to whom the future belongs."

This statement is proof of the same far-sight which made Schlaf the champion of Walt Whitman. He especially credited Maeterlinck and Verhaëren with the "heroic conquest of the dragon of hypochondria" which had haunted and clouded the minds of Europe during the past century and signalled this conquest as a victory of great social, ethical and religious import for the world.

That was before the war arrested the wheels of progress and a ruthless power, not unlike Ibsen's Julian, though from a far different, an ignoble motive, raised the sword against what was growing —and nipped the bud of international brotherhood, just as the hero of *Emperor and Galilean* had stayed the coming of the Third Kingdom which was to realize the reconciliation of the spiritual and the material. But the great cataclysm has at least revealed to the world at large the spiritual power of peoples formerly regarded as weaklings and has brought to the fore the most eminent representative of the Belgian renascence, Emile Verhaëren. For although Francois Viélé-Griffin wrote of him twenty years ago:

"Verhaëren enlarges with his breath the horizon of his little country and . . . annexes to the Flemish plains the beautiful kingdom of his ideal and his art"—

and although the Yellow Book had introduced Verhaëren to English readers, he was practically unknown in America. Only since Maeterlinck, on being offered the seat in the French Academy, said that it would be more just to confer that honor upon Verhaëren, as he has been hailed in America as the greatest living poet, not only of Belgium, but of the world.

There is much in the work of Verhaëren to justify that claim. For no other writer of our time has so truthfully reflected the spiritual state of his generation, so generously embraced the whole panorama of the present and projected it into the future: a dreamer of ideals that rested firmly upon reality—before the war.

Born in a little Belgian town in a comfortable bourgeois home and brought up under the influ-

ence of the church of his forefathers, his childhood was filled with and inspired by the traditions of the past, the great Gallo-Flemish heritage upon which he had entered. A brief attempt at industrial apprenticeship convinced him and his family that his mission in the world was of a different sort. He matriculated in the law department of Louvain. Five years of student life followed, of emotional and intellectual storm and stress and of friendships that were to influence his whole life. It was the era of secessionist magazines and he was associated with Van Dyck, the Wagnerian tenor, in the publication of a little periodical in which he championed the cause of Manet, Renoir, Meunier and others. Admitted to the bar in Brussels, he was from the beginning far more interested in the magazine called *Jeune Belgique* than in the practise of law, and soon embraced literature as his profession.

The work of Verhaëren can be grouped into distinct periods. In the first, under the spell of his racial heritage and of his people's past, he saw the life of yesterday through the temperament of today. The pictures of the peasant life of the past in *Les Flamandes* were tinged with the pessimism of the period into which he had been born. The book was of unmitigated brutal frankness, but of sturdy, virile vitality. Equally strong, though less uncompromising in spirit, was his second book *Les Moines*, a panorama of the religious life of his country, its cathedrals, convents, processions, pilgrimages—a tribute to the clerical influences that had shaped his early youth.

The cosmopolitan elements of life in Brussels lured him into the world that lay beyond. London had a strange fascination for him as the symbol of modern industrial and commercial life. He became as profoundly engrossed in the present as he had previously been absorbed in the past. He was then going through a pathological crisis, was a victim of chronic dyspepsia—perhaps not only physical, but intellectual as well—and the atmosphere of London not only agreed with his sombre mood, but aggravated it: O mon âme de soir, ce Londres noir, qui traîne en toi" reflects his state of mind. It was that of most intellectuals of Europe at the century's end. The soul of Europe was sick. From Scandinavia had come Strindberg's *Confession of a Fool* and Barborg's *Weary Souls;* from Russia the voice of Tolstoy, denying the claims of life and seeking its meaning in death; from Germany had come the voice of Nietzsche. In that crisis were conceived those books of verse in which Verhaëren seemed to record the memories of physical and mental anguish, of paroxysms of pain followed by intervals of morbid apathy: *Les Soirs, Les Debâcles* and *Les Flambeaux Noirs.* They are documents, not only of personal, but of human significance. In those books a chained and maimed Titan seems to struggle against invisible bonds.

But Verhaëren's innate strength triumphed. With his physical health he regained his spiritual balance. His next books showed the conciliatory attitude of the convalescent. *Les Villages Illusoires* contained the elements of a new philosophy. He saw the greatness, the beauty, the heroism of commonplace life; the little shopkeepers and artisans of his native province assumed the proportions of heroes, of symbols. The *Apparus dans mes Chemins* lacks the bitterness of his previous books. He traveled much in that period, stopping long enough wherever he went to become familiar with the life of the people. His horizon steadily expanded and when he returned to his country he saw the same villages and the same peasants at their daily labors and their holiday pastimes, but he saw them no longer through the lens of a disheartening pessimism, but in the spirit of acceptance. He likened the cities "toward which all roads were leading" to those monsters of the deep that throw out their tentacles to everything that moves within their radius—"Villes Tentaculaires"—and marveled at the tempestuous struggle for existence that goes on within their walls and calls forth all powers of good and evil: "Forces Tumultueuses." With the realistic vision of the artists of his country he embraced the manifold manifestations of modern city life, factories, shops, streets, theatres, tenements —and sought their meaning for the future:

"O race humaine, aux astres d'or nouée,
As-tu senti de quel travail formidable et battant
Soudainement, depuis cent ans,
Ta force immense est secouée?"[1]

And as his vision enlarged and swept beyond the confines of his native land, he apostrophized the races of Europe and those of America, and recognizing their unity and feeling himself at one with all mankind, exclaimed:

"Races d'Europe et des soudains Amériques,
Ma race!"

A curiously unbroken, logical line of development is that of Emile Verhaëren—before the war. Born in the little bourg of Saint Amand, nursed at the college Sainte Barbe upon Catholic lore, at the university of Louvain upon classical traditions, an heir to the past—he outgrew that past. Stimulated at Brussels into protest against antiquated conventions and canons, carried away by the intellectual storm that swept away old standards, he groped his way through the tumultuous present. Tortured by physical suffering, depressed by the social injustice and the spiritual unrest, he was a brave patient in the vast hospital which intellectual Europe presented at the century's end, and was the first of his contemporaries to recover. He rose above the narrowly individual viewpoint of the self-commiserating personal ego.

---

[1] Oh, mankind gazing at the golden stars;
Hast thou not felt that since a hundred years.
Thy vital force is being thrilled
By a tremendous labor pain?

He rose above the equally narrow viewpoint of the defiantly ambitious national ego. He rose beyond both to a broad and generous understanding of humanity and of life. This conquest of the burden of past and present was Verhaëren's heroic achievement.

The poet Verhëaren had in the meantime become a voice of far-reaching significance. There had grown up in France and in Belgium a generation, which, like Madame Sévérine, the peace advocate, considered political boundaries "fictitious lines." Absorbed in urgent problems of the times, some deemed Utopian by the fatuously complacent, it was bent upon disarmament and dreamed of universal peace. A society had been organized in Paris to bring about a better mutual understanding between France and Germany. Leon Bazalgette, the biographer and translator of Whitman, had published his admirable essay "L'Europe," in which he envisaged the continent as an entity closely welded by intellectual and ideal interests. Only in the spring of the fateful year 1914 a book was published, compiled by three Frenchmen, among them Alexandre Mercereau, the admirable critic, and signed by some four score authors, artists, teachers, barristers, curators of museums and other members of the intellectual professions, which bore the title *La Paix Armée et le Problème d'Alsace*. Most of the subscribers had protested against the three years' service a year or two before. Representatives of the generations born since 1870, harboring no sentiments of "revanche," they proposed as guarantee of permanent peace between France and Germany disarmament and autonomy of the unfortunate bi-lingual provinces. At the same time appeared an anthology of German poetry since Nietzsche, compiled by Henri Guilbeaux, a Belgian writer residing in Paris and identified with the movement to bring about a better understanding between the French and the Germans. The book of admirable translations contained a preface by Verhaëren, in which he said:

"Les masses ont la fièvre de se connaitre et de se rapprocher"—

("The masses have a feverish longing to know and to approach one another.")

Verhaëren himself had voiced that desire. No other poet of Europe had done as much to further this knowledge and this approach. The writer heard him lecture on "La Culture de l'Enthousiasme" in Munich four years ago and will never forget the moment when his earnest eyes swept the audience with his searching gaze, and he seemed to address the nations of the world with the words:

"Admirez-vous le suns les autres!"

In the light of his later works and of these words one understands why Johannes Schlaf called Verhaëren a perfect type of the new European, him to whom the future belongs. That future was to realize the dream of the brotherhood of nations, a dream cherished by the great thinkers of the world, and foreshadowed by the Socialist party—until the mailed fist came down and crushed the new life. Writing from the trenches a year ago, Leon Bazalgette said: "Our Europe—yours and mine—is now a wreck." But in a message received recently he declared that he still cherishes a spark of hope and faith. Will that spark survive the wreckage to which Europe has been reduced? Will the "new Europeans" come to their own after all and realize the ideal now obscured by the fumes of patriotic fury—the United States of Europe?

The Russian Ballet

By Floyd Dell

AFTER all, what did you expect? If there is any justice in the world, a ballet must be permitted to be a ballet. And a ballet is, as everybody knows, a spectacle composed of a young woman in a stiff short horizontal skirt, standing elaborately on one toe, with the other leg stuck out behind her. As a spectacle, it has a certain antiquarian charm, the same charm which one may find in the hoopskirt, the glass case with a stuffed bird in it, and the poetry of Alexander Pope. All these things were once considered beautiful.

An impatient younger generation has become accustomed to regard all these things as quite dead. And Russia, one would think offhand, would be the last country in the world to revive any of them. Lazy, mystical, drunken, unhappy, self-questioning, child-souled Russia—not she!—But there is, apparently, another Russia, which was foredoomed to treasure up, preserve, elaborate and give proudly back to the world the discarded plaything of the ballet. It is only by a happy accident that it did not preserve and hand back to us the hoopskirt.

This other Russia has always been a dependency of Europe. It has said: "We barbarians!" It has admired German energy and French art with naive awe. Petersburg has wished—O how it has wished! —to be Paris. Now in Paris, once there seems to have been a great vogue of the ballet. Paris forgot it. Everybody forgot it. But Petersburg remembered, and presently, with infinite pains, she was getting up a ballet, too. . . . And now, fifty years later, Petersburg presents the world with that astonishing concoction, the Russian ballet.

It is not the ballet of our forefathers. It is the ballet that Buenos Ayres or Chicago might have created, if either of those cities had wanted desperately to be Paris. It is the art product of a young, intensely earnest nation with gradiose ideas. Training? The Russian ballet should be trained within an inch of its life! Teuton efficiency, the much-admired,

should be brought in to assist Gallic art. The female Russian dancer should balance herself on a toe as if of reinforced concrete, five minutes at a time. The male Russian dancer should bump his head against the rafters when he leaped into the air. And not a mere corporal's guard of dancers, but a regiment, a battalion, an army corps, all on the stage at the same time. Drama should be commandeered to give continuity to the spectacle. Color—the rainbow should be dragged from the sky to spatter over the costumes and the scenery. And so it was.

Thus the Russian ballet burst upon us. And we were disappointed. It had lost, in becoming Russian, that lightness, that conscious triviality, with which the French know how to take half the curse off artifice—that airiness which is the only charm the artificial can indeed possess. Still—it was ballet. It was not drama. "Scheherezade," with its Parisian Orientalism, had not a single dramatic moment that was above the mark of a ten-twenty-thirty melodrama. It was not the art of stage decoration. Bakst's costumes and scenery, interesting as they are to look at in a book, seldom carry across the footlights. It was, above all, not dancing—not dancing as we have found that dancing can be—not the expression of significant moods of the soul through bodily gesture. For if it were any of these things it would cease to be a ballet. They were brought in to help out, as accessories—and they kept their place.

It *was* a marvelous exhibition of technique—vaudeville in excelsis. Only as vaudeville it was marred by an excess of numbers. Two trick dancers in "Chin-Chin" are more effective than a hundred trick dancers at the Century, except to a Hippodrome taste. It was a fourteen-ringed circus, staggering, dazzling, bewildering in its stupendous aggregation of unparalleled effects, and one longed for a bag of peanuts and some red lemonade.

But as for beauty, there was not a spark of it in the whole show. Remembering Isadora Duncan, Yvette Guilbert, "The Yellow Jacket," "Sumurun"—things different enough and yet each having at least some moments that touch the soul with the unforgettable magic touch of beauty—one waited vainly for a similar miracle. After all, it was only a ballet.

Book Reviews

Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia

I

THIS book[1] is a valuable contribution not only to the history of feminism but to that knowledge which is the best kind of propaganda, whether for feminism or for internationalism. Because of the meagreness of our knowledge there is an impression in this country, writes Miss Anthony, that the German woman "still sleeps silently in a home-spun cocoon." What the German Emperor regards as woman's sphere or what Schopenhauer has written against the sex are opinions no more representative of German thought than are quotations from Senator Root or Representative Bowdle of the American Suffrage Movement. "Certainly we have as much to learn from the European feminists as they have to learn from us." And with insight into our American habit of losing interest in a general movement once a nearby goal is reached Miss Anthony adds: "The Suffrage Movement in this country is approaching a successful climax; the hour-glass must be turned promptly. Otherwise the continuity of the feminist advance will be broken and the acquired momentum squandered."

In a dramatic bit of narrative Miss Anthony tells of the origins in England and on the Continent of the two movements whose slogans are "Votes for Women" and "Mutterschutz," whose aims are political liberty and moral autonomy. Of Continental Suffrage we hear, too, of how in all but one of the Scandinavian countries women have the full suffrage and of how the suffrage conditions at large in Germany complicate the woman suffrage question, but it is the story of the protection of motherhood and of the "new morality," *die neue Ethik,* which mostly engages our attention. It is a story of noble effort on behalf of the right of married women to limit their family, on behalf of women in confinement and of nursing mothers, on behalf of the unmarried mother, and above all, on behalf of the illegitimate child. The struggle for the scholastic and industrial education of girls is described and worthily included is an account of that "Achilles heel of feminism," dress reform.

In view of our own incipient agitation on the control of conception it is regrettable that Miss Anthony is not more specific about the state of that question in Germany and Scandinavia. We may infer from what she remarks on the freedom of speech of the women's journals that no such grotesque suppression of discussion about the desirability of birth control as that now being attempted among us is entertainable in Germany, but we should like to know more about German (and Scandinavian) birth control laws. There is too another aspect of feminism from which Miss Anthony turns aside, in this case wholly aside—those sex manners which enter so much more into the day's program than sex morals. How independently may German or Scandinavian women travel or walk the street; how are they treated in hotels and restaurants and street cars; is their sting drawn by the method of the auxiliary committee; is their presence among men taboo in the thousand and one little ways characteristic of our own society?

Not that Miss Anthony altogether slurs over male exclusiveness or, if you prefer, seclusiveness. In the fourteenth century, she notes, German guilds began to exclude women on the ground that only persons who were able to bear arms were eligible to guild membership. (At last we know where the anti-suffragists got their argument.) The journeyman bookbinders of Nuremberg declared the man who worked with a woman dishonorable. A decree of a guild in Constance ran that the seamstresses "now and forever, shall only sew linen and cloth and nothing else, neither woolens nor furs." The National German Union of Mercantile Assistants has to-day 120,000 male members and "one of its aims, as defined in its constitution, is to limit the employment of women in business pursuits." When women were allowed by law to become principals of girls' high schools, 20,000 Prussian schoolmasters signed a

[1] *Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia,* by Katherine Anthony. New York: Henry Holt & Co. $1.25.

public protest to the effect that no man of character would work under a woman.

Prussian conservatism has had other expressions which Miss Anthony has not failed to note. In 1851 the government closed the Froebel kindergartens, deeming them centres of destructive enlightenment, and it was not until after years of agitation by women's organizations that the anti-kindergarten law was repealed. In 1914 there were in Prussia 540 high schools preparing boys for the university and but 43 schools of corresponding grade for girls, a disproportion due to the difficulties contrived by the government for preparing girls to enter the universities. The Imperial postal, telephone and telegraph service employs 25,000 unmarried women. At marriage they must resign their position. (Has the war affected this rule?) Similarly celibacy is or was required of women teachers in government schools.

I do not remember whether or not the New York Department of Education referred to this German precedent in its campaign against married teachers. Of the German system of state maternity insurance, and of premiums to nursing mothers progressive American legislators might well take notice. Likewise of the humane treatment recently accorded the illegitimate child in the laws of Norway.

We have heard of progressive Americans in both legislative and feminist circles who at times fail to take notice of the course of social events in other countries. If their inattention has resulted in self-complacency they are likely to be a bit jarred when they learn from Miss Anthony that Denmark, for example, not only has coeducation in its schools but that the ministerial order specifies that the pupils should be treated as far as possible alike as children and not as boys and girls, that no German university may legally refuse to admit women students, that the laws of Sweden and Norway permit divorce by mutual consent, or, to turn from laws to programs and more particularly to German programs, that German women's organizations are demanding vocational training for every girl, equal pay for equal work, the right to motherhood, the right to birth control, education in sex knowledge, freedom from discrimination between the married and unmarried woman—even to the extent of not labeling women with a discriminatory tag, the right to the *Einheits-Titel.** German women's clubs appear indeed to be dealing with the realities of life, and as Miss Anthony rightly remarks, "the way in which German feminism faces all its tasks is a model for the more one-sided endeavors of the "Anglo-Saxon propaganda."

* Why have European women chosen for the common form of address the title of "Mrs." whereas the few American women who have taken a stand in this matter have chosen the title of "Miss"?

With this critical comparison it is difficult to disagree. In general Miss Anthony is not only an agreeable narrator, she is a discerning and caustic critic. In one particular, however, her commentary, I venture to say, is at fault. When like other feminist writers she gives way to a mystical, uncritical sense of sex antagonism, like them, she takes to generalizing about early society (see pp. 166-7, 203) after a fashion whose counterpart is to be found only in the equally mystical utterances of anti-feminists on the Will of God or the Eternal Feminine.

But Miss Anthony lingers little after all on prehistoric delinquencies or even on historic human failures. Her book is constructive. That it should have a wide circulation is one of the best wishes one can make for the progress of feminism in this country. It serves the kind of preparedness believed in by those who would enlighten and make responsible American womanhood rather than inflame group hostility or arouse that egotistical, anti-social passion we call patriotism.

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS.

II.

OUT of the welter of works on feminism by such eminent authorities as W. L. George, H. G. Wells, or even Havelock Ellis, a contribution by a woman comes as a distinct relief. Such a contribution is Katharine Anthony's compact but wonderfully comprehensive and informing book. Its appearance marks the return of the subject to the field of science from which it had recently strayed far into the realms of mythology, fiction and old husbands' tales.

The task of feminism Miss Anthony defines as "to capture and, if necessary, to remold for woman's use the ordinary symbols of society." This is the aim of the woman movement throughout the civilized world. Two main currents of feminist thought and activity have been developed, however, in the attempt to carry out this program, both equally important to its complete ultimate success. One is the movement for political emancipation which has fallen to the share of the women of England and America and is symbolized by the slogan "Votes for Women." The other is the movement for sex liberation carried on by the women of Germany and Scandinavia whose chief contribution is summarized in the German word "Mutterschutz." Both wings have more or less consciously accepted this specialization, but signs are not wanting also of their appreciation of the wider aim of feminism.

The distinctive and individual contribution of the continental movement is two-fold. One phase is the dress reform movement, the only vigorous movement in existence, for a rational, hygienic and beautiful dress for women and the only organized revolt of women against the tyrannies and absurdities of fashion. It is strongest in Germany, but has flourishing branches also in Scandinavia, Holland and Switzerland. Deriving its inspiration chiefly from hygienic and artistic sources, the chief object of its attack has been the corset, but its work has not been merely negative. It has worked out a philosophy of dress which shows every sign of being carried out to a logical execution, and which includes the loose-fitting one-piece dress and the substitution of the "Reform Hose" or bloomers for the under-petticoat. It has enlisted the services of modern artists and physicians and even won government support. Twenty-five thousand young women in the government telephone and postal service, for instance, wear on duty the blouse designed by the artist Gunda Beeg, to be worn without a corset. Such a feat is typical, Miss Anthony tells us, of the clothing reformers who seek "to prepare the way for a future woman who shall be fully emancipated in body as well as in soul for her task of child-bearing, and rejoicing in freedom of motion."

The greatest work of Continental feminism, however, has been the movement to reform the marriage institution. Inspired mainly by Ellen Key, it first took form in 1905 when the Bund für Mutterschutz was organized. The immediate stimulus for its formation was the prevalence of illegitimacy in Germany and the position of the unmarried mother and her child. It was this position which was challenged by the founders of Mutterschutz in what are described by Miss Anthony as the most revolutionary sexual reforms since the day when Luther challenged the ideal of monastic celibacy. The Lutheran marriage had, since that time, been the highest ideal of sexual morality and the sexual code of Protestant Germany and Scandinavia. This was the code challenged in its turn by the German feminists and for which they proposed to substitute a new sex code which they called the new ethics—a fairly creative contribution to come from a sex in whom creative ability has been so often denied.

"Briefly explained," says Miss Anthony, "the new ethicists are practical evolutionists. . . for the old ascetic

conscience they would substitute the modern eugenic conscience. Their first commandment is taken from Nietsche 'Thou shalt not propagate, but elevate the race.' The principle is opposed to all casual parentage. Sex must be placed at the service of evolution. Volitional breeding must take the place of accidental breeding."

Of the twin demands of the new ethicists for the right to motherhood and that of family limitation she says further: "To all but the most hysterical alarmists it ought to be clear that the existence of these two demands side by side is evidence of a natural and healthy revolt of the child-bearing sex. It is the direct effort of the maternal instinct to find its own way between compulsory sterility and enforced overbreeding. And I may say here that I mean an inward maternal imperative which women, as yet, can scarcely account for to themselves and of which men, with all their lip-worship of the maternal instinct, can have no idea. For men are, after all, the wombless sex. To those women, on the other hand, who believe in the future of their sex, the ultimate triumph of volitional motherhood over sex slavery is one of the indispensable conditions of that future."

The campaign of the believers in Mutterschutz has expressed itself in three demands: The demands for new ethical ideals, instanced above; the demand for new social customs relating to sex, and the demand for legislative enactments for the protection of all motherhood. They have concentrated their attack particularly on two conventions. One was the convention of silence in regard to sex, especially that of keeping childhood and youth in ignorance about it; the second convention was that of separate titles for married and unmarried women. The original intention was to protect the unmarried mother, but it was reinforced by the growing sense of sex solidarity which determined to resist the use of the belittling diminutive for all unmarried women. The practical work of the Bund includes the maintenance of stations where hospital addresses and information can be given to women expecting confinement and legal advice where it is necessary. It also helps mothers to find employment and homes for their children, as in the Mutterschutzhaus near Berlin where the children of mothers who must be separated from them are kept until the age of six. In the field of legislation the Bund has helped to develop laws for the protection of mothers in industry and the state system of maternity insurance; most important of all it was through the influence of the Bund that this system was eventually extended to include unmarried mothers.

The new ethics however has found its culmination not in Germany, but in Scandinavia. It is illustrated in the progressive divorce laws of Sweden and Norway where divorce by mutual consent is now permitted, as well as divorce at the instance of one party in certain cases. But it is in its treatment of the illegitimate child especially that Norway has shown itself the most enlightened of modern states, for to all intents and purposes Norway has done away with illegitimacy. In 1915 a bill "Concerning children whose parents have not married each other" became a law. It provides that such a child is entitled to his father's name, support and education from both parents to an extent commensurate with their means, and to the same rights of inheritance from both families as belong to legitimate children. It also provides that the father shall meet the expenses of the mother's confinement.

Under the Norwegian code the inquiry into paternity is made compulsory and the only defense allowed the putative father is that he has had no sexual intercourse with the mother for a period extending from 302 to 180 days before her confinement. If there are shown to be several possible fathers, each must contribute to the support of the child. The extent of the Norwegian advance can best be measured by comparison with the English Bastardy Act and the corresponding statutes in some of our States whose aim still seems to be to legislate the illegitimate child out of society, very much as in the days when Shakespeare put into the mouth of such a child the words: "Now, gods stand up for bastards!" Apparently they haven't and neither has anyone else in England. In Norway, however, feminism has made such intervention unnecessary.

"The industry of German women is one of the chief orientating facts about that country," says Miss Anthony. "To the Teuton woman has been handed down an almost unbroken tradition of work. From the days when Tacitus reported that 'the care of the field, the hearth and the house is left to the women who together with the children, the weak and the enslaved carry on the housekeeping,' down to the present industrial age they have contributed their unrecognized labor to the sum of the nation's efforts. Even the prostitutes who followed the mediaeval armies washed and cooked and served the soldiers."

Thus to-day, of the 31,000,000 women in Germany one-seventh are at work in gainful occupations, even in times of peace. The only new feature in the situation is the exodus from the home. In every other respect it is a harkening back to, rather than a departure from, the beginnings of German society. In the middle ages, the German women were important in the economic scheme of things. Many handicrafts were entirely in their hands and there were guilds composed entirely of women with mastercraftswomen and girl apprentices. Not until the 14th century did the Guilds by a series of drastic decrees, which limited women's work and excluded them from membership deprive women of their means of livelihood. These Guild laws were not repealed until 1869, and they could be enforced by the Guild members as in the case of the tailors who at that time were still causing the houses of seamstresses to be searched and forbidden work confiscated. But the passing of the Guild system and the development of modern industry has restored woman to a place in the economic system and given her a voice in shaping industrial conditions. The working women of Germany are the best organized and most class-conscious group of women in the world. It is a fundamental principle of the socialistic trade-unions of Germany that women shall be admitted to the full rights and privileges of membership. There were, in 1911, 191,332 women enrolled in such unions besides many thousands in other trade-unions and welfare organizations. The growing class-consciousness of the German working woman's movement has resulted in some divergence between it and the regular woman movement, but the difference is one of identity rather than one of purpose. The *Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine* (the organ of the regular movement) has always worked for reforms demanded by working women. Among such reforms have been the introduction of the eight-hour working day, the extension of trade court rights to women, the establishment of compulsory continuation schools for girl wage-earners, and the maternity insurance provisions for working women.

In strong contrast with the highly developed industrial organization of the German woman has been her political backwardness. The suffrage movement in Germany has lagged far behind that in the Scandinavian states, where it has won complete victories everywhere except in Sweden. The comparative failure of the suffrage agitation to make headway has contributed largely to the depreciation and misunderstanding of German feminism by the suffragists of other countries. There are various reasons for this failure, the greatest probably being the complicated and difficult political medium in which the

German women had to work. The democratic franchise for men does not exist in Germany, where men vote according to property and other qualifications and there is a further differentiation of active and passive suffrage, the one carrying with it eligibility to office, and the other only the right to vote. The difficulty of knowing what kind of franchise to ask for, and the difference of opinion on this question has led to the forming of many suffrage societies differing widely in their aims, and this has made the solidarity achieved by the German women in other fields impossible in this one. Nevertheless the woman suffrage movement is making headway in Germany and the repeal in 1908 of the coalition laws, by which women were forbidden to affiliate with political organizations, has opened up to them a new field of political activity. It is also part of the German woman's policy to utilize such rights as they now possess in the franchise system. These rights include membership in school boards and charity boards and in some places and under certain conditions membership in the Chamber of Commerce. In Scandinavia the movement for political equality, while not the main work of the Scandinavian feminists, has made tremendous gains. In Norway women have had the complete franchise since 1913, Denmark enfranchised its women in the spring of this year, Finland in 1906 and Iceland in 1907; and the possession of the vote has not been the final achievement of the Scandinavian women. In Norway women sit on juries, are members of the school board and serve on county councils. In Finland they sit in the House of Parliament.

"The restoration of women's self-respect is the gist of the feminist movement," says Miss Anthony in her final chapter. Miss Anthony's book should contribute greatly toward such a result. To those familiar with the American suffrage movement, which, except in its early days, has insisted on being pale, neutral and inexpressive, whose leaders have made it a cardinal principle to have no ideas on any subject but the enfranchisement of women, such a record of achievement can hardly fail to be deeply stirring. Miss Anthony is the biographer of a movement which "refusing to truckle to narrow minded criticism has developed a very strong power of self-direction and a keen, steady consciousness of women's varied interests as a sex." It is hardly strange that her book should reflect in so great a measure the inspiring quality of her subject matter.

MARTHA GRUENING.

Socialized Germany

THIS book[1] is an attempt to give a picture of social and economic Germany of the present day. The book is written by one heartily in sympathy with what Germany has achieved and is put forth as a suggestion that we follow her example. It is an interesting and important book in view of the fact that our present Capitalism is approaching the kind of State Socialism which Germany exemplifies. Germany skipped a stage of capitalism which other countries passed through and though the statement made by the author that "State Socialism is a natural outgrowth of Feudalism" is not true of most countries it is, in a certain sense, true of Germany. There State Socialism is a kind of Feudal Capitalism. Mr. Howe is admittedly an advocate of State Socialism. This review of German life gives him rich opportunity to eulogize the practical working of his political philosophy.

The paradoxical condition of affairs in Germany with respect to her social classes is dealt with in the first part of the book. "How has an autocratic state," Mr. Howe asks, "the most autocratic in Western Europe, been induced to think in terms of the peasant and the artisan, and to provide social insurance and education, State Socialism and protection for the weaker members of the state, far beyond any program yet developed by any of the democratic nations of the world?" This question he attempts to answer in his chapter on "The Background of Modern Germany." "The German people," he says, "especially the Prussians, still think in terms of an earlier age; they accept the divine right of kings, and the only less divine right of the feudal aristocracy to rule."

For the persistence of this mediæval idea of the state there are, according to the author, two reasons. In the first place the effects of the French Revolution and the era which it ushered in never penetrated into Prussia as it did into other countries; and secondly, Prussia was, as compared to other countries, very tardy in passing through the industrial revolution. The commercial classes never attained ascendency over the old regime, and with its leading figures, Bismark and William II., has moulded the people into the Germany of today.

In the chapter on "The Economic Foundations of Class Rule," the author would give us to understand that he was opposed to Junkerism and to the Jingoism which follows it. "So long as Junkerism exists in Germany," he quotes from a German political leader, "there is no possible hope of progress." In the pages on "The Theory and Extent of State Socialism," Mr. Howe points out that the fundamental difference between Germany and the United States lies in the field in which the people of each have achieved equality. "Germany," he states, "protects industrial and personal equality. Her freedom is in the economic, ours in the political field."

There then follow the chapters on the various state industries and enterprises. These form the bulk of the book. Railways, shipping, mines, unemployment, education, sanitation, and municipal government are described and commented upon at length. There are a considerable amount of figures, details and quotations, and the author has apparently spared no pains in obtaining his data.

The final chapter is entitled "The German Conception of the State." This conception Mr. Howe terms State Socialism, and divides its activities into two parts, those of productive Socialism and those of distributive Socialism. This theoretic Socialism, according to the author, has been carried into practical reality by the Germans, and is on the whole eminently satisfactory. There are, however, drawbacks. "It should not be inferred that there are no faults in the system described. Paternalism and autocracy involve costs of a most serious character. They are political, social, and personal. . . . The most serious price which the Germans pay for an autocratic state is caste, a caste which runs through the very fibre of the state."

One is likely to feel, however, in reading the book that these objections are a very small thing as compared to the vast benefits which make the German people so happy. It is difficult to agree, in the face of all that has been said, "that the institutions which Germany has developed, and the efficiency which has been achieved are in no way inconsistent with democracy." The picture which it gives us of social and economic Germany is good, but there lacks something of consistency when it comes to regarding the subject philosophically. We read, "I am one of those who still believe that with special privilege abolished and industrial freedom assured, society would realize an approach to economic justice that would exclude the necessity of Socialism. And I believe in democracy, and all that democracy implies." Then pages praising Germany's

[1] *Socialized Germany*, by Frederick C. Howe. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50.

achievements follow, and finally "There is nothing democratic in the German idea of the state."

In spite of a denial that the book is not an "apologia pro Germania," the tone of the introductory chapter would lead one to think that it was. The new conception of the state is satisfactory to the German people and creates a reciprocal love on the part of the people for it. "Yet," he says, "it certainly violates our ideas of personal and political freedom." "But at least," he continues, "the idea is a *successful one. It is in harmony with modern industry,* and finds its counterpart in the trusts, syndicates, and the ideas of scientific production with which we are familiar." (The italics are mine.)

The introductory chapter is called "The Dual Germany." By this is meant the Germany of orderliness, finish, fine cities, ancient glories, and good music on the one hand, and the Germany of militarism, boorishness, and aggression on the other. In other words, the Germany you find quite pleasant and the Germany you detest. No doubt the reader if he be not of too callous a mind will, upon closing the volume, recognize that the faults he found with Germany and the State Socialism in general have been entirely explained away, and that there is much to be desired in this "new conception of the state."

ROBERT H. HUTCHINSON.

"Jerusalem"

AS we read Jerusalem[1] we feel very youthful, as if in the presence of a large, glowing love, the love of a great-great-grandmother, who draws us to her nearer and nearer until we feel the very warmth of her body. Lovingly, she clasps our chin in the palm of her hand and looking down upon us with her all-knowing eyes, she tells us her story, smiling indulgently. Her eyes speak to you—"You have enough of sorrow, little one. I'll not add to it." So, as she approaches the pathos of life, she caresses us tenderly, compassionately;—we almost do not feel the pain of it.

We listen, enrapt with our youthful ardor, to her soft voice that transcends the sordid and material and transplants us to a realm of make-believe.

Yet the subject matter is real enough. It is in the treatment that a certain spirituality, a certain romance pervades the work, imparting to it an ideology peculiarly its own.

In the introduction of the book, Henry Goddard Leach speaks of Selma Lagerlof's literary style as prose rhapsody held in restraint. The book is truly a symphony of nature. We hear the full tones of birds humming, water splashing, vegetation rustling, and through it all resounds the sonorous voice of the people of the soil. We get the full voice though hardly the people. They are too much blended, too indistinct, too intangible. The separate characters are not sufficiently individualized to make them stand out. But then perhaps in this very vagueness of reality lies the beauty of Selma Lagerlof's art.

A certain vagueness too prevails in the connection of chapters. Each chapter is a completed episode and all are held together by a network of fine invisible threads of charming delicacy.

The story deals with the peasant people of Dalecarlia, Sweden, and through their homely labors, loves and yearnings, the author enfolds their spiritual reactions which culminate in a religious urge, a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the service of the Lord.

Selma Lagerlof simply narrates a story. She does not analyze, she does not interpret, she does not generalize. It happened, so she tells it to us, to make us glad and to show us the innate goodness of the human heart. She is so hopeful, so confident of the human heart that she disarms us of our censure; and for misdeeds and weakness, we feel only compassion. Even Ingmar, who abandons his sweetheart for a rich bride, we cannot wholly condemn. As we watch him, silent, immovable, with the paleness of death, we feel his torments. He sees his ancestral homestead, rich with memories of the past, about to be placed under the hammer, and to rescue that homestead he sacrifices his love. But at what a cost! There is something so tragic in his renunciation, we dare not censure, we dare not condemn, we can only pity. And it is pity also we feel for those poor deluded zealots who desert their homes to journey to the Holy Land.

This enthusiastic zeal with its intensity the author discovered to us and placed before us in its natural state, contaminated with the impurities of ignorance and superstition, but none the less a hopeful spring.

In closing the book we are inclined to speculate. How would such a spring purified by intelligence, freed from mysticism, manifest itself? Freed from bigotry, oppression, what would be the direction of its course? Can such zeal be deflected from the service of the Lord and harnessed for the well-being of Mankind?

JEANNETTE D. PEARL.

[1] *Jerusalem*, by Selma Lagerlof, New York; Doubleday, Page & Co. $1.35 Net.

The American Municipality

THE modern city is a forceful expression of modern life. It differs from the medieval city even as the workshop of the medieval artisan differs from the Bethlehem Steel Works, and the old time counting room from the office building of the Standard Oil Company. The city differs even more in the make-up of its cosmopolitan population. It offers problems never dreamed of by our forebears. It has thoroughly exploded the antiquated notions of government exercising merely the functions of a careful night-watchman. It is compelled, willy, nilly, to extend its municipal activities, to take cognizance of the steadily growing demands of life. Sir Henry Maine's observation that since 1875 public policy is more and more turning from the individualistic to the collectivist tendency is nowhere more obvious than in the laborious work of attending to the requirements of city life.

Professor Zueblin's book[1] is a new and revised edition. It endeavors to take cognizance of the almost kaleidoscopic changes in our municipal activities during the last dozen years. Encyclopedic in its character, it shows an honest desire to collect useful and accurate information on the subjects dealt with. It leaves the reader with the impression that a whole encyclopedia would be needed to do full justice to the municipal problems pressing for a solution.

We are in the midst of a formative period, full of confusion, of clashing interests, where the old is struggling with the new. The process of transformation is also one of fermentation. We are still groping, almost in the dark, for the new garments that should fit the growing city body. We have not yet left the experimental stage. In America, our cities are still handicapped by their political status as subdivisions of the state. To a great extent they are interfered with by legislatures in which non-urban elements prevail. There is often lack of understanding, still more often conflict of interests between the rural and the urban elements. Although more and more the life of the nation is pulsating in the cities, they are as yet unable to express their needs and aspirations effectively. Hence we are yet experimenting. The record of our experiments is broadly set forth in Professor Zueblin's book. The author uses such material as he finds handy,

[1] *American Municipal Progress*, by Charles Zueblin. New York: The Macmillan Co. $2.

inviting information that may be of use in future editions of the text-book.

That there is room for improvement is shown, for instance, by the way in which the subject of charity is treated. We have outgrown charity as the expression of a private virtue. We are, on the contrary, dealing with increasing demands for public relief. The public treasury is called upon to furnish the means. That subject is treated fragmentarily. Take, for instance, our most important and wealthiest city, New York. The author describes in about a page our municipal lodging house. He speaks of the Hotel de Gink, the ephemeral hobo experiment which is now no longer running. There he stops.

And yet New York has a Department of Charities with a budget of millions. It has problems of relief calling for the most thoughtful study. Our hospitals are partly private, partly public institutions. So are the homes for the aged and infirm and the institutions in which more than thirty thousand defective, delinquent or destitute children are cared for. Nearly all the private institutions are heavily subsidized from the city treasury. In the year 1915 the city paid to 161 such institutions the sum of $5,317,587. Most of these institutions are sectarian in character, managed by practically self-perpetuating boards. Employees are not subject to civil service rules. Hence favoritism becomes a strong possibility.

The questions arising from the private societies exercising public functions and chiefly maintained by public funds cannot much longer be shelved. To deal with them adequately would require a good sized volume. But that is no valid reason why the author should ignore these problems entirely in a work of over 500 pages.

Another municipal problem, one of the utmost importance, is passed by. The great mass of city dwellers that are kept outside of the pale of political expression. We are not alluding now to the women. They clamor vigorously enough for the vote. But in every American city we encounter an immense percentage of foreign-born men of voting age, voteless, because of non-citizenship, residential requirements and so forth. The census of 1910 shows that on April 15th of that year New York City harbored over half a million white men of voting age, alien as to their political status, hence voteless. Similar conditions, or even worse, exist in all our industrial centres. And yet, these voteless masses are the worst sufferers from municipal mismanagement or misrule. Why not demand for them at least the municipal vote? It would vitalize their interest in city affairs and become a powerful lever for their political education.

While pointing out some weak spots in Professor Zueblin's book we do by no means belittle the zeal and industry of its author. He has gathered an immense quantity of interesting facts. No reader will lay the book aside without knowing much more about our municipalities that he knew before. That the reader should exercise his critical faculty need hardly be enjoined. For after all the book reflects, from the Socialist point of view, the spirit of the well meaning reformer, honest unquestionably, but not entirely emerged from the atmosphere of capitalist ideology, as where, for instance, he recommends a small unpaid council as supreme municipal power.

MOSES OPPENHEIMER.

A Socialist Digest

The German Socialist Opposition

THE minority in the German Socialist parliamentary group is steadily growing. It now counts forty-four members as against sixty-six of the majority. Twenty of the minority are acting as an independent parliamentary group. Such news as is permitted to pass through the net of the censorship indicate that the current is setting in strongly against the policy of supporting the Kaiser and his war policy. We hear of constituencies that endorsed the action of their representatives who voted against the last war credit. We hear of other constituencies censoring their representatives for their affirmative vote. Among the latter class is the constituency of Solingen represented by Phillip Scheidemann. It is also significant that among the stout supporters of the minority are some of the best known veterans of the movement, men that have gone through the fiery furnace of the anti-Socialist law. Most of these veterans have sprung from the real working class, such as Bock, Geyer, Hoch, Stolle, Zubeil.

The rapid trend of the German Socialists towards an aggressive policy is illustrated by a declaration made by Dr. Hirsch on behalf of the Party in the Prussian Diet. Criticising the Imperial Chancellor's statement, the declaration said:

"It proclaims a readiness for peace, but only on the basis of Germany's victories, and their acknowledgment by the surrender of our enemies. We demand that the Imperial Chancellor, who found no word of protest against the monstrous annexationist policy advocated by powerful capitalist associations, should not only repudiate it, but openly renounce the whole policy of annexation, which is the most decisive obstacle to peace, and is only calculated to strengthen to the utmost the resolve of the enemies to pursue the war to a finish. The continuation of this Imperialist policy of violence is only too likely to destroy European civilization, and to protract this insensate war, in which there will be neither victor nor defeated."

The declaration declares that democracy, the abolition of secret diplomacy, and the removal of protective tariffs are the best means of guaranteeing the future existence and the prosperity of Germany, and proceeds as follows:

"As international Social Democrats, true to our principles, we can never lend our assistance to the work of subjugating other peoples, and of infringing their political and economic independence. We feel the sufferings of the working class of the countries opposed to us to-day as acutely as we feel those of our own countrymen. Our enemies will only then be inclined to make peace when they have guarantees for the same security of their national rights and interests as we claim for Germany. Especially do we demand that Belgium should be restored to complete independence, and that the wrong done to her, acknowledged by the Chancellor himself on August 4, 1914, should be completely repaired."

After describing the sufferings and the devastation caused by the war in all countries and the growing bitterness against the continuation of the "terrible bloodshed," which is making itself felt among the masses everywhere, the declaration concluded:

"We demand that the German Government should take the initiative and first renounce all plans of conquest in order to smooth the way for a peace redounding to the welfare of mankind. The outbreak and the course of the war has branded the Imperialist system of violence in the eyes of the whole world."

At the last session of the Diet, the Socialist representation of ten members was divided into two groups of five. In the present session Hirsch went over to the minority, so that the minority Socialists are now a majority in the Diet—six to four.

Divisions Among the French Socialists

AMONG the French Socialists there is a minority that has not abandoned the position of International Socialism as it existed before the war. The existence of such a minority has not been known widely, obviously due to the censorship that endeavors to keep us in the dark about actual conditions among the warring nations.

At the last party congress of the French Socialists that minority made itself heard with great clarity and distinctness. The majority passed a set of resolutions approving the position taken by the parliamentary group in its entirety. These resolutions say that we can have no lasting peace without the realization of justice among the nations and without restoring the economic and political independence of the suppressed small nations. There could be no lasting peace unless the oppressed nations of Europe have restored to them the right of determining their own destinies and unless between France and Alsace Lorraine there is renewed the historic tie that was sundered in 1871 by brutal force, in spite of the protests of Bebel and Liebknecht in the midst of the German nation. Alsace and Lorraine should have an opportunity to express solemnly the will of belonging to the French nation.

"The Socialist Party of France sees in the organization of an international law the strongest guarantee for a lasting peace. It is in favor of a Court of Arbitration for all disputes arising between nations.

"The Socialist party knows that as long as the injustice of capitalism exists and the development of the colonial policy and imperialism is pushed to the utmost there will continue to be the dangers of war.

"The world faces the following alternative: Either to strengthen armaments and militarism as the consequence of capitalistic policy will bring new catastrophes upon Europe, or else in the national courts of arbitration the restriction of armaments, democratic control of assumed obligations, abolition of secret diplomacy, taking over war industries, will secure to Europe and the world normal development of peace between the nations and human progress through Socialism.

"It is necessary that the German Social democracy should in a clear and unequivocal way give strength and life to the principles established by the International, to wit: Disavowal of Imperialism and the policy of conquest; admission of the rights of the people to determine their own destiny, including the peoples or parts of them that have been suppressed violently; protest against the violation of international justice and the neutrality guaranteed by the European powers.

"Only when the German Social Democracy unequivocally and sincerely establishes such a policy will it be possible for us to join with them on the basis of Internationalism."

The resolutions of the majority are rather verbose, and in the above lines we have endeavored to condense their spirit.

There was a minority emphatically disagreeing with the position of the majority. They blamed the parliamentary group in a statement submitted to the party congress for having unanimously voted the war credits on August 4, 1914, and thereby acquiescing in the "Sacred Union" in complete denial of the class struggle; for not having spoken one word declining the responsibility of the International proletariat for the war; in not living up to the duty after the outbreak of the war to work for its speedy determination; in not telling the workers how the capitalists of all countries lie when they assert that the war for civilization, for democracy or for the liberation of an oppressed people.

Therefore they blame the parliamentary group for the entry of some of its members into the cabinet and their responsibility for the suppression of public liberties and the creation of summary courts.

"But some of us there are who will again carry on high the banner of the International." . . . Merrheim and Bourderon went to Zimmerwald to reestablish relations with the conscientious Socialists of other nations, relations that never should have been severed. The executive of our party has denounced those two comrades as having acted without a mandate. As a matter of fact, however, they represented the organizations that voted at the conference of the federation on August 15, 1915, for the resolutions of the minority.

"At all events we, members of the party, declare ourselves in full accord with the action of the International Zimmerwald Conference looking toward peace. Therefore, we appeal to the leaders of the local groups and organizations to pronounce also in favor of the Zimmerwald Conference and to support the action resolved upon by said conference.

"Long live the International Action for Peace! Long live Socialism! Long live the International!"

French Socialist Opposition to the "Union Sacrèe"

NOT all the Socialists of France acquiesce in the party's participation in the "Union Sacrèe;" in fact there is a growing and robust opposition which is making itself felt. Certain sources would make it appear that this opposition is also in favor of "immediate peace at any price," but it does not appear that such is the case. The fight is primarily against the suspension of the class struggle.

In a recently published article on the situation in France *Avanti* says the Socialist opposition is gaining ground in the Paliamentary group. In spite of the fact that the Capitalist and Socialist press has done all in its power to suppress all news of this growing opposition, a stage has now been reached when silence provides no remedy. Twenty-two Socialist Deputies, who disapprove of the attitude of the official daily paper, *L'Humanité*, have submitted a resolution of protest to the Administrative Commission of the Party (C.A.P.), in which they demand that the control of the paper shall be radically transformed and liberated from the influence of the "coteries" which now dominate the journal. To everyone, says *Avanti*, it is clear that since the death of Jaurés the French Socialist Party organ has become more and more out of touch with the masses, devoting its energies exclusively to the service of Ministerialism. The paper, which at one time was edited by Jaurés, keeps a correspondent in Switzerland in order to acquaint its readers with the doings of the opposition in Germany, and never publishes a hint that an opposition has shown itself in France as well. The resolution of the 22 Deputies is significant in its revelation of the depth of discontent against the Party leaders which exists to-day in spite of all efforts at suppression.

A striking example of this development is afforded by the recent history of the *Bataille Syndicaliste*, the organ of the General Confederation of Labor. Several members of the editorial and administrative staffs of the paper, whom Leon Jouhaux wanted to subordinate entirely to the Truce, had convinced themselves of the necessity for a different policy. They felt the need to divest the workers of all responsibility for the policy of the ruling class, to leave the path of national unity, to give up forever the party Truce, and to take up the struggle against those who rule in war as in peace. The majority supported the party Truce, and

as it would not have been possible to dismiss the rebellious editors without arousing great indignation, they conveniently discovered that there was no money to carry on the paper, and resolved to close it down. On November 2 the *Bataille Syndicaliste* ceased to appear, but on November 3 the *Bataille* began to appear again. From the title of Leon Jouhaux's paper the word "Syndicaliste" disappeared, and, what is more significant, the revolutionary Trade Union note was expunged from the paper which the General Federation of Labor had created. "How was it that means were found for the appearance of this paper," asks *Avanti*, "when, on the evening before, no means could be found to keep the old paper going?"

L'Humanité made no reference to any of these political differences.

"The conspiracies, the condemnations, the excommunications of the C.A.P. will not achieve any more than the silence of *L'Humanité*," says *Avanti*. They will not prevent the growth of the opposition. The Party Truce is disappearing."

The Real Meaning of Conscription in England

THE antagonism of Organized Labor in Great Britain to the Conscription Bill has been greatly intensified by the publication of its actual terms. "The demand for Military Conscription," says the *Labour Leader*, "has been inspired by the desire for Industrial Conscription.

"For what does the text of the Bill reveal? *It reveals that the present measure includes provisions to apply Industrial Conscription.*

"We cannot illustrate the menace to organized labor involved in the Bill more effectively than by quoting from the Manchester *Guardian*. After pointing out the limited purposes for which it was thought the Bill was to be introduced, the *Guardian* says:

"'Its object was alleged to be purely military. It was to bring 'slackers' into the trenches, and it was to have no direct bearing on the freedom of the workman. Now that the Bill is printed we are able to judge for ourselves how far these conditions are observed. We remark first that, far from applying merely to 650,000 slackers, it deals with 'every male British subject' over 18 and under 41, provided that he is unmarried or a widower without children. All single men of these ages are covered by the terms of the Bill. All, with exceptions which it proceeds to set out, are deemed to be duly enlisted and are subject to the Army Act. It is not a question of a residuum of a few score, or even of two or three hundred thousands, but of rather more than a million men—that is, the unattested single men, including those who are starred workers.'

"After dealing with certain of the exemptions allowed in the Bill, the *Manchester Guardian* continues:

"'A man may be exempted on the ground that 'it is expedient in the national interests' that he should 'be engaged in other work.' This seems for the moment to restore to the 'starred' man his civil status. But, reading on, we find that this restoration is only conditional. The certificate may be 'absolute, temporary, or conditional,' as the authority 'thinks best suited to the case.' It may be any time 'reviewed' and 'withdrawn or varied' again at the discretion of the authority. Thus, an engineer or a coal miner or a shepherd may receive a certificate which enables them to remain in their present occupations, and it may be made conditional on their remaining in those occupations. Hence if the engineer seeks to change his job or if the coal miner should strike or the shephed have a difference with the farmer the certificate may be reviewed and withdrawn. The case seems specially contemplated in the Bill, for the next clause goes on to impose on the miner or engineer or shepherd the duty of giving notice of any change in the circumstances which led to the granting of the certificate. If one of them has left his employment, he must then inform the Tribunal of the fact. If the Tribunal, duly advised of the fact, withdraws the certificate, what happens? It is very simple. From the date on which the certificate lapses the man 'shall be deemed to have enlisted.' *Thus the miner, engineer or shepherd who has sought to change his occupation, better his conditions, or merely find another employer may discover as a consequence that he has become a soldier.* Conversely, the employer who does not wish a man to leave him, whether for the purpose of improving his conditions or for any other reason, is enabled to point out to that man the possible result of any ill-advised action on his part. The Military Service Tribunals, tribunals hitherto unknown and to be appointed in a manner inadequately specified, become, for single men of military age, the arbiters of industrial conditions. A 'starred' man's tenure of civil status will be at their pleasure. They have no power given them to impose fair industrial conditions on employers, but they can prevent any man or any class from rejecting such conditions as may obtain in the work which they are permitted to do.

"'*We have full-fledged industrial compulsion for thè younger single men, and the distinction between young and old, single and married, is in this respect so untenable that we may confidently expect its abolition in the near future. What the Labor members who voted for the Bill on Thursday will say now that they see it in the flesh we can only guess, and we should hardly like to print our guess.* For ourselves we remark that we have here a Bill to deprive some millions of men of their freedom on the ground of the delinquency of a number conjectured by some at two or three hundred thousand, but held by others to be much less, a Bill for reducing the million to industrial serfdom on the ground that the conjectural thousands ought to do military service, a Bill which will not, as we think, contribute to the victory British arms over Germany, but establishes beyond doubt the victory of German ideas over English.'

"That is a calm and clear analysis of the Bill from a quarter which cannot be said to be biased on the side of La-
A Proposal to Constript Wealth

A Proposal to Conscript Wealth

W. E. ANDERSON, labor M. P., has drafted a "Conscription of Wealth" bill for introduction in Parliament. The preamble is as follows:

"WHEREAS it is declared to be necessary that the nation should employ its entire strength to secure the successful termination of the War;

"AND WHEREAS the means of producing and supplying munitions and other war material are at least as urgently required as additional soldiers;

"AND WHEREAS it is both improvident and unfair to commandeer human lives without commandeering wealth;

"Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:"

The first clause provides that unearned incomes shall, for the duration of the war, "be payable to and receivable by the Public Trustee, instead of being paid to the persons who, except for this Act, would have been legally entitled to receive the said payments of income." As in the Military Service Bill, there are certain exemptions. The Bill is not to apply to "any rents payable by lodgers or occupiers of part

of a house to an owner or occupier thereof residing in the same house;" interest on deposits in a Savings Bank or Co-operative Society is exempted; dividends on purchases payable by Co-operative Societies are exempted; pensions and superannuation allowances are exempted benefits from Friendly Societies, Trade Unions and organizations under the National Insurance Act are exempted. If any person whose unearned incomes have been appropriated can prove to the satisfaction of the Public Trustee that they are not able to meet the cost of living, he is empowered to grant certain allowances. These include amounts which the applicant is under legal obligation to pay, family obligations, charitable contributions, and maintenance allowances to dependents. The fourth clause requires every able-bodied person between the years of 19 and 60, "who is not mentally or morally deficient within the meaning of the Mental Deficiency Act, 1911," and who is not actively employed in useful service, "to volunteer for such public service as may be assigned to him or her, at such remuneration as may be prescribed for such public service;" and the Public Trustee is instructed to take into consideration, in deciding upon any application for an allowance, whether the applicant has volunteered for such service, and the amount of remuneration being received.

Commenting upon the proposal to conscript capital, the London *New Age* says:

"The proposal to conscript capital has made but little progress during the past week. So far as we have examined, indeed, we have not come across a single instance of its serious propaganda. The men for the Army have come forward, we believe, in such voluntary numbers that there is no longer any excuse for the talk of applying conscription to the person; but, on the other hand, though money to carry on the war is more than ever needed, and though it shows no signs of enlisting of its own accord, every excuse for avoiding any talk of conscripting it, is eagerly seized and made use of. On the face of it—if the obvious were not the last aspect of things to be seen—it would appear that the conscription of capital for the purpose of a vital national war would precede rather than follow (or not follow at all!) the conscription of men; and particularly in a democratic country whose presumed table of values places men above money. Yet we have seen it proposed to drag men by force from their homes to risk their lives in defense of the nation, at the same time that equally necessary capital is billed and cooed to without so much as a threat of compulsion. Nay, more, while men who volunteer to risk their lives are to be content with the pay of civil workmen in times of peace, capital is allowed to take advantage of the conditions of war to raise its price and to charge the very State that defends it, not only with a high rate of interest but with the absolute security of the sums invested. There will be, it is obvious, no casualties among the sums lent to the State as there are hundreds of thousands among lives lent to the State. On the contrary, sums lent to the State will be returned unimpaired, intact and with interest added to them. If this discrimination in favor of money over men is not the very pith of plutocracy, and, hence, the denial of democracy, we do not know the elementary use of words."

"Jersey Justice" and Labor

IN the New York *Globe*, Dr. Percy Stickney Grant publishes a letter reviewing the Pat Quinlan case which is full of interesting information:

"Quinlan will have completed in March one year of his indeterminate sentence of from two to seven years for inciting a riot. His case was first brought on for trial before the Court of Quarter Sessions of the County of Passaic on May 7, 1913, and after hearing the evidence for three days the jury retired on May 9 at 12.55 o'clock in the afternoon, and after deliberating until 10.38 the next morning, returned and reported that they could not agree and were thereupon discharged. The prosecutor moved immediately for a new trial, and on the third day following, Monday, May 12, the new trial began. The second jury likewise listened to the evidence for three days and retired on May 14 at 3.15 o'clock in the afternoon and returned at 5 o'clock the same afternoon with a verdict of guilty. Quinlan was thereafter released upon cash bail, all ordinary forms of bail having been refused him. For nearly two years, while the matter was before the appellate courts, nothing more was heard of the case until Feb. 28, 1915, when sentence was pronounced, the conviction having been affirmed.

"On the night of Feb. 24, 1913, the eve of the Paterson silk strike, Quinlan addressed a mass meeting of the workers, and, according to the newspaper notices of the next day, exhorted them under no circumstances to use violence.

"On the morning following the address referred to, Quinlan was to have addressed a mass meeting in Paterson, but having to reach Paterson by rail and the meeting having assembled earlier than was expected, Quinlan did not arrive until the audience was leaving the hall. He who only the night before cautioned and advised against violence is charged with having stated the next morning to these workers leaving the hall, 'Let's go down to Dougherty's and beat up the strikebreakers,' or with having used words to that effect. As a matter of fact, an operative who had before been a leader in labor troubles at that mill uttered this cry, as a reporter on a capitalistic paper in Paterson, who knew this operative, testified on the stand. Is not this accusation inherently improbable? Is it not most unlikely that a man who, when he had the opportunity to address the strikers, in his address cautioned against violence, should have within a few hours given advice so contrary to the same strikers when leaving another meeting at which he had not had the opportunity to speak?

"Quinlan was convicted upon the uniform testimony of the policemen of Paterson. Upon the identical charge, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn has been discharged, and the testimony laughed at and discredited. She made a speech. That was admitted. Quinlan did not even make a speech.

"I doubt, however, if it will be possible to secure a pardon for Quinlan. The reasons for this doubt exist in the present organization of the board of pardons of New Jersey. Quinlan's conviction was carried upon appeal to the Supreme Court and to the Court of Errors and Appeals. I imagine that it is not generally known outside the state of New Jersey that on the Court of Errors and Appeals of that state and on the board of pardons there are what are called "lay judges." These persons are not judges at all in the sense that they are lawyers. A lay judge, however, may be a lawyer, but that would be purely a coincidence. They are ordinary business men. The theory is that business men appointed by the Governor bring to bear practical judgment upon the problems of the court. As a matter of fact, they make it possible for the court, and for the board of pardons, to be crudely controlled by mercantile and political prejudice. Sitting upon the court they represent even more strongly than the professional bench the capitalistic class of the State, and it is clear that with such members an appellate court would be very averse to reversing the findings of a lower court which had been unfavorable to a

labor leader. It is practically inconceivable that lay judges selected from the capitalistic classes should be unbiased in their judgment on the case of a laboring man.

"The same results which flow from the membership of lay judges in the Court of Errors and Appeals flow also from their membership in the Board of Pardons, but, in fact, the results are even far worse. The appointment of these lay judges is made by the governor in such a way that each lay judge represents a different section of the State. They have roughly divided the State among them, and each takes care of the applications from his territory, and the board takes such action as the particular lay judge approves or suggests. The other judges do not interfere no matter how provoking the circumstances may be. As a result of this custom or rule the board, practically speaking, is a one-man affair.

"This brings me directly to a more potent reason for the doubt above expressed that a pardon can be obtained for Quinlan. In Quinlan's case the lay judge whose territory covers Paterson is a certain Mr. Robert Williams, who differs from most lay judges in that he has studied law. On the other hand, he is one of the owners of a Paterson newspaper most bitterly opposed to Quinlan and his cause, and is also otherwise interested in the silk business. Can we conceive of a more unjust situation—pardon for a prisoner depending not upon a free board, a truly judicial organization, an unbiased, unprejudiced, merciful consideration of the case, but depending upon the action of a board containing representatives of the business class hostile to the prisoner, and in particular, depending upon the will of one person who is a leader of the prisoner's enemies in the very community where the alleged offense is said to have been committed, and if in our consideration of these facts we bring to memory the fact that Quinlan was convicted through the activities of a police force whose slogan is, 'You may have the right, but we have the power,' we may determine for ourselves the quality of justice which is described in the phrase: 'Jersey justice.'

"There is also an inquisitorial feature in the actions of this board of pardons. If a pardon is to be granted by this board to a labor leader confessions, retractions of belief, promises not to take part in labor agitations are exacted as the price of the pardon; in future a profound interest in the welfare of his fellow-beings must find no expression in the State of New Jersey, and in one case, that of Frederick Boyd, the editor, after the fulfilment of all things demanded of him, pardon was, after all, refused. Is any friend of fair play sorry that Quinlan has refused to accept a pardon on any such terms?

"I know how general in the business community is the dislike of labor leaders. They are accused of exercising their power to the injury of business and to the benefit of themselves. While there are undoubtedly such individuals among them, I do not believe the criticism just to the class. There must be labor leaders so long as labor and capital deal with each other upon a competitive basis and so long as any workman who dares to voice the complaints and injustices of his class is blacklisted."

Correspondence

The Irish Literary Revival—A Discussion

I

To the New Review:

THE administration of Ireland is such that no public body is elected and no official job is ever given without the applicants being first obliged to label themselves as Protestant or Catholic. Mr. Boyd in his article "The Irish Literary Revival" in the New Review has now succeeded to his own satisfaction in labelling off the Irish writers in the same dismal manner. He implies that the new literature of Ireland is Protestant, because, says he, "the greatest names are those of Protestants, nominal or actual—A. E., W. B. Yeats, and J. M. Synge. The Catholic writers either keep their religion out of their work to their advantage, or they introduce it at the expense of their art." One supposes he means that the Protestant writers (nominal or actual) drag theirs in. Fortunately or unfortunately, for good or for evil, whether one likes it or not, the literature of modern Ireland is Catholic, as anybody who has even the most superficial acquaintance with it can testify. The religion of the Irish writers has precious little to do with their literary output; most of them profess no formal religion at all. But they are dealing in their work with a people whose mental outlook has been moulded by fourteen or fifteen centuries of Catholicism, and whose whole philosophy of life is Catholic. So it happens that modern Irish literature is Catholic just as modern Scandinavian literature is Protestant. Some fifty years ago Newman pointed out that English literature must necessarily be Protestant because it dealt with a national life moulded by Protestant influences. For a similar reason Irish literature is Catholic. Mr. Boyd thinks that the work of Katherine Tynan and Lionel Johnson, alone of the Irish writers, is Catholic. To be sure these two writers are formally Catholic and have written excellent poems about saints and martyrs. But their religious poetry shows no trace of Irish influences. The truth is that in both cases their religious poems were written in England and while the writers were subject to English Catholic influences. On the other hand, Synge puts the soul of Catholic Ireland in *Riders to the Sea;* and indeed into all of his plays, because his thoughts and feelings and emotions were with the people he wrote about—a people who had been Catholic for a thousand years before America was discovered. Indeed Synge, with his affinities with the medieval French and Italian writers would have violently resented being labeled Protestant. Yeats' plays are taken in Ireland so seriously as Catholic literature dealing with a Catholic people that he was publicaly rebuked by a Cardinal for a mistake in a small point of theology, and a long discussion ensued between the Cardinal and a Catholic theologian in which the Cardinal did not get the best of it. Of all the modern Irish dramatists—there are at least a dozen—only one had brought in the typical Protestant life of North East Ulster. George Moore may announce that he has become a Protestant because his patriotism was insulted by the Catholic Bishops of Ireland receiving Edward VII, but he has not succeeded in changing the medieval Papistry of his mind.

Mr. Boyd says Irish poetry is Pagan. I readily recognize the amount of truth in this. The Catholic Church was never in serious conflict with certain rites and beliefs that belong to the Pagan faith of Europe. It assimilated all the Pagan elements that did not conflict with its fundamentals, and adopted any suitable customs it found in the countries it took possession of. Every Catholic literature is more or less Pagan as every Catholic country is more or less Pagan. Mr. Boyd says that the Catholic Church in Ireland was a graft on a civilization alien to it—if he believes this he has misunderstood Irish psychology, Irish history and Irish tradition.

With regard to another point in Mr. Boyd's article he gives as one reason for the lack of good novelists in Ireland that it is difficult to write a novel "out of the simple and perhaps scanty material furnished by village-communities." Of course this is quite wrong. Such communities form not only the obvious materials for novels, but of all forms of literature. The chief reason for the success of *The Spoon River Anthology* is that the author has discovered in this country just such a community. The real reason for the scarcity of Irish novels is that the conventional form of the novel does not suit the Irish mind at all. The form of the Irish novel is likely to be somewhat similar to Selma Lagerlof's *Jerusalem* or Turgenev's shorter novels, Mr. Stephens already has arrived at some such form.

MARY M. [MRS. PADRAIC] COLUM.
New York City.

II

To the NEW REVIEW:

IN an attempt to controvert my statement that contemporary Irish literature is not a reflection of the Catholic genius, Mrs. Colum has merely confirmed it. She goes even further than I, for she says the religious poetry of Lionel Johnson and Katharine Tynan "shows no traces of Irish influence." In other words, these essentially Catholic poets are un-Irish! I was prepared to admit their Catholicism, as well as their nationality, but Mrs. Colum is so anxious to disagree with me, that she prefers to abandon the only two poets of note in the host of minor Catholic versifiers whom I eliminated.

Irish Catholicism is of such a peculiar variety that it is not a paradox to describe it as Protestant. It is puritanical, inaesthetic, and joyless, bearing no more resemblance to the Catholicism of continental Europe than to Presbyterianism. English Catholics are far more akin to those of Spain, Italy or France than their Irish co-religionists. So well does Mrs. Colum know this that she rejects the Catholic poetry of Lionel Johnson and Katharine Tynan, on the ground that it was written "while the writers were subject to English Catholic influences." Such a statement clearly proves that the Catholicism of Ireland is of special kind, not to be identified with Catholicism elsewhere. I do not think any Catholic Spaniard would dismiss as un-Catholic the works of a Francis Thompson, merely because the influences under which the poet wrote were English. The essence of Catholicism is its universality, and the truly Catholic poet will express the fundamental spirituality of his co-religionists everywhere.

It was unfortunate for her argument that Mrs. Colum should have selected that Pagan tragedy, *Riders to the Sea*, to illustrate it. As she rightly says: "Synge puts the soul of Catholic Ireland" into this play. But alas, the soul revealed is the most un-Catholic possible in a country "moulded by fourteen or fifteen centuries of Catholicism"! If the literature of Ireland is compared with that of Spain, or even Italy, the vast different between Catholic and merely non-Protestant writers is apparent. The personal religion of d'Annunzio is probably as "informal" as that attributed by Mrs. Colum to our compatriots, but he cannot keep the Catholic spirit out of his frankly "impious" works. Is there a scene in Irish literature to compare with the pilgrimage in *Il trionfo della morte?* The full flavor of what is meant by Catholic literature is, however, only to be tasted in the prose and poetry of modern Spain, which has remained true to her dogmatic origins. There is more papistry in one chapter of Juan Valera or Emilia Pardo Bazan, not to mention Armando P. Valdes, than in the Pastorals of an Irish bishop!

The preposterous controversies which have raged about the writings of Yeats, Synge and A. E. have invariably been launched by the theologians of Gaelic jingoism. When such a perfect interpretation of the Irish peasantry as Padraic Colum's *The Land* was not allowed to pass unchallenged, but was accused of being "unchristian," what can be expected in the case of writers actually hostile to the Catholic Church? When an artist so aloof from controversy as Colum, so temperamentally incapable of theological or moral didacticism, incurred the wrath of the chauvinists, it is evident that these outbursts have no relation to Catholicism, as such. Our patriotic censors are, at bottom, Methodists, with the characteristic scorn of the species for all aesthetic values, and a morbid desire for uplifting sentiments. There is no place in Irish Catholicism for a Borgia, a Villon or a Verlaine.

By proving that Irish literature is un-Protestant Mrs. Colum has cleared up a point which was, I admit, open to misunderstanding. But she has adduced no reasons for believing that our writers are Catholic, in the usual sense of the term, the sense which gives a fundamental unity to literatures as diverse, in other respects, as those of France, Italy and Spain. There is a common factor to these three, and it is not absent from the Catholic writers of Northern Europe. It cannot, therefore, be explained as a matter of race. The lack of this factor in Ireland is the basis of my conviction that the Catholic spirit does not express itself in Irish literature.

So far as the Irish novel is concerned, I cannot find that Mrs. Colum has seriously modified my own statements, in this connection. She seems to think that the village community is an ideal field for a great work of fiction. Far be it from me to deny that short stories of considerable merit have been inspired by rural life. It is, nevertheless, a fact that the bulk of the world's novels are written out of conditions very dissimilar from those which obtain in Ireland. The charming prose fantasies of James Stephens are, indeed, evidence that the last phase of the Irish Literary Revival will likely be a prose one. But with the exception of Stephens' story of Dublin City, *The Charwoman's Daughter*, none of his later and better known prose works can properly be described as a novel. The short story is the invariable medium of Irish fiction, although sometimes disguised by connecting various unrelated incidents about some central figure. This was the procedure of Jane Barlow and Seumas MacManus many years ago, and Stephens has retained their method in *The Crock of Gold* and *The Demi-Gods*. Nobody will be happier than I to greet the arrival of an Irish Turgenev, but if he models his work upon *A Sportsman's Sketches*, as Moore did in the *Untilled Field*, it will still be correct to say that we are without a first-class Irish novel.

ERNEST A. BOYD.
Baltimore, Md.

"Goldgrube"
CAFE AND RESTAURANT
GERMAN KITCHEN
121 Chambers St.
101 Reade St.,
20 Dey St.,
NEW YORK CITY

New Review Book Service

WE DO NOT ADVERTISE A BOOK WE CANNOT RECOMMEND

VITAL BOOKS ON THE VITAL PROBLEMS OF THE DAY

To Our Readers: The following list of books was compiled merely as a suggestion to you. By patronizing us, you get good service and help the NEW REVIEW.

Remember This: We can get you any book of any publisher. Information gladly supplied.

Send all orders to

NEW REVIEW BOOK SERVICE, 256 Broadway NEW YORK CITY

THE GREAT WAR

The Anglo-German Problem, by Charles Sarolea. Written before the outbreak of the war, this book is an analysis of the conflict of rival Imperialisms. While slightly partial toward France and England, it is nevertheless a very important contribution toward the discussion of the causes of the war. (P) $1.35. Postage 10c. extra.

Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution, by Thorstein Veblen. A scientific analysis of the historical, economic and social factors resulting in Germany's phenomenal industrial progress. Treats the subject from the standpoint of material factors and universal history. "Especially welcome as a help to clear thinking," says Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich. (M) $1.50, postage 12c. extra.

Russia and the Great War, by C. Alexinsky. Written by a Russian Socialist, who deals with the subject adequately and brilliantly. An exceptionally valuable book. (S) $3, postpaid.

Nationality and the War, by Arnold J. Toynbee. The only book extant dealing with this most important subject. Chock full of material, on the whole ably interpreted. (DU) $2.50, postpaid.

Origins and Destiny of Imperial Britain, by Prof. J. A. Cramb. The Imperialism of Great Britain eulogized and explained by a Briton. Indispensable to an understanding of the general characteristics of modern Imperialism. (DU) $1.50.

The Export of Capital, by C. K. Hobson. Not a war book, but deals with the economic basis of modern Imperialism—the export of capital. A scholarly study of foreign investment—its causes; growth, methods, effects, etc. (M) $2, postage 10c. extra.

Socialists and the War, by Wm. English Walling. A documentary study of Socialist participation in, and attitude to, the Great War. Indispensable for a full and adequate understanding of the subject. (H) $1.50, postpaid.

German Philosophy and Politics, by John Dewey. A pragmatic appraisal, incisive and conclusive. Concludes with an inspiring Internationalism. (H) $1, postage 5c. extra.

LABOR PROBLEMS

The Militant Proletariat, by Austin Lewis. The unskilled workers as a new and revolutionary factor in the American Labor Movement. A necessary book. (K) 50c. postpaid.

American Labor Unions, by Helen Marot. Covers the whole labor union movement. Sincerely critical and concretely revolutionary. Full of facts, and thoroughly interesting. (H) $1.25, postage 10c. extra.

Immigration and Labor, by Isaac A. Hourwich. A study of a vital problem by a specialist. Traces the economic effects of immigration upon American development, and shows the beneficent results. Statistically it is unassailable, theoretically unanswerable. Even opponents of the author's idea of unrestricted immigration concede the value of the book, the only one of its kind dealing with this subject. The *Call* calls it "an epoch-making book." Indispensable to Socialists, radicals and all interested in the future of labor. (P) $2.50, postage 15c. extra.

Wages in the United States, by Scott Nearing. Proves that a large portion of American workers are unable to maintain a proper standard of living. Marshals the facts concerning wage theories, the cost of living, and the problems arising out of the standard of living investigations. (M) $1.25, postpaid.

Sabotage, by Emile Pouget, with an Introduction by Arturo Giovanitti. A sober presentation of the value of Sabotage in the class war. (K) 50c., postpaid.

Syndicalism, by Louis Levine. The new forces in the Labor movement vividly expounded. Sympathetic and critical. "Most comprehensive and illuminating study of revolutionary Syndicalism in the English language."—American Economic Review. Paper (L. G), $1.50; cloth, $2. Postage 10c. extra.

Reflections on Violence, by Georges Sorel. The classic on the philosophy of Syndicalism. In this book Sorel expounds his famous theory of "social myths." (HU) $2.25, postage 10c. extra.

Social Insurance, by I. M. Rubinow. The only comprehensive book on the subject. Includes Employers' Liability, Sick Insurance, Old Age Pensions, Insurance Against Unemployment, etc. (H) $3, postage 12c. extra.

FICTION

The Research Magnificent, by H. G. Wells. The story of a man who feels that he is born to be a leader, one of those enlightened supermen who are to lead humanity out of the mire of present conditions, struggles magnificently against those conditions. It is at once a vivid life-story and profound study of the contemporary world struggle. (M) $1.50, postpaid.

The "Genius," by Theodore Dreiser. A powerful, gripping story of modern life. Frank and realistic. Mr. Dreiser is one of the great writers of the world, a man who is quietly revolutionizing American fiction. (L) $1.50, postpaid.

The Harbor, by Ernest Poole. Presents the American Revolt in fiction. Depicts the great changes taking place in American life, business, ideals and labor. The central character passes from a blind worship of enterprise and efficiency to a deeper knowledge of humanity and the labor movement. (M) $1.40, postpaid.

New Review Book Service

Violette of Pére Lachaise, by Anna Strunsky Walling. The life and spiritual development of a rare and beautiful character—a girl of the masses who gives herself to the cause of social revolution. (ST) $1, postpaid.

The Rat-Pit, by Patrick MacGill. A novel which voices the life and struggle of inarticulate unskilled labor. Realism fused with imagination and sympathy. A new genre in contemporary fiction. (D) $1.25, postpaid.

Tales of Two Countries, by Maxim Gorky. The Russian tales are typical of the old propagandistic Gorky. The Tales of Italy express a new Gorky, mellowed by experience, critical without being a propagandist, artistic as life itself in all its simplicity. They sing their story into your imagination, and stir with a strange beauty (HU) $1.25, postpaid.

The Story of Jacob Stahl, by J. D. Beresford. In three volumes; The Early History of Jacob Stahl; A Candidate for Truth; The Invisible Event. Floyd Dell places this trilogy among the six best novels. Perhaps the finest work of contemporary English fiction. (D) Each $1.35. The set, $2.75, postpaid.

Jean-Christophe, by Romain Rolland. The novel of an age, the epic of an epoch. It is the history of the struggle of the individual for self-expression, for a new morality, for the sanctity of the individual; a frank portrayal of the life of a man from the day of his birth to the day of his death; a criticism of contemporary culture, destructive and constructive. The characters are drawn by the hand of a master, the style is strong in its simplicity and symphonic in its sweep. Critics agree that it is the greatest novel of the XXth century, one of the greatest novels of all time. (H) In three volumes, each $1.50, postpaid.

Pelle the Conqueror, by Martin Andersen Nexo. A Danish epic of the proletariat. Overwhelming in its truth, sympathy and realism. A proletarian Jean Christophe. The first volume deals with peasant life, the second volume with life in the industrial city. (H) Each volume $1.50, postpaid.

The Bomb, by Frank Harris. A vivid novel centering around the Haymarket tragedy in Chicago in 1887. (X) Regular price, $1.50; our price, 90 cents, postage 10c. extra.

The Red and the Black, by Stendhal. We refuse to describe this superb novel. If you never read a work of fiction again, read this. (DD) $1.75, postpaid.

The Novels of Dostoevsky, by Feodor Dostoevsky. A new and superb translation. The greatest of Russian novelists. *The Brothers Karomazov:* "The greatest work of fiction ever written, a work so extraordinary that everything else seems insignificant," says George Moore. *Crime and Punishment:* "It is impossible to read this novel without reverently saluting the author's power," says William Lyons Phelps. Other volumes: The Idiot; The Possessed; The House of the Dead; The Insulted and the Injured. These novels should all be read, these novels of a man who disputes with Balzac the claim of being the world's greatest novelist. Uniform binding. Each volume, $1.50, postpaid.

The Way of All Flesh, by Samuel Butler. One of the finest novels, perhaps the finest, in the English language. (DU) $1.50, postpaid.

Sonnica, by Blasco Ibanez, "the Spanish Zola." A realistic historical novel, describing the life of the ancients at the period of the Punic Wars. The picture of Hannibal is unsurpassed; while the novel as a whole, perhaps possesses more life and power even than Flaubert's Salammbo. (DD) $1.35, postpaid.

AMERICAN HISTORY

Social Forces in American History, by A. M. Simons. An economic interpretation of American history, describing the various classes which have ruled and functioned from time to time. (M) $1.50, postpaid.

An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution, by Prof. Charles A. Beard. A valuable and stimulating book by a thorough student of the subject. (M) $2.25, postpaid.

Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy, by Prof. Charles A. Beard. Deals with the period following the adoption of the constitution. The conflict between rising Capitalism and Agrarianism. (M) $2.50, postpaid.

FEMINISM

Women as World-Builders, by Floyd Dell. A study of the Feminist movement by means of ten most representative feminists. Clever, original, these studies relate the Feminist movement to our changing life as a whole. 50c., postage 6c. extra.

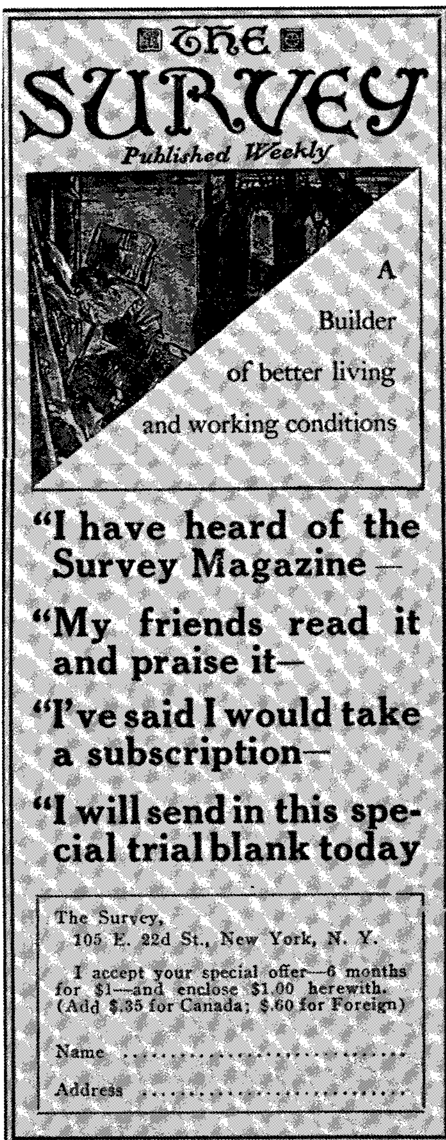
Fear and Conventionality, by Elsie Clews Parsons. The theme is the outgrowth of conventionality from every human being's fear of every other human being. The ceremonialism of our intercourse with other people is to protect ourselves. The final chapter is a delightful description of the society of the future, where we won't be afraid of each other, and fear and conventionality will vanish. (P) $1.50, postage 10c. extra.

The Old-Fashioned Woman, by Elsie Clews Parsons. A stimulating, scientific discussion. Unusual in treatment and conclusions. (P) $1.50, postage 10c. extra.

Woman Under Socialism, by August Bebel. Translated from the original German of the 33rd edition, by Daniel De Leon. This is one of the greatest Socialist books ever written. It is a powerful exposure of the shams of capitalist morality. This is the book from which garbled extracts are taken to show that Socialists advocate "free love." (LN) $1, postpaid.

EDUCATION

Schools of To-morrow, by John Dewey (professor of philosophy, Columbia University) and Evelyn Dewey. Not a dry-as-dust handbook, but a vital, inspiring study. A survey of all the best work that is being carried on today in America in the way of educational experiment. The authors point to these typical advance posts of progress, search out the truth that underlies them, and from these truths construct the schools of to-morrow. (DU) $1.50, postage 8c. extra.



The Works of Karl Marx

"Back to First Principles!" is the general cry among Socialists the world over.

Capital

In 3 volumes, each $2; the set, $5. The great classic of Socialism, laying bare the underlying tendencies of Capitalist production.

Value, Price and Profit

One volume, 50c postpaid. A brilliant analysis of the subject, with a special eye toward the relation between wages and prices.

Wage, Labor and Capital

One volume, 50c postpaid. One of Marx' remarkable brochures, with a special eye to Free Trade.

The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte

One volume, 50c postpaid. The complex of social forces resulting in the Second Empire; but more—it is the finest study in the philosophy of History.

A Critique of Political Economy

One volume, $1.00 postpaid. Emphasizes particularly the origin and function of money.

Revolution and Counter Revolution

One volume, 50c postpaid. A series of essays showing Marx as a historian of the first magnitude.

The Poverty of Philosophy

One volume, $1.00 postpaid. Marx answer to Proudhon's Philosophy of Poetry, a polemic unsurpassed in scientific literature.

SPECIAL OFFER: The works of Marx (total value $10.00) sent to one address for $8.00, postpaid.

NEW REVIEW BOOK SERVICE
256 Broadway, New York City

MILITARITIS

This is a very prevalent disease just now in our country and many good people are "seeing red" without really knowing why!

To avoid this annoying condition read

THE PHOENIX

Edited by Michael Monahan

A monthly magazine which is sane on War and loyal to the American Idea. A few opinions:

The Argonaut:
All discerning persons read the PHOENIX.

Rochester Post Dispatch:
To our thinking quite the most satisfying periodical of its kind.

San Francisco Chronicle:
As full of parodox as Bernard Shaw, but whatever his faults he is never dull.

Chicago Post:
One of the few editors whose personal moods it is in the least possible to share.

The Scoop (Chicago):
A writer of compelling force, a wit, a satirist, a high thinker, a scholar, a passionate apostle of freedom, forever protesting against the bondage of convention.

$1.00 a Year.
$1.25 to Canada and foreign countries.

The PHOENIX
S. Norwalk Conn.

Current Issue of

THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST

Quarterly Journal of International Socialism

The Vassar College Supplement

"Preparedness"—A Reply to Bernard Shaw, By Jessie W. Hughan

"Socialists Should Have Stopped the War", By W. J. Ghent

"Socialism and Internationalism", By Wm. English Walling

"The College and Society". By T. D. A. Cockerell

"Unsheath the Sword of Liberty". A Poem by Fred. F. Rockwell

"The I. S. S. Convention". By Harry W. Laidler

Review of Books by Rose Pastor Stokes, N. I. Stone and others.

Subscribe at once!

10c a Copy — 25c a Year

15 Copies $1

INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY

70 FIFTH AVENUE
New York City

THE SEXUAL QUESTION

by

AUGUST FOREL
M.D., Ph.D., LL.D.

". . . It should be read by everyone interested in not only the scientific, but also the sociological side of the sexual question."—*New York Medical Journal.*

". . . The author does not pander to the prurient curiosity of those of libidinous pursuits, nor furnish a salacious exposition of what is usually hidden behind a curtain of uncertain and false modesty. He furnishes a scientific picture of what should be a part of every one's education, and he has succeeded in doing so without giving offense to the most fastidious."—*Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery.*

Heretofore sold by subscription only to physicians. Now offered to the public. Written in plain terms. Former price $5.50. *Now sent prepaid for* $1.60. This is the revised and enlarged Marshall English translation.

NEW REVIEW BOOK SERVICE

256 Broadway, New York City.

Socialism and War

By Louis B. Boudin

Author of "The Theoretical System of Karl Marx."

A brilliant and adequate Socialist interpretation of the Great War by the foremost Marxian scholar in America.

This book develops a theory of the economic basis of Imperialism that is at once original and satisfactory.

The general problems involved in the Socialist attitude to ALL wars are brilliantly discussed.

CHAPTERS.

I. CLEARING THE GROUND. Disposes of the superficial "causes" of the war as advanced by many non-Socialists and some Socialists.

II. THE ECONOMIC CAUSES OF THE WAR. A brilliant and inspiring application of the Materialist Conception of History to contemporary events. Analyzes the relation of Capitalism to war, and the economic basis of Imperialism. Shows why Capitalism at one stage of its development is peaceful, at another stage warlike.

III. THE IDEOLOGIC CAUSES OF THE WAR. How material interests develop an ideology. Shows how the economic interests of "iron and steel" Capitalism develop the ideology of the newer nationalism and theories of "race supremacy."

IV. THE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE WAR AND THE STAKES INVOLVED. The production of iron and steel as the basis of Capitalist Imperialism; Germany's lead as a producer of iron and steel the cause of her aggression in the present war. The economic reasons for the invasion of Belgium and Servia. The relation of the Bagdad railway to the present war.

V. THE WAR AND THE SOCIALISTS. Traces the cause for the breakdown of International Socialism, and assigns the responsibility.

VI. SOCIALIST VS. BOURGEOIS THEORIES. What is the Socialist conception of "race" and "nation"? The Socialist conception of Internationalism? The Socialist attitude of war? Can Socialists be neutral? This chapter is a finely constructive piece of work, and applies the class struggle theory to the problems of nationality.

THE ANALYSIS IS STRICTLY SCIENTIFIC, THE STYLE AND PRESENTATION SIMPLE AND DIRECT.

Price, $1.10 Postpaid

Forthcoming Books

"SOCIALISM" OF NEW ZEALAND.

By Robert H. Hutchinson.

MR. HUTCHINSON studied conditions at first hand in New Zealand. His book is a masterly analysis and criticism of State Socialism in New Zealand. Its causes and results are described. A chapter on the influence of the Great War on State Socialism lends an added value to the book.

SOCIALISM AFTER THE WAR.

By Louis C. Fraina.

THIS is a study of the future of Socialism in the light of the changes wrought by the Great War. It discusses fully the *revolutionary* Socialist attitude toward the more important social problems arising after the war.

STUDIES IN SOCIALISM.

By Isaac A. Hourwich.

THIS is a remarkably suggestive series of studies in social and economic development. Among the chapters are: "The Trust and Socialism," "Social-Economic Classes in the United States," "Industrial Arbitration," etc.

New Review Publishing Ass'n, 256 Broadway, New York City