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Weissmannism and Its Relation to Socialism

IN 1883 the biological theories of August Weissmann split the camp of evolutionary science in twain, and for the following thirteen years the factions waged a merry war which was somewhat felicitously dubbed the "Battle of the Darwinians." The controversy was carried on in the leading scientific journals of the world, and was not altogether conducted in the calm, passionless manner to be expected of the votaries of immutable law. The warring scientists splashed like irate cuttle-fish in clouds of their own ink. They were sometimes unscientifically impolite, and occasionally sarcastic and unkind; but when the pother was over, and the muddy waters had cleared, it was seen that Weissmann and his theories were still very much to the fore. About 1896 a halt was called. The reading public was beginning to tire of the arguments, and editors were frowning upon further contributions to biological lore, wherefore the scientists retired to their laboratories and prepared to win by experiment the battles denied to their logic. Since that time, some progress has been made toward the settlement of the question and much light has been thrown upon the method of evolution. Weissmann has come out of the fight with flying colors, and though some slight modifications have been made upon his general theory, the underlying principle is almost universally conceded by biological experts, and his researches have had a most stimulating effect upon evolutionary science.

The question at issue between the Darwinians is: What are the factors of evolution? What are the processes which have caused the differentiation of life? What is it that has developed simple protoplasm here into a pansy, there into a palm; here into a minute infusorium swimming in the water, there

into a gigantic elephant crashing through the jungle? To what, in fact, is due the origin of species?

The older school of evolutionists are termed the Neo-Lamarckians because they hold partly to the theories of development first propounded by La Mark. The factors of evolution discovered by him are: (1) The effects of use and disuse, on parts and organs; and (2) the influence of environment in bringing about changes in an organism. All changes so acquired were supposed to be transmitted to offspring, for La Mark's fourth law of development reads: "All that has been acquired, begun, or changed in the structure of the individuals in their lifetime, is preserved in reproduction and transmitted to the new individuals which spring from those who have inherited the change." To these two laws of development the Neo-Lamarckians have added what are termed the Darwinian factors of evolution: Natural selection, and sexual selection; but these they assign a secondary place in the production of species.

In 1883, Weissmann published an essay on heredity in which he vigorously attacked current doctrines. He denied that species have arisen by the accumulation of acquired characters transmitted from one generation to another, and positively asserted that the Darwinian factors of evolution were sole and sufficient causes of the origin of species. Here then is found the fundamental difference between the two schools. One is a theory of direct descent, the other a theory of fortuitous descent. One asserts that species were produced by the transmission and accumulation of acquired characters; the other that they arose by the selection of types possessing favorable variation. On these lines the battle was fought, and the inheritance of acquired characters is the moot point around which raged the fiercest of the fight.

It will be well, before examining the claims of the contending factions, to specifically define an acquired character, and this can be best done by illustration. If, on coming of age, a young man receives from the estate of a dead parent one thousand dollars—that is inheritance. If at his death he bequeaths to his son one thousand dollars—that is still inheritance. But if, during his lifetime, he acquires an additional five hundred dollars, and leaves fifteen hundred dollars to his son—the extra five hundred may be termed an acquired character of a financial nature. Putting this illustration into biological terms it reads as follows: If a man inherits a certain constitution—that is heredity. If he hands down the same constitution to his offspring—that is still heredity. But if, during their lives they acquire certain peculiarities of mental or physical structure and hand down those to descendants—that would be the trans-

mission of acquired characters. And it is in this manner that the Neo-Lamarckians believe species originated. Use and disuse enlarged or diminished parts or organs; the environment forced new characters upon organisms; all variations so produced were transmitted to offspring, and by the accumulation of such characters, species arose.

This theory Weissmann utterly denies, and in 1884 he published an essay entitled the "Continuity of the Germplasm" in which he set forth his own theory. Briefly outlined, its leading features are as follows: The germ cell, from which all multicellular organisms develop, is early changed by a process of cell division into two different kinds of cells—somatic cells, from which by further division the body of the organism is built up, and germ cells, from which at some future time will come the offspring of the matured organism. Thus at the beginning of the process, a bit of the germinal substance from which the parent cell is derived is set aside to form the basis of future reproduction. This bit of germ plasm is the bearer of heredity, and descends generation after generation, continuous and without change. Now as all the possibilities of the future animal are wrapped up within the germ, it necessarily follows that if acquired characters are to be inherited, the substance of which it is composed must undergo some slight change. This, at any rate, must be true, but its admittance places the Lamarckians in a very difficult position. It so happens that the germ cells of any animal are separated from environing agencies by a multitude of body cells which effectually guard it from the impact of external forces, and as yet no machinery has been found by which changes initiated on external surfaces may be communicated to the germ.

The known facts of heredity very much favor this theory of the continuity of the germ plasm. Some species have existed and reproduced themselves since the beginning of time without altering their characteristics, and this could not have happened unless the germ plasm was an extremely stable substance. Ten thousand years ago, the Egyptian sculptor wrought on the walls of his cave the semblance of animals which browse around its mouth to-day; and in the Silurian rock are found the counterpart of living creatures. When it is remembered that a little germ, sometimes not more than the one-millionth of an inch in diameter, passes through all the complex processes of cell division, adding cell to cell in such definite ways that a specific structure inevitably results; and that the descendants of this creature continue this process generation after generation through untold ages, the conclusion that the germ plasm must be almost unalterable becomes almost irresistible.

Weissmann's theories found many able critics. Chief of whom, and naturally so, was Mr. Herbert Spencer. A man

does not readily give credence to a philosophy which saps the foundation of his life work, and the demonstration of Weissmann's theory would certainly call for the rewriting of a large portion of the synthetic philosophy. In several essays Mr. Spencer brought forward cases of adaptation to environment which, he asserted, could not be explained by the operation of natural selection. One of the most notable instances was the supposed degeneration of the small toe in civilized man, as a consequence of boot pressure continued through many generations. This, it was argued, could not have benefited the individual in the struggle for existence, and its condition could only be explained by the theory of the inheritance of acquired characters.

This argument was, however, shown to have no basis. Measurements of the feet of savages who wear no shoes, and whose ancestors never wore shoes, showed the same difference in the size of the first and fifth toes. Then again any person who will take the trouble to stand erect with the feet placed in a natural position, may, by throwing his weight to the right and left, easily find the mechanical cause for the formation of the human foot. All the weight, when standing, falls upon the inside of the foot. Thus it came about that variations tending to produce an arch in that portion of the foot increased the springing power and were preserved by natural selection; and thus it was that variations toward a larger and more solid bone and toe on the inner foot, were preserved by the same agency.

Another instance of the formation of a pronounced character by variation and accumulation through descent was instanced by Cesare Lombroso. The camel's hump, according to his theory, is an acquired character which has been brought into existence by the bearing of loads. His supporting arguments are based principally upon analogy. From the fact that the elliptical cellular structure of the hump-backed camel is the same as that of the smooth-backed llama, he draws the conclusion that camels are true llamas and were once humpless; and on the fact that Cairo porters become slightly humped from the bearing of loads he builds the assumption that humps may be acquired. These two principal arguments were bolstered up with a little information concerning the callouses which form on the hips of Hottentot women, who habitually carry their children pick-a-back, and then the question was put. The camel is a llama, llamas have no hump; porters gain humps by the carrying of loads, and Hottentot women get callouses in the same way; consequently the camel acquired his hump. Unfortunately for the continued existence of this ingenious argument, the geological record of the camel is, perhaps, the most complete and goes the farthest back of all mammalia. The testimony of the rocks proves conclusively that the humped camel

antedates man, and it is hardly to be supposed that in the ancient times, when according to Lombroso the camel was a smooth-backed llama, he commenced to cultivate a hump by placing loads upon his own back.

Then according to Lombroso's own statement, the humps of the camels of to-day are no larger than those depicted in the cave, sculptures of Egypt, and surely, if there were anything in his argument ten thousand years of burden bearing ought to have resulted in the development of a slightly larger hump.

On the other hand much evidence can be adduced against the inheritance of acquired characters. If they are transmitted, surely language, which has been practiced by man for thousands of years, ought to be handed down, yet the fact remains that every infant has to acquire the faculty of speech for itself. And more than one experiment goes to show that when language and education are withheld during early youth, the normal endowments are as idiotic as though these characters had never been possessed by parents. Then again the Jews have practiced circumcision for three thousand years without acquiring a desired character; and though the Chinese have crippled the feet of their women for a much longer period, their female children are still born into the world with normal feet.

On the other hand, the Darwinian factors of evolution, natural selection and sexual selection, afford a reasonable explanation for the presence of the great majority of existing characters. Animals which reproduce sexually, mix, at every mating, the separate and distinct individualities of two creatures; and as the conditions which determine the development of the germ may favor the molecules derived from one parent more than those of the other, variation is bound to result. Variations produced in this manner will, if of such a nature as to aid the animal in the struggle for existence, be seized upon and preserved by natural selection. As these variations originate in the germ plasm, they will be transmitted to offspring, and by their accumulation, generation after generation, types and species arise.

It remains to notice some of the later criticisms of Weismann's theories. It was pointed out that natural selection alone was not sufficient to produce species. If, for instance, a single favorable variation occurred in an individual, it must immediately be swamped by cross-breeding and could be of no advantage to the race. Actual observation and experiment with wild animals, however, furnished an answer to the objection. It is now known that variations, instead of being exceptional, occur in immense numbers; that in fact, variation is the rule. Observation disclosed the fact that natural selection acts principally upon averages. If, during a time of famine, a longer beak assists a bird to procure food, the birds with longer beaks would naturally survive. But it is not at all likely that all the short-

beaked birds would perish. After the famine was over they would breed indiscriminately as before, but the average length of beak of the next generation would fall below that of their parents, but would exceed that of the generation of their grandparents. It is thus seen that in general, natural selection operates on averages grouped around a mean.

The answering of this objection opened up another. If the law works upon averages, and not upon individual variations, it could only advance the race as a whole. There would be no gaps, in fact no species. A reasonable solution of this difficulty was found in the phenomena of isolation, segregation, sterility and organic selection. Wherever geographical divisions isolated parts of a race, divergence would be bound to appear. The fact that natural selection works upon averages alone would produce it. Unequal numbers would produce unequal averages, and natural selection working upon unequal averages would select unequal characters. And then special characters would assuredly arise in the two groups and there would be no opportunity to swamp them by cross-breeding. The phenomena of segregation are allied to those of isolation. Wherever a species covers wide territory, it will necessarily be more populous within certain limits. There is no geographical demarkation, but abundance of food in one place, and scarcity in another, will draw the population to centers. Breeding will then take place toward centers. Unequal averages will result, and new types originate. The factor of sterility would materially aid such a process. Some animals possessing certain variations may be fertile when bred to others possessing the same characters, but unfertile to other members of the same species. Observation has shown this to be of constant occurrence, and it forms another method by which the differentiation of species may be accomplished.

Last of all comes the factor of organic selection with a reasonable explanation of the formation of correlative characters. Until the egg from which an animal develops is fertilized, all variations which arise from changes in the germ are congenital. But after fertilization the animal is potentially complete. It has received all its heredity, and all further variations must be acquired. Now we know that the Lamarkian factor of use and disuse is a powerful agent in the production of temporary characters. When therefore a congenital variation like, say, the sudden enlargement of a stag's horn calls for a more massive supporting neck, the factor of use provides a temporary one. This is renewed at the birth of each generation, until among the immense number of congenital variations, one occurs in the direction of a thicker neck. This is at once seized upon by natural selection and enters into the heredity of the race.

The factors thus enumerated afford a reasonable explana-

tion of the origin of species, and the summary as here given covers broadly the Weissmann theory and the modifications which it has undergone up to the present time. And though, through the limitations of the instruments of investigation, some of Weissmann's philosophical conclusions may be incapable of proof, yet his investigations have wonderfully aided the progress of evolutionary science, and furnish a simple and credible theory of heredity.

It is hardly likely that, when elaborating his theory of the continuity of the germ plasm, Dr. Weissmann knew that he was laying a biological foundation for the economic science of the socialist school of philosophy. But, whether he knew it or not, that is exactly what he did! "If Weissmann's theory be true," says Dr. Starr-Jordan, "the whole literature of sociology will have to be rewritten!" And another writer said that Weissmann reopened the case for socialism. There is an exact identity of opinion between Weissmann and the socialist writers concerning the influence of enviroing forces upon man. The socialist teaching might be condensed in the phrase: "Man is the product of heredity and environment, and heredity is the summing-up of past environments"; and this is the Weissmann theory in a nutshell. According to it, the racial characteristics, the fixed characters which stamp this creature as a man, that as a monkey, alone are handed down. All the arts and graces, the virtues and vices, the elegancies and gaucheries, exhibited by different men and women, being temporary characters forced upon them by surrounding conditions. Natural selection preserved first the physically strong, and then the mentally strong. Each child commences its education at exactly the same place as its grandfather commenced his, but with a larger capacity for acquiring knowledge and a larger stock of knowledge to acquire from.

The old theories of heredity, however, do not and cannot be made to agree with the socialist philosophy. Their exponents agree that acquired characters are inherited, and that after they have been transmitted through a certain number of generations they become fixed and enter into the heredity of the animal. If this were true the habits of a man forced by hard conditions into the slums would be transmitted to his children; and if they continued to live in the slums the habits would become fixed and enter into their heredity. Such people would then be congenitally bad, and though removed from the evil environment, would continue in their evil ways.

"Now," says the critic of socialism, "you socialists propose to establish and operate an industrial system based on co-operation; and this you propose to do by the help of a class of people which is made up of hereditary inefficient, and the least intelligent members of society. You are attempting the impos-

sible. These people have a strain of criminal or inefficient heredity. Natural selection has graded society from top to bottom, and they are where they are, because of what they are. And were you to succeed in establishing such a society it must inevitably go to pieces, the inefficiency of its units insuring its early death."

To criticism of this kind, the Weissmann theory furnishes a ready answer. If the racial characteristics are alone transmitted to offspring, it naturally follows that the great majority of the people can in one generation be raised to a higher mental and physical plane—to a degree of intelligence and usefulness required for the operation of a co-operative society. And though it is true we have congenital defectives amongst us, and hereditarily inefficient people, they are few in comparison to the number of unfortunates who have been dragged down by hard conditions. Natural selection is operative everywhere, and in the slums the criminal is the most favored in the struggle for existence. Normal persons, driven to the slums, are slowly exterminated and the beggar and the thief survive to reproduce their kind. But under proper conditions the great majority of the slum people could be made into good and useful citizens.

This conclusion is borne out by the investigations of Professor John R. Commons, late of Syracuse University. In treating the subject he used three methods of investigation, and the compared results show: that 1.75 per cent of the population of the United States are congenital defectives; that 3.25 per cent are induced defectives, that is those who have not inherited their inefficiency; that 2 per cent are possessed of genius and will make their way in spite of the hardest conditions; that 2 per cent are below the average Aryan brain level; and that the remaining 91 per cent are normal persons who are neither good nor bad, brilliant nor stupid, criminal nor virtuous, and whose future is entirely decided by the environment which surrounds them during the first fifteen years of life.

Professor Commons maintains that the majority of the denizens of the slums can be saved by proper treatment. Elmira Reformatory saves 30 per cent of its charges, and home placing institutions save nearly all. This statement coincides with the experience of the writer. During a period of eight years, some two thousand boys on the farm colony of Dr. Barnardo, in the Province of Manitoba, passed under his observation. They were all taken from the London slums, and most of them had served terms in jail; yet not more than 1 per cent reverted to their former habits. They were not expert farmers, and it could not be expected, yet this may be said for them: they were more efficient than the scions of the English aristocracy who were living in Manitoba on keep-away allowances.

It would not be difficult to collect facts of the above kind

sufficient to fill a work as voluminous as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, but it is not necessary. They are the commonplaces of every-day life. Men are made by conditions. Not one man in one million is indifferent to the opinion of the society in which he lives, or greater than his opportunities. He is born, he lives, he dies; and from the cradle to the grave his life is one long chapter of accidents. Is he born in the slums? A thief he will surely be, unless some unforeseen contingency arises to thrust him forth into more favorable surroundings. A hundred thousand slum children will be born in London the present year. Dr. Barnardo, a great and beneficent accident, will turn the current of a thousand lives into decent channels; the London police, stern and forbidding as the hand of fate, will direct the remaining ninety-nine thousand to the jail and gallows. It will be well, then, considering that environment plays such an important part in the making and marring of men, to carefully examine the claims of a reasonable theory of heredity, which promises much for the immediate advancement of mankind.

The great distinction between the new and old theories of heredity, and the one which, therefore, appeals to the socialist lies in this: Weissmann holds out more hope for the present generation. He tells us that the great majority of men are pretty much the same; but the old doctrine of heredity says that we are widely different, and that the differences are getting wider. One theory teaches that men instantly respond to the stimulus of good conditions, the other that bad habits contracted during evil times will persist though earth become a heaven. The one theory tends to raise, the other to lower.

A few words on the action of natural selection in modern society will form a fitting conclusion. The old struggle, which secured the survival of the physically fit, has been replaced by a form of social selection which is partly natural and partly artificial. This process may be divided into direct and indirect social selection. All the conscious efforts of man to apply within society the principle he has observed at work without constitute direct social selection. The segregation of the mentally, morally and physically unfit, in lunatic asylums, prisons and hospitals and the association of charitable societies to defeat the aims of the unworthy, are measures of direct social selection. So far the principle has been applied in a purblind, groping sort of a way, and the work accomplished is small in comparison to that which remains to do. The task is too great for the individual. Prisons and hospitals merely deal with the effects of disease, and leave unchecked the sources from which they spring. Present methods of dealing with criminals are inadequate, antiquated and unjust. The innocent victims of a perverse economic system who have been driven to the slums by hard conditions, receive exactly the same treatment as the

congenitally bad. The out-of-work is punished with the tramp; and so long as these evils can be charged to heredity, just so long will the people be blind to the share chargeable to public injustice.

Under indirect social selection may be grouped all the blind automatic forces which are at work within a society. Under existing conditions, the political, industrial and social institutions of a society affect the personality, and mold the character of its units without regard to that which is fair or fit. The laws of property, for instance, so favor the landlord that an unfavorable environment is often forced upon the workers. Great rookeries are packed with human beings in order that one or two men may reap enormous ground rents; filthy Orientals are crowded into a congested district and menace the health of an entire community, and prominent members of a society derive large incomes from the renting of streets of brothels. Long hours of work, low pay and irregular employment are all forms of indirect social selection and it cannot be said of them, nor of the profit-making saloon, that they tend to produce a higher type of man. Social selection as it exists to-day will have to give place to a higher form if the twentieth century is to fulfil its promise.

The injurious forms of social selection here treated are survivals from a lower society and have no warrant in reason for their continued existence. In primitive times man had little or no control over the forces which acted upon him. There was no social selection, for there was no society worthy of the name. But when family groups massed into tribes, and tribes into nations, and a highly complex social organism evolved, man gained the power of partially molding environment to his will. Every step in the organization of society increased this power; and in the modern state, the process of organization and differentiation is almost complete. Industry is organized on a vast scale. Enormous aggregations of capital control enterprises of international importance, and millions of laborers band together to protect their interests and secure better conditions.

This organization of economic power has made possible the complete control of the systems of production and distribution. Waste labor is rapidly being eliminated from the business of production. But if this labor is to be utilized, instead of becoming a menace to society, it is absolutely necessary that the systems of production and distribution shall be brought into harmony. And when this final triumph of social organization shall have been accomplished, new forms of direct social selection will replace the old injurious, indirect selection. With freedom, security in the means of livelihood, and equal opportunity, the premium of brute force and cunning will be withdrawn and

the human personality will work out its own survival. Personality will become a keen selective principle, based not on overpopulation and competition, but on the self-destruction which comes from drunkenness and disease; whose degraded offspring will perish, or feed the ranks of the degenerates to be properly segregated and ended.

With education and opportunity, higher forms of human character will increase and survive, and with the independence and freedom of women, sexual selection will become a refined and powerful agent of progress. The blind god of chance will be dethroned, and a conscious humane social selection, inflexible in decree but gentle in methods, replace the present imperfect process, and the individual struggle of man and man will be transformed into a collective struggle against the forces of nature.

Herman Whittaker.



Municipal Socialism*



WHAT should be the nature of the fight in which the socialists will be engaged for the purpose of gaining control of the municipal powers?

Once this control is secured, what use will the candidates elected make of their powers?

These are the two questions corresponding to the two phases of the fight that is waged wherever international socialism undertakes to conquer the political powers. Shall we give the campaign a simple progressive, radical or democratic tinge, only more progressive, radical or democratic than that of our adversaries? Or will it be more advisable to show in this fight, as in all others, that the collectivist socialist party is essentially different from other political parties in that the immediate reforms demanded by us are only the first stones of an immense structure, connected as they are with the grand idea of a new social structure?

The answer, it seems to me, is not doubtful. The more we can prove our practical ability in realizing reforms in the order of their evolution, the more we must show the revolutionary character of our tendencies and conceptions, and above all we must take care that the working class does not make any mistakes in this matter.

As these fights offer the best opportunity to spread our doctrines, would it not be a great mistake not to proclaim the latter in a definite manner showing their whole wide scope? A mistake, not to show that our fight is a class-struggle, and that the reforms realized by us in the municipalities are far from giving us the final victory? This has been expressed with the following words in the eighth resolution of the International Congress, held in Paris last summer:

“Seeing that the term “Municipal Socialism” does not signify a special kind of socialism but simply the application of the general principles of socialism to a particular department of political activity;

“And seeing that the reforms connected therewith are not and cannot be put forward as the realization of the collectivist state, but that they are put forward as playing a part in a sphere of action which socialists can and should seize upon in order to prepare and facilitate the coming of the collectivist state;

“And seeing that the municipality can become an excellent

*It must be remembered that this article is intended as a plan of action for socialist municipalities after such have been elected, and not a series of “demands” to be made of capitalist municipalities.—Ed.

laboratory of local economic activity and at the same time a formidable political fortress for the use of local socialist majorities against the middle-class majority of the central authority, when once substantial local powers have been obtained;

"The Congress declares:

"That it is the duty of all socialists, without misunderstanding the importance of the wider political issues, to make clear to all the value of municipal activity, to recognize in all municipal reforms the importance which attaches to them as "embryos of the collectivist state," and to endeavor to municipalize such public services as the urban transport service, education, shops, bakeries, medical assistance, hospitals, water supply, baths and wash-houses, the food supply and clothing, dwellings for the people, the supply of motive power, public works, the police force, etc., etc., to see that these public services shall be model services as much from the point of view of the interests of the community as from that of the citizens who serve it;

"That the local bodies which are not large enough to undertake themselves any of these reforms should federate with one another for such purposes;

"That in a country where the political system does not allow municipalities to adopt this course, it is the duty of all socialist elected persons to endeavor to obtain for municipal bodies sufficient liberty and independence to obtain these reforms;

"The Congress further decides that the time has come to convene an International Congress of socialist municipal councilors.

"Such a congress should have a double purpose:

(a) To make publicly known what reforms have been secured in the department of municipal administration and what moral and financial advantages have resulted.

(b) To establish a national bureau in each country and an international bureau, entrusted with the task of collecting all the information and documents relating to municipal life, so as to facilitate the study of municipal questions.

"The Congress also decides that the business of convening the Socialist Municipal Congress shall be left in the hands of the permanent international bureau appointed September 25, 1900."

But once our candidates are in power, what will be their policy

In the first place and always as we have already indicated—to show in all the projects, in all the reforms what distinguishes the socialist solution from other solutions; to submit to the municipal council such questions of general interest as must attract the public attention.

As to the reforms themselves, they are innumerable and of very diverse kinds. There are such, and they are numerous,

as are found in the platforms of the old parties, but have not been introduced by them at all or only imperfectly; for instance:

Education: Scientific instruction for all grades free of charge (the only condition for admission to higher classes being fitness); physical maintenance of the children that attend school (meals, clothing); professional schools—libraries and lecturing halls—museums, scientific and art collections, theatres and concerts. Special attention must be given to the care of orphans.

Public Charities: Admission of laborers to their administration; transformation of charity into mutual benefits and above all insurance where feasible—lodging houses—labor bureaus.

Hygiene: Public baths, wash-houses, public closets, parks, control of alimentary commodities, laboratories for chemical and bacteriological analyses, municipal drug stores, street cleaning, sprinkling, sewers, etc.

There are, furthermore, certain reforms to which the old parties offer more or less resistance in different countries.

Labor Regulations: Minimum wages, maximum hours of labor, insurance for all laborers employed for or by the municipality; intervention of trade unions for the purpose of realizing these conditions.

Finances: Taxation of revenue; during transition securing of funds by exploitation of franchises.

There are, besides, a number of reforms giving industrial functions to the municipalities and thus replacing private enterprise. These constitute a step toward the expropriation of the capitalist class. True, the field where it can continue its parasitism is still very large, but a beginning must be made in everything.

The avenues of transportation (roads, canals, rivers, bridges, ports, landings) have not always belonged to the communities. To-day we want to bring the means of transportation (railroads, tramways, telegraphs and telephones) under their control.

The markets, the slaughter houses, are becoming more and more municipal property.

The lighting of public and private places (by gas and electricity) passes from the hands of joint stock companies into those of the municipalities.

The distribution of water becomes a municipal service.

Numerous municipalities have built homes for laborers, but hitherto this was due mainly to sanitary or charitable motives. We should, therefore, extend our activity in that direction and establish a public building service for the accommodation of others besides laboring men; so that the municipality absorbs the capitalistic rent which it could abolish later on.

Restaurants have also been opened for the purpose of charity, and on account of this characteristic the laborers often did not derive any benefit from such institutions, because their self-respect was wounded. It would be important to develop this service, but at the same time giving it another character.

In those countries where alcohol is not a monopoly for the benefit of the state, it has been suggested that the municipalities monopolize its sale. In England some municipalities have demanded permission to open grocery stores. In Glasgow the municipalization of the milk trade has been proposed.

Another important department is that of insurance, especially that against fire. Such departments have existed for a long time in Germany and Switzerland.

Still another field of activity in which the municipalities could nowadays replace private societies is that of the banking service. In Russia there are about two hundred and fifty towns that have municipal banks. The question is being studied in Glasgow. Here we have to indicate a very important matter to those who might be tempted to introduce this reform. In order to break with capitalist precedent and to suppress the parasitism of money, they should establish in their banks the true system of the future: *Ametalism*, that is the suppression of metallic money, for which they should substitute *account* money, representative of exchanged commodities.*

In regard to those services that can yield a benefit to the town, should the latter turn the realized benefits into the municipal treasury, where they would add to the income of taxation, or should the town trade at the price of production without making any profits?

In view of the difficulties nearly everywhere obstructing the establishment of an equitable system of taxation at the present time, it seems to be sufficiently legitimate for the municipalities to replace private industry and to realize for the benefit of the community all or a part of the profits that were produced for the benefit of a few individuals.

But it is essential that from now on the evident abuse practiced in certain towns be stopped, where the public services, such as water for irrigation, fire departments, etc., gas or electric light for streets or public buildings, are supported solely by the consumers of the water, the gas and the electricity. Not alone that the municipality makes profits on its private consumers, it also forces them to pay all the expenses of the public necessities.

The remedy lies in administering the public services in an

* Those who wish to study this interesting question should read the works of M. Solvay on social accounts (*Comptabilisme social*) published in the *Annales de l'Institut des Sciences Sociales*, Brussels, Hotel Ravenstein, Secretary E. Vinck; also the fine book of Alfred de Westrup: "The New Philosophy of Money," Minneapolis, Leonard, publisher, 1906.

autonomous fashion. Every service must consider the others as customers with whom it has to open accounts. The public ways, the fire department, the public buildings, will pay for their water and their gas like a private person and these expenses will be charged to the account of the general budget.

One more department remains to be indicated, one of the most interesting—the Works Department—such as the London City Council has established. For several years this has been its own architect and its own contractor. But the interesting feature about it is that the Works Department maintains to the other services, for which it has some work to execute, the relation of a third party, like any contractor. The work is publicly offered to the highest bidder and the contractors may compete with the Works Department. It is generally the latter that carries off the palm.

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We believe to have thus detailed the different points of municipal activity as we see them and understand them to-day. Every one of these points would be worthy of special study comprising the experiences in already realized departments; but in order to do this it would be necessary not to write an article of a few pages for this review, but a volume.

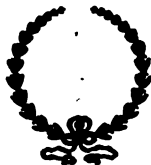
In conclusion we accentuate the enormous benefit that socialist councilors may derive from periodic meetings in sections. These meetings are of the greatest value not alone on account of their uniting the efforts of our candidates in the same direction, but also because they are a veritable school of mutual education.

It must also be our endeavor to create a permanent secretariat whose duty it would be to furnish to the councilors such administrative and economic information as they may be in need of.

Emil Vinck,

Secretary of the Federation of Communal Councilors of Belgian Socialists.

(Translated by E. Untermann.)



Theology or Science?



UGUSTE COMTE divides the history of human development into three periods: the theological, the metaphysical and the positive or scientific. Whether we fully and unqualifiedly accept his classification or not, it pretty accurately reflects the history of philosophical thought. The primitive belief in miracles and in the infallible truth of the church dogmas, cast off by up-to-date theology, is quite apt to revive in a new-born sociological doctrine, of which the article "Evolution or Revolution?" (in the January issue of *The International Socialist Review*) furnishes a fit illustration. That it is admirable as a Sunday sermon, to be preached from a Christian Socialist pulpit, is beyond question; but that it is not Marx-inspired in origin, as claimed, of this the following passage is proof conclusive:

"Lack of education is precisely the reason why socialism is making slow progress, wherever it is first taught. Given a thoroughly educated nation and we could have had socialism long before the progress of invention and science had made private monopoly possible. Suppose, for a moment, that the nations of the world had had the necessary intellectual enlightenment at Christ's time, and socialism would have been established then and there. Economic evolution, instead of being the means of enriching the few at the expense of the many, would then have resulted in shortening the hours of labor and creating better surroundings for all. But the people were too ignorant to grasp the import of Christ's doctrine, and the ruling classes held them down under the iron rods of religious superstition and military force—as they do now, with the added force of economic pressure, fallacious science and a lying press."

The author of these utterances believes in all earnestness that this is Marx's "materialist conception of history" and undertakes to criticise the writer's paper on "Trusts and Socialism"—"from the standpoint of a Marx socialist." It is painful at this advanced date to debate such elementary propositions; to attempt it in an *international* socialist review would require an apology but for the fact that they can be traced to no less eminent a writer than Edward Bellamy. Says he in his "Equality," which can be fairly characterized as the encyclopedia of home-made American socialism:

"Nothing, surely could be more self-evident than the strictly Christian inspiration of the idea of this guarantee (of economic equality). It contemplated nothing less than a liberal fulfill-

ment on a complete social scale of Christ's inculcation that all should feel the same solicitude and make the same efforts for the welfare of others as for their own. The first effect of such a solicitude must needs be to prompt effort to bring about an equal material provision for all, as the primary condition of welfare. One would certainly think that a nominally Christian people having some familiarity with the New Testament would have needed no one to tell them these things, but that they would have recognized on its first statement that the program of the revolutionists was simply a paraphrase of the golden rule expressed in economic and political terms. One would have said that whatever other members of the community might do, the Christian believers would at once have flocked to the support of such a movement with their whole heart, soul, mind and might. That they were so slow to do so must be ascribed to the wrong teaching and non-teaching of a class of persons whose express duty above all other persons and classes was to prompt them to that action,—namely, the Christian clergy." (pp. 340-341.)

Both quotations are identical in sentiment. How remote this is from "the standpoint of a Marx socialist," I shall let another state, who has for a score of years been recognized by the German Social Democratic party as the official interpreter of the Marxist doctrine, and whose opposition to Bernstein and all his works is beyond suspicion. The following lines are from Kautsky's chapter on "Primitive Christian communism," which forms part of the "History of Socialism," published by authority of the German Social Democratic party:

"For Christianity in its beginnings the controlling class was the tramp-proletariat of the large cities, which had got out of the habit of working. Producing was regarded by these elements as a fairly indifferent matter; their prototype was the lilies of the field which neither sow nor weave, and still thrive. If they strove for a different distribution of property, they had in view not the means of production, but the means of consumption. . . . Practically this kind of communism reduced itself to this, that all means of production were to be converted into means of consumption, and the same were to be divided among the poor; this would mean, if universally carried out, the end of all production. However little the first Christians, as genuine beggar-philosophers, may have cared for production, a lasting greater society could not be built upon this foundation.

The state of production in those days required private property in the means of production, and the Christians could not get away from that." (a)

The belief in "absolute truth" is the fundamental character-

(a) Die Geschichte des Socialismus, Vol. I., pp. 24, 26.

istic of every theological system. Absolute truth is not limited by time or place; its revelation is consequently independent of historical conditions; its perception requires only "common sense" and an unbiased mind. The reign of eternal "justice," which is but another name for absolute truth, may therefore be inaugurated at any time and place, as soon as the light is seen by the people. It need not wait for "the slow course of economic evolution." A revolution may "fulfill Marx's prophecy long before any one will have time to consider the question of providing a sinking fund for the claims of capital." This is the philosophy underlying modern communist anarchism.

After listening to the impatient appeals in behalf of the "millions of our fellow-citizens" who "are forced to starve, to live by stealth, to strike, to fawn, to sell themselves into bondage," of "children of tender years and women pregnant with growing life," who "are forced into the ranks of wage-slaves," of those "whose wan faces greet the dawn of every new morning with the consciousness of another day's slaving in store for them," of "their invalid wives and their offspring doomed to perpetual drudgery, starvation and want," of the "invalid, exhausted by excessive exertion in the service of soulless corporations and unable to counterbalance the waste of his tissue by regeneration of healthy molecules, for want of means of subsistence"; of the "young girl with traces of former purity and loveliness in her face, now degraded and vulgar beyond conception," of "the young toiler at the plow... who is now dwarfed and crippled physically from premature hard work beyond the endurance of his growing body," of the "young artist, haggard and crushed and doubtful of his own talent,"—after reading this long list of those who cannot be "forced" to wait for the process of gradual evolution, one is naturally prepared to hear the bugle call, "Aux armes, citoyens!" What a disappointment to discover that the latter-day Patrick Henry is a law-abiding American citizen, who places his sole reliance in the ballot and would shoulder his grandfather's musket only to quell a new rebellion against Old Glory!

Now, there will be no presidential election until 1904,—can a woman in delicate condition wait as long as that?—and even then a socialist is not certain to get into the White House, since the job has been promised by Hanna to Teddy. So, the earliest date for which an extra session of a socialist congress may be set down by a socialist president is some time in 1909; and for aught we know, it may take another term or two, perhaps more. Will the "invalid, unable to counterbalance the waste of his tissue by the regeneration of healthy molecules," live to see the happy inauguration day? What has the gospel of law-abiding revolution for the thousands of degraded girls, to reclaim them from their lives of shame, pending the estab-

lishment of socialism, while they are young? "Words, nothing but words!"

Compare those Fourth-of-July pyrotechnics with the plain, business-like language of the Kautsky resolution adopted at the latest International Socialist Congress at Paris:

"In a modern democratic state the conquest of political power cannot be accomplished at one blow, but only as a result of slow and arduous work devoted to the economic and political organization of the proletariat, as a result of the physical and moral regeneration of the working class and of a gradual conquest of the municipalities and legislatures."

If this means anything, it means that the physical and moral regeneration of the working class must precede the conquest of political power by the proletariat; that is to say, that it will advance under capitalism, apace with the gradual conquest of the municipalities and legislatures.

Modern science has no room for miracles in human society any more than in the physical world. The scientific merit of Karl Marx does not consist in the invention of a panacea, of a socialist idea of "justice," nor in that he "emphasized the birthrights of the toiler, dwarfed and crippled physically from premature hard work," etc., nor even in "conceiving of the transformation of capitalistic private property as a revolution." All that had been thoroughly done before him by the great founders of Utopian socialism,—Babeuf, Owen, Saint Simon, Fourier and their schools. The historical merit of Karl Marx, which has immortalized his name, is that he has shown that capitalistic society is growing into socialism, whether we like it or not, by force of economic development; that our opinions are themselves shaped by the inevitable course of events.

"No social formation perishes before all productive forces for which it affords sufficient room have been developed, nor do new and higher relations of production ever come into the world before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of old society. Therefore, mankind always sets to itself only such problems as it is able to solve, for upon close analysis it always appears that the problem itself is raised only then when the material conditions requisite for its solution are already in existence, or at least in the process of incipience." (a)

This is the materialistic conception of history. If this conception of history is correct, a revolution cannot supply that which could not develop without it.

We know from Marx that the dissolution of the primitive community was the result of inter-communal relations, which introduced exchange, first between communities, and subse-

(a) Karl Marx. Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie. Preface.

quently within the community. The individualism of the handicrafts and of peasant farming, which succeeded primitive communism, led to the development of division of labor within the workshop. This brought about the beginnings of capitalism; the invention of machinery expropriated the artisan, destroyed home industries in the country, built up the factory system and international capitalism. Competition between capitalists led to centralization of capitals in a few hands. This is as far as Marx has gone. He dwells upon the various methods of violence which attended all these social changes, yet he is clearly of the opinion that these methods were only incidental and that the same changes were bound to spring forth from the development of the economic contradictions inherent in each of those phases of social evolution. Engels, in his "Anti-Dühring," goes into the question at length and ridicules Dühring's "theory of violence," which seeks the cause of social changes in acts of brute force.

All these changes were the resultant of individual energies directed to the satisfaction of individual ends, and quite unconscious of their effects upon the fabric of society. The primitive tribe meant only to exchange its products with its neighbors, but did not intend to bring about the dissolution of its own village community. The cotton manufacturer sold his goods to make money for himself, he did not anticipate that it would result in the downfall of peasant agriculture, less did he intend it. The early inventor of machinery intended to save cost and labor, but he never dreamt that the machine would expropriate the workman and send his wife and children to the factory. As economic conditions changed, so did economic opinions change, usually somewhat lagging behind. And now suddenly all must be reversed; capitalistic society *cannot* pass into socialism as a result of individual activities directed towards individual ends; socialist ideas, it would seem, *do not* develop as a *result* of the development of socialism in economic relations, but, on the contrary, socialist ideas must anticipate socialistic institutions. Unlike all earlier forms of economic organization, socialistic institutions must be created by the conscious will of a class, determined that there shall be socialism. It is the old familiar cosmogony: "In the beginning was the Word. . . All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made." It is evident that this story of the creation of socialism is incompatible with the "monistic" view of philosophy of history. (b)

This contradiction does not in the least detract from the greatness of Marx; it reinforces, on the contrary, his theory

(b) The term, in its application to the theory, reducing the development of society to one primary cause, viz: the development of the methods of production, originates from G. Flechanow.

by showing that even its author, unquestionably the greatest economic thinker of the nineteenth century, could not rise too far above the economic conditions of his own age. To foresee, in the days of the "Communist Manifesto" that the course of economic evolution irresistibly led society towards socialism, required a mind of a genius. But even a genius, while grasping the tendencies of the age from a few embryonal phenomena, could not supply by his imagination what had no existence in the actual economic conditions of his day. Had he attempted to do so he would have been a Utopian, not the founder of *scientific* socialism. Competition was in full bloom; individualism, the *laissez-faire* theory, was the gospel of the bourgeoisie. There was nothing to indicate how the chasm between the two worlds, that of Capitalism and that of Socialism, could be bridged over; it was the only natural thing for Marx to assume that it had to be crossed by a bold leap into the Unknown, by a revolution; it was too doubtful "that the capitalists would part with their spoils without a struggle."

Could we, like Joshua, tell the sun to stop while we are fighting our battle for socialism, the prophecy would be fulfilled even as it was spoken by the prophet. But "the world do move"; and so within the decade just past we have witnessed the rapid growth of a middle-class movement toward municipal socialism. This is not on the program; it fills the socialists with anxiety lest their thunder might be stolen by intruders, and involves them in a tangle of theoretical contradictions, which but reflect the economic contradictions to which the development of capitalism has given rise since Karl Marx's death. In vain do they search his writings for ready answers to problems which had no existence in his day. Marx strictly confined himself to outlining broad, general tendencies, leaving it to succeeding generations to take care of the details, and to meet new conditions as they arise. To deal with them intelligently we must "know more than our intellectual fostering hen, Marx." To pretend that we cannot or dare not know more than he knew a third of a century ago, is in keeping with the theological spirit which burned the library of Alexandria, because—said Caliph Omar—if those books contained the same doctrine as the Koran they were "worthless," since the Koran contains all necessary truths; but if they contained anything contrary to the Koran, they were "criminal" and ought to be destroyed.

The writer has attempted to define the present situation from what he understands to be the Marxist viewpoint, in showing that "public ownership of natural monopolies becomes the instinctive platform of the small capitalist class." The writer has further said, and he believes it will be almost universally concurred in, that this platform will be carried out by one of the

two capitalistic parties, which consequently precludes confiscation. So far only two schemes have been suggested for reducing "natural monopolies" to public ownership: duplication or redemption. In either case the municipality, the state, or the nation, must issue interest-bearing bonds, either to construct competing plants, or to buy out the corporations. There is now a plan on foot, proceeding from interested capitalistic quarters, to nationalize the coal mines in Germany. The scheme has been the topic of a discussion between Kautsky and Bebel in the German party press. Kautsky, who is opposed to the plan, takes the stand that it will increase the cost of production by the interest on the bonds and the payments on account of the sinking fund upon an inflated capitalization; as the state would nationalize the mines with an eye only to the interests of the consuming public, the price of coal would likely be reduced, and the miners would have to foot the bill. Speaking for the miners, he therefore prefers a law reducing the hours of labor and securing better inspection of the mines, and other kindred demands of the miners. Bebel, on the contrary, favors nationalization, even though carried out by the capitalistic state, and bases his position upon the familiar arguments of the advocates of municipal socialism.

Suppose public ownership should be taken up as a campaign issue by one of the capitalistic parties in this country, Bebel's argument would then be urged in support of that party. Would not the labor vote be divided between the old-party candidate and the socialist candidate? "Class-conscious proletarian" socialist education would afford no remedy, since the leading educators themselves disagree as to what is the class-interest of the proletariat in the premises. The issue would be, in fact, "proletarian class-consciousness" against "public ownership." And that must continue so whenever it is proposed to reduce a new private monopoly to public ownership, until the day when the party of the "class-conscious proletariat" will obtain control of all branches of government. To assume in the face of it without further proof that the education of the proletariat up to "class-consciousness" must lead to the general introduction of public ownership, is therefore out of date.

Moreover, "class-consciousness" itself is a mere scientific abstraction, like a mathematical lever; its only manifestation is in the minds of individuals. It means the recognition by the individual of the identity of his private interest with that of his class. Such identity of interest presupposes identity of economic condition. Is there actually such an identity of economic condition within the proletariat to-day? The history of the great strikes in the coal mines within the last few years has shown how difficult it is to reconcile the interests of the competing coal-producing fields, which enables the operators

in some districts to play off their workmen against the union. The frequent conflicts between unions represented in the same central body, the failure of so many great sympathetic strikes, are likewise evidences of the existence of heterogeneous groups with distinct interests within the great body of wage-workers.

On the other hand, the attitude of the trust towards labor is still an unknown quantity. That the trust has the power to crush a union may be assumed, but has the trust the same interest to haggle with labor, as the individual capitalist who is pushed to the wall by competition? So long as the trust has the power to raise the prices as high as 100 per cent and even more above the competitive price, it really matters little what wages have to be paid, the additional cost being shifted to the consumer. It is, of course, premature to predict the possibilities of this situation. We cannot overlook, however, such significant facts as the latest movement towards combination between trusts and trade unions in England. In substance, the trust agrees to employ the entire membership of the union and none but union labor, at "fair" wages, in return for which the union agrees to supply no labor to outsiders not in the employers' trust. In the United States there is a similar agreement in force between the flint glass trust and the union of the flint glass workers.

Suppose now, a hostile trust which is a large consumer of flint glass, is engineering a new tariff bill which will open the market to foreign competition in that particular industry. That the trusts are apt to fall out between themselves, is familiar to every newspaper reader, as well as that they employ Congress as a tool to further their schemes. That foreign competition would compel a reduction of the price of flint glass and may, for a time at least, break up the trust and its combination with the union is fairly probable. What would be the chance of a socialist candidate for Congress, in a district where the voters are mainly flint glass workers, between a Republican candidate backed by one trust and a Democratic candidate backed by the other? Would not the workers regard it as a matter of bread and butter to vote for the candidate of the flint glass trust, any amount of socialist discourse on the class struggle between capital and labor notwithstanding?

This example demonstrates that "class-consciousness" is not the product of socialist education, but must be the outcome of economic evolution which will eliminate sectional friction within the body of wage-workers; and that presupposes the elimination of antagonistic interests within the capitalist class. The present sectional conflicts between individual capitalists or private corporations and "their men" will develop into a "class struggle" between capital and labor, only then when capital, on the one hand, and labor, on the other, will actually become unified

into distinct classes, i. e., not until "the people" (the municipality, the state, the nation) will assume control, partly directly, partly indirectly, of the main lines of business. In fixing the price of the manufactured article, the state will represent the interests of "the public." This will create an issue directly between the class of bondholders and the class of workers, as to what shall be the rate of wages and the hours of labor. The scientific term "class-interest" will then acquire a concrete meaning in every-day life.

It has been my aim to show that the full realization of socialism must come as the product of purely economic forces, in spite of the inertia of the human herd. The objection that this theory leads to oriental fatalism and quietism is by no means a new one. The discussion of this question has filled volumes in German, Russian and French. The answer of the advocates of the "monistic" view is this:

All human knowledge is but the knowledge of natural processes; man cannot create a single atom, but the knowledge of natural processes enables him to make them serve his ends. Cucumbers grew ages before man learned how to plant them. No amount of devotion to the cause of horticulture will produce a cucumber from pumpkin seeds. But the knowledge of the soil and the temperature in which cucumbers naturally grew suggested the construction of the hot-house, which enabled the gardener to raise them months before they could ripen in a wild state. Such examples might be multiplied *ad infinitum*. Similarly, human societies exist and develop spontaneously, according to certain historical laws; we cannot change those laws; but by inquiring into them and consciously applying the results of our study, we may shorten the time required for the full growth of social institutions, or remove such obstacles as may retard their development. The growth of capitalism in Japan is an example in point. What it took Europe centuries to arrive at, Japan has accomplished within barely forty years.

So the Marxist whom the study of industrial monopoly has led to the apparent paradox that state socialism will be the outcome of the conflict between antagonistic divisions of the capitalist class, need not spend his days in passive contemplation of how "the free play of evolution's laws will in due time land the world in a paradise of perfection." Seeing that state socialism means primarily public ownership or public control of monopolies for the benefit of the consumer, not of the producer, and that there is a class struggle ahead between labor and capital under state socialism, a Marxist will concentrate his efforts upon the organization of wage-workers for the protection of their interests as wage-workers. He cannot change the course of evolution, but he can make time (and with mortal man time is all!) by brushing aside all relics of old-fashioned theology,

such as the belief in the day of final judgment, relabeled "Social Revolution," which is supposed to bring about social "perfection," or "an epoch of rest."

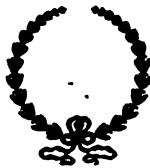
This is one of the most harmful theological superstitions, because it leads the faithful to neglect the duties and opportunities of the day, and the zealots to despise the trivial struggles of the living and to sacrifice them, without mercy or remorse, to eternal salvation (remember the attitude of some socialists toward the trade unions).

The day is past when we could content ourselves with the bare knowledge that the co-operative commonwealth is somehow going to be established at some distant date, by the revolutionary class-conscious proletariat. We are living to-day in a period of "Revolution" (in the Lassallean sense of the word). Trusts, municipal socialism, public ownership in general, combinations between trusts and unions,—all these are new forces which cannot be approached with the old nostrums. It would be, indeed, damaging evidence of barrenness of thought against Karl Marx if his work could not stimulate the spirit of research among his own followers. Difference of opinion, not infrequently repudiation of long-accepted theories, mark the development of every science. Marxism, if it would maintain its position as a scientific school, must calmly face the indignant outcry of the sectarian, of which the following is a sample:

"To invite strife and schisms in a party by continually shaking its foundations with worthless discussions actuated by superficial understanding is criminal."

Substitute "church" for "party," and you will smell the stake upon which was burned John Hus. Happily, we are told that we live in an enlightened age, so we may speak without fear of being "roasted alive," except in a figurative sense.

Marxist.



Civilization in Southern Mills



HE miners and railroad boys of Birmingham, Ala., entertained me one evening some months ago with a graphic description of the conditions among the slaves of the Southern cotton mills. While I imagined that these must be something of a modern Siberia, I concluded that the boys were overdrawing the picture and made up my mind to see for myself the conditions described. Accordingly I got a job and mingled with the workers in the mill and in their homes. I found that children of six and seven years of age were dragged out of bed at half-past 4 in the morning when the task-master's whistle blew. They eat their scanty meal of black coffee and corn bread mixed with cottonseed oil in place of butter, and then off trots the whole army of serfs, big and little. By 5:30 they are all behind the factory walls, where amid the whirl of machinery they grind their young lives out for fourteen long hours each day. As one looks on this brood of helpless human souls one could almost hear their voices cry out, "Be still a moment, O you iron wheels of capitalistic greed, and let us hear each other's voices, and let us feel for a moment that this is not all of life."

We stopped at 12 for a scanty lunch and a half-hour's rest. At 12:30 we were at it again with never a stop until 7. Then a dreary march home, where we swallowed our scanty supper, talked for a few minutes of our misery and then dropped down upon a pallet of straw, to lie until the whistle should once more awaken us, summoning babes and all alike to another round of toil and misery.

I have seen mothers take their babes and slap cold water in their face to wake the poor little things. I have watched them all day long tending the dangerous machinery. I have seen their helpless limbs torn off, and then when they were disabled and of no more use to their master, thrown out to die. I must give the company credit for having hired a Sunday school teacher to tell the little things that "Jesus put it into the heart of Mr. — to build that factory so they would have work with which to earn a little money to enable them to put a nickel in the box for the poor little heathen Chinese babies."

THE ROPE FACTORY.

I visited the factory in Tuscaloosa, Ala., at 10 o'clock at night. The superintendent, not knowing my mission, gave me the entire freedom of the factory and I made good use of it.

Standing by a siding that contained 155 spindles were two little girls. I asked a man standing near if the children were his, and he replied that they were. "How old are they?" I asked. "This one is 9, the other 10," he replied. "How many hours do they work?" "Twelve," was the answer. "How much do they get a night?" "We all three together get 60 cents. They get 10 cents each and I 40."

I watched them as they left their slave-pen in the morning and saw them gather their rags around their frail forms to hide them from the wintry blast. Half-fed, half-clothed, half-housed, they toil on, while the poodle dogs of their masters are petted and coddled and sleep on pillows of down, and the capitalistic judges jail the agitators that would dare to help these helpless ones to better their condition.

Gibson is another of those little sections of hell with which the South is covered. The weaving of gingham is the principal work. The town is owned by a banker who possesses both people and mills. One of his slaves told me she had received one dollar for her labor for one year. Every weekly pay day her employer gave her a dollar. On Monday she deposited that dollar in the "pluck-me" store to secure food enough to last until the next pay day, and so on week after week.

There was once a law on the statute books of Alabama prohibiting the employment of children under twelve years of age more than eight hours each day. The Gadston Company would not build their mill until they were promised that this law should be repealed.

When the repeal came up for the final reading I find by an examination of the records of the House that there were sixty members present. Of these, fifty-seven voted for the repeal and but three against. To the everlasting credit of young Manning, who was a member of that House, let it be stated that he both spoke and voted against the repeal.

I asked one member of the House why he voted to murder the children, and he replied that he did not think they could earn enough to support themselves if they only worked eight hours. These are the kind of tools the intelligent workingmen put in office.

The Phoenix mill in Georgia were considering the possibility of a cut in wages something over a year ago, but after making one attempt they reconsidered and started a savings bank instead. At the end of six months the board of directors met and found out that the poor wretches who were creating wealth for them were saving 10 per cent of their wages. Whereupon they promptly cut them that 10 per cent, and the result was the '96 strike. I wonder how long the American people will remain silent under such conditions as these.

Almost every one of my shop-mates in these mills was a

victim of some disease or other. All are worked to the limit of existence. The weavers are expected to weave so many yards of cloth each working day. To come short of this estimate jeopardizes their job. The factory operator loses all energy either of body or of mind. The brain is so crushed as to be incapable of thinking, and one who mingles with these people soon discovers that their minds like their bodies are wrecked. Loss of sleep and loss of rest gives rise to abnormal appetites, indigestion, shrinkage of stature, bent backs and aching hearts.

Such a factory system is one of torture and murder as dreadful as a long-drawn-out Turkish massacre, and is a disgrace to any race or age. As the picture rises before me I shudder for the future of a nation that is building up a moneyed aristocracy out of the life-blood of the children of the proletariat. It seems as if our flag is a funeral bandage spotted with blood. The whole picture is one of the most horrible avarice, selfishness and cruelty and is fraught with present horror and promise of future degeneration. The mother, over-worked and under-fed, gives birth to tired and worn-out human beings.

I can see no way out save in a complete overthrow of the capitalistic system, and to me the father who casts a vote for the continuance of that system is as much of a murderer as if he took a pistol and shot his own children. But I see all around me signs of the dawning of the new day of socialism, and with my faithful comrades everywhere I will work and hope and pray for the coming of that better day.

Mother Jones.



Social Defense and Class Defense in Penal Law *



FINAL objection to the conception of social defense, in so far as it serves as a basis for the penal function, consists in the assertion that "the object of criminal laws thus far has not been to defend society—that is, all the classes which compose it—but, on the contrary, to protect the interests of the minority, of the small number of persons for whose profit the political power is established."

In a note to the third edition of this book, I took occasion to refute the one-sided absoluteness of this objection. I pointed out that what truth it contained did not weaken my conclusions on the defensive reaction against crime, for the essential thing in those conclusions was and still is that the defensive reaction against acts which interfere with the conditions of existence is passing over by a natural sequence from the offended individual to the collectivity. It is to this that the defensive reaction belongs, first through its representative and later through the organs of its judicial or political establishment.

Let me add that since the publication of my second edition (1884) I have always held that "social defense" corresponds to the defense of the judicial order in its concrete aspect. By this expression it is not denied that at every epoch, as M. Vaccaro says (not without some exaggeration), "justice, reason and law exist solely for the advantage of the rulers," or if you prefer, for the sole advantage of the ruling classes. Nevertheless, it can not be denied that a civic evolution is being accomplished in the sense that the most flagrant inequalities in the law as between the ruling and the subject classes are being eliminated or gradually softened. Thus at first the struggle was to suppress civil inequality (masters and slaves), then came the triumph over religious inequality (orthodox and heretics), and finally political inequality disappeared (with the triumph of the third estate or bourgeoisie over the aristocracy and the clergy). To-day the struggle is for the suppression of economic inequality (proletariat and bourgeoisie), as I explained more explicitly in another book.†

Thus, then, M. Vaccaro's objection is in no way conclusive.

*This article is taken from the fourth Italian edition of Enrico Ferri's book on Criminal Sociology, just published by Bocca Brothers, Turin, and is translated from the December, 1900, issue of L'Humanite Nouvelle.

†Socialism and Positive Science, a translation of which is published by the International Library Publishing Co., New York.

and scarcely weakens the solution that the positive school has given of the problem of responsibility and of penal justice. But if it does not at all weaken the substantial content of our theory on the defense and preservation of society, considered as the sole positive foundation of penal law, the objection of M. Vaccaro serves nevertheless to define its limits and tendencies, when, as I have done lately, we join the idea of *social defense* with the idea of *class defense*.

Since the positive school insisted in its beginnings upon the importance of the anthropological factor in the natural genesis of crime—and the genial innovation of M. Lombroso consisted above all in that—the systematic attention of the positivists was quite naturally and inevitably brought to bear upon the social factors in criminality and their relations with penal law. Moreover, that is the very thing I have always done from the beginning with the classification of the anthropological, physical and social factors of criminality, and consequently with the bio-sociological classification of criminals.

Following this evolution of the positivist school of criminology certain near-sighted individuals predicted the speedy end of the Lombrosian doctrine. The matter really involved, however, as was evident even to foreign observers, nothing but a necessary integration. At the same time certain politico-social events which ensued in Italy and elsewhere (the anarchist outbreaks, the Panama scandal, the popular movements in Sicily and Lunigiana, followed by a repression involving a state of siege) showed, as if magnified by a lens, the most secret springs of the penal mechanism.

In sociology there are always some of these significant facts which serve to throw light on the defects and the spirit of certain institutions. Thus, the Dreyfus trial exposed the defects and the spirit of military jurisprudence, subjected to militarism allied with clericalism, and finding itself in conflict with civil jurisprudence, with the work—however incomplete—of the Court of Cassation in the same trial. Judicial errors and victims of military justice were and are a daily phenomena, yet it needed the tremendous clamor raised by the Dreyfus trial to make them evident.

The study of the Marxian theory of sociology, to which I devoted myself after the issue of the third edition of this book (1892), had brought me to the conclusion that scientific socialism is the logical and inevitable outcome of sociology, which without it would stand condemned to a purposeless sterility. On the other hand, I reached the discovery in criminality of two great categories of facts, differing from each other in their nature, their motives and their consequences, and likewise I observed in the penal function two spirits, more or less antago-

nistic, one of which prevailed over the other according to the different forms of criminality which had to be repressed.

Messrs. Sighele and Jerrero, in their studies of crime in Italy, had brought to light, with regard to criminality, the distinction already laid down by the Roman juriconsults and by Dante in the eleventh canto of the "Inferno." They each separated the crimes based on fraud from the crimes involving violence, calling the first "evolutionary criminality" and the second "atavic criminality," according as the crime took the primitive forms of muscular struggle for existence, or the more progressive forms of the intellectual struggle, which show a tendency to become more frequent day by day in contemporary civilization.

But this distinction and this terminology had only a morphological value. They related only to the manner in which crimes were committed, and did not search deeply into the motives and the nature of the different forms of criminality.

It is at this stage that I gave to the distinction between atavic and evolutionary criminality its genetic value, separating offenses against the conditions of individual and social existence from egoistic and anti-social motives (atavic criminality) as opposed to offenses from altruistic and social motives (evolutionary criminality).

Murder for personal vengeance, or with the intention of robbing or violating the victim (violent form),—murder with a view to securing a heritage, and effected by driving the victim to suicide or exposing him to danger (fraudulent form),—and likewise the violent or fraudulent forms of crimes against property (highway robbery, burglary, theft, swindling, etc.), are so many characteristic examples of atavic or anti-human criminality, toward which the criminal finds himself impelled by a motive exclusively egoistic and anti-human and consequently anti-social in the fullest sense of the word.

Political association, even with a revolutionary end in view; propaganda by word and pen; organization into a class party; strikes; opposition to certain institutions or to existing laws, even when to the setting forth of ideas, which can never be considered a crime, is added a physical aggression against society—these are the characteristic forms of evolutionary or politico-social criminality. It is determined by altruistic and humanitarian motives, even though these motives be erroneous and visionary.

There may be also an intermediate category which includes certain acts having the nature and the motives of evolutionary criminality, but with exterior forms, violent as well as fraudulent, borrowed from atavic criminality.

In this class belong, among others, murder, regicide, revolt,

the whole series of crimes committed by politico-social fanatics from Orsino to Caserio, and even, though these cases are rarer, theft, forgery and fraud.

Thus, then, the distinction between atavic criminality and evolutionary criminality, which finds a psycho-social foundation in the nature of its motives, is complicated in real life, perhaps because of its forms of execution, which may be atavic in evolutionary criminality and *vice versa*, perhaps also in consequence of the anthropological category of the criminals.

Atavic criminality, in fact, while ordinarily represented by born criminals or madmen, may also be the work of criminals of circumstance or passion. It then takes on the less grave forms of violence or fraud. Moreover, evolutionary criminality, while ordinarily the work of pseudo-criminals—that is to say of normal men (when we deal with forms of simple politico-social heterodoxy), and also of criminals excited to passion by fanaticism (like Orsini and Caserio) or of circumstance (especially in collective crimes)—may be sometimes represented by born criminals like Ravachol or by insane criminals like Passanente.

Thus, the practical problem concerning the measures to take against the author of a crime can only be solved by the simultaneous application of different bio-social criteria. It will be necessary to study the conditions of the *act*, of the *agent*, and of *society*, the law which has been broken, the determining motives and finally the anthropological category of the criminal, following the method which is applied by every physician in his clinic. Here the diagnosis and the treatment are determined by taking account of a very complicated mass of symptoms, each of which, if it had to be considered separately, might lend itself to different interpretations and might answer to different states of the individual and his environment. Just so in the criminal clinic, the offense committed is only one of the symptoms. The classic school of penal law is in error when it accords to this an importance that is absolute and exclusive. To the attentive study of the crime should be added the examination and the exact appreciation of the other symptoms of the person and his environment, in order to complete the diagnosis and arrive at the correct legal and social treatment of each criminal.

Meanwhile we may conclude that in all manifestations of crime, there is always a material menace, an actual violation, for the individual as well as for the community, of their present conditions of existence. The individual is threatened and disturbed in his bio-social personality, and society in its historically concrete make-up. But what separates them completely is the difference existing between the motives which have urged the criminal to act, since in one case we find motives of an egoistic

and anti-social interest, and in the other, on the contrary, of an altruistic and social interest. The inference is that there is a general interest in self-defense against atavic criminality, while for evolutionary criminality, the interest concerns only a minority of the ruling class.

Corresponding to this distinction between criminality that is atavic or anti-human, and criminality that is evolutionary or anti-social, in the narrow sense of the word only, there is the distinction between social defense and class defense. This last may even degenerate into class violence.

The first conception of social defense, which I gave as the basis and motive of the penal function, is not erroneous, as Mr. Vaccaro asserted, but it is incomplete. And likewise, the idea that criminal law is a simple mechanism for the defense of the interests of the ruling class in all the phases of politico-social evolution is not false, but it is also incomplete in its one-sided absoluteness.

The synthesis which unites these two conceptions is that which I have given in my "Justice Penale," namely, that the spirit of primitive vengeance and of class oppression conceals itself, under the cloak of judicial formalities, around the positive and legitimate nucleus of social preservation as against acts which attack not only the political and social order, but also the conditions of human existence, whether individual or collective.

That amounts to repeating that the penal function is the expression and effect of a double natural necessity which had its first manifestations in the primitive vengeance adopted as a principle of individual or family defense. On one side it was necessary to protect the whole community against the inhuman forms of criminality, and on the other side was the defense of a single part of the community, the ruling class. Preservation or defense will predominate by turns according as atavic or evolutionary criminality is being dealt with. For the former attacks the underlying conditions of human existence, while evolutionary criminality sets itself against the political and social order, which is always transitory.

In view of this synthesis, we may, following many other writers, separate in criminal law what accrues to the transitory interests of the ruling class from what has to do with the necessity, for individuals and society, of insuring themselves against criminality. It is only in this way that criminal and penal science can have a more efficacious influence over the practical exercise of the penal function on the part of the state, by taking its stand on this complete truth, which hitherto had escaped the classical school, as well as the positive school.

The classical school, indeed, had at first considered crime as a species of revolt against tyranny, and had thought it needful

to defend criminals against the excesses of the state. That was a consequence of the historical events of the nineteenth century during the marvelous development of the classical school started by Beccaria, when the struggles for national independence were accomplishing, in Greece, Belgium and Italy, as well as in Hungary and Germany, the political emancipation of the people, and were assuring the triumph of the bourgeoisie. Everyone then believed that the French Revolution had abolished classes, and this principle had, so to speak, the value of a dogma, since the proletariat had not yet asserted itself as a class party. It is from this historic foundation that surged the current of liberal individualism which I have denounced on several occasions, both in the beginnings and in the development of the classical school of criminal law after the French Revolution. So we can now see why Carrara said that "penal science has for its end to moderate the abuses of authority." We can still see in it the most powerful motive, which all the while remained concealed, of the propaganda carried on by the classical school against the death penalty and in favor of the jury considered as a "palladium of liberty"

But the states which are the secular arm of the class enjoying economic supremacy opposed to this liberal-individualist principle of the classical school, more or less consciously, in their codes, the necessity of social defense against atavic and anti-human criminality. Here in reality is found no trace of the spirit of revolt with an aim at progress, and the prisoner is not a victim of power, but no more or less than an individual who is dangerous, in a given environment, by reason of unhealthy and abnormal conditions of his organic and psychic personality.

On the other hand, the positivist school of criminal law, which has developed since 1878, saw in criminals, at its beginning, nothing but abnormal, diseased, dangerous and anti-social beings. Its attention was directed exclusively to the manifestations of atavic criminality, and consequently it emphasized the principle of the defense of society and humanity against the attacks and "the fear which the criminals inspired."

So, if it had not been restrained by the inevitable hatred of what is new, which our scientific heresy had to arouse, even in official spheres, the state might have welcomed the principle of a more energetic defense against atavic criminality, preached by the positive school, in order to cover up and justify by this means the excesses to which the ruling classes have pushed things in these last years,, by availing themselves of criminal law against the manifestations of evolutionary criminality, and even against the non-criminal manifestations of heterodox ideas, whether in the political or social domain.

These excesses of the laws and of the exceptional tribunals, having for their aim the defense of class under the pretext of defending society, have taken place, be it well understood, without any complicity or influence on the part of the new positivist school. They have been the expression of the inevitable tendencies which impel any class that is in power,—tendencies which, moreover, constitute its weakness and condemn it to disappear before the new social transformation (Marx), which are like an inseparable link in the natural chain of cosmic transformations (Spencer) and of biologic transformations (Darwin).

Indeed, as we have been saying, all law, after having been recognized as the expression of a need of existence, degenerates into a privilege and an abuse. Also class defense, which is legitimate in so far as it is a natural product of social evolution, degenerates into class violence when new economic conditions prepare and determine either the supremacy of another class which answers better to another form of private property; it is thus, for example, that from quiritarian property with a military supremacy the transfer was made to feudal property with an aristocratic and clerical supremacy and to capitalist property with bourgeois supremacy—or that these new economic conditions prepare and determine the fundamental transformation (revolution) of private property into collective property, carrying with it the abolition of classes and consequently the suppression of all supremacy.

The experience of Italy during 1894 and 1898, where the bourgeoisie renounced all the conquests that the liberals had wrested from the middle ages (abolition of special tribunals, freedom of thought, of the press, of assembly and association), brought to light this hidden aim of the penal function, this class defense, which is raising itself by the side of social defense. So we believe that after the synthesis of which we have just spoken, the positivist school of criminology has the right to give to the formula of social defense a broader, more complete and more efficacious meaning. To-day, in fact, under the name of social defense we must understand not only the preservation of the whole collectivity against the attacks of atavic criminality, but also the protection of the ruling class against assaults of evolutionary criminality. The only difference to be observed is that the state ought to defend itself against evolutionary criminality in another fashion than against atavic criminality. But in the future of "criminal law" society ought to attach to the pervading and common interests of the whole collectivity an importance ever increasing till it becomes exclusive. Science will reduce more and more, up to its complete elimination, the element of interests and class privileges. It will thus transform

penal law from being to some extent a mechanism of political domination into a special clinic of preservation.

Thus, the theory of social defense, taken as a basis of penal mastery (*magistere penal*), an old expression, henceforth void of meaning, still corresponds in its integration with the synthesis we have just sketched to the positive and actual conditions of present society. At the same time it remains also as the end or criterion of future and inevitable transformations of penal law in harmony with the data of anthropology and sociology on the causes, and, consequently, on the remedies of criminality.

Enrico Ferri (Translated by Charles H. Kerr).



Joy in Work

Yesterday it rained with glee,
To-day the sun shines cheerily;
Growing hard, each blade of wheat
Revels in the wet and heat.

Robin builds and will not rest,
Fascinated by her nest;
Down their narrow, well-worn road
Eager ants bear load on load.

Those whom Nature doth employ
Hail each new day's work with joy.
Strange indeed that we must ask
Why man alone should hate his task.

Should the ant and bird detest
Each his proper hill and nest,—
Should the corn despise the soil,
Then men might well dislike to toil;

But as it is, while these obey
Nature in their work and play,
All contented with their lot,
Who will say why man is not?

In her workshop Nature stands,
Busy with her artist hands,
Shaping for her own delight
Things that ravish sense and sight.

Forth they go, her children all,
And their happy looks recall,
As they deck the tasteful earth,
How love and joy were at their birth.

We must stamp that trade-mark, too,
On each bit of work we do,
And love of all that we create
Supplant the drudgery of hate.

Use in beauty, joy in work,
Pride that will not stoop to shirk,
Conscience that sustains the pride,—
These let us scatter far and wide.

Then at last in fellowship
We may forget the master's whip,
And join with ant and bird and corn
In hailing every workaday morn.

—Ernest Crosby, author of "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable."

The Charity Girl

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

PROLOGUE.



IN an attic room in a wretched street, three children sat hugging a stove between grimy whitewashed walls, on which the dim light of a tallow candle threw awful suggestions of neglected childhood, in the shape of huge, tousled heads and cadaverous, stooping shoulders, vaguely but terribly outlined. At the other end of the room a woman lay in a drunken sleep, with her head on a mattress. A cheap pine table, a couple of chairs, and an old box completed the furniture of the room.

It was bitterly cold, and long past midnight. The candle had sunk to the rim of the candlestick and was a mere ghost of an illumination, and the one thing that seemed the most alive in that room was the old stove, for within its bosom a tiny handful of dying embers gleamed through the cracks of the heavy iron plates and warmed their rusty surfaces to the temperature of a living human body. The children laid their faces on it and hugged its heavy unresponsive angles. When the palms of their hands became thoroughly warmed they rubbed them slowly over their chests and stomachs. The eldest of the trio, a girl of nine, sat on a broken chair clasping one of the little boys around the waist with a pair of thin arms, while he sprawled face downward on the stove. When opportunity offered, she loosened one hand from the other to lay it lovingly on the stove-lid, rubbing her cheek with it afterwards. It was not a matter of much concern that the soot of the stove was transferred to the faces of these children until they looked as if ready to take part in a minstrel show.

"Hold me now, sissy," muttered the older lad, a trifle larger than his brother, whom he pushed forcibly out of the girl's arms.

The little fellow who was deposed fell to embracing the stove from the opposite side, but quickly finding a better way, he climbed upon it with a feeble shout of exultation. There he sat, lost in profound reflection; a pretty child, with tangled curls, his deep-set dark-blue eyes looking out from a pallid baby countenance. His chin buried itself in his ragged jacket; his hands sought pockets and found holes, which he had always taken to be pockets, never having known any other variety. His sister eyed him tenderly and raised a hand to smooth the hair from his forehead.

"What's the matter now, Tahm-my?" she questioned deferentially, desiring him to speak.

After a pause, with his blue eyes fixed on the blank wall opposite, in a thin, childish treble, he solemnly addressed an invisible choir:

"Wunst, we-uns had a big, big fire in 'ere stove! A long time ago—four—five—six—twenty-five years ago, and sixteen days. An' we burned up all de coal to wunst! An' we never have no more big fire now—never no more!"

"That was when pappy was home," answered his sister, in a very grown-up, matter-of-fact tone; "an' now he's 'way agin. We was good and warm twict las' winter, Tahm-my; you 'member the big hot fire las' winter, when we had hash an' fried 'taters, an' oysters, an' agin when we had ginger cakes an' onions an' liver?"

"I don't 'member no oysters, Mah-ty."

"Nor me neither," chimed in the other boy.

"Nor ginger cake an' liver, Mah-ty."

"We ain't had 'em *never*," corroborated his brother, fiercely.

"Ye ain't got mem'ries like ye was big an' old! Little children forgits things; but we had 'em, and ate 'em—wunst, twict."

"Was I 'lowed to set on er stove, Mah-ty, when we-uns had oysters, an' liver, an' ginger cake?"

"'Twould 'a' burnt ye; 'twas a blazin' hot stove—red hot, Tahm-my!"

"I don't want no red-hot stove to burn me pants an' legs. I likes to set a-top o' de stove—like I'se a-settin' now—an' git warm froo and froo, Mah-ty."

The child looked up radiantly into his sister's face. He had forgotten what being warm was like, but his imagination for the moment was deeply gratified with the desperate expedient of sitting on the top of a stove that had a make-believe fire in its bosom.

"He ain't got no sense, *he ain't!*" cried the older boy, as he slapped the visionary philosopher.

Mattie interfered by dragging the scoffer back to her lap, where he continued to exhibit his displeasure by kicking Tommy's legs.

The younger child, pursuing the policy of non-resistance that was natural to him, shivered and relapsed into his attitude of angelic contemplation. Mattie fixed her fond gaze upon him, and again waited for him to speak. His last observation had not been quite up to the mark, but words of deep import and beautiful baby cunning were undoubtedly hovering behind his lips. Suddenly he raised a warning finger.

"Somefin's comin' outside—it's stopped!"

"A patrol wagon!" shrieked Jimmy, dashing from his sister's arms to the window.

Mattie was about to follow joyfully, but stopped awe-struck by the expression on Tommy's face. He sat staring, with eyes full of terror, his baby forefinger still uplifted.

"The Croolty's a-comin' up the stairs—for we-uns. It's a-goin' to put us away—to put us away." The child's voice rose to a shriek, and Mattie with a responsive scream flung her arms around him.

Jimmy, turning from the window, fled to his sister for safety, burying his face in her lap. The tramp of heavy feet was already on the stairway, the sounds coming nearer. The children shut their eyes and cowered together. The door was shaken by powerful hands from the outside; in a second the bolt gave way, and two tall men in dark uniform burst into the room. In the agony of the moment, instinct blotted out experience, and with one voice the three children screamed piercingly:

"Mammy! Mammy! Mammy!"

But their God-given protector slept on in profound peace. One of the men examined her carefully and made a note of her condition. The other addressed a remark to the children:

"A good society's a-goin' to take charge of you-uns and give you good homes and an eddication. Come along."

His strong hands grasped the arms of the little boys, who found themselves suddenly lifted to their feet with no power to resist. They stopped crying and stared at their sister in stupefaction.

"You come along too, sis," added the officer, in a tone that was not unkind—"without you want to stay here and freeze to death. Say, do you mean to come along with these here boys or not?"

The girl's back was turned in an attitude of stubborn resistance, but she now sprang quickly to her feet.

"I'm a-goin' wherever Tahm-my an' Jimmy's a-goin'," she answered shrilly, and cast a wild, Amazon-like glance upon her captor.

No further preparation was needed than to seize a ragged hood from a corner and thrust her arms into a woman's jacket many sizes too large for her. The party left the room hastily, one officer saying to the other that he would send immediately for an ambulance to convey the insensible woman to the hospital.

Soon afterward, the scene shifted to the office of the "Cruelty" Society, and Mattie waited in breathless suspense for the next development in the "putting away" process.

Ever since she could remember this phrase had been sounded in her ears with bewildering variations of meaning. Sometimes it was used as a threat to awe disobedient children, but more

frequently it conveyed the idea of calamity, pure and simple, in which the innocent suffered with the guilty, and children were "put away" because their parents could not afford to keep them. Still again, it signified a funeral and a big hole in the ground out somewhere in the suburbs.

The horrors of implacable fate, of dreadful retribution, and of icy death were combined in this terrible phrase, and all the children whom Mattie knew shook when they heard it, just as our primitive ancestors trembled when the motives of their gods and demigods became hopelessly obscured, and the innocent were in immediate danger of bringing upon themselves the wrath of heaven.

When little children disappeared in this sudden fashion from the neighborhood in which they lived, it was generally understood that they had been "put away." In many cases they were never seen again by their playmates; but occasionally they returned, wearing an altered look and a crushed demeanor, as if they had been put through a wringing-out process. They were always reticent in regard to their experiences, but if perseveringly coaxed they managed to convey the impression that they had endured inexpressible hardships in a strange and terrible world, inhabited exclusively by "orphans" and supervised by deities known as matrons and managers. Their reticence was that of the shipwrecked mariner who dislikes to dwell on past sufferings, and it was respected accordingly. An organization known in the slums as the "Croolty Society" was associated with these ghastly disappearances. Its way of swooping down—vulture-like—upon little children who were known to be innocently happy in their gutter games and midnight rambles produced a sense of being long shadowed by a mysterious and awful power, which can be compared only to some of the horrors that were abroad when the songs of the Edda were first sung in the halls of the Scandinavian warriors.

The next day Mattie was dusting the office—to her mind, a perfectly meaningless service which she performed with cheerful alacrity. An austere-looking, gold-spectacled gentleman, who sat at a desk, addressed by name another man who sat at the other end of the room, observing that the McPherson boys were to go to the Orphans' Home as soon as they could be got ready. The other man nodded, and Mattie stared from one to the other with a quaking heart.

Nothing further happened for some minutes, during which she went on dusting and pondering. To have asked either of these dignitaries what was meant by the remark she had overheard would have been equivalent to demanding of a printed almanac what it meant by heralding an eclipse of the sun for the 12th of next February. The officials were not beings with whom a little child could hold speech, and it could scarcely be

said that a common language existed between them. She went on dusting, and only her eyes pleaded and questioned while she argued with the fear that was in her heart.

It fluttered and grew still when nothing seemed about to happen. It fluttered again as the man at the desk closed his ledger deliberately and put it away. He then arose from his chair and walked to the door, Mattie's eyes following him. She noticed that he went upstairs, where her brothers were playing on the third floor. After a silence, she heard the footsteps of the man descending and little feet accompanying his. Into the office came Jimmy and Tommy, with their hats and coats on. Her fear was now clutching her by the throat. Wildly she gazed upon the children, but they appeared to be stupidly unconcerned at this great crisis in their lives.

"We-uns is a-goin' to ride in er trolley cars!" said Jimmy, with a foolish smile.

"I want to go wiv' my buvvers," cried the girl in a loud, abrupt voice, addressing nobody in particular.

"Hurry and get off," said the gold-spectacled gentleman softly.

The agent caught both boys by the hand and pushed them hastily outside the door. Mattie flew after them and flung her arms around Tommy, who stood motionless and aggrieved at such behavior.

"I want to go wiv' Jimmy and Tahm-my—wiv' my buvvers," she sobbed in piteous accents.

Some one unclasped her hands from Tommy's neck, and carried her back into the office, where she was placed upon a chair and held forcibly. Knowing then that she was separated from her brothers forever, the child broke from her habit of self-repression into sobs, yells and curses of despair. She continued to scream the names of her brothers until her voice weakened from exhaustion and she could only repeat them in a husky whisper. The agents then carried her upstairs and laid her on one of the beds in a small dormitory intended for sick children. An hour later they hoped she had cried herself to sleep, but as the superintendent turned to leave the room, a tremulous moan reached his ear, and he carried it home with him that night in spite of his efforts to shut it from memory:

"I want to go wiv' Jim-my an' Tahm-my. I want to go wiv' Jim-my—an'—Tahm-m-m-m-y!"

It was the last day of the old year, and as the old superintendent recalled the fact, he made a mental note of another and more cheering fact which was that the capture of the three McPhersons carried the number of rescued children from 998 to 1,001—a splendid record for the year, and a glorious showing for the Annual Report! This meant "rescue" at the rate of

two children and three-fourths of a child—roughly speaking—per day. In ten years it would mean 10,000 children—equal to the population of a good-sized town—all to be neatly and economically distributed among the various institutions of the city, which were hungrily clamoring for them. A beneficent world, indeed! He fell asleep soothed by this beautiful thought.

CHAPTER II.

Several years later, a young man sat one afternoon in the office of another philanthropic establishment and became deeply absorbed in the contemplation of an open ledger. His dark, brilliant, expressive eyes were tracing condensed biographies. At the top of one page, under a printed heading of "Department of Waifs and Strays," there was inscribed in large letters the name "Elizabeth Powtowska." The narrative, which was written and not printed, described the first appearance in eleemosynary history of the young person with the high-sounding Polish name, the story beginning with the death of a Russian emigrant.

Julian Endicott—this was the name of the serious-eyed young man—had become the guardian of the Polish girl by accepting three years before the secretaryship of the "Association for Sociological Research"—an influential organization, liberally supported by people of wealth and culture in the city. Its proud boast was that its work was conducted on a strictly scientific basis, that it was admirably divided and sub-divided into departments wherein all suffering humanity might be accurately classified, tabulated and studied as specimens of social phenomena. Its object was not to abolish poverty, but to study it as one would study botany or geology. Nothing that met the eye in this office was in the least suggestive of alms-giving, for it held alms-giving in virtuous abhorrence. The ground-glass partitions, the handsome oak railings, the high rolling desks and cases filled with card catalogues, ledgers and filed pamphlets, together with the presence of numerous clerks busily writing or operating typewriting machines—all these were exactly what one might expect to find in a large banking house or flourishing law firm. Philanthropy, under the influence of the commercial spirit of the age, had turned herself into a bo-constrictor and was now engaged in swallowing up her two sisters, Faith and Hope, and proclaiming herself, with swollen self-importance, to be one of the exact sciences.

When young Endicott had accepted this call, the oddest part of his engagement seemed to be the fact that the management of the great association was in the hands of a board of women. There was not a representative of his sex among them. His

assistants in the work were to be young women. At that time his curiosity and longing to begin his study of their wonderful work—for they had written him that there was no other like it in the world—had rivaled the aspirations of the adventurous heroes who visited, in disguise, the halls of Tennyson's "Princess."

It is true that in the Annual Report of the "Association" had long appeared the names of many eminent male citizens who were grouped on a separate page as a "Board of Advisors," with a distinguished Episcopal clergyman conspicuously named as their president. But Julian was early informed that they were merely figureheads, and during the years of his labors for the cause they represented he had never known of their advice being asked, nor was he aware that they had ever attended a meeting. When he persistently sought out these gentlemen, as he did on one occasion, he discovered that several of them knew not on what street the "Association" was situated, and others knew not whether the organization they endorsed with their names was intended to shelter aged widows, to reform inebriates, to furnish soup for the starving, or to house, feed and educate homeless orphans.

But as a matter of fact, it experimented with all of these things and as many more as possible, for it was reaching out towards a wonderful ideal of a "University of Sociological Research," and had just built a lecture hall wherein all students and workers in "charity" might meet to discuss their problems.

Julian had been frankly told from the first that his sex was considered a drawback which the gentle philosophers had agreed to overlook, being more reasonable than the "Princess" and her followers. He was young, handsome and a Harvard graduate; he had come to them for an exceedingly small salary. This was partly because he had studied for the ministry, and had afterward abandoned all thought of it in search of a kind of ministration that would hold him in close touch with his fellows, instead of setting him apart on a pinnacle of spiritual superiority. The cares of the "Association for Sociological Research" seemed the nearest to his ideal of any offer that he had received; while its managers believed fervently that in the equipment of a divinity student, all errors of sex might be considered as having been effaced in the white light of ecclesiastical scrutiny.

It is possible that they were not aware of the extent of Julian's sacrifice, but they were certainly gratified that he was so entirely willing to bury himself alive in their service. He was, it is true, somewhat old-fashioned in his ideas of "charity," but it was not to be supposed that the tool in the master's hand ever fully appreciates all that is in the mind of the master, and

Julian was regarded distinctively as the "tool" of the masterly minds that were directing the work of the Association. If he did not fully realize the secondary importance of the role he was playing, it was because his managers were well-bred, soft-voiced women whose first mission in life was to conform to a high standard of courteous speech and bearing.

Julian's unceasing efforts had left him worn, thin and sallow of cheek, a mere shadow of his former self. So he looked as a rule when he sat studying those biographical pages. The Russian waif was now eighteen years of age, and he took a personal pride in contemplating this young person's later history. For he had actually prepared her for something higher than a life-work of dishwashing; she had exchanged housework in a farmhouse for a high school and a business college, from both of which she had graduated with honors. Afterwards, she was employed as a clerk by a business firm.

But the page had to be turned, and now he read the name "Martha McPherson." The blunders which had wrecked this young life—so he was told—had been caused by the wretched inexperience of former superintendents. Julian had himself failed to grasp the real degradation of the surroundings that had been selected for her until his rescue came too late. She had remained on a city truck farm until her nature had coarsened into a likeness of the soil in which her young feet had literally been planted. She had dug, scraped and ploughed during all that was left of her childhood, because, as the owners of her toil declared, "she was fit for nothing else." Before this she had been dragged through several charitable institutions—each of which had left its mark upon her—but in the hands of the "Association" she had received the worst scars that can disfigure young womanhood, and Julian felt the burden of her wrongs now heaped upon his young shoulders. As secretary of the "Association" he felt responsible for all the makeshift efforts that had marred the young life but lately entrusted to his guidance.

The record was as dreadful as one of Ibsen's plays—more tragic, indeed, than anything Ibsen ever wrote—thought Julian, as he bit his pencil and glowered at the hideous statements.

Rising from the desk under a sudden pressure of feeling, he walked to the window and looked out, seeing not the street, but a pathetic vision of a very young girl wearing a faded shawl and hugging to her breast an infant. This forlorn caricature of motherhood made even the beautiful image of the Madonna seem cheap. His sense of justice was now bewailing the mystery which Martha had flung around the child and herself; she wrapped herself in it as though it were a robe of spotless purity; she defied the world to pry into the secret of her child's parentage!

Then he thought again of Elizabeth. A few days before, his visiting agent had reported the shocking information that the employer of Elizabeth Powtowska had twice presented her with a bunch of flowers. The agent had called at the office and was unfavorably impressed by the employer's appearance; she thought it important that Julian should call on him immediately. Julian had promised to attend to it, but he bethought himself of another plan, and finally succeeded in getting the committees of the "Association" to consent to the employment of Elizabeth in their office as a supplementary clerk.

"I may venture to hope that she'll be safe here," he thought with a ghost of a smile.

For a second he paused and contemplated with ironical gravity the singular features of his present career as a knight-errant, for the bald fact now stood forth clearly that all the relative advantages of his sex had been adroitly reversed by his female managers. This picture of himself was so keenly absurd that he turned from it quickly with a grimace, which expressed not only his consciousness of having failed to effect the pose of a hero, but his complete indifference to the fact.

With a sigh he recalled a ridiculous struggle that had to be carried on, week after week, with various committees of the board of managers. Every detail of every plan had to be argued and shoved through these committees by main force of will. It was like getting a bill through Congress. Some of these gentle women excelled as obstructionists, and all of them had always insisted on their right to decide every question in Julian's work by a majority vote. He did not suspect that they flocked to the meetings because it offered them an hour of mental exercise, that they raised questions for the sole purpose of debating them, and not because it mattered in the least which argument carried. It was all play to them, but death to this poor lad's elasticity of spirit. He was more depressed than ever after the meetings, not only on account of the great output of moral enthusiasm which left him exhausted, but because the fabric of their minds seemed to him every day to become more and more incomprehensible. One of his hardships was their failure to remember from week to week the few and simple facts on which their decision of a previous week depended. Their minds were formless, like jelly fish, nebulous like summer clouds, he thought; or were they only mentally indolent? Julian knew that he did all their thinking for them; he acted as an obliging memory; he persuaded, dragged and forced them to a conclusion, and accepted meekly this conclusion as their "instructions" for the coming week.

They were fashionable women and their superb air of worldly authority combined with heavenly omniscience for a long time had deeply impressed him. They evidently believed that they

ruled with a diviner right than that of kings. But his faith was now no longer equal to theirs. He was country-born and bred, and the vantage ground of social privilege was as yet an undiscovered land to him.

With the consent of four separate committees at last secured, Elizabeth had begun her new duties only the day before. She had thanked Julian demurely, and asked whether in the future she was to consider herself an employe or a ward of the Association.

"Both, perhaps," he had replied cautiously.

"Then I am still a waif," she had murmured in a tragic voice, slowly walking back to the desk with her head lowered. Julian then repeated this remark, which both amused and puzzled him, to the managers, who argued from it that Elizabeth was an ungrateful girl. As it was impossible to disabuse their minds of this idea, he resolved this afternoon to be wary of repeating to them the strange sayings of the waifs.

It was nearly dark when Julian reached his boarding house. He ate his dinner mechanically, and was half way upstairs when a voice in his ear asked in a tone of affected anxiety if the philanthropic hens had been pecking worse than usual. He turned quickly to greet a fellow-boarder whose name was Cooper Denning.

Julian's laughing protest on behalf of his female managers passed unquestioned, the speaker not being anxious to discuss the management of the "Association," whose existence he was unable to regard in any other than a facetious light. He was a lawyer of moderate means to whom the profession of law served to pass away the tedious hours that lay between great social events. Julian found him arrayed usually in faultless evening dress.

Having drawn Julian almost forcibly into his chamber, Denning lit a cigar and settled himself in an easy chair which Julian had declined. He observed discontentedly:

"I believe half the delight you ascetics take in physical discomfort comes from the mental distress you know you are causing selfish brutes like myself."

"Did you think I was seeking discomfort? I only wanted to get nearer your fire! Surround me with all the luxuries you own,—you'll find I'm no ascetic," answered Julian so energetically that Denning laughed.

"Your face was so long at dinner I thought perhaps you had been renewing your vows."

"I never made any. I'm sorry the study of social problems doesn't interest you, Denning, but if you were to dive with me into the unfathomable depths of biology, psychology, and a few other mysteries—"

"Biology, psychology—unfathomable depths!—that sounds like woman!"

"That's just what it is," said Julian, clasping his hands over his crossed knees and contemplating the fire with thoughtful eyes. "That's just what I've been studying,—woman." He sighed.

"In love, boy?"

"Heaven forbid! It's the incarnation—the feminine gender itself—that has been leading me such a dance. I believe it is one of the evil spirits from Pandora's Box—the worst of the lot. I should like to box it up again and set it on your mantel piece."

"My dear young friend, what on earth have you to do with the feminine gender outside of a lady manager—or a French grammar—unless you're in love?"

Julian gave a short sketch of his tragic experiences with the waifs. There seemed to be nowhere a spot on God's earth where they were thoroughly safe.

"If I had a world to create," he concluded gloomily, "I am sure I should find one sex enough. It would make life much simpler."

"Which one would you leave out?" asked the older man. As Julian did not reply, he smoked on in silence, while he contemplated his serious young guest with a becoming gravity. Finally he said:

"You dwell too much on the dismal side of life, Endicott. You are in danger of exaggerating every symptom of your youthful charges, because your experience is so frightfully limited. You want to gain knowledge of life; then you can sift out the whole business and estimate things in their right proportion. Touch, taste, devour all experiences. Of course I should not say this if I did not know you came of good stock."

"Thanks; I think I have been gaining considerable experience of late."

"Yes—all in one line. Your observations of the other sex, for instance, are confined to a single, wretched, degraded type."

"Human nature is the same in all grades of society—I believe that." Julian's voice touched suddenly the deeper note of the enthusiast.

"I do not admit your generalization; you advance it as an article of faith—a dogma to take the place of a belief in the Trinity! It's useless to argue with you."

"I perceive that you have a logical mind, Denning, but I have no way of gaining the larger experience—or time either. I am willing to count myself a narrow, pent-up stream—perhaps a very shallow one—but still I hope to accomplish some good in my groove, like any other specialist."

"Specialist is good—a fine word," observed the lawyer, smil-

ing. "I am going to think out a plan for you if you will have the extreme goodness to play something. Make a little music, won't you? We'll turn down the gas, as you always play better when you can hardly see the keys, and I'll lie here and meditate until I discover a short cut to experience for you."

He turned down the light as he spoke and stretched himself on the lounge while Julian, with a boyish shrug and a laugh, went into his own room and opened the piano noiselessly and tenderly, as musicians handle the instrument they love. Through the doorway, the red glow of the fire from Denning's room softened young Endicott's serious profile into a beauty that was partly Greek and partly of a more modern type.

He struck a few chords absently and then began a musical reverie.

With the aid of the delicate phrases which Julian's fingers seemed to be carving out of the silence, an idea came into Denning's head, and he considered it with amused satisfaction while rings of smoke circled above him.

When the music stopped, he rose quickly and crossed the threshold to lay his hand on the other's shoulder.

"I always enjoy your playing, but this time it has suggested wonderful ideas! I have a plan mapped out, an original and delightful method of obtaining the experience you need."

Julian, striking chords softly, looked up with a dreamy expression. An amazing proposition was being presented to him. He was to be introduced into fashionable circles as a stranger from Boston, a young man fresh from college.

"I shall ask boldly for permission to take 'my young friend' with me while he is in the city; and after you are introduced properly, your stay is to be prolonged little by little until perhaps—"

"I come from New York state, not Boston—and I have been living in this city over three years. Would you have me ashamed of my birth and belongings? Really, I have no time for such things as you propose."

"You have every night—it's all I have."

"Yes, I could go nights," sighed Julian, relapsing into a barbarism that invoked memories of country sleighing parties, camp meetings, village sociables and the like. Denning smiled a little and went on unfolding his plan.

"You will have to buy a dress suit and a ten-cent white tie, and that will cover the whole expense."

"I have both,"—Julian developed a faint show of interest,— "I'm not going in for any ridiculous deceptions—neither are you—but if I should go with you some evening in my own character and not as somebody else, I have a suit, and a stunning tie." Pulling open a bureau drawer, he drew out a white satin butterfly tie for Denning's inspection. The latter looked

at it gravely; his expression became intensely solemn,—nay, he began to grow pale.

"It is very handsome," he said in a low voice, as he laid it gently back in the drawer. "It's quite a work of art and will do for some rare occasion. The little social affairs we get up in this city are not worthy of that tie just yet; 'Solomon in all his glory'—"

"It cost a quarter!" cried Julian, laughing. He gave a side glance at his friend's face, and blushed deeply. Denning noting the blush, forgave him.

"You see your plan is impossible," cried Julian, turning away in vexation. "I appreciate your goodness in wanting to introduce me to your world, but it would be a case of the wrong kind of tie all the way through. Thanks for your generosity."

Denning laughed. "You can put me on a pedestal if you want to, for the worship of future philanthropists. I shall not give up the idea, though it's too late to discuss it fully this evening. It's time for me to dress—so good-night."

With a nod and a wave of his hand, he disappeared into his room and closed the door, leaving Julian to continue his musings on the painful predilections of female waifs and strays.

(To be continued.)



❁ SOCIALISM ABROAD ❁

Professor E. Untermann

ENGLAND.

There were 623 strikes and lockouts during 1900, in which 184,773 persons took part. The aggregate duration of the strikes was 3,784,985 work days; 29.4 per cent of lost days fall to the share of the mine-workers; leaving out the agricultural laborers and those employed in seafaring, 2.4 per cent of the other workers have participated in these conflicts. 67.3 per cent of these strikes touched the question of wages; 0.8 per cent that of working hours. 70.5 per cent of the conflicts were settled by direct negotiations of representatives of the interested parties, only 4.2 per cent were settled by arbitration.

From the "Labour Leader" London, Feb. 9: At Bradford Keir Hardie, M. P., expressed it as his firm, unalterable conviction that Queen Victoria was done to death by the war-mongers. (Cheers.) She died broken-hearted, and the men who directed the nation into war thought no more of sacrificing the life of a queen than the life of a common soldier. ("Shame.") They would sacrifice national honor and all that was held dear if thereby their interests promised to advance. And the people still went on their way, silent, dumb, voiceless. Mr. Hardie proceeded to say that—with the facts before him—he could not acquit the new King from his full share of responsibility for the war. (Hear, hear.) A Committee sat to inquire into the Jameson Raid, and when that point was reached at which certain papers were being demanded, which it was alleged would prove the complicity of the Colonial Office in the Raid, the Prince of Wales personally had directly intervened to prevent Sir William Harcourt and the other Liberal members of the Committee from pursuing the investigation for the papers, with the result that the investigation was burked, and to this day the papers had not been produced. Then, when Cecil Rhodes was under examination, the Prince walked into the Committee-room and shook hands with the criminal who was upon his trial. ("Shame.") These things were not without significance. (Hear, hear.) The Duke of Fife, who married a daughter of the Prince of Wales, was a director of the Chartered Company, so that he was steeped to the lips in the Jameson Raid and in the policy that made for war. Apparently, therefore,

there was small chance of escaping from militarism at the intervention of the new King. There was but one way whereby it was possible, and he would fain still believe that that way was not only possible, but probable—the creation in the nation and in the House of Commons of a body of men with eyes to see, and hearts to feel, and courage to speak—(cheers)—in the presence of kings and princes if need be. (Cheers.)

The Governor at Gibraltar has prohibited the publication of a local socialist daily.

FRANCE.

The cabinet Waldeck-Rousseau has not fulfilled the expectations of its friends. In consequence, that branch of the French socialists which supported the entrance of Millerand into the cabinet, is now confronted by the alternative to either acknowledge the correctness of the warning: "No compromise, no political trading," and to demand the resignation of Millerand, or to be satisfied with the policy of the cabinet. The acceptance of the latter of these two evils means the renunciation of the principle of opposition to the capitalist government.

Waldeck-Rousseau's proposed law against associations which is officially directed against the religious orders and their systematic evasion of taxation, causes some apprehension in the ranks of socialists. The wording of the law is such that it may be applied to other than religious associations. Especially Section 11 is obnoxious to our comrades, as it may be construed so that it could be used against the newly instituted International Bureau in Brussels.

The executive of the United Socialist Party has decided to send circulars to all socialist and labor groups for the purpose of opening an inquiry concerning the political and economic conditions of the working class.

In Lille, the united ticket of the radicals and Parti Ouvrier Français was victorious with a majority of 900 votes in the after-election for a member of the city council.

In Nîmes the socialist Fournier was elected with a majority of more than 2,000 votes over his royalist opponent.

Lissagaray, the well-known editor-in-chief of "La Bataille," author of the "History of the Commune," died in Paris on the 25th of January.

Comrade Edwards, editor of "Le Petit Sou," offered army rifles transformed into hunting rifles as premiums to those of his readers who were "friends of general armament and believed that an armed

nation is indispensable for the protection of the republic." That was a welcome announcement to the police who at once paid a visit to the office of "Le Petit Sou" and confiscated forty-six rifles.

According to the January bulletin of the Labor Bureau, thirty-seven strikes were reported during December, 1900. In thirty-five of these strikes 10,089 persons took part; five strikes were victories for the strikers, sixteen were settled by mutual concessions and fifteen were lost.

GERMANY.

Another of Mr. Bueck's letters has fallen into the hands of the "Vorwärts." This document reveals with startling clearness the socialist contention that capitalistic governments are simply the servile tools of the capitalist class. Apart from showing a most fraternal intimacy between the ministry and the industrial leaders, the most significant feature is Mr. Bueck's open admission that he brought about the dismissal of the former minister of commerce, von Berlepsch, because the latter's labor reform policy was disagreeable to the industrialists.

The outcome of the debate on taxation, in spite of the heroic efforts of the socialist members, is that the proletarian class must pay an increased price for bread in order to keep the junker class alive, which has long passed the stage of historical usefulness.

The following item explains why the socialists cannot elect any candidates to the Prussian Landtag: The elections for the Landtag are held under a system of three classes of voters graded according to their yearly taxrate. This is the way this beautiful system works: In 1898 there were 6,447,253 original voters. Of these 3.26 per cent belonged to the first class, 11.51 per cent to the second class and 85.35 per cent to the third class. But the 947,218 voters of the first and second class had twice as many votes as the five and a half millions of the third class. Hanna ought to study this.

The number of socialist voters in Württemberg has increased from 32,269 in 1895 to 58,866 in 1900. Most of the new converts came from the people's party.

The social democrats in Saxony can point to a fair record of success. In 1900 549 of their comrades were holding offices in municipal councils.

The following figures show the number of socialists in parliaments of German states outside of Prussia: Bavaria 11, Saxony 4, Württemberg 5, Baden 7, Hessen 6, Saxe-Weimar 2, Oldenburg, 1, Meiningen 6, Altenburg 5, Coburg-Gotha 9, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt 2, Reuss 4, Lippe-Detmold 3, Bremen 11.

ITALY.

Comrade De Felice has been prosecuted for accusing the former government commissioners in Sicily, Codronchi, of employing the services of the Mafia for the purpose of influencing voters by violence, intimidation and fraud. Although the trial clearly established the fact that by order of the government and its officials the most flagrant violations of laws had taken place, De Felice was found guilty.

Two new universities for the people have been opened; in Milan under the auspices of a labor committee and in Rome through the initiative of college professors.

Comrade Angelo Cabrini, in Milan, was elected with 2,223 votes into the city council. His royalist opponent received 367 votes.

The comrades are keeping the capitalist and bourgeois elements constantly conscious of the fact that the most dangerous elements of society are found in the ranks of the privileged classes. While in Naples the chief of the Camorra, Cassalle, met his moral death in consequence of socialist activity, two policemen were convicted in the same city of maltreating a young man to death. The bourgeois deputy Palizolo is under strong suspicion of having ordered two assassinations, and an army officer in Verona was convicted of murdering his mistress and cutting her to pieces.

The socialists Nofri, Frisciotti and Pischetto have been sentenced to eleven months and twenty days' imprisonment for publishing documents which the government wanted to keep secret. Happily the last amnesty includes this sentence, and our comrades will be spared the hospitality of the government.

JAPAN.

American capital is beginning to assume the form of trusts and to oppress the Japanese laborers. Wherever you find trusts you find political corruption, but you also find this veritable "balm in Gilead," socialism. The comrades in Japan are having a lively time and promise to have a strong movement within a few years.

Already there is a Japanese Prof. Herron lecturing on socialism under the guise of "new ethics," and a Japanese college professor lecturing on the same subject under the name of "Economic History." A workingmen's paper, "The Labour World," advocates trade unionism and takes part in the world wide "class struggle."

Like some famous monarchs, we socialists can proudly point to the fact that the sun never sets in our realm.

SWITZERLAND.

The following shows that the introduction of the initiative and referendum do not make socialism.

In Zürich there were 2,570 applications for work during one month, of which only 462 could be supplied. In Basel the census showed 1,446 unemployed during the same time, while in Bern 172 unemployed applied for work between December 1 and December 8.

The press is full of announcements reporting the suspension of business, lack of work and discharges of workmen.

RUSSIA.

Socialist agitation is beginning to stir the sleeping Russian giant. Students held tumultuous meetings in Kiew and St. Petersburg. A great number were arrested and transported to the eastern frontier where they will be pressed into the ranks of local regiments. A later report of the capitalist press announces that nine students have been sentenced to be hung.

BELGIUM.

Last month a congress of co-operative societies of producers was held in Brussels for the purpose of strengthening these societies and encouraging the public to take more interest in them. Resolutions favored the establishment of equitable exchanges between societies of producers and consumers.

Comrade Vanderveelde has introduced a bill tending to secure admission for women to the practice of law.

AUSTRIA.

The new Austrian Reichsrath will be composed as follows: 145 Germans, Liberals and Radicals, 11 Socialists, 22 Anti-Semites, 32 German Clericals, 84 Czechs, 69 Poles, 43 Slavs and Roumanians, 19 Italians. It will be difficult for the government to form a reliable majority.

DENMARK.

The secret ballot has been adopted for elections to Reichstag. This improvement materially improves the chances of the socialists.

The number of unemployed is steadily increasing, and a great strike is on in the iron industry.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes

During the past month three strikes of national importance have come to an end. The Chicago building trades strike, which has been in progress for a year has been compromised. The workers received Saturday half-holiday, the eight-hour day, abolition of piece-work, slight increase of wages, time and a half for overtime, and union men not compelled to work with non-union men, and the latter not to be employed below the union scale. Concessions made by the strikers are: Unions to withdraw from the Building Trades council, sympathy strikes to be abolished, disputes to be settled by arbitration, no limitation to the amount of work to be performed, modification of apprenticeship rules, foremen not to be members of unions, and no objection to be raised to material or machinery used.—The strike and boycott of the New York printers against the Sun was declared off, verbal promises having been given that the union could again organize the plant, but doubts are expressed as to the agreement being carried out. It is claimed by New York newspaper men that J. P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller and other great capitalists stood behind the Sun in the fight and were ready to continue the struggle indefinitely rather than yield to the union.—The contest between the National Foundrymen's Association and the Iron Molders' Union terminated in favor of the men, though they yielded the demand of the bosses for a reduction of 10 cents a day temporarily, the matter of wages to be arbitrated on June 4. The main point in the struggle was the desire of the foundrymen to operate "open shops," and thus the fight of the molders was for the life of their organization. According to the agreement the shops will be union as heretofore, the bosses having pledged themselves to discharge their 325 non-union men inside of 40 days.

About 4,000 silk weavers, mostly women and girls, went on strike at Scranton, Pa., for more wages. They receive from \$2.00 to \$4.00 a week. When a committee waited upon Manager Davis and presented him with an agreement to be signed he flung back the paper and said: "Go curl your hair with it." His brutal remarks generally have served to embitter the girls, and "Mother" Jones, who is on the ground, has also aided wonderfully in having them maintain a stubborn resistance.

Contrary to general expectations the joint meeting of miners and operators at Columbus resulted in no serious disagreement. Both sides had made threats of what would be demanded, but the bluffs were withdrawn and last year's scale and conditions will hold for another year. The operators held up the bogie of West Virginia, and claimed they were unable to compete with the non-union fields of that state, and, therefore, they were unable to grant an increase in the scale. But it was shown that some of the operators who talked loudest were interested in West Virginia mines, and refused to allow them to be organized, and in that manner they hope to keep down the wages of miners in other states. It is also true that J. P. Morgan is heavily interested in mines and railways in the non-union state (he is busily engaged in organizing a \$12,000,000 coal trust in the Fairmont district at present), and it is known that under no circumstances will he treat with the union. Another reason why the miners' officials were slow in making a fight in the bituminous fields is found in the fact that an effort will be made to draw the operators in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania (which means Morgan largely) into a conference called for March 12, for the purpose of renewing the present agreement, which expires on April 1, and securing a few more concessions. It is expected that the hard coal operators will not confer, which would mean that another strike may be precipitated, and that the soft coal miners will be dragged into it. It is no secret that the anthracite barons are accumulating thousands of tons and storing same in the belief that another strike will be ordered, and daily dispatches from Scranton, Hazleton and other points in Pennsylvania make predictions that a contest is looked for.

A new Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Union is reported as having been formed recently to include all branches of glass workers without regard to narrow "autonomy" lines. The new organization declares in its preamble that a class struggle exists between those who produce all the wealth and the capitalists who produce none, and that the latter control the powers of state, legislative bodies, courts, militia, police, etc., which are used against despoiled laborers when they strike for higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions; and it is concluded that the laboring class must emancipate itself from the influences of its enemy, the proprietary class, by organizing locally, nationally and internationally for the purpose of battling against capitalism, and "must see that its interests be represented in the shops, in the different branches of the local, state and national administration and governments." A bosses' organ in Pittsburg declares that the new union will not be able to live, but the wish may father the thought.

Following is a handy reference of place and date of some of the more important conventions this year: Sheet metal workers, Colum-

bus, O., April 8; metal polishers, Milwaukee, in April; lace curtain operatives, Philadelphia, May 6; tin plate workers, Cleveland, May 9; railway conductors, St. Paul, May 14; waiters and bartenders, St. Louis, May 14; musicians, Denver, May 14; iron and steel workers, Milwaukee, May 21; lady garment makers, Philadelphia, June 2; steam fitters and helpers, Washington, June 3; tile layers and mosaic workers, Buffalo, June 10; printing pressmen, Washington, June 17; boot and shoe workers, Detroit, June 17; copper and plate printers, Chicago, June 19; flint glass workers, Atlantic City, July 8; longshoremen, Toledo, July 8; stove mounters, Hamilton, Ont., July 10; retail clerks, Buffalo, July 11; theatrical employes, Toledo, July 15; weavers, Belleville, N. J., July 20; chain makers, Pittsburg, Aug. 5; printers, Birmingham, Ala., Aug. 12; plumbers, Buffalo, Aug. 19; paper makers, Holyoke, Mass., Sept. 7; brewers, Philadelphia, Sept. 8; stationary firemen, Toledo, Sept. 19; cigarmakers, Baltimore, Sept. 7; railway trainmen, Kansas City, Sept. 10; spinners, Boston, Oct. 1; coal hoisting engineers, Springfield, Ill., Oct. 8; railway telegraphers, San Francisco, Oct. 14; electrical workers, St. Louis, Oct. 21; painters, Detroit, Dec. 2.

Chicago wing of the Social Democratic party held a convention in the foregoing city latter part of January and adopted a resolution in favor of inviting all factions of the Socialist movement in a convention to be held in Indianapolis in September. The lateness of the date, being but two months before election, is causing considerable discussion.—The Springfield wing of the party issued charters to about 30 new locals in the past six weeks.—Job Harriman and Rev. Chas. Vail are stumping the Eastern States in the interest of the party and meeting with good success. Prof. Herron, who has had magnificent Sunday afternoon meetings in Chicago ever since election, is to go to New York in the spring.—The Social Democrat is the name of a new paper at Ardmore, I. T.; the Kay County (Okla.) Populist has flopped and changed its name to the Oklahoma Socialist, and Chicago Polish Socialists have started a paper called the Worker.—Joseph O'Brien was sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment for delivering a Socialist speech on the public streets in San Jose, Cal.—Exchanges in all parts of the country announce that recent trust movements have stimulated widespread Socialist discussion.

The trust movement in the last month has been bewildering to the average onlooker. Every report of combinations perfected or being arranged is coupled with the names of Morgan and Rockefeller. The news of the absorption of the Southern Pacific, the Mexican International, the Mexico & Arizona, the Sonora railway, the Chicago & Eastern Illinois, the Erie & Wyoming, the Baltimore & Lehigh, the

Delaware Valley & Kingston and several other small roads by the interests which the foregoing gentlemen represent is accompanied by the information that they will soon control the Pullman Palace Car Co., and will also conduct the express business of the country as soon as contracts with present companies mature, and that economies are being introduced that will gradually displace 50,000 employes in the offices and on the railways. But if the foregoing is startling news, the reports of the organization of a trust of trusts, capitalized at more than a billion dollars, is simply astounding. Negotiations have been about completed for a combination of the Carnegie Steel Co., the Federal Steel Co., the American Steel & Wire Co., the National Tube Co., the American Bridge Co., the American Car & Foundry Co., the National Steel Co., the Republic Iron & Steel Co., the American Tin Plate Co., the American Sheet Steel Co., the American Steel Hoop Co., the Pressed Steel Car Co.—a total of twelve trusts—and possibly one or two more companies will be taken in before long. This huge octopus is also absorbing coal and coke lands of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, quoted as being worth nearly \$50,000,000, as well as iron mines in Minnesota and Michigan, and at least a hundred vessels on the lakes and many ships on the ocean. Thus owning and controlling every activity from raw material to finished products competition is completely destroyed, and the wild talk of a few reactionary organs that certain capitalists are about to establish competing plants is simply so much rot. Carnegie was in reality driven into a corner because Morgan and Rockefeller were in a position to shut off his ore and coal supply and transportation facilities. Thus, the skeptics who sneered at Socialism only a few months ago, and who declared with great positiveness that "it was a dream," are beginning to hedge, and probably inside of a few years more the old fogies will be ready to admit that socialism is here, and all that is required is that the people appreciate that fact, for a New York paper declares that Rockefeller made the boast that in five years he will control all the industries of the United States. Then what?

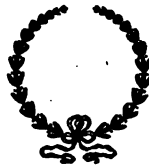
Twenty electric lighting and power companies in New Jersey towns combined with \$20,000,000.—Fourteen furniture plants in Grand Rapids and Chicago are being organized into a \$25,000,000 trust.—A shingle trust is announced to ensure "stability of prices."—Negotiations are on foot to trustify the Armour, Swift, Morris and other packing houses of Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha and other cities.—Horseshoe manufacturers combined.

Machinists are preparing to enforce the nine-hour day in May, and, as the employers are said to be hostile to the movement, general strikes may be expected in many cities.—Organized employes on and along the

lakes are not yet certain whether they will be compelled to strike this spring or not. Employers do not appear satisfied to grant the demands of the men in every branch.

The cigar trust (which is really a branch of the tobacco trust) has already absorbed 28 factories, and is building a plant at Binghamton, N. Y., which will be operated by 5,000 workers. It is claimed the trust will "break in" 20,000 boys, women and girls as cigarmakers by July 1. This combine controls much of the raw material, machinery and the jobbing trade.

Prof. Pupin, of Columbia University, has invented a telephone through which speech can be transmitted 3,000 miles. Bell monopoly gobbled the patent for \$500,000.—Edison is reported as having perfected a plan to secure electric power without dynamos, and that as a result many laborers will be displaced.—Chicago man has invented a new ditch-digging machine that will do the work of 150 men.—An electrical machine has been perfected that will tear up the rails from a track and break them into any length desired.—New machine to rule 10,000 to 20,000 sheets of paper in two colors has been invented; a new folding machine enables two men to do as much work as 24 is announced, as is also a new rotary press operated by three men that does as much work as 38 with ordinary presses.—Mining machinery is now a great issue. At least 23 per cent. of soft coal mined is now turned out by machinery. President Mitchell says in 1899 no less than 44,000,000 tons of coal were turned out by machines, or 12,000,000 tons in excess of 1898. He concludes that if this increase continues skilled miners will become mere coal shovelers in a few years.



SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

Professor George D. Herron

So far as it is a consciously chosen stage of historic development, socialism is the common life's confession of faith in the goodness and justice of social evolution. It is the class-conscious attempt of labor to answer for itself the question which political economy has never honestly faced, and yet to answer which is its only excuse for trying to be; and that question is, by what right or by what alchemy do a few appropriate to themselves the labor-product of the world, while the actual producers are deprived of all that makes life worth living? Economic science has led us deep into many complexities of contrary and subsidized definitions; but it dare not plainly say, what it well enough knows, that there is no righteous basis for the industrial system which employs it. The instinct of labor is leading it to the discovery that this capitalistic system is a mere survival of brute force; that it rests not upon right, but upon sheer economic might.

No one can give a definition of socialism that will be conclusive. The socialistic idea comprehends more than any definition of it; more than any man's social philosophy or economic theory; more than is represented by any creed or sect; more than is intended by any party or propaganda. There are many different forethoughts, and there will be many different afterthoughts, about the issues to take root in the socialistic soil, and about the kinds of seed to be planted therein. Among equally thoughtful and faithful socialists, there are divers and widely apart opinions as to the best methods of reaching essentially the same end. Still, from whatever quarter the socialist idea comes, it always looks for the co-operative commonwealth and the free individual.

As comprehensively as we can define it, socialism first means the co-operation of the whole of society in the production of the economic goods upon which each member of society depends. It next means that men shall freely and equally receive of these goods, according to the ability of each to use them in bringing forth into realization his inmost and uttermost possibilities of strength and spiritual beauty. It also means a collectivism that shall be through and through democratic; a co-operation that shall come from beneath the human fact and not from above it; an administration of society that shall hear and heed each man's free and authoritative voice. It furthermore means what the Sermon on the Mount means; that society cannot be

content with less than the full blossoming of each individual life, and that in perfect liberty; and then that each individual can be content with giving to society no less than the fullest and richest output of his life, and that as his glad and reasonable service.

Turning now to the more specifically spiritual sources disclosed by socialism, we are first impressed with the immense spiritual service rendered by the very materialism of its economic philosophy. It is by this philosophy that the human soil is for the first time cleared of imposed and coercive faiths, of superstitions and the tyrannies built upon them, so that an inherent and courageous faith may spring up and bear the fruit of free and noble action. Having given no hostages to either past or future, being free from obligation to any creed, socialism may survey all the facts of life without let or menace, and appropriate whatever is good or true in every faith. It may relate these facts and faiths in a human synthesis that shall for the first time make truth the sole religious authority. Without knowing it, the socialist idea grounds itself on a profoundly religious basis by affirming its faith in the good of fundamental being, and in our power to co-operate with it; it makes no difference, to start with, whether we call that being spirit or matter. And socialism takes up into itself the prophetic and apocalyptic elements of the Hebrew scriptures, when it looks and works for the happy outcome of human experience and evolution. It need not depart from the strict facts of life, but only be sure that it takes in all the facts, to find in its own class-struggle a new form of the idealism of Jesus, so long and faithfully rejected by the church which bears his name. By being but a little more scientific than the sciences, socialistic science may see that the love-principle is the most elemental and persistent fact of life; and it may further see that the co-operative society is the realization of this principle.

In standing for such a society, socialism is in the wisest and deepest sense a religion, no matter what it may call itself. The socialist commonwealth is a spiritual organization of life in place of the present wholly materialistic order. A spiritual democracy that shall associate all with dominion over none, a common good that shall exhaust the joyous and self-directed serving capacity of each life,—that is what socialism comes to, if it is true to its genesis. Only such a society can make possible the realization of full and free individuality; only such a society can summon to the service and glory of the whole each man's utmost spiritual output; for individuality cannot be fully and freely realized except on the scale of universality. A man does not become truly himself until he takes into his life the whole immediate and historic life of the world, and consciously co-operates with it, in order that he may give his life back to the world as its own perfect blossom.

The socialistic movement can by no means fulfill its religious

mission in merely disclosing the hid spiritual sources of life; there is urgent and immediate need that it receive these sources as its own dynamic, if socialism is not long delayed or terribly disfigured. The economic crisis would certainly culminate in a clearly defined issue between capitalistic despotism and democratic collectivism, were it not that the capitalistic system cannot go on by any power which it possesses within itself. Even if it could continue for a long time yet, capitalism would finally suck dry the body of humanity, and perish in the catastrophe of the world which it had ruined. But capitalism knows better than to try to go on of itself. It will seek to perpetuate itself by fastening itself upon the new social idea. In order to save itself, capitalism will go into partnership with socialism, with socialism as its political pack horse. Already, is capitalism prepared with programs of benevolent designs for its own firmer establishment:—city water works, municipal milk wagons, boards of arbitration, art museums and good government clubs. Carefully written out and docketed, ready at hand for each emergency, are the treaties of peace by which capitalism will undertake to destroy socialism by befriending it. By the wit of its highly hired retainers, in legislative halls and churchly councils and academic chairs, and by the lack of wit and spiritual nerve in the socialist movement, a shorn and blinded socialism may be bridled and saddled by capitalism, and made to carry it to another age-long goal. The owning class may thus wither by crafty favors the movement which it cannot withstand by its mightiest weapons of defense.

In all of this, the capitalistic instinct will be the identical instinct of the ruling class in all crises. When the early Christian movement was well on its way to undermining the empire with Jesus' idea of life and property, the Roman robber class engrafted itself upon that movement so securely that Rome rules the world to this day, through the laws and class-consciousness of those robbers, whose chieftain the Caesar always was. So completely did the Roman upper class blind and ride the essentially proletaire and class-conscious party of Jesus, that official Christianity has performed capitalistic police service ever since, from the day the monstrous criminal Constantine decreed the orthodoxy of the church, down to this Sunday morning's sermons from Chicago pulpits. In like manner, when the beautiful Franciscan movement menaced the world with a renaissance of apostolic ideals of the Christ-life and of property, the church destroyed the soul and meaning of the movement by adopting it, and thereby breaking the heart of Saint Francis unto death. By such methods did the matchlessly cruel bandit lords of England, under the lead of Henry the Eighth as their supremely fit chieftain, ride the Lollard movement to the greatest capitalistic depredations of history. In the name of the movement which Wyckliff and John Ball thought to lead towards communistic democracy, practically the whole of England was stolen from its yeoman owners, or from the communistic monks, who were also robbed of the fruits of centuries of free and co-operative labor. In this way, have the great democratic movements of the last two

centuries been made to prove so disappointing. Upon every high tide of democracy the institutions of capitalistic despotism came into renewed power, floating catch-words of the self-governing idea on their ensigns. The American Constitution, the mangled and snob-led thing which England calls democracy, the grotesque French Republic, the stripped and manacled unity of Italy, the Prussianized German Empire, are alike conscious and deliberate property-class devices for preventing the common life from coming to a consciousness of the self-governing idea.

What is to save socialism from a like capitalized fate? Nothing less than the profound spiritualization of its whole attitude toward life—a spiritualization in perfect consonance with its pre-Marxian sources. A mere economic propaganda will never carry the socialist forces to the co-operative commonwealth. Socialism must become a religion, a spiritual as well as an economic ideal, a great and unifying faith, a true and omnipotent revival of the human soul. Not a letter of the economic philosophy or historic interpretation need be sacrificed, in order for socialism to avow itself as the historic approach to an ideal reaching away beyond itself. Nothing but a faith that will awake the idealistic instinct in the average man, and attach to itself the glad and immense response of his whole being, will safe-guard the movement for economic freedom from passing under some new yoke fashioned for it by the alert capitalistic spirit. If socialism would break forever the spirit that binds and uses labor for capitalistic gain, and feed the human spirit that has starved until the capacity for spiritual desire is almost starved out of it, it must first give back to the heart of the universe the answer of yea to the question which our divinest brother went to the cross to ask—the question of whether human life is able to accept the leadership of the will to love, which alone maketh free. And now is the psychological moment to speak this yea, and speak it as a word of world-making faith.

Already have socialists wrought better than they knew; they have uncovered spiritual resources long hid by the church; they have made possible a working economic of the kind of life which Jesus defined as the kingdom of heaven; they have laid foundations for that quality of public order which the apostle called the holy city, coming down out of heaven from God. Let them not say what may not be built upon the foundations which they have laid; let them not bind the faiths or prayers which may rise from the soil which they have cleared; let them not stand guard against the winged ideals that may light upon the highway which they have prepared.

And then, the socialist movement may so grow in the wisdom of the will to love, in the beauty of freedom and the grace of truth, that it shall speak the word that is to begin a new world, just as Jesus spoke the word that began the world now ending. It may so grow in faith in the divinity of life, and in the knowledge of how to make that faith its working power, that it shall at last speak a greater word than Jesus spoke—the word that shall set the world to building out of human facts the kingdom of heaven which Jesus planned. It may rescue the blotched and church-rent pattern of that kingdom from its official keepers, and spread it before the world as the daily vision of who and what man is, so that he shall grow until the winds and the waves and the stars shall obey his mighty will to love. And without a world-making word of faith, calling men to a social glory far beyond itself, socialism will never be able to inherit its own immediate promises. For the walls of the co-operative commonwealth will not be built until the sacred altar fire of the ideal is first kindled in the soul of labor.

(Taken from a lecture delivered in Central Music Hall, Chicago.)



BOOK REVIEWS



Two Men and Some Women. Walter Marion Raymond. The Abbey Press. Cloth, 160 pp., rough edges.

The author spent some time at different social settlements in Chicago and the work is rather a series of flash-light pictures of the rottenness of bourgeois society in that city than a conventional romance. Many sketches possess much power and considered as a series of character delineations the book is exceptionally strong. As a social study there is little that is new or valuable. The author refers to socialism only enough to prove his utter ignorance of its philosophy.

The Clarion Club and Why We Should Study Socialism. Robert Swift. Published by the Clarion Club, Oddfellow's Temple, Cincinnati, O. Art Edition, 244 pp. Uncut, with artistic cover, ten cents.

Here is something that delights both the eye and the reason. The argument for a study of socialism is one of the most valuable little tracts for propoganda work of which we know. The conclusion is so good that we cannot resist the temptation to quote it. "Socialism is not a fad; socialists are not faddists, pursuing an idle study or fancy. They are men and women as good and as bad as you or I. But they are perceiving the truth, and are looking at it; they are facing it squarely and are proposing to follow it the best they can. And that way lies freedom, progress and true life. Socialists have nothing to conceal, nothing to fear, nothing to be ashamed of. They could have no better wish than that you understand socialism." The pamphlet also contains a form of organization for "Clarion Clubs" and we only hope that if the founders insist on multiplying organizations in the socialist field they will see to it that its members are kept in sufficiently close touch to the actual political movement to prevent them becoming the useless dilettants that so often cling to socialist organizations of this kind.

The Awakening of the East. Pierre Leroy Beaulieu. McClure, Phillips & Co. Cloth, 290 pp., \$1.50.

This work by the noted French capitalist political economist has, since its publication, constituted the standard authority of the European bourgeois on the problem of the far East. Hence its translation is welcomed, not alone for the information it contains, but also as giving the point of view of the bourgeois portion of western Europe on these subjects. The work is divided into three nearly equal parts, treating of Siberia, Japan and China respectively. In each of these countries he traces the process of "awakening" that has gone on in

the last few years. His treatment of Japan is far more satisfactory than of either of the other countries. One is constantly struck with the remarkable parallel between the history of Japan and that of many western nations. There is the same feudal system and landed nobility in existence up until 1868 that prevailed in most European nations until the close of the eighteenth century, and this nobility, or Shogunate, was overthrown by a bourgeois ruling class in the same way to be in turn followed by a similar industrial revolution, the only great difference being one of the length of time in which these movements took place. There is the same inhuman child labor in the Japanese factories that was to be found in the English cotton mills in the first half of the last century and this author attempts to justify it by the same contemptible arguments as were used by the English capitalists of that time. The portion dealing with China is the least satisfactory of the entire work, being very superficial and largely made up of missionary and trade gossip, much of which has already been shown to be false. Yet on the whole it is doubtful if there is any one book containing as much information in the same space concerning these very interesting subjects.

Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism. Gabriel Deville. Translated by Robert Rives LaMonte. International Library Publishing Company. Paper 64 pp. 10 cents.

This is perhaps the best short summary of the principles of socialism that has ever appeared in the English language. It covers a wide extent of territory yet is not so condensed as to be difficult of comprehension. It must prove of the greatest value in both educational and propaganda work.

Science and the Workingmen. Ferdinand Lasalle. Translated by Professor Thorstein Veblen of the University of Chicago. International Library Publishing Co., 84 pp. 25 cents.

This is a translation of Lasalle's speech to the court before which he was arraigned on the charge of "inciting the destitute classes to hatred and distrust of the well-to-do." It is an eloquent defense, a scholarly presentation of the case for freedom of research and investigation and a summary of many of the points of socialism.

The State and Socialism. Gabriel Deville. Translated by Robert Rives LaMonte. Paper, 45 pp. 10 cents.

The thesis of this pamphlet is summed up in its last paragraph as follows: "Therefore, we must work without ceasing to elect more and more socialists to office, to permeate and saturate the state more and more with socialist ideas, until, in the hands of the socialist party or the class-conscious, organized proletariat, the state with all its powers, and especially that of law making, becomes the instrument, which it is destined to be, of the economic transformation to be accomplished. When that transformation is completely accomplished, there will then be, instead of persons to be constrained, only things to be administered, and on that glorious day there will still be a social organization, but it will no longer be a state." The pamphlet covers a ground on which there has been much need of information in the English language and will fill a gap in our socialist literature.

The Philippines: The War and the People. Albert G. Robinson. McClure, Phillips & Co. Embossed cloth, 407 pp., \$2.

This book is largely made up of articles sent to the New York Evening Post when the author was staff correspondent for that paper. This leads to some repetitions, but these are not of a nature to injure the work. The opening chapters fills a "long felt want" in the way of a concise history of the Philippine islands and their people prior to American contact. It is shown very clearly that the present outbreak is the legitimate descendant and last stages of a generation long struggle for liberty in which the United States has taken up the part of tyrant and oppressor, formerly played by Spain. There is a wealth of information on all phases of the Filipino question and, taken all in all, it is probably the best general summary and work of reference yet issued on these subjects.

The Image Breakers. Gertrude Dix. Frederick A. Stokes Co. Cloth, 392 pp.

This book is described as a "novel of modern socialism," and as a preparation for writing it the writer is said to have lived for several years in "socialistic colonies." Whether the author or publisher is to blame for this ridiculous bull we cannot say, but one thing is sure, and that is that living in so-called socialistic colonies is pretty good proof of not being familiar with "modern socialism," and there is nothing in the book to indicate that the author was not profoundly ignorant of the philosophy of socialism. The scene is laid in England and the opening chapters give a most excellent (and also most laughable, although it is hard to say if the author intended it to be humorous) view of the mass of freaks of all shapes and descriptions who have attached themselves to the English socialist movement. On the sociological side the story is a psychological study in sex relationships, and as such is extremely well done. Two of the characters are of that morbid, unnatural type that infest the socialist movement and fill one alternately with pity, anger and disgust. They indulge in countless heroics which are sometimes painted so real that we wonder if the writer has not allowed her own creations to deceive their creator as they have themselves. Over against these is placed a strong, healthy, almost sensual man, and between these two forces the heroine, a young artist, alternates. Needless to say that in the end nature (somewhat idealized to be sure) is successful. Aside from its social aspect the literary value of the story is such as to entitle it to a prominent place among the books of the year.

The Ethics of Evolution. James T. Bixby. Small, Maynard & Co. Cloth, 35 pp., \$1.25.

If compelled to find a label for the position taken in this book it would probably be best expressed by the somewhat contradictory phrase of "evolutionary intuitionism." The opening chapters is a decidedly hostile criticism of Spencer's Data of Ethics and he seems to be seeking to accomplish the impossible task of applying the phraseology of Darwinism and evolution to metaphysical psychology and intuitionist ethics. He does not seem to comprehend the determining influence of the economic factor in fixing standards of right and wrong or to have in any essential way grasped the basic ideas of evolution. Nevertheless he has collected many facts and observations

of value and the work as a whole is well worth the attention of any student of ethics.

Our Nation's Need, by J. A. Conwell. J. S. Ogilvie. Cloth, 251 pp.

Here at last it would seem is the extreme limit in ridiculousness in works on social topics. The author gravely proposes that bug-a-boo of the anti-socialist writers "divide up and start even." There is no doubt but what he has done a valuable service to capitalism in so doing, as they will now have for the first time an actual instead of a straw man to demolish on this point. Probably for years to come this book will be cited by anti-socialists as a proof that all socialists advocate such silly tactics.

From Slavery to Freedom. Charles H. Davies. Published by the author at Aurora, Ill. Cloth, 464 pp. and Appendix, \$2.00.

The author of this has evidently done a large amount of illy systematized reading, and has arrived at a sort of utopian socialism by a very round-about method. He begins by falling into the error that Darwinism is somehow at variance with co-operation, and confuses commercial competition with the struggle for survival, and hence considers it his duty to deny the existence of the latter in the animal and plant world. It seems a pity that such a mass of labor should have been wasted upon propositions which a little more familiarity with the socialist position would have made clear.

Restricted Industry; Its Effect, Cause and Remedy. A discussion of the relation between the Currency Volume and Industry. William H. Barry. Schulte Publishing Co. Paper, 136 pp., 25 cents.

The Solution of the Social Problem. C. E. Dietrich. Schulte Publishing Co. Paper, 90 pp., 25 cents.

Both of these pamphlets belong to a stage of society through which America passed about ten years ago when the middle class of exploiters was still trying to keep on the backs of the laborers by expanding the volume of currency and other similar social tinkering.

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

Perhaps the most remarkable article of the month is Mark Twain's "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," which appears in the February number of the North American Review. Written in the best style of the great humorist philosopher it is one of the most scathing and sarcastic reviews of capitalism that has appeared in many a day. After describing the work of the Chinese missionaries in extorting tribute from the Chinese he says:

"What we want of our missionaries out there is not that they shall merely represent in their acts and persons the grace and gentleness and charity and loving-kindness of our religion; but that they shall also represent the American spirit. The oldest Americans are the Pawnees. . . . The blessings of Civilization Trust, wisely and cautiously administered is a Daisy. There is more money in it, more territory,

more sovereignty and other kinds of emolument, than there is in any other game that is played."

Mark complains, however, that the powers have not been playing the game well but have left the covering of Christian virtues off the "civilization" and the result has been that the "persons that sit in Darkness" have been catching sight of "The Real Thing," which is very damaging to their trust and confidence. It is worthy of note that the appearance of this article with some others that have shown a tendency to denounce capitalism is bringing many of his old admirers to believe that Mark Twain is "getting into his dotage." It will be remembered that his brother was the Social Democratic candidate for governor of Kansas last fall.

The only article worthy of note in the Quarterly Journal of Economics is Prof. Charles J. Bullock's "Trust Literature: A Survey and Criticism." This is by far the most exhaustive and best arranged bibliography on this subject ever compiled. So far as the reasoning and conclusions of the article are concerned they have that labored scholasticism, elaborate following of forms and careful artificial classification that so generally passes for an impartial scientific attitude in modern academic work.

A good illustration of the style to which reference is made above is to be found in the January number of the American Journal of Sociology. Prof. Henderson and Prof. Small have a couple of theoretical articles that remind one of the elaborate and meaningless combinations that children make of pebbles on the sea-shore. An example of what happens when some one tries to apply these ideas is given in the same periodical in an article by Royal L. Melendy, on "The Saloon in Chicago," which repeats with tiresome verbosity the simplest and commonest facts concerning the saloon and comes to a set of conclusions that everyone save fanatics and sociologists always knew. He, too, seems to think that if only forms of classification are used and statistics introduced judiciously it is all that is necessary to contribute to human knowledge and to assist in the solution of social problems.

It is a pleasure to turn from these to something that, while it agrees even less with socialism, has at least the merit of reality. The February number of "The World's Work" has more sociology and classified sociological information than all the technical sociological journals published in all the colleges of America. Its clear cut capitalism and deification of success is refreshing even if only by antagonism. It opens with a shout of satisfaction over the fact that the "banks and trust companies in New York alone paid out on January 2nd the enormous sum of \$140,000,000" in dividends alone, and gives as "a striking measure of the rate of enrichment" in America that by a "conservative estimate there are more than 4,000 millionaires among us." The most notable article is Frederic C. Howe's "The Great Empire by the Lakes," which is one of the most wonderful descriptions of the economies of modern industry ever penned. Speaking of the iron and steel trade, he says: "All the essentials of production, including the mines, steamships, railroads, docks and furnaces have been combined under one head. . . . These companies also own their own mines. Coincident with this consolidation there has occurred a revolution in industrial methods before which earlier achievements sink into insignificance. . . . From the moment the steam scoop, handling tons of native ore, touches the soil in Minnesota or Michigan until the raw material issues as a hundred-pound steel rail

on the banks of the Monongahela River the element of human labor is scarce appreciable. . . . A half dozen men will mine five thousand tons of ore in a few hours. . . . The vessels are unloaded by hoisting devices which will do the work of sixty men. . . . Steel cars with a capacity of sixty tons are unloaded at the furnaces by immense cranes which pick the cars clear from the tracks, transport them to an ore pile, and dump them as easily and simply as if they were but buckets of sand." Speaking of the Calumet and Heckla mines he says: "The stock, of the par value of \$25 per share, is now quoted at \$760 per share. Upon this stock but \$12.50 has ever been paid in. . . . The dividends of one copper mine, whose capital stock is but \$2,500,000, amounted in the year 1899 to \$10,000,000." From the department "Among the World's Workers" we notice especially a very valuable history of the rise of the pressed steel car of which there was not a single one in 1897, but of which "twelve million dollars' worth will be built during the present year."





EDITORIAL



FINANCIAL NOTES

"The distinguishing characteristic of American business affairs in the first year of the twentieth century is a magnitude of financial operations of which the world offers no parallel. The dreamers of a decade, or even of ten decades ago, were wild enough in some of their fancies as to the events that would occur in the new part of the world, but wild as they were in some respects, they did not begin to imagine the immensity of such financial transactions as are now of frequent occurrence. . . . A small clique of men are now dealing, under one central plan of operations, with an aggregate of railroad properties capitalized at 12,000 million of dollars. On one day a system of roads representing \$200,000,000 is set over in its place to perform the functions outlined for it. On another day a railroad in an entirely different part of the country having a bagatelle capitalization of \$32,000,000 is conveyed to another branch of the enterprise, and on every day the plans go forward quietly in pursuance of the general purpose. . . . In view of the numerous operations of this sort that are now in progress, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that these men are recasting the entire railroad system of the United States with its nearly 200,000 miles of main track."

The above quotation is not taken from any sensational newspaper or socialist publication but from the columns of the Chicago "Economist," a conservative financial journal devoted to the interests of the great capitalists and investors. As was to be expected, the "desperate struggle" that was scheduled to take place between Rockefeller and Carnegie in the steel trade was but the preliminary bluffing preparatory to a consolidation of the interests involved. With the resulting steel trust has also been combined the coal trust giving a combination with a total capitalization of nearly a billion and a half of dollars. As these same interests also control the gigantic railroad combination described above it will be seen that the total capital now controlled by this stupendous organization is about \$13,500,000,000, a sum, by the way, almost identical in amount with the total valuation of all the farms and agricultural implements registered by the United States census of 1890.

A little over one year ago the Commercial and Financial Chronicle of New York attracted world-wide attention by the presentation of statistics showing that during the year 1898 trusts had been formed with a total capitalization of \$6,000,000,000. This figure was quoted far and wide as indicating the unheard-of lengths attained by capi-

talist concentration in this country. Everyone recalls the far-reaching consternation it created in the ranks of the class of small exploiters and how they held "Anti-trust conferences" and covered the statute books with laws forbidding such combinations. Today a single month sees almost three times as much capital pass into a single organization without scarcely causing a protest. Even William Jennings Bryan has not essayed to offer a "remedy" or suggest a new method of "trust smashing" however hardup he may have been for "copy" to fill the columns of his newly established weekly.

An interesting phase of the railroad consolidation is seen in the statement that the services of 50,000 men will be dispensed with as a result of the economies of unified operation. These will come largely from the ranks of the managing force and it is likely that a great many highly salaried presidents and superintendents will be made to realize the fact that they are only wage slaves after all, even if they have been a little better fed and clothed in the past than the men who twisted brakes and shoveled sand. It is also rumored that the contracts between the express companies and the railroads all expire within the next few years and that at their expiration the trust will not renew them but will proceed to "expropriate" the present owners.

Another instance of an international trust was furnished by the report of the directors of the Diamond Match Company. According to their recent statement to the stockholders that company is now operating factories in England, South Africa, Peru and Germany as well as in all the principal centers of the timber supply suitable for matches in the United States.

Meanwhile the record of failures for the three weeks ending February 14, according to Bradstreets is about ten per cent more than for the same three weeks of last year. An examination of the figures in detail, however, shows that it is only the same old story of the wiping out of the little exploiters. Out of the 709 failures that took place during this time 639 were for \$5,000 or less and only five were for more than \$50,000.

The "surplus labor" extorted from American laborers by their capitalist masters still continues to spread consternation in other countries. From every quarter come complaints of the ruination of foreign industries by "American pauper labor." The Chicago Tribune calls attention to the fact that the Deering and McCormick Harvester companies are clogging the shipping facilities to Russia with their machines, which have displaced those of all other countries. The reason for this is that "While he is paid from 40 to 100 per cent more wages than the mechanic in European factories the American workman is enabling his employer to compete against all comers. He is doing more and better work." In England the London Times states that over one-half the Welsh tin plate mills have been forced to close down because of American competition, and there is much talk of a protective tariff. But it is not alone in the form of manufactured products that

this "surplus labor" goes abroad. The London Economist estimates that since 1896 about \$100,000,000 of American capital has been invested in Canada. British tram lines are not only made in American workshops but they are owned by American capitalists. It is stated that a large portion of the proposed new British war loan will be taken by American banks and the laborers of this country may have the consolation of knowing that not only do they produce the meat with which to feed the British soldiers in South Africa but that they also furnish the money to the British government with which to buy the aforesaid product. What the American laborer himself gets out of this transaction is less clear.

COLLEGE CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS

One of the most encouraging things to the socialist that has happened in many years recently took place at Leland Stanford University. We refer to the expression of "class consciousness" among the professors and students on the occasion of the discharge of Prof. Ross. Professors have frequently been fired before because they dared to express opinions hostile to the present ruling class, but hitherto their fellow professors have shown themselves most complacent and servile lickspittles. If one of a gang of dogs is kicked, the remainder will come to his defense; if a crowd of pickpockets see one of their number arrested, the others rush to assist him. The higher up the scale the greater the solidarity. This is the principle that underlies the trade-union, and every one knows how the very first expression of any social consciousness among laborers is their tendency to come to the assistance of a discharged comrade. But whenever a college professor has been discharged or attacked in the past for daring to do his duty and teach the truth, his fellow-workers have been the first to snarl at his heels in response to the commands of their masters. But in this instance both students and professors have shown some signs of possessing the characteristics that distinguish men from beasts. Prof. Howard openly championed the cause of Prof. Ross, and has been promptly "victimized" and discharged, like any laborer who makes his consciousness of brotherhood too prominent to suit his boss. A large body of students have also had the manhood to stand up for their right to think, and at once the class line appeared, and some of the toadies of wealth promptly proceeded to haze the daring spirits who had shown a little individuality. This is the position up to the present writing. Meanwhile the university has had no difficulty in securing scabs to take the place of the discharged professors. If now those students who have shown themselves to be possessed with the spirit of manhood have as much courage as the

average gang of shovelers on the street, they will find a way of notifying these scab professors what they think of their contemptible treachery to truth and to their fellow-workers. If they do this, they will have accomplished more to secure freedom of speech and thought in American institutions than can be accomplished by volumes of articles in protest and scores of resolutions of indignation.

We feel that we are entitled to congratulate ourselves upon this number of the Review. We wish at the same time to express our thanks to the many friends whose work has made this success possible. We only ask that each number be compared with any succeeding number in order to show the obvious improvement that has taken place since the beginning. But we are now able to state that the best is but a beginning to what is yet in sight for the future. To give our readers a glimpse of the feast that remains for coming numbers, we would say that we already have in manuscript, or promised for very early numbers, articles from Karl Kautsky on "Socialism and Trades Unions," Keir Hardy on "The English Labor Movement." H. Lagardelle of "La Mouvement Socialiste," on "Socialist Municipal Activity in France," May Wood Simons on "Socialism and Education," Miss Ellen Starr on some subject relating to the Artisan and Socialism, H. L. Slobodin, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, and C. R. Ashbee of England on subjects which these authors are particularly capable of treating. In addition to these, the letters of Mother Jones will continue monthly.

We are arranging for a first of May number to excel anything ever attempted in this line. We hope to make it the most complete summary of the world-wide Socialist movement ever brought together in one publication. It only remains for our readers and friends to do their very best to see that this material reaches those to whom it would do most good in the cause of Socialism. We ask that each reader will endeavor to do his part in this regard.



PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

VANDERVELDE'S COLLECTIVISM

It is with great pleasure that we announce for early publication a socialist work which is probably the greatest contribution to the literature of the movement that has been produced since the death of Karl Marx. Professor Emile Vandervelde is known the world over as one of the leading spirits among the Socialists of Belgium, and as one of the most scholarly and brilliant writers on economic subjects. He has lately put out through a Paris publishing house a book entitled "Le Collectivisme et L'Evolution Industrielle." The following table of contents will give a better idea of his work than pages of description:

FIRST PART.

Capitalist Concentration.

Chapter I.—The decadence of personal property.

1. Peasant proprietors.
2. Artisans.
3. Small retailers.
4. Summary and conclusions.

Chapter II.—The progress of capitalist property.

1. Corporations.
2. Capitalist monopolies (agreements and trusts.)

Chapter III.—Objections.

1. Workingmen's savings.
2. The democratization of capital.
3. The numerical increase of small enterprises:

- I. Commercial.
- II. Agricultural.
- III. Industrial.

4. Summary and conclusions.

SECOND PART.

The Socialization of the Means of Production and Exchange.

Chapter I.—The three elements of profit.

1. Wages of insurance.
2. Wages of abstinence.
3. Wages of superintendence.
4. Surplus value and profit.

Chapter II.—The advantages of social property.

1. The profits of public enterprises.
2. The condition of the workers.
3. The purchase of raw materials.
4. The cost of product and of services.
5. The quality of the product.
6. The interest of generations to come.
7. Summary and conclusions.

Chapter III.—The administration of things.

1. The proletarian conquest of the public powers.
2. The governmental state and the industrial state.
3. The decentralization of social enterprises.
4. The state of the future.

Chapter IV.—Formulas of distribution.

1. The right to the entire product of labor.
2. The right to existence.
3. Summary and conclusions.

Chapter V.—The means of realization.

1. Expropriation without indemnity.
2. Expropriation with indemnity.
3. Expropriation with moderate limited indemnity.
4. Summary and conclusions.

Chapter VI.—Objections.

1. Socialism and individual initiation.
2. Socialism and liberty.
3. Socialism and art.

Appendix—Outline of supplementary readings

This remarkable book of Vanderelde's will be issued in a neat volume of about 250 pages of a size uniform with the Pocket Library of Socialism, and in strong cloth binding, at the price of 50 cents, postage included. There will also be an edition in paper binding for propaganda use at the price of 25 cents for a single copy, or \$1.00 for five copies, postpaid. Stockholders in our co-operative company will have the privilege of purchasing paper copies at 12½ cents postpaid, and cloth copies at 30 cents by mail, or 25 cents by express.

The exact date of publication cannot yet be stated, but it will not be far from the first day of May. All orders received with the cash before that time will be filled promptly upon publication.

THE REPUBLIC OF PLATO

This book, written in the fourth century B. C., is the first of the great Utopias of the world's literature and it contains the germs of most of the Utopian theories that have been published since; indeed it is safe to say that most of them are only an echo of the ideas powerfully set forth in the Republic. This work has up to the present time been the exclusive property of the leisure class, having been printed only in the original Greek or in English editions that were too expensive for workingmen to buy. We are therefore glad to announce that about March 15 we shall issue Book I. of the Republic of Plato in an entirely new English version by Alexander Kerr, professor of Greek in the University of Wisconsin. The first book does not develop Plato's thought of an ideal commonwealth, but clears the ground by a discussion of ethics, and it is interesting to note that one of the characters in this dialogue nearly

2,300 years old suggests the Socialist theory that "good" conduct is conduct that harmonizes with the interests of the ruling class. The book will contain about sixty-four pages, printed on extra book paper, and the price will be 15 cents postpaid.

LIEBKNECHT'S LIFE OF MARX

When the history of the Socialist movement is written, one of its most interesting chapters will be the period when Marx, Engels, Liebknecht and other active Socialists from the continent of Europe were exiles in England, carrying on from there a tireless campaign with pen and press which by and by, with the march of economic forces, brought them back in triumph to their native countries. Shortly before his death Liebknecht, urged by many friends, published a delightful volume of his personal recollections of Marx, dealing mainly with the period just mentioned. Prof. Untermann has completed a translation of this book, and we shall publish it within a few weeks in a neat pocket edition, bound in cloth, at 50 cents postpaid. There will be an expenditure of about \$150 necessary before the first copies can be printed. We propose to raise this by offering ten assorted copies of the Pocket Library of Socialism free to each of the first 300 people who send 50 cents each in advance for Liebknecht's Life of Marx. Send on the 50 cents at once. You will get by return mail any ten numbers of the Pocket Library, and you will have Liebknecht's Life of Marx, in cloth binding, mailed to you as soon as ready, probably the last of April. If this plan works as we believe it will, we shall soon be in a position to publish any new book that the Socialists of America want.

RECENT SOCIALIST BOOKLETS

We desire to call the attention of our readers to some of the numbers lately published in the Pocket Library of Socialism. This series is issued month-

ly at a subscription price of 50 cents a year; and single copies are sold at five cents each.

No. 21 is entitled "The Trust Question" and is a reprint of the clear and able article by Rev. Charles H. Vail which was published in the International Socialist Review for September. The recent developments in concentration make this pamphlet a timely one at the present moment.

No. 22 is "How to Work for Socialism," by Walter Thomas Mills, and is just the thing for new converts who are full of enthusiasm but do not know just the way to make their work count for as much as possible.

No. 23 is entitled "The Axe at the Root" and is by Rev. William T. Brown, of Rochester, N. Y. In this booklet he shows how the principle of the class struggle was recognized and enforced by Jesus and John the Baptist, and how Socialism to-day embodies all that is vital in religion.

No. 24 is by A. M. Simons and is entitled "What the Socialists Would Do if They Won in This City." It answers more definitely than anything yet offered in propaganda literature the questions which Socialists are obliged to discuss in every municipal campaign.

No. 25, entitled "The Folly of Being Good," is by Charles H. Kerr and is a somewhat novel experiment in setting forth the Socialist idea of ethics in language suited to the comprehension of young people who have as yet given no thought whatever to the subjects covered by our Socialist propaganda. It is intended for popular circulation with the hope that it will open the way for more serious literature.

We are anxious to have a large subscription list for the Pocket Library of Socialism, and we, therefore, offer for \$1.00 a full set of the twenty-five numbers already published together with the next eleven numbers as issued from month to month, making thirty-six numbers, or three years' issues, postpaid, for \$1.00.

WHAT TWENTY-FIVE CENTS WILL DO FOR SOCIALISM

Under this heading we made in the February number of the Review an offer to which we have received a large number of responses. We find, however, that we failed to make the terms of the offer as clear as they might have been, and this note is intended to remedy the defect.

Our offer is that for 25 cents we will send ten copies of the International Socialist Review to as many different addresses, and more at the same rate. We did not mean to offer copies of the CURRENT number of the Review, but such back numbers as we can spare most conveniently.

Moreover, we cannot send a package of Reviews to one address at this low rate, for the reason that by so doing we should be interfering with the trade of newsdealers who are buying copies of the Review regularly from month to month and paying 7 cents each.

Any of our friends who would like to sell copies of the current number of the Review for the sake of interesting new readers in Socialism can obtain copies from us at 7 cents each, postpaid, in packages of five or more. We must ask, however, that they will dispose of such copies in a way that will not interfere with, or discourage, the newsdealers who are handling the Review. For it is an obvious fact that the circulation of the Review on newsstands is a means of propaganda which is of great and increasing value, and we ask the co-operation of our friends to make it a success.

We hope no reader will stop his subscription to buy copies month by month from the newsdealer, for, by the time the commissions of the News Company and of the newsdealer are paid, there is not enough left to be of any substantial assistance in meeting the necessary expenses of the Review. We do hope, however, that each of our subscribers will urge some newsdealer to keep the Review on sale, calling his attention to the fact that the News Company will supply him with copies at 7 cents, with the privilege of returning those not sold. After a dealer has begun ordering the Review he should be encouraged by sending him customers for each month's issue. This is a simple and easy method of propaganda which costs no money and little trouble.

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The Socialist Campaign Book of 1900.

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| I. Evolution of the American Proletarian. | VII. Wages and Living Expenses. |
| II. Growth of Trade-Unionism. | VIII. How the Working Class Live. |
| III. Trusts—Industrial Progress. | IX. Towards Plutocracy. |
| IV. Trusts—Despotism in Industry. | X. Capitalist Political Platform. |
| V. The Farmer and His Future. | XI. The Growth of Socialism. |
| VI. Labor's Demands and Capitalism's Answers. | |

The publication of this work marks an era in socialist propaganda in America in that it places in the hands of every socialist worker the information and material necessary to his work in as attractive a form as the material hitherto only accessible to the capitalist parties, while at the same time this material has been illuminated and explained in the light of the socialist philosophy. This makes of the book at once a store-house of knowledge for the socialist speaker and agitator and the best propagandist work yet published, for it not only presents the doctrines of socialism in clear, convincing form, but accompanies the reasoning with the facts from which it is drawn in a manner that can but carry conviction to any unprejudiced mind.

The table of contents given herewith will give a good idea of the plan and scope of the work. The first two chapters are not simply a recital of isolated facts, but so correlate the historical data as to cause them to form a convincing argument of the trend of industrial development. The chapters on trusts bring out their two-fold character by which they mark at the same time a higher degree of economic development and a more intense exploitation of the producer. In "Labor's Demands and Capitalism's Answers" the efforts of organized labor to secure relief in "labor legislation" through capitalist parties is treated exhaustively and should prove a convincing argument with any trade-unionist for the necessity of independent political action along socialist lines. The chapter on "Wages and Living Expenses" is a careful examination of our present "prosperity" and a complete refutation of the claim that the laborers have shared in industrial advance. The discussion of "How the Working Class Live" is written by one of the foremost students of this subject in this country and embraces much material hitherto unpublished. The last two chapters, on the "Capitalist Political Platforms" and "The Growth of Socialism," complete the line of argument furnished by the facts in the preceding chapters, making of the whole work a powerful brief for the cause of socialism.

THE SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN BOOK contains 150 pages and is handsomely printed on extra book paper with an artistic cover. The price, including postage to any address, is 25 cents; 5 copies, \$1.00.

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