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The International Situation and the International Socialist Bureau.

IHERE was never, perhaps, a time in the whole history of the Socialist movement when it was more necessary that representatives of the different national parties should meet together as an International Socialist Council to confer and to give their views as to the present position of international politics. Many things are taking place which must have a direct and important influence upon the future of our party, and Socialists, who ought to be at least as well informed in regard to current events as the Catholic Church or the Jews, cannot at all afford to be taken by surprise. We are deeply interested in the national and international relations of all the peoples of the civilized world, and now that Japan has taken her place not only in the field of European and Asiatic State Policy, but also as represented by a definite Socialist party, the affairs of the Far East not only indirectly but directly concern us.

Yet it is quite certain that the majority of well-known Socialists to-day, though they proclaim themselves Internationalists, take a much less wide view of the general development than their predecessors. So far also the International Socialist Bureau, from which so much was hoped when it was established in 1900 at the Congress of Paris, has failed to correct this tendency. A meeting of the Bureau once in twelve months is obviously a reduction of the whole thing to an absurdity; for we are quite sure our Belgian comrades would be the last to claim that either their national position or their personal knowledge can enable them to fulfil the duties of a thoroughly well-informed International Council. We all need for our guidance that comparison of opinion on various difficult points which can only be obtained by direct personal contact; for there are many matters which cannot be safely or fully discussed by correspondence and many others on which far more needs to be said than is being said to-day.

Thus in every European country at the present time there is

a more or less marked increase among the well-to-do classes of national, chauvinist or race feeling. This is, of course, in the clearest opposition to our whole teaching. It is not too much to say, for example, that owing to the treatment of the Poles by the German government, to the antagonism fostered between the German and the Slav elements in Austria and to the steady policy of Russia, the bitterness between the two rival races of Eastern and Southeastern Europe is greater than it has been for some time past. True, our Austrian comrades have given a great example to the world when men of the most widely differing stocks have cast their votes steadily for the Social-Democratic candidate. But this only shows that Socialism alone can find the means of harmonizing the conflicting elements wherever they may be brought together. It does not justify us in overlooking such a speech as that delivered not long ago by Dr. Korvak against the Kaiser and his pan-Germanizing allies or the chorus of jubilation with which that speech was received in every Slav community. With this, as an Englishman, it is true, I have nothing to do any more than a Frenchman is called upon to meddle in the matter. But as International Socialists we are bound to take account of the rising temper on both sides and to recognize it as a great obstacle to our progress now and in the near future.

Similarly, it is surely worthy of our attention that whatever may be the relations between the two governments, or however determined the Social-Democratic party in Germany and the comparatively small but nevertheless active Socialist sections in England may be to prevent active unpleasantness, the antagonism between Great Britain and the German Empire at this moment is not only keen, but is increasing in intensity on both sides. German newspapers openly declare and German admirals and German military men readily confirm that Germany should keep on good terms with England only until she feels strong enough to beat her at sea; while on England's side a vigorous effort is being made by leading reviews and newspapers, especially since peace was concluded in South Africa, to show that Germany is the real enemy alike in peace and in war, and that it is useless to put off the evil day to a period when she will be stronger than she is now. Of course, nothing may come of all this sound and fury. But the fact remains that from the point of view of capitalism and colonization, the interests of Germany, as advocated by some of her most influential men, are absolutely irreconcilable with those of England, and that Englishmen as well as Germans are beginning to recognize that there is a clearer antagonism here than any which can exist between them and France, Russia or America, so long as trade competition and expansion are the ruling factors in the world policy. Nor does the renewal of the triple alliance, nor England's

good feeling as a nation towards Italy, mollify this growing ill-feeling between the two peoples.

Then again, speaking only of what is manifest to all, the condition of Russia is one of unstable equilibrium. But for the French money which she is using to pay her knouting Cossacks and her torturing gaolers, Russia would to-day be bankrupt. That she is already in the rapids of revolution even the most furious efforts of her government to suppress information cannot disguise from the Western world. But lack of money and internal disturbance never prevented a great nation from following its traditional policy. On the contrary, the lack of funds and the difficulty of carrying out a ruthless system of repression in time of peace have often induced a despot or a camarilla to resort to war as a diversion, whatever might come after. The idea in Germany among the Socialists, I believe, is that Russia is so much occupied with events in China, to say nothing of internal difficulties, that any move on her part in the direction of Turkey is not worthy of consideration. That does not seem to me the correct view at all. The alliance between England and Japan, if it means anything at all, means a definite check to Russian ambition in China for the time being, at any rate. And in the meantime Japanese officers are thoroughly reorganizing and training the Chinese army. If a move cannot be avoided, I venture to assume it will not be in that quarter, where, in addition to England and Japan, the United States may have a word to say. On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that such tremendous warlike preparations ashore and afloat have been made at Sebastopol (from which town and fortress all foreigners are now rigorously excluded), merely for the pleasure of a military and naval review; that the important ports of Bourgas and Varna are being brought directly under the control of Russia by recent action in Bulgaria without some serious object in view in the near future; that the Armenian troubles—I know I am not altogether at one with some Socialists on this eternal Armenian question—would be brought to the front just now unless some new move were intended; or that the very heavy expenditure now being incurred by Russia on warlike preparations generally would be sanctioned, in the existing condition of Russian finances, unless a definite policy had already been decided upon. I do not say that we are on the eve of another peaceable or forcible reduction of the extent of the Turkish Empire, but I do urge that it would be well for Socialists to take counsel together at this juncture and to make up their minds how their great and growing influence is to be exerted with effect at the critical moment. Furthermore, it would be extremely interesting to learn at first hand from our Roumanian and Bulgarian comrades what view is taken in their country of a position which so nearly affects

them. Neither here nor elsewhere can we afford to be taken by surprise.

Even more worthy of continuous and combined attention is the growing power of the great trusts in Europe and all over the world. Socialists themselves do not as a mass fully appreciate the meaning of this tremendous development. We are only *at the beginning* of this consolidation of monopoly. It is inevitable and it is to a large extent automatic. For example, I have good reason to believe that Mr. John D. Rockefeller had not the slightest desire to go into the Steel Trust. He could not help himself. His own accumulations have overmastered him. Lap over they must. Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Pierpont Morgan are not men of genius; they are simply the clever but commonplace representatives of an unconscious financial and industrial evolution. There is a "scare" throughout Europe at this so-called "American invasion;" but so far there has been no authorized pronouncement on this remarkable phenomenon from qualified Socialists as an International body. Such a pronouncement cannot possibly be left to our local Belgian friends, who really know very little about the matter. Yet the development calls for earnest attention. The Trusts which Mr. Morgan represents in the world of finance are estimated to have at their control for any project on which they may set their mind capital to the value of \$3,000,000,000. Mr. Rockefeller's personal income this year is put at \$100,000,000. Granting him a round \$5,000,000 to spend upon himself, \$95,000,000 must *lap over somewhere*. And Mr. Rockefeller, after all, is only one of the billionaires whose unexpended revenues must now be employed for the most part outside the United States. Nothing approaching to this on such a scale has ever yet been seen. It is an entirely new development which, though partially foreseen and predicted by myself and others as the probable outcome of American trustification, has come about much more quickly than was anticipated. This means that we are feeling the collapse of national and international competition and are nearing the stage of national and international monopoly. Rockefeller, Morgan & Co. are doing our work for us better than we Social-Democrats could do it for ourselves.

Yet as Socialists we have no international policy on this great Trust question. We have never thoroughly debated the matter among ourselves. Nevertheless, the moment is close at hand when we must act and act capably and concertedly. Let me hope, therefore, that the members of the International Socialist Bureau will, on the grounds stated above—and many other reasons could be given—arouse themselves from their deep sleep and come together for business.

H. M. HYNDMAN,

The Land of the Noonday Night.

A Miner's Song,

We have eyes to see like yours
Way down in the deep, deep mine,
But there's nothing to mark but the dreadful dark
Where the sun can never shine.
On the banks of clammy coal
Our lamps cast a flickering light
At the bottom drear of the moist black hole
In the land of the noonday night.

We have children at home like yours,
But at eve when we homeward tread
We find them asleep in a tangled heap,
Three or four in a single bed.
In the morning our tasks begin
Before the sun shines bright,
For we have no sun and we have no kin
In the land of the noonday night.

But our home is not like yours.
'Tis a bare, unpainted shack,
Where the raindrops pour on the shaky floor,
And the coal-dust stains it black.
Not a flower or blade of grass
Can escape the grimy blight,
For the face of our yard is seared and scarred
In the land of the noonday night.

But the men who own the mines,
And who live like kings of old—
Ah! little they care how their wage-slaves fare,
So long as they get their gold!
And the fire-damp may explode
And a thousand die outright,
For the men come cheap who go down deep
In the land of the noonday night.

And like feathers they weigh the coal
When they pay us by the head,
But for you who buy it twice too high
They weigh it like chunks of lead.

And our wage goes back in rent—
For they have us in such a plight—
And they squeeze us sore at the company's store
In the land of the noonday night.

And we labor with straining arms
For the pittance they deign to give,
And our boys must quit the school for the pit
To drudge that we all may live.
And our teeth feel the grit of the mine
In the very bread we bite,
Till our inmost soul is defiled with coal
In the land of the noonday night.

And if in the end we dare
To assert our just demands,
Then their courts emit an injunction writ
To shackle our tongues and hands.
And if in spite of their frown
We protest that we will unite,
Then they lock us up or they shoot us down
In the land of the noonday night.

Who was it that made the coal?
Our God as well as theirs!
If he gave it free to you and me,
Then keep us out who dares!
Let the people own their mines—
Bitumen and anthracite—
And the right prevail under hill and dale
In the land of the noonday night.

ERNEST CROSBY.

Rhinebeck, N. Y.

The Revolutionary Method.

(From "Il Socialismo," Vol. I., No. 7, 1902.)



LET us above all explain ourselves clearly. The "Critica Sociale" of May first, 1902, asks in the article, "The Spiral of the First of May": "What has become of the the noise that was made about the 'Ministerialism' of the Socialists? Who still takes the childishly fanciful idea of a revolution in contradiction to reform seriously? It is about the same as if a forest were to reproach its trees that they interfere with its own dignity by their massive trunks and intricate branches. Compromising and uncompromising; revolutionary method and law-abiding method; possibilism and impossibilism—how far away and antiquated are these word plays, these verbal vanities from which other impotent and bitter vanities could for a moment arise and disport themselves before the temporarily confused masses."

Far away and antiquated?

Why, on the contrary, on the last page of the same number of "Critica Sociale," G. Cassola insists on the different tendencies in the Socialist party under the form of a personal critique of my political attitude. He calls it "misleading," because I am, according to him, "revolutionary" * * * but in the Copernican sense; anti-ministerialist * * * but vote from case to case for the Ministry; uncompromising * * * but do not disdain alliances." So that "Ferri has created for himself a condition of equivocation by which every one of his acts contradicts some one of his fundamental premises."

And, apart from such personal polemics, we have only to read our weeklies in order to see the controversy about the different tendencies raging back and forth over every incident of the administrative and political battle.

Far away and antiquated? But this is only an illusion of those who attribute to the whole party this state of a swampy quietude which is at present found only in parliament, and is there mainly as the inevitable consequence of that "ministerial Socialism" which relieves the government of the spur and fear of the clamoring hosts that alone impel the rulers, the happy possessors, to move and do something.

The railway employes were promised a fixed salary and an increase, and it was said the law relative to this would be passed without fail in April. But after the government had been sustained by the vote of parliament, the machine slowly goes about finding the millions necessary for the realization of the measure, and on May 20th, the date of this writing, the railway employes

are still waiting for the fruits of the ministerialist vote given by the Socialists on March 15th.

We have had a spectacular demonstration of 200 unions in favor of the law on female and child labor, a largely artificial action, because such a law interests only a small part of the industrial proletariat of Italy and does not provide either for the agricultural proletariat or affect even indirectly the lack of employment and the chronic hunger which are the sorest wounds inflicted by surplus value. We have also had, during the discussion of this law, to which the government, of course, opposed a ministerial project, the absence of the reform Socialists from the chamber, although they formed the majority of the parliamentary group. And thus we have received the first abortion of a law which is still far from being passed, because much water will flow down the hills, before the Senate will decide to mutilate it still more. The same thing happened to the former bill on child labor in 1886, which is also suffering from anemia and has mostly remained ineffective. And in the meantime we hope that the same Senate will find a way to pass that other great reform of the "labor bureaus" which will give to the proletariat the consolation to write the statistics * * * of their own misery, which they may read to one another * * * in their labor homes which the Honorable Luigi Luzzati has so benevolently promoted, just as if he were also a reform Socialist * * * during that Sunday rest which the Chamber and Senate will concede to them * * * by and by, so that, by hedging and delaying the "fruit of pastime" may grow. The class conscious proletariat should, therefore, have to share the illusions of those government employes of all stations and kinds who, in their state of political indecision, clamor and hope for some little reform that will relieve them of gloom and misery, and who receive for their political neutrality, so dear to the government, nothing but plenty of promises, especially on the eve of administrative or political elections, while they are feeding in the meantime * * * on the "fruit of pastime," until they acquire the sense and the courage to organize for their own class interests.

"Far away and antiquated" seems rather the spirit of combativeness in the Socialist party, if we judge only by the listless attitude of the reform Socialists in the Chamber at Montecitorio, and by the editorials of our party organ, which has the ingenuity to ask the Minister to dissolve the Chamber (*Avanti*, May 12). To dissolve a Chamber, in which the Minister may sleep peacefully between the absence of the followers of Sonnini and the ministerialism of the Socialists! And to ask this Minister, who has done all he could do under the circumstances, * * * viz., the negative work of respecting the liberty of the people in a certain degree, but who has not done anything positive toward economic

reform, because he is not at liberty to do it himself (as it would displease the old fogies of the liberal-conservative majority), and need not be afraid that anybody else will do it in his stead.

* * *

The truth is that the Socialist party of Italy, as well as of other countries, is going through a stage of uncertainty, of trouble, of various problems, in which different lines of conduct are possible, according to the practical aims of the two tendencies which Engels himself called the right and left wing of the party. These two lines of conduct naturally undergo a thousand different modifications through personal and local variations. But the most typical may be classed under the following four heads:

Reform or Compromising Tendency	}	Absolute reformers.
		Moderate reformers.
Revolutionary or Uncompromising Tendency	}	Revolutionary method.
		Absolute and negative opposition.

When the period of self-assertion is over, during which the party is naturally compelled to a close cohesion and strictly uncompromising attitude, there follows a period of defense against the reactionary forces, which imposes less rigorous tactics and brings us unavoidably into a defensive alliance with the popular parties.

With the victory of the latter comes the time of normal life, of freedom of association, of the press, of speech, of the ballot, of strikes, and the addition of more intensive parliamentary and municipal activity.

The difference between the two tendencies cannot become manifest until this time arrives. It is conditioned on personal temperament, local environment, the spirit of combativeness, the desire to quickly and in a popular manner gain public offices or to retain them in elections, the need of a little rest, the fear of relapsing into the full brutality of repression, the want of daily intercourse with the proletariat, etc. And it is easy to give one's self up to either one of the two extremes, which are more attractive because they are simpler and less tiresome.

Either yield to the temptation of being (in the end) on the side of the liberal Minister and continuing the alliance with the popular parties in order to work for the realization of the "positive program," which is to improve the material and moral condition of the working class and give them that "bird in hand" of the "amelioration of the conditions of the working class," as Engels called it, which some people prefer to that "bird in the bush," the collective ownership of the means of production and exchange, which magnificent ideal can only be attained, according to the reformers, "in an indefinitely distant future."

Others, again, follow an impulse of psychological reaction and

fall into an absolute and negative opposition, inside and outside of parliament, just as if we were still in the middle of the storm and stress period of the party or obliged to defend the most elementary conditions of political existence. The logical consequence of this policy would be the abstention from all political and municipal activity, after the manner of the anarchists who are total abstainers in politics and prefer to leave the administration and maladministration of public affairs in the hands of the conservatives * * * who are not abstainers for a moment.

Reform Socialism and negative opposition are straight and simple lines of conduct. For this reason they are attractive, but they both have an affinity for * * * the anarchist method.

* * *

In fact, what is the essence of the great and fertile innovation of the revolutionary method of Marx and Engels, as distinguished from utopian, sentimental Socialism and from anarchism? It consists solely in the substitution of the genetic method, the investigation of causes, to the old empirical, symptomatic method, in harmony with the scientific doctrine of transformism or natural evolution.

In medical practice, it is well known, that up to the middle of the 19th century, before the clinical methods of observation and experiment were tried, diseases were diagnosed and treated only by their symptoms, their outward manifestations. The discoveries of Pasteur, e. g., and of his followers on the field, of microbe germs that cause infectious diseases led to the replacing of the symptomatic cures, which were powerless against such plagues as cholera and typhoid fever, by the elimination of the causes for the purpose of preventing disease. And surprising results were obtained in this way. It is infinitely better to build waterworks for a city suffering from typhoid fever than to increase the number of physicians for the treatment of the diseased or to open public kitchens and reduce the price of medicines.

In the treatment of the infectious disease of exploitation and misery, Marx and Engels have, therefore, said: It is useless to continue those empirical and symptomatic cures, that more or less modern and rational charity, those social reforms "for the so-called amelioration of the condition of the working class," and the like. It is necessary to eliminate the causes of poverty, and these are in the last instance found in the monopolization of the means of production and exchange by private property, that reaches its climax in that period of civilization which is characterized by bourgeois capitalism. Against this rising tide of economic slavery, human misery, and injustice, little bourgeois reforms from "public soup houses" to "charity balls," from laws on "female and child labor" to "boards of arbitration" or "Sunday rest," are as useless

as the use of anarchist violence, individual or collective, against this or that capitalist, this or that "economic tyrant," this or that "political tyrant" is senseless.

The work of the revolutionary method is much more tedious, tiresome, and complex. We must combat and eliminate the fundamental causes of poverty, instead of the more or less apparent symptoms. And as this elimination cannot be accomplished by one stroke of collective or individual violence, nor by social reform legislation, nor by a dictator's decree, we must form a clear and energetic proletarian mind and redeem it from ignorance and servility. The ideas travel in human boots, and proletarian evolution does not proceed spontaneously nor does it descend from the providential heaven of government action. It rather takes shape partly through the natural agency of economic and social phenomena and partly through the pressure of the proletarian mind itself which struggles by legal means for the realization of its revolutionary aims.

These aims are called revolutionary and cannot be called otherwise. Not because they preach the building of barricades or personal assaults, but because they aim at the complete transformation of the economic fundament of society, instead of limiting, weakening, and entangling themselves in reforms which leave the basis of private property untouched and which the ruling classes have always granted, not for our benefit, but in their own interest, for the purpose of retarding the progress of the revolutionary idea.

* * *

This, then, is the secret of the marvelous force in propaganda, organization, and discipline which the Marxian doctrine has brought to the economic and political world. And this Socialist doctrine, with its powerful method, in harmony with the whole scientific movement of the second half of the 19th century, is impregnable in its fundament and its lines of conduct, no matter what may be the stage of development of the Socialist party, be it in its period of affirmation or of normal life. Just so is the science of germ diseases impregnable and employs means which seem more tedious and less effective, but are in reality the only remedy. And this remedy, like its political corollary, is applicable to all periods of life, in times of disease as well as in normal life.

Does that mean that we should not cure the diseased or that it would not be well to have physicians and cheap medicine while we are building our water works? Certainly not. But neither should we forget to press the construction of the water works forward, just because the typhoid fever might have begun to disappear. For we must remember that the disease-breeding germs are always present in the impure water and form a constant menace to public health.

In the same way we must daily and incessantly continue the revolutionary work of giving Socialist minds to the proletarians in field and factory. For the Socialist spirit is the most revolutionary social factor. Nothing can resist this Socialist mind, neither the prejudice of reactionary violence, nor the clerical superstition, nor electoral corruption, nor economic servility. It signifies a veritable rebirth of humanity, elevating them from the abjectness of brute animals to the dignity of free citizens and class conscious workingmen.

For the growth of this irresistible force, the modest and unknown, but continuous and fertile, work of our comrades in the family, the workshop, the field, the barracks, the school, and everywhere else is as necessary, or even more so, as the more apparent work of the prominent agitators and organizers who carry "the good message" far and wide. That this force of our agitation is really irresistible, I have observed and am still observing in frequent cases. In the southern provinces of Italy, e. g., the scarcity of the industrial proletariat and the deplorable lack of class consciousness among the rural proletariat might have made any attempt to form a Socialist party and awaken a sense of self-reliance among them appear as utopian. And I remember that Turati wrote about two or three years ago in the "Critica Sociale," I was a great optimist, but a poor marxist, when I predicted a development of the Socialist party also in the South. Forgetting all about the agricultural proletariat and thinking only of the industrial proletariat in Milan, he contended that there was no proletariat in southern Italy. Now, the natural protoplasm of the Socialist party is certainly the proletariat, and where this does not exist the Socialist party may be not so much what I would here call the political future of the small bourgeoisie, as the expression of discontent and revolt against want. But is this protoplasm missing in the South? The first disciples of Marx in Italy, remaining in their studies, forgot that in many parts of southern Italy the place of the industrial proletariat is taken by a numerous rural proletariat which is as free from all political prejudices dating from 1848 as from the idea of abstention from political action, and endowed with a surprising natural intelligence. It is this agricultural proletariat which, by the help of our uncompromising revolutionary method created within a few years the most splendid center of Socialism in the province of Mantua, the kernel of those "Leagues of Amelioration" among the farm laborers which are now extending their organizations throughout Italy, to the admiration of the Socialists in other countries and the discomfiture of those rural swindlers who so long played the confidence game with the simple-minded mass of our farmers.

We have only to continue pertinaciously this assiduous work

of agitation and organization, and we shall see unexpected results. If we do so, we shall find that these same little bourgeois, artisans and small proprietors, whom we generally declare to find their natural expression in the radical parties, will join the Socialist party faster than we anticipate. For these middle classes must perceive that, in the words of Gatti, they can most efficiently promote their interests by Socialist labor politics, because their economic life consists of three-fourth labor and one-fourth capital. The old capitalist parties cannot do any decisive and thorough work for them, because they are individualistic in the bourgeois sense and leave private property untouched, which is the fundamental cause of the exploitation and poverty of the laborers and the miserable condition of the little bourgeois.

* * *

But while we continue this monotonous, tedious, little esthetic and less attractive work which does not shine so brilliantly as the variations of comparative legislation, does that imply that we are to oppose and neglect reforms which may improve the conditions of the working class? That would be absurd! The force of circumstances compels us, therefore, to vote for social reform, though it may remain ineffective, rather than unite with the reaction and bring it to fall. However little such a law may be worth in practice, it would be absurd to oppose it by following a line of absolutely negative opposition. However little a cheapening of the price of medicine may help to cure a disease, it would be nonsense to oppose it. The essential thing is not to become infatuated with such symptomatic measures and to remember that the best remedy against typhoid fever is the building of waterworks, even though the work of carrying a few stones and a few water pipes every day may be monotonous, tiresome, and the completion in the far future. And it is also essential not to forget, that the lowering of the price of medicine, e. g., by the municipality, is not done purely from a philanthropic motive, but also from an egoistic class interest. For it is also in the interest of the rich to weaken the violence of an epidemic, for the purpose of increasing their own chances of escaping with their lives. And it is the same philanthropy (* * * of egoism) which impels them to give the millions (* * * of the people) for the canalization of the great cities from which they derive their robber profits and a decrease of the danger of infection from epidemic and endemic diseases, which easily spread from the slums and moss-grown hovels to the palaces.

Our reform-loving comrades should, therefore, remember that the capitalists will also grant reform laws, and have passed them in other countries, without our help and in their own interest for the purpose of reaction and delay, as long as they are compelled

by the fear of the revolutionary spirit of the oppressed classes. Germany is a case in point, where the great promoter of social reform was—Bismarck. And it may even happen that the capitalists, more farseeing than their opponents, think of preventing the growth of the revolutionary spirit by offering the bait of “immediate demands,” as in England. The difference is only, that the revolutionary method followed by the German Socialist party put the proletariat on the alert against that reform legislation, however wonderful it may be, while the capitalists in England commenced their social reform before the formation of a revolutionary party took place and thus rendered the gigantic corporative trade unions politically and socially flaccid.

In both cases this is equivalent to confirming that the most efficient, useful, and practical policy for the proletariat is the revolutionary method of Socialist agitation and organization which does not prevent, but promotes reform, without stifling or paralyzing the potent aspirations for the complete emancipation of the proletariat.

* * *

And now, once more and for ever, our obstinate conclusion: There is room within the Socialist party for all, whatever may be their line of conduct. From the monosyllabic uncompromising element to the confirmed reformers, every one fulfills a certain function which is not wholly lost. Only we believe that the latter are making a bad use of their energy. They are expending 100 parts of strength to obtain one part of results. But should the example of England, Germany, Belgium, where they have had that vaunted social legislation for half a century—for which we are still clamoring—teach us nothing? Cannot we see that the virus of misery and exploitation has not in the least diminished in those countries, despite half a century of social reforms? What better proof of the eternal illusion of symptomatic remedies do we need?

The revolutionary method does not neglect the defense of former conquests or the gradual realization of reforms. But in aiming more at causes than at symptoms, it insists above all on the formation of the consciousness of the ultimate and definite goal. Therefore it is a more complex and more tiresome method, and more often very monotonous, because it involves us less in the multi-colored bourgeois schemes and leaves us more in contact with the ragged jackets of the laborers.

But the revolutionary method alone creates and strengthens the inexhaustible energy which enforces all social progress. By force of experience, which is more persuasive than our polemics, it will finally be triumphantly accepted, in Italy as elsewhere, by the common consent of the Socialist proletariat.

ENRICO FERRI.

(Translated by Ernest Untermann.)

Terrorism in Russia.

THE following is a translation of a leading article from "Iskra"—the Spark—of May 1, 1902. "Iskra" is the organ of the Russian Social democratic party. It is published under-ground fashion. The article defines the attitude of the party toward "terrorism," which shows signs of revival.

"Death of Sipiaguine* and Our Problems of Agitation."

The brilliant official career of Sipiaguine has been suddenly interrupted. The man, who during thirty months held in his hands nearly the whole executive power of the Russian Empire, and who cruelly abused that power, has fallen a victim to his reactionary zeal. Our "guardians"*** lament bitterly over his death, and cast thunders of indignation at the poor head of his young "assassin." And a considerable part of the bourgeois press of Europe echoes them.

We are not surprised either at the European bourgeois nor at the Russian "guardians." As is well known, our reactionary party is of the firm belief that it is its right and even its duty to destroy life, but it views every answer by violence to its violence as a great crime. As far as the European bourgeoisie is concerned, it has long outlived its high aspirations and has become the guardian of "order." The Russian students who raise their arms against the brutal opritshniki*** of the autocracy of All Russias arouse not sympathy but terror in the bourgeoisie of Europe; recall to it not the Brutuses, but the Tropmans. Their deeds of courage and self-sacrifice appear to the bourgeois as a flagrant violation of the rights of man. As a humane guardian of these rights, the European bourgeois considers the use of arms justifiable only for conquest of new markets or for quelling workingmen who attempt to throw off the yoke of capital. The unbearable condition of Russian youth is to him of far less interest than the sad fate of the French and Belgian capital invested in the steel industries of South Russia. For where your treasure is, there is your heart.

In the death of Sipiaguine is guilty, before everything else, the reactionary clique to which he belonged to the end of his days, and which answered with repressive violence to all ordinary and necessary demands of the students. The moral responsibility for these daily and nightly official thuggisms falls mainly on

*Sipiaguine was Minister of Education and was killed by Balamasheff. Trans.

**A term denoting those who "rally" round the throne. Trans.

***A personal guard of John the Terrible, infamous in history for their brutality. Trans.

Sipiaguine himself. It appeared as if he had it for his object to show to all who could see that the "heartfelt care" of the government of the Czar for the studying youth is one of the most "senseless illusions"* of our crowned, overgrown infant.

Is it surprising that he had to answer for it?

Let then the Ciceros of reaction thunder against his "murderer." No one among us will be misled by their groans of indignation. Russian public opinion is again living through that opposition mood through which it once passed about twenty years ago, and to which was then due its sympathy with the terrorism of the People's party.

Every honest man is sick to death of the pernicious police-given "order," and no honest and thinking man will shed tears over the fatal end of the pillars and guardians of this "order."

"Killing is no murder!" wrote an English patriot of the seventeenth century, when Cromwell usurped the political power which was conquered by the revolutionary party. Killing is no murder—will many Russians now say with full conviction. One need not be an "irreconcilable" in order to see the deep and wide wide chasm which separates a Karpowitch or a Balamasheff from an ordinary murderer. Killing is not murder! The consciousness of this truth is now so widespread in Russia that it begins to threaten with serious danger our liberating movement. This sounds paradoxical, but every one who studies our modern conditions must agree with it.

The priests of the official Moloch are doing their utmost to bring the liberty-minded class of Russia to the highest degree of exasperation. When the provocation reaches the extreme degree, the thought of struggle by terrorism is arising of itself wherever the proportionate relation of social forces excludes the plan of an open, armed revolt of the masses. And where,—as with us now,—such thought found expression in practical deeds, and where,—as in modern Russia,—such deeds meet with warm approval in the wide strata of society, there "terrorism" aspires to become the dominating method of revolutionary struggle, crowding to the rear all other methods.

Signs of such tendencies become apparent even in our Social Democratic party. It is being remarked by some Social Democrats that demonstrations are being paid for too high, and that the practice of "terrorism" would bring us to our purpose much sooner. The experience of the seventies has shown us that such talk leads to the thought of "systematic terror." And therein lies the great danger to our liberating movement. Should this movement adopt the practice of "terror," it will thereby undermine its own strength.

*Evidently referring to the words used by the Czar. Trans.

This strength consists in the fact that the idea of political liberty, which once attracted only the educated class, has now penetrated into several strata of the working class. The conscious part of the proletariat is now the most reliable fighter for political liberty. It is because the student is now supported by the workingman that the agitation of the studying youth has acquired such great significance. This is well understood by the students who deliberately come into closer relation with the proletariat. The students have a clear idea of the decisive political significance of the proletarian army.

But it is well known that the methods of warfare by each army are largely determined by its composition. The composition of the proletarian army is such that for it demonstrations and all sorts of public mass movements are the easiest and most practical method of warfare. Terrorism may be used by the proletariat under rarest and most exceptional circumstances. Under our present conditions, terrorism would lead to the result that some persons or groups would come out of the proletarian army and become segregated, together with the terrorists from the educated class, the mass of the workingmen ever growing less active, with the result that the work of political enlightenment of the working class will have been neglected, if it will not have ceased altogether, and the fall of autocracy will have a long postponement.

Stepan Chalturin, one of the most energetic, experienced and enlightened representatives of the working class, was one of the most determined opponents of terrorism, precisely on the ground that terrorism interferes with the organization, and consequently with the political enlightenment of the workingmen. True, he has later become a terrorist, but not because he has found his former views erroneous, but because the organization of the workingmen ceased to appear to him as suffering of no postponement; he came to the conviction that the death of Alexander II. will bring about a constitutional government and political liberty, when the work of political education of the workingmen could go ahead much faster. With such convictions, he could consistently prefer the terroristic propaganda activity. But such views are impossible now. Experience has proven them to be erroneous. Czar Alexander II. fell; czarism continues its existence. To destroy czarism, it is necessary to destroy its foundation. To this object there is no other way but the political enlightenment of the people, and the working class before all.

It is said that terrorism is also educating the working class by arousing it. The proposition contains an element of truth. The workingmen, discontented by the existing order of things, rejoice at the successful attempts and regret the unsuccessful. But such agitation cannot even be remotely compared with an agitation

aroused in the workingmen by a personal and immediate participation in the public mass movements. In the last case, the agitation predisposes to a self-reliance, where mere sympathy with the terrorists not only does not exclude a passive attitude to public life, but sustains and strengthens it, by accustoming the population to regard the revolutionary party as a beneficent, but foreign, force, which alone will achieve all, alone will rout all the foes of liberty, alone secure the triumph of the revolution.

Terrorism Isolates the Revolutionary Party and Thereby Leads it to Defeat.

That demonstrations cost us too many victims is, to our sorrow, indisputable. But, first, it is a mistake to think that terroristic activity costs less in this respect. On the contrary. The greatest losses to the revolutionists are occasioned by such activity. Second, no struggle is possible without sacrifice. Sacrifices were and will be brought. The point is that they are not brought in vain, so that each demonstration may bring to the cause all the benefit which it can bring.

Already in No. 14 of "Iskra" we have pointed out what our demonstrations lack: 1. Comparatively few people participate in them. 2. The participants do not show organized resistance to the authorities. Experience has proven that we were not mistaken. Take the Kieff demonstration of Feb. 2. The participants have shown a truly heroic courage and self-sacrifice. But they were comparatively few, and the police overcame them easily. But this is not all. Even those, comparatively small forces which participated in the demonstration were not organized, which still more weakened their resistance. On the other hand, see what happened in Helsingfors on April 5. There, according to foreign newspapers, the police met with organized resistance on the part of the "mob" and were compelled to retreat, carrying away many wounded. And this was achieved without the use by the participants in the demonstration of firearms, which would have been harmful, as it would have given to the government the desired pretext of "subduing of the rebels" by the bullets of the soldiery. We do not know whether the Helsingfors demonstration of April 5 was planned. Apparently, it was. In any case there is no doubt that its success was due to a simultaneous activity of a great mass of people. The police and the Cossacks were attacked from all sides. Stones, sticks and bottles full of acids were thrown at them even from the windows. The government saw that it had against itself the population and it retreated, postponing the call of the conscripts. In our times the secret of political success lies in the art of arousing the movement of masses. When the idea of political liberty will take possession of all our laboring masses, as it has of some of its parts, then will we have dem-

onstrations like that of Helsingfors. And in order that this idea may take possession of all our laboring masses, it must be spread with ten-fold energy. Russia must be inundated with leaflets and proclamations showing the vileness of our political system. Such leaflets and appeals must be distributed in shops, restaurants, public baths, cars, churches, inns, railways, steamers, in one word—everywhere. Each public movement must be preceded by preparatory work of agitation and organization. Where such conditions are not complied with, it is better to abstain from demonstrations. But all the more determined must be the action where the ground was prepared for a demonstration.

The disappointment of those who considered last year's events as "the beginning of the end" is very natural. The end is still not "finished." But with us illusions are not less harmful than lukewarmness, with which, by the way, they are closely related. We are living not through the "beginning of the end, but simply through the beginning." No wonder, therefore, that the end makes us wait; but we shall never see it if we abandon the path of political agitation in the masses and turn to terrorism.

Killing is no murder! But neither is it the road to victory; while punishing single servants of the Czar, it does not destroy czarism. We esteem highly the self-sacrifice of persons like Balmasheff and Karpovitch. But our object is the overthrow of the whole system. We reason from the point of view of a class. From this point of view the truest, the most effective means of struggle with czarism was and remains agitation in the working class for the purpose of developing its political self-consciousness and organization of its forces for further, ever more stubborn, ever deeper penetrating, ever more fruitful and triumphant propaganda.

The edifice of Russian political liberty can be erected only on the foundation of political self-consciousness of the Russian proletariat. The Russian revolutionary movement will triumph as a movement of the laboring masses or it will not triumph at all.

Translated by Henry L. Slobodin.

Socialist Agitation Among Farmers in America,

THE United States are to-day certainly the most important and interesting of all civilized countries. Not England, but America, shows us our future to-day, so far as any country can show another's future, considering that every country has its own peculiar development. Capitalism makes its greatest progress in America. There it reigns with the most unlimited brutality and carries the class antagonisms to a climax. And at the same time this tendency toward sharper class antagonisms is forced on other countries through the intensification of competition, or rather this tendency, already present in all countries, is accentuated by American competition.

While in the middle of the last century it was necessary to study England in order to understand the tendencies of modern capitalism, our knowledge on this subject to-day must be derived from America. At the same time it is even possible to learn more about the essence of the latest phase of capitalism in Germany than in England. In the latter country it is most disguised by traditions, while this is least the case in America. Germany stands also in this respect between these two great representatives of capitalist rule as it does in regard to the rapidity of its development.

The future which America shows us would be very cheerless if it did not reveal at the same time a growth of the Socialist movement. Nowhere are all the means of political power so shamelessly purchaseable as in America: administration, popular representation, courts, police and press; nowhere are they so directly dependent on the great capitalists. And nowhere is it more apparent than there that a proletariat with a Socialist conscience is the only means of saving the nation, which is falling even faster into complete servitude to the great capitalists than they are able to subjugate foreign countries.

So far the success of the American Socialists has not been very encouraging. It seemed almost as if there were something in the character of the Anglo-Saxon race which made them immune against the "poison of Socialism." In a certain sense this is actually true. The Anglo-Saxon is of an eminently practical nature. He prefers inductive reasoning in science to the deductive method, and keeps as much as possible out of the way of generalizing statements. In politics he only approaches problems that promise immediate success, and he prefers to overcome arising difficulties as he meets them instead of penetrating to the bottom of them. It would be an interesting study to find out whether this character is

inherited and how much of it is acquired. I am inclined to think that it is largely due to the fact that in England the bourgeoisie became the ruling class earlier than anywhere else, for its manner of reasoning as a class corresponds to the English character. The thoughts and feelings of the bourgeoisie have nowhere become so national in scope as in England since the sixteenth century. That this is a social, not a natural, phenomenon is further substantiated by the fact that the whole Anglo-Saxon world combines with this practical sense a religious turn of mind that is not equaled anywhere in the world. In general, it is true that religiousness is greater in Protestant than in Catholic countries. The abolition of the celibate has probably much to do with this. In Catholic countries the clergy does not propagate itself legitimately. New life comes to the Catholic clergy only from the rest of society, to-day mostly from the economically most backward classes. Hence they cease to play a role in the intellectual life of the nation. But the Protestant clergymen generate a large offspring, which are a considerable factor in bourgeois intelligence. Thanks to this circumstance the Protestant clergymen are not only on the whole more intelligent than the Catholic clergy, but their sons also take up science and carry into it the religious sentiment of their fathers. In Catholic countries, religion and science are strictly separated, even in the persons of their representatives. The Protestant clergymen arrive at a certain conciliation of religion and science by dint of which they sometimes narrow the one, while giving a longer lease of life to the other.

In England there is, besides, the additional circumstance that religion was still the ruling mode of thought at the time when the bourgeois revolution took place. On the continent, the fight between the revolutionary and reactionary classes took place in the eighteenth and the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century in the form of an enlightenment against religion. In England, it was fought in the seventeenth century in the form of the struggle of one religious sect against another.

The emigrants carried the peculiar Anglo-Saxon mode of thought along with them across the ocean. They did not find anything on the other side that could have shaken them in their views. No class free from the work for a living was formed that could have cultivated arts and sciences for their own sake. We only find farmers and city dwellers whose maxim was that of the home country : Time is Money.

This also became the principle of the gradually arising proletariat for the simple reason that they did not feel as a proletariat, but considered their position only as a stage of transition for the purpose of becoming farmers, capitalists or at least lawyers, which was not unusual for many decenniums. To make money, in order

to escape from their class, that was the ruling passion of the proletariat.

But even when a permanent proletariat arose, in which born Americans began to take their places by the side of foreign immigrants and negroes, the Anglo-Saxons still remained "practical politicians." They did, indeed, begin to understand that they must go into politics for themselves, but like true practical politicians, they demanded that it should be a shortsighted policy which should take heed only of the moment and regard it more practical to run after a bourgeois swindler who promises real successes for tomorrow, instead of standing by a party of their own class which is honest enough to confess that it has nothing but struggles and sacrifices in store for the next future, and which declares it to be foolish to expect to reap immediately after sowing.

If at any time Anglo-American workingmen had come to the conclusion that they must keep clear of the old capitalist parties, then this ill-starred "practical" sense would mislead them into founding a party on some single issue which was supposed to cure at once all evils, free silver, single tax, or the like. But when this agitation did not bring any immediate success, then the masses soon tired of it, and the movement which had grown up over night collapsed quickly. Only the workingmen of German origin kept a Socialist movement alive among their countrymen. However, such a movement of immigrants could never hope to become a serious political factor. And as this emigration from Germany decreased considerably (the number of emigrants to the United States was 216,089 in 1881, while in 1899 it only reached 19,016), and as the Germans in America soon became anglicized, this German Socialist propaganda not only made no progress, but actually fell off after a certain time.

Though the German Socialist movement in America is thus declining, it nevertheless has not been in vain. For to it is due the existence of a growing Anglo-American movement for Socialism which aims higher, develops the theoretical understanding of the class struggle, and, standing on a solid basis, is rising steadily and irrepressibly.

This progress is not so rapid as that of the prior Anglo-American movements; e. g., the Greenback movement, Kearney's California Workingmen's party, 1878-79; the Henry George episode, 1886-87; Bellamyism and Populism in the beginning of the '90s. But we may regard this as a good sign, for a mushroom growth was hitherto always followed by a rapid dissolution.

The new Anglo-American Social Democracy is not yet ten years old. It dates from the last crisis. We may regard the great Pullman strike of 1894, which was led so brilliantly by Eugene V. Debs, as the date of its birth. True, that strike ended in de-

feat, but it was a very honorable defeat after a protracted struggle, in which nothing was left untried to vanquish a superior enemy in a fight that excited and shook the Union to its foundations. Since then Debs and his friends have developed into class-conscious Socialists, mainly under the influence of German Socialist elements, and their influence on the working class is growing from day to day.

Just while I am writing these lines, the American party press reaches me with the news that the conventions of the Western Federation of Labor, the Western Federation of Miners, and the United Association of Hotel and Restaurant Employes, numbering together 150,000 members, have adopted the platform of the Socialist party in Denver, Colo.

The rise of a Socialist literature is no less cheering than that of the Socialist organizations. Numerous weeklies in the English language are at the disposal of the party, and a daily is planned in New York. Our American comrades also have an illustrated family paper, "The Comrade," and a scientific review, "THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW," appearing monthly at 56 Fifth avenue, Chicago, Ill., which contains articles of great merit.

The new Anglo-American movement also begins to develop its own scientific literature, which stands above the Utopian stage of a Bellamy and Laurence Gronlund and accepts the fact of the class struggle.

A welcome beginning of such a literature is the book on the American Farmer by A. M. Simons, the editor of the above named INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. It is characteristic that the recent Anglo-American Socialism first endeavors to stand on its own feet in the agrarian question.

The industrial conditions may be understood in a general way by the help of the German Marxian literature. For this purpose, translations are sufficient. But the agrarian conditions of America are very peculiar. Not the least peculiarity is the fact that the United States, in spite of their highly developed industrial capitalism, are a strongly agrarian country, which exports a surplus of farm products and in which the majority of the population are farmers. Every Anglo-American labor movement which pretended to be an independent movement therefore sought from the beginning the support of the farmers and found it. This was the case with the Greenbackers in the '70s, with the followers of Henry George in the '80s, the Populists in the '90s. The attitude of the Socialist party toward the farmers is, therefore, one of the most important problems which occupy the young Socialist branch of the Anglo-American labor movement.

The work of Simons is especially well done on the descriptive side. Briefly and yet graphically he draws the picture of agricul-

ture in the different parts of the Union, the variations of which are much greater than e. g. than in the different parts of Germany, for the climatic and historical differences are far greater. The German Empire extends over nine degrees of latitude, from the forty-seventh to the fifty-sixth degree, while the American Union covers twenty-five degrees, from the twenty-fourth to the forty-ninth degree of latitude. In the German Empire the German farm element rules, grown out of the mark commune. In the United States we find the remains of the Spanish latifundian system grafted upon the Indian barbarism, the plantation system built on the slavery of negroes, furthermore the transitory phenomenon of the bonanza farms, of the wheat factories, based on superficial cultivation and exploitation of labor. Finally, we find the cultivation of arid lands by the help of irrigation as the last and most promising phase of agriculture. Every one of these systems of cultivation develops its own peculiar social forms and problems.

Simons adds to this description a series of searching analyses of the influence of industrial development on agriculture. He shows that agriculture is not stationary, that the law of increasing control by great capitalist interests is also felt in this field, only in another form than in industries. The development in agriculture takes place in such a way that the various functions of agriculture are transferred one by one to great capitalist concerns by the help of modern technical improvements. In this way these functions cease to be agricultural and become industrial.

The rest of agriculture which has not yet become industrialized exhibits few signs of vitality and becomes ever more dependent on the transportation companies and the great capitalist industries which alone render its products available for the consumer.

Analogous to my own view, then, Simons sees in the progressive industrialization of agriculture its peculiar advance on the way of progress.

And although he recognizes that the small farmer is by no means threatened with rapid extinction, yet he does not sing the praise of the little farm, being conscious of its waste of energy and technical backwardness.

America is the land of agricultural machinery, but nevertheless Simons emphasizes that the value of farm machinery does not grow. He quotes an article from the Yearbook of the Agricultural Department, according to which the average value of farm implements and machinery amounted to \$111 in 1870, \$101 in 1880, and \$108 in 1890. He sees the cause of this stagnation in the poverty of the farmers and in the impossibility of employing machinery to good effect on their small farms. On the other hand, he shows that the great number of the latest machines, especially those

driven by steam, become too big to be owned and used by the single farmer. In consequence these machines become the property of capitalists who rent them to farmers, as is done in Germany; e. g., with the threshing machine.

At the same time, mortgages and tenantry are progressing. In the dry belt the farmers are becoming more and more dependent on the great companies that own the irrigation systems.

These are the means by which the property of the farmers in the tools of agricultural production are being more and more restricted and concentrated in the hands of capitalist exploiters. The small farmers are not displaced by mammoth farms, but they become more and more dependent on great capitalist concerns. The social condition of the farmer approaches ever more that of the sweating boss in industry. He is not yet a wage worker, but he ceases to be an independent producer.

His relation to the proletariat and the Socialist party corresponds to this intermediate position. It is not clear or easily interpreted, and largely dependent on local and temporal peculiarities. Nevertheless, Simons emphasizes energetically the necessity and possibility of winning the farmer for the Socialist party.

This question is one of the most difficult and disputed in our party. I would not assent without reservation to those parts of Simons' book which are devoted to this subject.

Simons points out, e. g., that the industrial laborers make up only 25 per cent of the voters, while the farmers make up 40 per cent., so that none of the two parties could conquer the political powers by itself. This sort of argument would hold good only then when it were a question of gaining political ascendancy tomorrow. But Comrade Simons will hardly think of doing that. At present it is not a question of winning the political power, but of taking root in the popular mind. For this purpose the industrial proletariat is certainly better fitted than the farming population. To agitate among farmers when the mass of the city workers are still strangers to Socialism is equivalent to bringing rocky soil under cultivation at great expense and leaving fertile soil untouched from lack of labor power.

How the proportion of the two camps will be when the American Socialist party will be strong enough to risk the fight for political power, we do not know. In Simons' book we find remarkable figures to show how rapidly the city population in the United States is increasing relatively and absolutely. He gives the following tables:

	City population.	Rural. population.	Number of city people in 10,000 in- habitants.
1820.....	475,135	9,158,687	493
1850.....	2,897,586	20,294,290	1,249
1870.....	8,071,875	30,486,496	2,093
1890.....	18,284,385	44,337,865	2,920

However, the proportion between industrial and rural population changes very much in favor of the former, if we observe the various States by themselves. I use for this purpose the statistics of trades of 1890, which I happen to have on hand. According to these statistics, 44.8 per cent of the male population above 10 years of age were employed in agriculture (including fisheries and mining), while industries employed 21.59 per cent, transportation 16.46 per cent, personal service 14.31 per cent, free arts 21.67 per cent. But in the Northeastern States agriculture employed only 22.46 per cent, while industries employed 35.31 per cent and transportation 21.67 per cent. These two categories, then, are already in the majority in the Northeast. In the Southern States the proportion is reversed. Agriculture is supreme down there. It comprises in the Atlantic States 60.32 per cent of the male producers, while industries employ only 13.35 per cent and transportation 11.98 per cent. The Central States show a still greater disproportion, with 68.05 per cent in agriculture, 9.08 in industries, and 10.24 in transportation. The largest agrarian population is in the State of Mississippi, where agriculture employs 80.11 per cent, industries only an insignificant 4.83 per cent. But these are just the States in which mortgage slavery and tenantry, which require the addition of wages, are most widespread. Of the 1,836,372 farms in these States, 706,343, or 38 per cent, were rented in 1890, while only 18 per cent were rented in the Northeastern States, and 28 per cent in the total Union. In this respect, and in the general lack of cultivation, the Southern States compare with the south of Italy. While the number of illiterates above 10 years of age in the Northeastern States was 6.21 per cent in 1890, it was 40.29 per cent in the Southern Atlantic States and 39.54 per cent in the central States of the South. In these States the negroes outnumber the rest of the producers, especially in agriculture. In 1890 there were 3,409,860 colored people to a white farming population of 2,355,570.

I am convinced that Comrade Simons will not anticipate any considerable success from our agitation among the farming population of the South. They are the people from which we have least of all to expect, as regards understanding and regular participa-

tion in the class struggle of the industrial proletariat. They may be ripe for a revolt of desperation, and when the proletariat will seize the political power in the industrial districts, the oppressed farmers in the South will not oppose them and will help in their own way. But it seems to me impossible to found a permanent party organization with them.

Hence only the farmers of the Middle West and the North-west remain. Their number is not insignificant, for they comprise nearly half of all the farms (in 1890, 2,069,700 out of a total of 4,564,641). Their rural population is still very strong, relatively speaking. The percentage of producers above 10 years of age was 47.42 in the States of the Middle West, and 36.28 in the North-western States. At the same time, the industrial population, which is not inconsiderable (19.28 and 28.82 per cent), offers favorable opportunities for Socialist propaganda. Strong and independent they are, and not only free from the barbarism, but also from the corruption of the East. In Europe, during the '70s and '80s, it was not the economically highly developed England, but the more backward Germany which offered the best opportunities for the development of an independent labor party. Similarly, it may be left for the States of the West and Middle West to out-march the more highly developed Eastern States in this respect. For those States, then, it becomes imperative to define our position toward the farmers; that is, toward those owners of middle-sized and large farms who are living on the proceeds of their lands. In the following remarks I am referring only to this class of farmers, not to the very small farmers and farmhands, nor to the great land owners who manage their farms on a purely capitalist scale. Our position toward these is perfectly clear, only that toward the farmer proper requires definition.

The success of our propaganda among them will depend above all on the end for which we are striving. If we should aim to draw them into our movement in masses, I am afraid we should not accomplish much good.

Comrade Simons shows convincingly how much the farmer has to gain by voting for Socialism. His remarks on the prospects of American agriculture are very fascinating and make one of the most interesting passages of his book. They have a refreshing effect after the narrowness of view to which some people are trying to accustom us at present. But we have not yet reached the stage where we can bring Socialism into practical application, and especially the practical farmer will not show any enthusiasm for the society of the future, until it will have become the society of the present. It is the class struggle of the present which forms parties and keeps them together. But in this struggle the farmers have different interests than the industrial laborers.

A comrade who thought he knew how to handle the farmers once ridiculed our city agitators who were foolish enough to speak to the farmers of the eight-hour day and similar matters. That, he said, was the way to deter them. That was correct, yet that comrade was not making a point against the "foolish" agitators, but against his pet idea of winning the farmers for our party. True, the farmer has no sympathy for the eight-hour day and labor protection. He does not only assume an attitude of indifference, but of hostility toward them. He is obliged to work from early dawn to the dark of night, sometimes sixteen to eighteen hours, and the city workers would only render eight hours of much lighter labor. And how is he going to hold on to his men, if wages rise in the city and the hours of labor are shortened?

This contrast is also felt in America. An article in the May number of the INTERNATIONALIST SOCIALIST REVIEW, "A Farmers' Criticism of the Socialist Party," is very significant. The writer, J. B. Webster, has formerly played a role in the Populist party. This party has had a short run, and the old parties, says Webster, satisfy the working class in the city and country less and less. They are looking for a new party. In view of this condition of the minds, the Socialist party might well count on having success among the farmers, but it would have to give up its character as a mere workingmen's party. The interests of the farmers are said not to be those of the wage workers. Shortening of the hours of labor and increasing the wages may be very well for the wage worker, but for the farmer this would mean an increase of cost of production. Whoever wishes to win the farmer must, therefore, not speak of shortening working hours and increasing wages. But everybody can imagine how trusty those party members will be who can only be won by concealing the main essence of our present day's work from them.

There are, furthermore, antagonisms between the proletarians and the owners of middle-sized and large farms not alone in workingmen's politics, but also in general politics, that make a permanent amalgamation of them in the same party impossible. True, both are antagonists of capital. But there are many ways of fighting it. It may be forced beyond itself or the attempt may be made to drive it back. The first is the proletarian method, the second that of the bourgeois farmer.

However much the proletariat may be oppressed by the great capitalist mode of production, still his condition improves with the growth and technical improvement of the industrial plants. For small and technically backward concerns can carry on the competitive struggle only at the expense of their employes. The great capitalist mode of production, which forms the basis for the emancipation of the working class, is even at present the most favorable

for the workers, wherever it is in competition with small concerns. The little bourgeois Socialism which does not comprehend this simply attributes the Socialist preference for production on a large scale to a dogmatic fanaticism which feels obliged to repeat blindly the marxian formulas. But strange to say, we find the same preference among the English trade unions to which even the most obstinate revisionist will hardly attribute any marxian dogmatism. (See Webb, *Theory and Practice of English Trade Unions*, II., page 86 and following.)

The position of the wage workers in the present reacts on their attitude toward the development of the future. They expect their emancipation only from the progress over and beyond the present. They are progressive even there, where they do not show any class consciousness and do not give any thought to Socialism, as e. g., in England. They may be politically ignorant or indifferent, and may permit themselves to be used for reactionary purposes, but they will never consciously strive for any reactionary measure.

Not so the farmers. The whole development tends to undermine their existence. It is not extinguished, but becomes ever more dependent on capital. They have nothing to expect from economic development, but much to fear, and, therefore, they are facing it suspiciously or even with hostility and they are easily won by reactionary aims. This is true, not for Europe alone. The American farmer of the North is more intelligent and less burdened with traditions than the European farmer. But the American farmer's organizations, the Grangers and the Farmers' Alliance, show a fatal likeness to the German "Bund der Landwirthe." Both of those American organizations failed after a mighty prosperity. The causes of their failure are correctly summed up by Simons in the sentence that "nearly everything these parties sought to accomplish was in opposition to the direction of social advance." (Page 143.) But this was not only due to their ignorance, but especially to the direction of the class interests which they served.

A new attempt to unite large farmers and proletarians in the same party would end the same way as the Greenback and the Populist movement, or, what is more likely, will fail in the outset.

This is not saying that we should not take notice of the farmers. The Socialist party must not only win new party members, but its activity must touch all social phases, and it must define its position toward every class in society. The agrarian questions are too important to be passed in silence, for, in spite of all technical revolutions, agriculture remains the basis of our existence. And the farmers are too powerful as a class to be indifferent to their antagonism. But though different interests may divide the proletariat and the farmers, which make it impossible to unite them in

the same party forever, still they have many points of agreement as against other classes that make a temporary alliance not only possible, but also desirable. And a great many antagonisms are really founded on prejudice and may be overcome by enlightenment. Not party membership, but a better understanding of our aims and a temporary alliance, that may be gained by our agitation among farmers. Indeed, situations may arise, in which it will be very valuable to have them as our allies. Agitation among farmers in this sense, wherever conditions seem favorable, is not only worth considering, but very desirable, providing it is not carried on at the expense of the industrial and rural wage workers.

Conditions in America are much more favorable for such an agitation among farmers than in Germany. In industrial Europe we have the great antagonism between the consumers of foodstuffs or raw material and the farmers as the producers. It does not matter whether they sell grain, wine, butter, hops, or cattle. They are all interested in high prices, while the proletarians want low prices. This antagonism is sharply marked in Europe.

In America, however, it is less clearly apparent. The American farmer is largely dependent on export for the sale of his products. The prices which he receives are not fixed in the local, but in the world market. On the other hand, farmers and wage workers have to-day the same interest in free trade. The protective tariff on industrial products increases the cost of production for the farmer, and the industrial laborer has nothing to gain from a protective tariff. Industry does not need any more protection. Only the most dangerous antagonists of the proletariat, the cartels and trusts, are favored by it. In Europe, the tariff policy of farmers and wage workers is antagonistic. But in America farmers and farseeing Socialist wage workers follow the same tariff policy.

Besides being less antagonistic to one another as consumers and producers than their European colleagues, the American farmers and wage workers have a common enemy who is missing in Germany: the railroads. In Germany the railroads are overwhelmingly state property, but in America the privately owned railroads are the most powerful means for the exploitation of the farmers by the capitalists. And the owners of the railroads are the same men who are standing opposed to the railroad employes and the iron workers, the two most important branches of labor. The nationalization of the railroads is, therefore, a measure which is for the interest of both classes. The realization of this demand could, however, become very dangerous, if it were not at the same time accompanied by a thorough reform of state and federal administrations. As long as the present corruption continues in these bodies, as long as all public offices are regarded as spoils of the victorious party for rewarding its followers, every increase

of the public funds and of public offices means an increase of the corruption fund with which the victorious party pays its voters.

But the interests of farmers and wage earners are also identical in the question of administrative reforms.

Finally the antagonism between the two classes is less pronounced in America, because wage labor plays a less important role in agriculture. In 1895 the number of independent producers in German agriculture was 2,202,227, of wage workers 5,528,708. In America the proportion was almost reversed. While the number of farmers and independent land owners was 5,281,557, there were only 3,004,061 agricultural laborers. There were, furthermore, 1,913,373 day laborers, some of whom would have to be counted as agricultural laborers. At any rate, the number of independent farmers outweighs that of the farm hands, especially in the West. In the northern part of the Middle West, e. g., we find only 778,026 farm hands to 2,284,625 farmers. While the farmers of the Union constitute 64 per cent of the total of farmers and farm hands, the proportion rises to 76 per cent in the North of the Central States. Even if we were to include all the day laborers in the farm hands, which would be exaggerating, the number of farmers in the Central North would amount to 61 per cent, in the Union to 53 per cent, while it reaches only 32 per cent in Germany.

In view of these facts we may well assume that conditions are more favorable for a temporary alliance of farmers and wage-laborers in large parts of America than in most parts of Germany. An agitation which merely aims to win the good will of the farmers and to induce them to regard us as the lesser evil as compared with the capitalist parties, may count on good results. But I should certainly regard it as a dangerous mistake to repeat the short-lived experiments of the Greenbackers, Single-Taxers, and Populists, to weld farmers and wage workers into one party, and to modify our program and tactics accordingly. However useful the first method may be, the second is certainly injurious.

Simons does not state clearly whether he recommends the first or the second method of agitation among farmers. Still we need not fear that we shall see a new edition of the second kind. J. B. Webster has already pointed out in his article that the intimate connection of the Socialist party with the trade union movement is one of the essential obstacles to an adherence of the farmers to our party. And this obstacle will hardly decrease in proportion, but rather continue to grow with the spread of the Socialist idea among the American trade unions. Not only trade unionism pure and simple has its dangers, but also party politics pure and simple. The trade unions may be guarded against dangers by the party and vice versa. The growing Socialist sentiment among the trade

unions is the best guarantee that the Socialist party and the trade unions will both keep on the right way.

Simons' book, therefore, does not indicate the beginning of a farmers' invasion into the Socialist party, but only the first step in the endeavor to bring the two classes to a better mutual understanding, seeing that they are bound to assist each other and still know very little about one another. This the book accomplishes in a very satisfactory manner. It will induce many a farmer to at least view the Socialist party without prejudice, if it does not make him a Socialist. Above all, it will have the effect to enlighten the party members on the character and tendencies of American agriculture and on the agrarian tasks of the Socialist party.

KARL KAUTSKY, in "Neue Zeit."

(Translated by Ernest Untermann.)

SOCIALISM IN AUSTRALIA.

With Special Reference to Labor in Politics in Queensland.



At the outset it may be said that conscious, avowed and organized socialism here in Australia is, as yet, confined to a comparatively small number of men and women, who have carried on Socialist propaganda within the last ten to fifteen years. Under the name of various organizations, such as the Social Democratic Federation, International Socialist Club, Socialist League and Social Democratic Vanguard, each of the six States of the Australian Commonwealth has a small band of active Socialists who, in season and out, are sowing the seeds of revolt against the economic and moral slavery of the present capitalistic era.

Whilst these active propagandists would add but an insignificant thousand or two to the total of the world's Socialist millions, they are by no means the only indication of the forces which here, too, are preparing the way for the coming of the Socialist age.

In Australia, as in England, trades unionism is the primary means of protest which labor is using against wage slavery, but with this difference, that within the last ten or twelve years it has added the use of the ballot box to the weapon of industrial organization. In Federal and State politics, a class-conscious labor party stands in opposition to all other parties.

The trades union movement on this young continent dates from about 1850. In 1856 the eight hour movement was inaugurated by the Stone Masons' Union, in Melbourne, and it soon spread throughout the building trades generally. In those days of scanty population and large natural resources labor was able to secure fairly tolerable conditions, though even then strikes had to be fought and won and lost. But as capitalism soon usurped supreme legislative power it found easy means to increase the supply of labor, and restrict its avenues, by monopolizing the land.

To withstand the constant encroachments of the exploiters it was felt that the federation of trades organizations was necessary. This important step was barely taken before the shipping masters, fearing the added strength federation would give to unionism, decided to force a conflict, and attempt to destroy the new organization before it got deeply rooted. They refused to permit the Officers' Union to join the Labor Federation. The great maritime strike, which swept over Australia in 1890, was the result. Being precipitated before the new federation was firmly established, it ended disastrously for the men.

But it was the shearers' strike in 1891 which aroused labor to

Socialist party. There are no prominent party leaders, whose personal ambition is likely to prevent or hinder such a movement. Although there has been recently in New South Wales a division between the trades union and Socialist bodies, in all other States these are working in harmony. Already there are signs in Victoria of a pronouncedly Socialist labor movement, so the adoption by their labor council of the following Federal program goes to prove:

1. One adult, one vote.
2. Amendment of the Constitution providing for the initiative and national referendum.
3. Exclusion of undesirable races.
4. Old age pensions.
5. Uniform industrial legislation.
6. Gradual nationalization of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

Economic developments here in Australia have perhaps not reached the same acute stage as in America; industries primarily being connected with the production of raw material, and manufactures not concentrated and highly organized as in the land of trusts. But the absolute supremacy of capitalism can nevertheless be recognized on every hand. In private business, as in public finance, it holds dominant sway. The public indebtedness is increasing by leaps and bounds. T. A. Coghlan, the government statistician of New South Wales, in his book, "The Seven Colonies of Australasia" (1900-01), gives its indebtedness to the British financiers as £370,073,000, or £82 per head of population! The annual interest bill amounts to £14,513,000. Out of the foregoing sum of indebtedness £297,119,000 has accumulated within the last twenty-nine years. The money or money's worth, actually received by Australia was £8,669,000; the balance remained with or returned to the financiers as interest.

A severe industrial and financial crisis, such as was experienced here in 1893, is again setting in, and making itself felt throughout the continent.

Capitalism itself is thus, here as in every civilized portion of the earth, shaping the forces which are making for the overthrow of the present system and the adoption of the Socialist commonwealth.

E. H. KUNZE.

Jesus and Social Freedom.

RECENT discussions of the relation of Socialism to Religion, or to Christianity, have entirely omitted, so far as I have observed, an element which is vital. John Stuart Mill, in his essay on Liberty, offers the criticism on the Christian religion that it dwells too meagerly on questions of public duty and fails to sufficiently emphasize public virtue. An author writing recently on "Socialism versus Christianity," says: "Christianity deals with individuals and life hereafter, and teaches that life here is but a passing event preparatory to everlasting life. In the last analysis Christianity . . . deals only with the individual and a divine being." Professor Herron, the "Christian Socialist," maintains that "Jesus cannot solve the problem of economic and social freedom," claiming that he fails to lead man when man steps out beyond himself, or beyond his contemplation of his relationship to God, and faces the social or economic problem.

This criticism is a common one. And while Socialists advance the criticism with zeal the churches accept it with equal fervor. Organized historical Christianity prides itself on the unworldliness of Jesus. Lazarus on the doorstep and Dives at the table have been the figures to a suffering world of a condition which God mysteriously permits, not wishing to interfere in human affairs, but purposing to rectify the injustice in the other world. The pulpit still resounds with the doctrine: For the saint, resignation here, compensation hereafter; for the sinner, non-interference here, combustion hereafter. When defenders of the Christian religion, so-called, thus justify a criminal social condition in this world, by balancing it against endless punishment in some hypothetical future, it is not surprising that the enemies of this religion should maintain its insufficiency to face human problems, or that its independent critics should, like Mr. Mill, deplore its fatal limitation.

It is the purpose of this paper to suggest that while Socialists are charging Christians with unworldliness, or "other-worldliness," and well nourished Christians in their sanctuaries are accepting the criticism with chastened joy, a rational interpretation of the words of Jesus himself on the subject would not be irrelevant.

It is not denied that Christian institutions and orthodox faiths and ordained messengers of "the gospel" have, with rare but notable exceptions, defended the restricted individualist conception of the Christian religion. The average church is wholly

wanting in the community ideal. The average sermon is barren of any suggestion which reaches beyond the personal element in life and duty. Civic life reflects the belief of the churches. Public officials are the concrete expression of the undeveloped or infirm will of the people. Conditions exist in nearly every community with the knowledge and without the protest of noble, generous, personally pure men, which they would die rather than permit to enter their own homes. Business methods are pursued by Christian men in their struggle to keep alive in the stifling competitive shuffle, which they dismiss as a horrid dream when they enter the quiet door of their own dwelling, or calmly walk to their reserved pew in "the House of God." The church, in the active business and manufacturing centers of our civilization, is a house of refuge for weary and troubled souls, where the savage hatred of desperate men may be forgotten in the sweet and heavenly love of Jesus. That the troubles of the vast majority of people in those communities are of such a nature, or have led to such conditions that they are a bar to entrance within the sacred walls, is a matter of pious regret and the kindly divine does not forget "the wayward and lost" in the Long Prayer, but a persistent and systematic effort to spread the benefits of the institution equally among the inhabitants of the city would be looked upon as too impracticable and "sociological" to be seriously advocated.

But is it not precisely such conditions as these against which Jesus sought to lead a social revolution? And is not his social philosophy as definitely and comprehensive as that of the most advanced Socialism to-day?

Examine one of his most familiar precepts, "Seek ye first his kingdom and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." The historic interpretation is something as follows: "Let a man become a Christian, casting all his care on God, seeking not riches nor ease, but only spiritual enrichment, and he shall have not only what he seeks, but he will also be the recipient of all the good things of earth. He need not ask, "What shall I eat or what shall I drink?" or be concerned with any other of the details of worldly care which perplex the Gentiles. God knows that he needs them and will supply them, if the man will but trust and believe. If this interpretation is correct we must surrender the case. Humanity must seek another savior. Jesus is proven false to the experiences of life. Thousands of people, personally virtuous, patient, industrious, believers in the good old Bible, faithful to church from childhood, kind to their neighbors and absolutely upright, have spent their latter days or years with neither food enough to eat, nor pure water to drink, nor clothing to hide their diseased and weakened bodies.

Twenty per cent of London's mature population die in the almshouse. The pauper plots of the graveyards of Christendom are packed with the crumbling bones of the saints.

If this individualist interpretation is correct, Jesus was an unpractical dreamer who knew nothing of the legitimate demands of honest life. But he said nothing of the kind. He did not say that if a man would first seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness all these things would be added to him. He was speaking to the people of a community, a type community; not to an isolated individual. He said, "Seek ye." The message is to Man, not to a man. He would seem to say, If you people will get together, if you will unitedly seek God's kingdom and his right doing, you will find that not one of the necessities of life is wanting. There is food enough in the world, and clothing enough for all. No one need go hungry or naked. No child need be homeless, no aged man or woman need beg bread. Let natural laws—which are divine laws—become the sole bond in social relations and all these things shall be added. Material necessities are not to be regarded as outside the religious idea, nor pursued as secular interests. They are essentially religious; they are vital. "The Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things."

Again he said, "Be not anxious for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on." And his professed followers have added, The man who is anxious about material things is a rebel against God. A widow with four hungry children, a sick baby and seven dollars rent for her tenement, worries about feeding and clothing them, because she can get but a dollar a day when there is work and nothing when there is no work. She needs conversion! People look anxious and worn. Engage a revivalist and get them born again! Under existing economic conditions ninety per cent of the people are absolutely prohibited from obeying this command so interpreted. The bare necessities of physical life are a constant source of anxiety. Children are taught in infancy that, as soon as their arms are strong enough, they must earn bread. The crowning ideal of multitudes of young men in college or business is to "make a living." The enthusiasm of art, the buoyant joy of creation, are precluded. The factory groans with overwork and the sweatshop reeks with nauseating odors. Many a patient mother bends over the pile of unfinished garments, working by dim light far into the night, knowing that this perpetual sin against herself is the only possible answer to the cry of hunger from her children. Poverty has desecrated her body—the temple of the living God—transforming it into a human machine with

but one goal for its effort—bread. Verily the morrow hath evils enough of its own and to spare.

But if humanity would live by laws natural to its life, as the birds and flowers live by laws natural to their life, this evil would cease. As there is soil enough for every blade of grass, sunshine and dew enough to drink, so that no blade need to persecute and crush its neighbor; as there is vitality enough in nature to nourish all the flowers, bringing each to its perfection in fragrance, form and color, without robbing any other flower of a chance to live; as the birds find their food and nesting boughs and distant summer climes to welcome them, and their sweetest songs are contributions to, not subtractions from, the universal harmony; so for man there is land enough to cultivate, water enough to drink, food enough to eat; there is clay enough to model, cotton and wool enough to weave, brass and iron enough to fashion, wood enough to carve; there are songs to be created, pictures to be painted, designs to be imagined and realized, epics to be written, glories of nature and art to be discovered and proclaimed; there is work enough to satisfy the divine creative faculty of humanity, and rest enough to restore all its vigor and quicken all its zeal. Reasonable labor; reasonable rest.

Nor is the analogy vitiated by the fact that, in nature, side by side with these pictures of beauty and peace, are also enacted the most violent and cruel tragedies in the processes of Natural Selection for the survival of the fittest. The crowning contribution of modern science to the problems of social evolution is in the exposition of the fact that, as John Fiske has shown, "the wholesale destruction of life which has heretofore characterized evolution ever since life began and through which the higher forms of organic existence have been produced, must presently come to an end in the case of the chief of God's creatures." The struggle had been for physical existence; in man it became the struggle for the perfection of the psychical. The very mental equipments which have made savage man more cunning and destructive than all the beasts of the field are the endowments by which, in the experiences of social development, the need for cunning and destruction will be outgrown.

The action of natural selection is reduced to the minimum through the operation of social conditions, by the co-operation of individuals to produce and appropriate the essentials for life. In the evolutionary development it remained for man to discover that supplies are not in limited, but in unlimited, quantities to be brought into requisition by skill. Physical prowess and individual struggle against others thus give place to mental application and co-operation. And be it observed, these social conditions, this human genius for adaptation and appropriation, this tendency to

replace brute warfare in the seizure of whatever natural sustenance already exists, by the effort to co-operate for the creation of larger and better supplies—are as truly manifestations of the working of natural law as were the former purely physical modes. Therefore the analogy suggested by Jesus, thus interpreted, is distinctly in the line of the most modern scientific demonstration and the problem of existence for the human race becomes the problem, not of the survival of the few, but of the utmost development of all. In the day when man discovered that, by assisting nature, he could regulate supplies of food and raiment, in that day the dominion of competitive strife was doomed. It remained for Jesus to announce that, if men would live by the highest formula discovered for human life as the birds live by the highest formula for bird life, all things needed for the body could be secured for all. The wealth of nature, developed by the skill and industry of man, is sufficient for all humanity. Not art for a rare genius or two in every age. Not food and clothing to make glorious the daughter of a stockyard king, while the daughter of the peasant who wove the garment is pinched with hunger and cold. Not clear springs for this mansion and that, while the huts of the laborers are supplied through rusty water pipes, by a selfish corporation, from a tainted pond.

Only by becoming a brotherhood can humanity cease its anxiety for food and raiment. Only when men learn that life is of more value than a corner in wheat, and that the body of the sweatshop slave is more precious than the delicate fabrics which enrich the commerce of a city or nation; only when men learn to place a higher value upon the divine image in the life of the pale, half-starved child of the tenement than upon the protected privileges of his economic tyrant; only when men are willing to abolish the unnatural and arbitrary laws by which society now impresses the multitude into service in the interest of the few and enslaves the freeborn by permitting another to own his opportunity to live—only then, by the recognition of natural laws, shall society be able to come into its kingdom and man become free.

Then shall the words of Jesus, "Man shall not live by bread alone," become the emancipation proclamation to the two divisions of society spending life in the eager struggle for material things—the one to revel in abundance, the other to secure bare necessities. The former are recalled from their futile reliance on the sufficiency of the material, the latter are assured that this much at least is a fundamental and universal right. He did not say that bread is not needed, but that bread is not enough. A sufficiency of material food is not the goal of human effort, but is the point of departure for those higher demands of our nature which are the expressions of the real life. If bread is not enough for sustenance, assuredly

the less than bread—sometimes doled, often refused to many of its members by our present industrial society—becomes a grewsome emphasis upon the Wilderness Temptation. Is this not the germ principle of the Socialist revolution? It is undoubtedly the plain teaching of the Nazarene.

He recognized and clearly taught the necessity for a sound material basis in all social and ethical development. His conception of society as an organic unit, his condemnation of individual hoarding of goods, his rebuke of luxury in the presence of want, and his constant application of the principle of brotherhood in human relations clearly indicate that he believed society had reached that stage in its economic evolution at which the social order should change from the narrow and warring individualism of primitive times to the broader and more productive methods of co-operation. However warmly defenders of "the faith" may have claimed everything in sight as the fruit of a revealed system of truth, it is evident that Jesus himself did not ignore, nor relegate to a secondary place, the problem of bread. Indeed, any interpretation of his words which gives them meaning today will show that he proceeds upon the principle, which Frederick Engels calls "The materialistic conception of history," that production and exchange of material things is the ground work of every social order; while the thesis of the "Communist Manifesto" of the early Socialist fathers reads like a modern adaptation of the life philosophy of the Man of Galilee. It is not maintained that the full significance of this philosophy could be at once understood. The evolution of industrial methods was essential to the development and application of the truth. It is only held that no social or economic principle has been evolved by the most advanced teacher of social freedom which either contradicts or supersedes that philosophy.

It is only by interpreting these words of Jesus as fundamental principles in the program of economic and social freedom that they can be made to have any meaning whatever to this age. Nor could they have been otherwise received with any definite meaning, even in the days of economic simplicity in which they were uttered. It is true that his words upon public duties were few. But those that were spoken were tremendously significant. That the immediate disciples of Jesus understood his teaching to involve an economic revolution is proven by the fact that their first impulse was toward the formation of a collectivist society. If they failed in this it was not because of the inherent falsehood of any member, but for the same reason that similar colonies have failed since that day—because they were necessarily in contact with a capitalistic system in which cunning and falsehood have a commercial value. But their failure reflects in no way upon the wisdom of the teach-

ing they sought to apply. He announced ethical principles adapted to the age which is certainly coming, when strife and the modes of conduct consistent with strife shall be entirely swept away by the intelligent co-operation of a race conscious of its organic unity, and the full significance and appropriateness of his message can only appear when that day comes.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY.

New York.

EDITORIAL

Already the census of 1900 is yielding a rich harvest for the Socialists. It is one more proof of the way in which the logic of events is continually arguing against the continuance of capitalism. No one could perform a much greater service for the Socialist movement of this country than by putting a few weeks', or months' work upon this census and analyzing from it the facts which would be of value to Socialist workers.

Time and space prevent us from giving more than a few of the most obvious facts. Perhaps the first thing which strikes any one who gives even a cursory examination to the bulletins on manufacture is the strong confirmation afforded to the Socialist doctrine of concentration of industry. There is scant comfort here for the Bernsteinian or anarchist. There is scarcely an industry which does not show the most rapid elimination of the middle class, a continual increase in the capitalization by plant, and in every way an enlargement of the unit of industry. Another thing which is brought prominently to the front is the continuous decrease in the relative share of the total product received by the laborer. Although the census statistics are not arranged in such a manner as to show this to the best advantage (and it is not hard to guess the reason why), yet the facts are so evident as to defy concealment by the jugglers of figures. In many cases the decrease of wages has been absolute and in many others there has been an extensive substitution of child for adult labor.

There have also been great territorial changes in industry affecting the populations of whole districts; there is a shifting of the centers of production toward the South and toward the West. As was of course to be expected, this census shows a continuous and rapid growth of the percentage of urban to the total population. This percentage has increased from 29.2 in 1890 to 33.1 per cent in 1900. In some portions of the country more than a majority of the population are living in the cities. This is true of the North Atlantic division, where 58.6 per cent are put down as city residents. In the South Central division, however, only 11 per cent and in the Western division 31 per cent are found in the centers of population.

Taking the woolen industry we find that the number of establishments have been as follows:

1880	2,689
1890	2,489
1900	2,335

Meantime capital has increased steadily from \$159,000,000 in 1880 to \$392,000,000 in 1900.

The above total includes hosiery and knit goods, and not only the plants actually engaged in producing for the market but those in educational, eleemosynary and penal institutions. Considering only the normal industry we have the following:

Number of establishments—

1870	3,208
1880	2,330
1890	1,693
1900	1,414

In the meantime capital has increased steadily from \$121,450,000 in 1870 to over \$310,000,000 in 1900.

During the last decade salaries have increased.....	59 per cent
No of wage earners.....	3 per cent
Total wages	6 per cent
Number of men employed	6 per cent
Children employed have increased.....	7 per cent
Value of products	9 per cent

In the cotton industry the movement has been even more striking. This industry came to this country already fully developed, and is today one of the foremost in the United States. The following table, giving the number of establishments since 1840, is a powerful picture of the growth of concentration:

1840	1,240
1850	1,004
1860	1,091
1870	958
1880	756
1890	905
1900	973

Capital meanwhile has increased from \$51,000,000 in 1840 to \$460,000,000 in 1900.

The trifling increase in the number of factories during the last decade is accounted for entirely from the movement in the Southern States. In these States the process of concentration has not had time to run its whole course and, hence, a momentary though insignificant increase in the number of establishments is seen. This industry also furnishes some interesting facts concerning the condition of the wage-workers.

During the last decade the number of men employed has increased 51 per cent; women 16 per cent; children under 16 years of age 72 per cent. But the total sum paid in wages to these children has only increased 29 per cent. The number of spindles has increased from 2,000,000 in 1840 to 19,000,000 in 1900. Number of looms has increased from 126,000 in 1860 (the first year in which this item is given) to 450,000 in 1900. During the last year the cotton consumed increased 62 per cent.

The number of children under 16 years of age in the Southern States has increased as follows:

1880	4,097
1890	8,815
1900	24,438

The Census Bulletin treating of this points to the fact that the Northrup loom has more than doubled the capacity of the weaver since 1895. The readers will notice that wages did not take any proportional increase.

Bulletin No. 204 gives us a view of the combined textile industries of the United States. As this is perhaps the most comprehensive Bulletin that has been issued, the figures which it gives are doubly interesting. The following table of establishments shows the process of concentration when taken in connection with the fact that since 1840 capital has increased in round numbers from \$112,500,000 to \$1,042,997,000 in 1900. In other words, while the number of plants has increased about 30 per cent, capitalization has increased 1,000 per cent.

The number of establishments has been as follows:

1850	3,025
1860	3,027
1870	4,790
1880	4,018
1890	4,276
1900	4,312

This includes cotton, wool, silk, hosiery, and knit goods.

In this comprehensive survey of the textile industries we find that while the number of salaried officials has increased 59 per cent and salaries 87 per cent, the number of wage earners has only increased 27 per cent, and total sum paid in wages only 23 per cent. One of the reasons why wages have thus fallen far behind the rate of increase of number of wage workers is seen by the fact that the number of children under 16 years of age has increased 62 per cent.

In the last half century the number of wage earners employed in this set of industries has increased 336 per cent, while the value of their products has increased 586 per cent.

Taking the manufacture of clothing we have the following facts to be noted:

Number of establishments—

1870	7,858
1880	6,166
1890	4,867
1900	5,731

Capital has increased from \$50,000,000 in 1870 to \$120,000,000 in 1900, but has decreased during the last decade 6 per cent. The total number of wage earners decreased 16 per cent since 1890; total wages 10 per cent; number of men employed decreased 29 per cent, while the number of children under 16 years increased 98 per cent. This indicates the growth of sweat shop production as is further proven by the fact that of the 864 new shops which were established from 1890 to 1900, 700 were in Illinois. In this State the number of shops increased from 199 in 1890 to 900 in 1900. This apparent growth of small industries, however, was accompanied by an absolute decrease in the number of wage earners from 16,000 to 14,000, the total wages also falling from \$5,892,000 to \$5,845,000. At the same time, however, that wages were thus absolutely decreasing and the number of employes

growing fewer, the value of the products increased from \$33,600,000 to \$37,300,000. Here, again, we find the reason for this in the great increase of child labor. In the State of Illinois, the number of men employed decreased from 12,000 to 5,000; the number of women increased from 3,618 to 9,105, and the number of children from 74 to 778. Thus the apparent prosperity of the small industries is seen to be accompanied by lower wages, increase of child labor, and general degradation of the employe.

Another industry in which concentration has reached a very high point is that of slaughtering and meat packing. In this the number of establishments decreased in the last ten years from 1,118 to 921. At the same time the capital invested grew from \$116,887,000 to \$189,198,000. Since the census was out, as every one knows, this process of concentration has proceeded much further, until to-day the point of complete monopoly is well nigh at hand.

Turning to salary and wage account, we find the same old story. The payment of the managing force, called salaries, has increased 123 per cent, while the number of wage earners has grown 55 per cent, and total sum paid for wages comes slowly on behind with only 37 per cent increase. The number of women employed has increased 197 per cent and that of children 138 per cent. The reports of the census also show an important geographical movement in this industry. In 1860 the center of the packing industry was Cincinnati and the Ohio Valley; it has followed the corn belt West until it is now located in Illinois, but is rapidly moving to Kansas and Nebraska.

Census report No. 199 on Flouring and Grist Mill products furnishes a study of that industry in words which might well be copied into a Socialist handbook. It says:

"The most rapid increase in the number of establishments was in the decennial period from 1860 to 1870. From 1880 to 1890 there was a very marked decrease. This decrease was due, not to any diminution in the importance of the industry, as will be seen by referring to the amount of capital invested, but rather to the tendency to combine in a single establishment many of the smaller mills. The milling industry, like every other, illustrates the well-established fact that greater economy in manufacture can be secured in a small number of large mills than in a large number of small mills. Thus, while there was a decrease of 5,868 in the number of mills from 1880 to 1890, there was a large increase in the capital invested and a small increase in the value of products. It is true there was a decided fall in the prices of materials from 1880 to 1890, so that the actual cost of the materials, even if used in increased quantities, in 1890 was somewhat less than in 1880, but by improvement in the milling processes and the utilization of by-products, the actual value of products was considerably increased. . . . The number of wage earners in 1900 diminished owing principally to improved processes in handling grain and products which lessened the amount of manual labor required."

During twenty years the number of establishments has remained practically stationary, while capital has increased, in round numbers, from \$177,000,000 to \$219,000,000. But while the total product has increased steadily from \$444,000,000 in 1870 to \$560,000,000 in 1900, the

number of men employed has decreased from 57,795 in 1870 to 36,419 in 1900.

The manufacture of agricultural implements presents an almost typical development, as will be shown by the following table of the number of establishments since 1850:

1850	1,333
1860	2,116
1870	2,076
1880	1,943
1890	910
1900	715

The student will notice the rapid increase in the number of plants in the first ten years, when the industry was gaining a foothold and then a steady decrease in the number of plants until the present time. While, at the same time the amount of capital employed, which was \$3,500,000 in 1850, has grown over fifty-fold, now amounting to over \$157,700,000. One might think that this was a theoretical illustration of the evolution of industry prepared in some study rather than a census bulletin of facts which speak better than words of the marvelous farsightedness of those early Socialist analyzers of capitalism.

The printing and publishing industry repeats the same story. The number of establishments has increased only 34 per cent, while capital has added 49 per cent to its value. In the decade from 1890 the regular contrast between salary and wages is seen, the former increasing 37 per cent, the latter but 6 per cent, although the value of product of these laborers has grown 26 per cent.

When the host of small printing establishments is eliminated from consideration and newspapers and periodicals alone are studied, the figures become even more striking, and this in spite of the thousands and thousands of little country newspapers which are practically dependent on the patent inside and plate matter concerns.

In newspapers and periodicals the number of establishments has increased only 23 per cent, while capital has grown nearly twice as fast, showing an increase of 52 per cent; salaries have followed capital with an equal increase, but the number of wage earners has only grown 10 per cent and total wages have actually fallen off 1 per cent. The number of men employed has, as usual, grown much slower than the number of women and children, and men's wages show a decrease amounting to 4 per cent. Meantime the total product has increased 24 per cent. The same story is told in another way when we note that the aggregate number of copies issued during the census year reached 8,168,148,749, an increase of 74 per cent since 1890, and of 125 per cent since 1880. In the meantime the number of publications has only increased 22.47 per cent during these periods.

In alcoholic liquors we find the same phenomena repeated. Taking malt liquors first we get the following statistics:

Number of establishments—

1870	1,972
1880	2,191
1890	1,248
1900	1,509

Meantime capital has increased from \$48,000,000 in 1870 to \$415,000,000 in 1900, the increase being fairly regular.

During the last decade capital has increased.....	78 per cent
Salaries increased	70 per cent
Total wage earners increased	30 per cent
Total wages increased	24 per cent

Distilled liquors, owing to changes in the revenue laws, show some abnormal characteristics. Nevertheless, in spite of this disturbing factor, the same evolution can be traced. The following, comment and all, is taken verbatim from the census bulletin:

Number of establishments—	
1850	968
1860	1,215
1870	719
(Effect of war revenue tax.)	
1880	844
1890	440
1900	967

There has been a steady increase in capital from \$5,000,000 in 1850 to \$32,000,000 in 1900.

During the last decade capital has increased	5 per cent
Salaries increased	56 per cent
Total wage earners decreased	21 per cent
Total wages decreased	22 per cent
Value of products decreased	7 per cent

"It seems that the census of 1890 concerned itself only with the largest and most important establishments and considered each combination of distilleries operated by the same corporation as one establishment. It appears that the very small fruit and grain distilleries distributed in great number through the Southern States, and especially Virginia and North Carolina, were much more thoroughly canvassed in 1900 than in 1890. These facts explain the disproportionate increase during the last decade."

In the petroleum industry a few more plants have gone to the wall, the total number being now but 67 instead of 94, as in 1890. Every one, of course, knows that all save two or three of these, and, indeed, all but the Standard Oil Company, are so insignificant as to be scarcely worthy of consideration. But, while the number of establishments has decreased, capital has continued to grow from \$77,000,000 to \$95,000,000. But this increase of 23 per cent in capital was accompanied by 7 per cent of increase in number of wage earners, and although wages show a much better proportionate increase in this than in any other industry, being 14 per cent, yet still they fall far behind the increase of 45 per cent in the value of product.

Taking some things that are considered as minor industries we find the same evolution. In pianos, the establishments increased 11 per cent, capital 110 per cent. In needles and pins the number of establishments decreased from 45 to 43; capital grew from \$1,800,000 to \$3,200,000. The manufacture of clay products shows that the number of establishments has remained practically stationary for twenty years,

being 6,383 in 1880, 6,423 in 1900. But capital has grown from \$35,000,000 in 1880 to \$148,000,000 in 1900. But, while capital in the last decade has increased 32 per cent wages have gone up but 2 per cent. The number of men employed has actually decreased 15 per cent, and the number of women has increased 103 per cent.

Taking glass manufacture, we find an increase of 20 per cent in the number of establishments and an increase of 49 per cent in capital. Salaries have been raised 126 per cent. And during this time of prosperity the census tells us that sixty glass factories, with a capital of a half million, were idle.

The industries here mentioned cover practically all the great productive forces of the United States. The only important fields excluded are those of the steel industries, transportation, storage and communication. It so happens, however, that these are just the ones in which the movements we are tracing have been so evident as to admit of no denial. Hence, it is safe to say that everything predicated of those described is certain to be found in a more pronounced form in the others.

The only other field of any importance is that of agriculture. We shall hope in our next number to give an analysis of the census figures on this subject to show that here, as elsewhere, the process of proletarianization and exploitation is going on.

The October number of the Review will contain not so much a reply to the article of Comrade Kautsky as an expansion and explanation of some of the points criticised by him in "The American Farmer," together with an elaboration of some recent developments in agriculture.

Correction.

Comrade Jean Longuet calls our attention to the following correction in his article on the "Socialist Party of France," which appeared in the July number of The Review. On page 18 the Socialist vote in the Department of the Iser in 1898 should be 12,861, instead of 72,861, and the vote this year should be 22,000 instead of 27,861.

On page 22, the total vote of the Socialist party in 1898 should be given as 730,000, instead of 790,000.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

E. Untermann.

France.

The Socialists are interested spectators of the cruise of the radicals under the leadership of Premier Combes against the congregations. The pious fraters, paters and sisters, whose organizations so valiantly upheld "law and order" against the "pernicious" demand of the Belgian Socialist for universal suffrage, are now getting a dose of this same law and order. They show their respect for the law by disregarding the orders of the government, and "inciting the masses" to do the same. The law is now being enforced by the help of soldiers and gendarmes, who surround the schools and cloisters that are to be closed and, in the presence of an excited multitude, invite the priests and nuns to evacuate. If this polite invitation does not induce the occupants to "voluntarily" comply with the law, they are bundled out without further parley. On one occasion, the soldiers marched into a town with bayonets fixed and lined up for action, when one of the leaders of the Catholics, a Count Somebody, appeared on the scene, declared that they did not wish to fight against the army, requested the commander of the troops to sheath the bayonets, which was done, and "prevailed" on the nuns to accompany him into a neighboring church, whereupon the establishment was sealed by the sheriff. In the Bretagne, certain factory owners closed down and invited their employes, on penalty of dismissal, to take part in the demonstrations against the government. Others forced their employes to take their children out of the secular schools by threatening them with discharge. In Paris, a demonstration of the clericals was prevented by the Socialists who filled the square from which the procession was to start long before the clericals had assembled.

That is a true picture of capitalism. Brutal and oppressive in everything it does, it tries to accomplish even the work of intellectual emancipation and human freedom by the methods of a tyrant. It is unfit for any elevating work, because it creates classes with divergent interests that cannot be reconciled within the limits of the present system and must, therefore, be harmonized by the state that enforces laws in the interest of one class regardless of the wishes of the others.

How little radical the radicals are is shown by the report that the bosses are taking advantage of the cabinet change to cripple the Mille-rand law which provides for a 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ -hour day in all establishments where young men and women below 18 years of age are working

together with adults. A large number of workmen have signed the petition of the bosses, either from ignorance or fear of discharge. The trade unions seek to head this movement off by demanding an extension of the law to all industries. They might easily obtain this and more, if they would turn their energies in the right direction. But the Socialists have been defeated in the elections at Marseilles and Lille—by the help of workmen's votes who prefer to beg from masters what they should accomplish as free men. Comrade Lafargue, at a recent mass meeting of the Parti Ouvrier Français, consoled himself and his audience with the reflection that the Socialist party must not necessarily win through the increase of mandates won at the ballot box. "Our task," he said, "consists in preparing the proletariat for the revolution. The revolution of 1789 took place without a previous campaign, thanks to an energetic agitation and enlightenment."

Germany.

The Socialist party is continuing to reap the fruits of the agrarian tariff policy by numerous electoral victories. The most significant and unexpected of these were the victories in Alsace. In Strasburg, the old Socialist seat, was retained in the first ballot and twelve new seats won in the second ballot, so that the municipal council is now composed of thirteen Socialists, fourteen Liberals, four Democrats, four Clericals and one Independent. In Mulhausen, the second ballot resulted in the election of thirteen Socialists, thirteen Democrats, thirteen Independents, the majority of the Socialists and Democrats over the Liberal-Clerical parties being 2,000. Two Socialists were elected in Gebweiler. Schiltigheim and Dettweiler each elected its first Socialists. These victories, coming right after the abolition of the dictatorial laws that prevented a free expression of public opinion, cause so much more consternation in the capitalist camp, as Minister von Koeller had declared in the Reichstag only a few days before the election that Socialism was practically dead in Alsace-Lorraine and would never rise again.

Comrade Groth of the "Mecklenburger Zeitung" is the first Socialist elected in the municipal council of Rostock, Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg. In Lichtenberg, a suburb of Berlin, the Socialists elected their full ticket and announced the fact in the following words: Out of 300 votes, the Socialists received 300, and the capitalists 00. In Bayreuth, Bavaria, the Socialist vote has increased by 2,089 votes since the last election for the Diet.

These results, together with the fact that the Socialists are now taking part in the Landtag elections, and that the national convention of the Socialist party, to be held in Munich, Bavaria, on Sept. 14 and following days, will form the basis for the coming Reichstag's elections, disturb the serenity of the "possessing" classes considerably. On the program of this convention we find, among others, the following reports: On parliamentary activity by E. Rosenow; on coming Reichstag's election by A. Bebel; on workmen's insurance by H. Molkenbuhr; on municipal activity by Dr. Lindemann.

The Socialists are making good progress among the trade unions, as shown by the recent trade union congress. A new family paper, "Die Huette" (The Hut), published by H. Wallfisch, Dresden, on the first and fifteenth of each month, and designed especially for proletarian children, is finding a hearty support.

How labor legislation, passed after long and hard struggles through the initiative of the Socialists, is enforced by the capitalist government is shown by a recent official report. An inspection of 1,876 establishments revealed the fact that 1,749, or 93 per cent, of them did not observe the laws regulating the protection to employes, so that 4,755 accidents could be traced directly to the violation of the laws. Only twenty-three of these violators were fined a total of 165 mark (about \$39.), or about 8 mark (\$1.90) each. And yet some people declare that such useless patchwork is the main purpose of the Socialist party. Such work agrees better with the "radical" parties that insert themselves as a pad between the Socialists and capitalists, and is better left to them. They are helping us also in many other ways.

A director of a German trade school recently declared that "the practical education must be increased in school. Not only drawing and technical theories, but also practical exercise in school workshops is required. Apart from the practical value of the detailed explanation of the 'how' and 'why' of its special task, the child also profits in health by the change from the recitation room to the workshop."

We highly appreciate the great pains which the bourgeoisie take in educating the children of the working class for the economic duties of the co-operative commonwealth, and we cheerfully devote ourselves to our special duty, the political education of the producing class.

Russia.

The social pot is boiling in Russia and the autocratic "little father" is getting ready to swallow the soup which he and his bureaucrats have been preparing. It is said that he is studying the social question. What business has he in a responsible position, if he has not studied it before? To judge from all reports, he has not yet learned as much as his Socialist subjects in Finland, who have just appointed a regular delegate for the International Bureau in Brussels. He is sending the most arrogant of his henchmen to the seat of the disturbances to "investigate" with knout and saber. He has forbidden the continuation of the excellent semstvo statistics, that were a constant reproach to him and his administration, in the governments of Bessarabia, Jekaterinoslav, Kadan, Kursk, Orel, Pensa, Poltava, Samara, Simbirsk, Tula, Charkov, and Tschernigov, and "left it to the discretion" of the governors of twenty-two others to do the same. It is reported that he intends to receive 200 persons of all classes in audience "for the sake of reform." But the Vorwaerts publishes a secret circular letter of the governor of the government Saratov, in which he calls the attention of his police prefects to the revolutionary movement among the peasants and instructs them "to take the most radical measures for its suppression." The document outlines the tactics observed by

the "bad men who influence the peasants against the government" and speaks well for the progress of the revolutionary movement.

In the meantime some of the "good men" of the administration suspended a meeting of sixty Jewish working women in Liebau and arrested them. The women were forcibly submitted to a medical examination and received "yellow tickets," that is, licenses for prostitutes. A little "reform" with a good stout stick wouldn't hurt those officials.

Peter Struwe edits a new review, "Osvoboschdeniye" (Emancipation), which is printed by Dietz in Stuttgart, Germany. The aim of the publication is to gather material for the critique of Russian absolutism and carry the idea of the political emancipation of Russia into all classes.

Austria-Hungary.

The farm laborers in Galizia have been on strike for some time. This is the first united attempt of the Gallician rural proletariat to better its condition and is due to the energetic agitation of the Socialists. In spite of the provocations of the nobles and their servile gendarmes and bureau officials, the laborers stood their ground quietly and carried their demands in most communes. In a few places, where troops were solicited without reason by the proprietors and committed excesses against women and children, riots occurred and the strike failed in consequence. In others, the officials suppressed the Socialist papers and distributed circulars warning the laborers against the "unscrupulous agitators who wish to deceive them." The old game of crying "stop thief" to escape detection fails to work, however. You can't fool all the Galicians all the time.

Nor all the Hungarians, either. In Mako, the county seat of the Csanader Comitat, fourteen Socialists were elected to the municipal council, giving them one-third of the whole body.

Luxemburg.

In the canton of Esch, the Socialists elected five of their six candidates for parliament, in spite of the handicap of a poll tax of 10 francs. There are forty-eight representatives in the chamber, and although the Socialists make up only one-eighth of it, their presence will be felt.

Italy.

The Socialists in Turin increased their votes by 1,500 in three years and elected nine new councillors in addition to the fifteen that are already in that body. In Geneva five Socialists entered the municipal council, in Florence ten, in Bologna five in town and ten in the prov-

ince, while in Naples the Camorra is again triumphant. The total of newly elected councillors amounts to about sixty in 200 communes, which, added to the 1,268 councillors in 372 communes elected in previous elections, make a good showing for our Italian comrades. A new paper, "Agitazione Proletaria," edited by the Socialist women of Milan, increases their forces still more.

South Africa.

News comes from the "Rand" that the English and German workmen in Johannesburg formed a political organization with the following program: Manhood suffrage for white men 18 years of age; taxation of the land so that the unearned increment will go to the people; equal election districts; uniform election day, to be regarded as a legal holiday, saloons and restaurants to be closed during elections; secret ballot; salaries for representatives; election of Upper House by direct vote of the people; eight-hour day in state and municipal enterprises; protective labor laws; prohibition of sweating; nationalization of railroads and telegraphs; municipalization of street railways, waterworks, and lighting plants; prohibition of Chinese immigration; compulsory arbitration; minimal wage for white and colored laborers; land reform after New Zealand's pattern; progressive income tax; federation of South Africa, to be demanded by popular referendum.

After a little trimming by a few years of experience this program will bring the English capitalists face to face with a foe who will prove more formidable than the Boers.

Brazil.

Somewhat late we learn that the second national convention of the Partido Socialista Brasileiro met in Sao Paulo from May 29 to 31. A program was adopted, which had to be published in Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, German and French, on account of the cosmopolitan character of the assembly. Owing to the economic backwardness of the country, the program shows a rather mixed jumble of contradictory conceptions and demands, but it emphasizes the socialization of the means of production and exchange as the final aim. The "immediate demand" tall has no less than thirty-three distinct joints and comprises about everything that was ever demanded by freethinkers, direct legislation leagues, trade unions, prohibitionists and female suffragists. There is no danger that the party will run ahead of public opinion with such an appendix for the opportunists to pull back on.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

The colossal \$120,000,000 harvester trust, which was incorporated in New Jersey last week, is starting out after big profits in true capitalist style. When the promoters gently broke the news of what was transpiring to the dear public a few weeks ago it was stated that the main object of forming the trust was to ensure "stability of prices." This made "the public" glad, for it does not like to take chances in competitive chaos, despite the fact that anarchists preach that competition is the finest system that could ever be devised. The workingman doubtless was also pleased, for stable prices mean that wages will not be in the same danger of being cut as when there is fluctuation. But the farmer became nervous, and when it was hinted later that a slight advance would be made on "some" agricultural implements that had been sold "below cost" the tiller of the soil began to scratch his head and pull his whiskers. A slight raise on this and that tool means money out of his pocket and more difficulty in meeting the interest on his mortgage or paying his taxes or his rent. The next chapter is a Chicago dispatch, dated Aug. 16, which reads as follows: "The International Harvester Co., following its public declaration that economy in the manufacture and distribution of agricultural machinery was the motive for the \$120,000,000 merger, has made a move in that direction. Several of the Chicago companies that make up the combine have issued letters to their general agents throughout the country, ordering a reduction of about three-fourths of the total number of employes representing these companies in the field. The other companies in the combine are preparing to do the same. Equally radical reductions in the official forces are being planned for the near future. Ten thousand men in all are expected to lose their positions." Thus we have two interesting facts: First, the users of agricultural implements will pay more than heretofore; second, ten thousand traveling salesmen, office workers, mechanics and laborers will be laid off indefinitely to curtail production and stiffen prices. This is not a theory; it is a condition. How do those who vote to uphold the capitalist system and trust like the jolt they have received?

J. Pierpont Morgan, king of industry, has returned from Europe, where he has been for some months hobnobbing with some of the petty rulers of the old country—such as King Edward, Emperor William and still lesser lights, and incidentally organizing his shipping trust, gobbling up iron mines in the Netherlands, valuable franchises in London, aiding the tobacco and beef trust magnates to launch their combines, and arranging with the Rothschilds to establish an international bank

with branches in the Eastern countries, South America and other lands. Mr. Morgan's lieutenants declare he will now put the finishing touches to his Northwestern railway merger, his Southern railway merger, his ship combine and bring order out of chaos in the coal industry, and perform a few other herculean labors that will tend to put a quietus to the competitive system. Mr. Morgan himself says in an interview that America is only entering the combination era, and that trusts as large and perhaps larger than the United States Steel Corporation (capitalized at \$1,400,000,000) will be formed. This statement on the part of the great financier is causing the hair of the reactionists to stand on ends, and old Russell Sage, for instance, declares in saddened tones that "the people" will not allow trustification to go on, but will revolt—revolt, mind you—but he does not say when or where or how, whether at the ballot-box or with guns and bombs and indiscriminate slaughter. Some of the daily papers are firing similar thoughtlets in double-leaded editorials at the people, but, as usual, they are densely silent upon the question as to how the triumphal march of the modern conqueror can be stopped. Again we rise to remark that the Socialist party has a plan and that the others have none.

As the time approaches for the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, at New Orleans about two months hence, the various national unions are becoming more clamorous in their demands for jurisdiction over fractions of workers in different trades. The original "autonomy" fight between the brewers on the one hand and the engineers, firemen, teamsters, etc., on the other will probably serve to draw the lines between those who favor organizing the workers as distinct industries and those who desire to retain the old forms of craft distinction. This question is a vital one—indeed, it overshadows all else on the industrial field at the present time. The progressive element in the A. F. of L. holds that, to meet the combined employers of to-day with any degree of success in securing shorter hours, higher wages and better conditions, it is absolutely necessary to have all workers in a given trade in one union, so that there will be no clashing between two or more sets of officers in times of trouble and thus weaken any move that may be made. The conservatives would attach the workers to the unions of their crafts wherever found, contending that they have distinct craft interests that are disregarded by the majority in an industry. Thus, the brewery workers aim to combine the brewers, coopers, laborers, drivers, engineers, firemen and other workers as one body, and they deny the charge that they have been negligent in the matter of securing better conditions for engineers, firemen and other branches in the brewing industry. The first important "autonomy" struggle occurred between the printers and machinists at the Detroit convention, in 1899. The typographical union claimed jurisdiction over composing rooms in the printing industry, and with the advent of machinery the machinist came. The machinists' union insisted that a machinist is not a printer, and therefore should belong to the former organization. The Detroit convention "straddled" the issue, with a slight leaning toward the machinists, but the printers held fast to their new brothers, and at the Louisville convention the following year they practically gained their point. At this convention the brew-

ers' trouble was "straddled," as well as the grievances of minor unions, and the same thing happened at Scranton last year. Meanwhile, the postponement of the issuing of a plain, straightforward declaration, so that a readjustment could be made, has caused and is causing endless trouble. The brewers' union is rent asunder in Cincinnati, where the engineers and firemen sided with a bosses' combine in a strike, and the same condition exists in several other places. The printers are in for trouble again, the pressmen having signed an agreement for a term of years with a bosses' combine to run presses in "open" offices (that is, plants unorganized), and at the convention of the typographical union, in Cincinnati, last month, the printers retaliated by turning down the pressmen's claim for part ownership of the union label, and also adopted resolutions to the effect that when necessary all workers in the printing trade would be brought under their jurisdiction and in favor of the broadest possible form of industrial organization. The molders recently held their convention in Toronto and declared that they intended to absorb the brass molders, who are now affiliated with the metal polishers and brass workers, and the latter union held a convention in Providence last month and vigorously assailed the claims of the molders. The longshoremen decided to enlarge their sphere by organizing under their banner every worker on or along the seas, lakes and rivers, and the sailors object most strenuously. The latter are also opposing the hotel and restaurant employes who claim the right to organize the cooks and waiters. The A. F. of L. executive council has filed notice on the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (which is truly an international body, having twelve branches or crafts and 93,000 members in every part of the world, as well as over \$2,000,000 in the treasury), that the amalgamated body must yield jurisdiction to the machinists, blacksmiths and patternmakers in three branches on or before Oct. 1, or its American charter would be annulled. This action seems to indicate that the council has definitely taken its stand with the "autonomists." As the Review is being printed the carpenters are meeting in Atlanta. Their policy lately has been to organize the mill men, and are thus cutting into the field of the woodworkers' union. Much bitterness has developed between those two national bodies and there is no sign that it will be minimized. At least a dozen other minor organizations have locked horns over the "autonomy" question, and it is generally agreed that a final decision will have to be made at New Orleans. Some of the national officers engaged in these controversies predict that unless they have their way a split or secession movement will occur in the near future, but it is hardly probable that the trouble will be allowed to go to that extreme, although there are clouds forming on the Western sky that are likely to complicate matters.

During the past month the National Committee of the Socialist party has made public a set of resolutions relating to the incipient conflict between the A. F. of L. and the new American Labor Union. While the declaration of the latter body in favor of Socialism is hailed as a distinct step forward, the committee, as the official head of the body, declines to be drawn into the controversy that may develop on the industrial field. The committee takes substantially the same ground covered by the International Socialist Review in the July

number, and which meets with the endorsement of all Socialists and trade unionists who have given the modern labor movement careful study. The committee deplors the fact that antagonisms are likely to be created between economic organizations of labor, and points out that the Socialist party cannot afford to take sides in a matter of this kind, but will continue to use its best efforts to unite the workers industrially and politically. It must be admitted that the A. L. U. is making progress and is becoming popular in many quarters, so much so that many national organizations are hesitating to force their locals to give up affiliation in that body. Then the "autonomy" trouble in the Federation and its refusal to acknowledge and approve of Socialism as a working class principle naturally cause some unions to entertain a friendly feeling for the Western organization. The Federation executive council's action in turning down the brewers and in practically showing the door to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers is not calculated to strengthen the bonds of affiliation. The new Brotherhood of Railway Employes, organized along lines similar to the A. R. U., which is gaining power in the West, and the International Laborers' Protective Association, a broad-gauge organization which has begun to flourish during the past few months, were refused charters recently, and there are rumors that they will go into the A. L. U. if the New Orleans convention endorses the action of the council. The writer personally knows of a union of 1,500 members in Ohio that is discussing the advisability of joining the A. L. U., and reports from Missouri, Kansas and other States further South are to the effect that organizers from the West are having some success in planting locals. All these straws are important as showing how things are moving, and they indicate that it will be necessary to exercise considerable caution to prevent a fratricidal labor war.

The outlook for a largely increased Socialist party vote this fall is exceptionally bright. Reports in party papers and private advices from all over the country show that the present agitation is almost as great as in the early '90s, when the Populist movement sprang into prominence. The introduction of machinery, the centralization of capital into trusts, the increase of prices for necessities, the great strikes, the tyranny of the courts, the increase of woman and child labor and many other causes are serving to open the eyes of the working people as never before. Every Socialist speaker who can orate for five minutes is on a soap-box, and the demand is not half supplied. The West is ablaze with enthusiasm, and they are seriously talking about carrying Colorado, or at least polling such a vote that will give the capitalist politicians cold chills, and great progress is promised in Washington, California, Montana and several other States. In the East, Pennsylvania easily leads the procession. The State committee claims several Congressmen in the mining regions, and the anxiety displayed by Senators Quay and Penrose to end the strike seems to lend color to the contentions of the committee. In New York and the New England States and in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and the Middle West the campaign is being forced with unflagging interest. The Populist reform party has practically disappeared, and the De Leon party is

so busy chasing out more of its traitors that there is hardly a vestige left, tickets having been put up in only about half a dozen States. The field is left almost entirely open to the Socialist party, and as a clincher the large number of charters that are being issued by the various State committees and the steady accession of members is a sure sign that the Socialist party is forging to the front as rapidly as it is safe.

The Milwaukee Federated Trades Council has issued a call to central labor organizations in other cities for a convention for the purpose of forming a national body to map out uniform plans in carrying on local work, such as organizing, boycotting, advancing union label propaganda and securing advantages for labor through political action. This idea has been discussed for a number of years in different cities, but has never been given practical demonstration. The A. F. of L. executive council has refused to endorse the Milwaukee call, but it is not improbable that arrangements will be made to arrange conferences of city central body delegates at the A. F. of L. convention at New Orleans in November.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Important Announcement.

The co-operative company doing business under the name of Charles H. Kerr & Company, which publishes The International Socialist Review, the Pocket Library of Socialism, the Standard Socialist Series, and other Socialist party literature, is growing in membership at a more rapid rate than ever before, and a new plan has been adopted which will probably double the membership in a very few months. The company is incorporated under the laws of Illinois, with an authorized capital of \$10,000, divided into 1,000 shares of \$10 each. Six hundred of these are already sold to over 400 Socialists, most of whom hold just one share each. As already explained in these pages, the stock draws no dividends, but it carries the privilege of buying books at cost.

Heretofore we have in most cases issued shares only to those able to pay \$10 at one time, because of the urgent need of more ready money to supply the new books required by the Socialist movement. Just as we are going to press we have received two letters, one from a leader in our movement, whose name would be familiar to every one of our readers, who promises to assist us in securing the necessary capital for extending our work. The other is from an isolated Socialist in a small town in New York State, who has for some time held a single share of stock. He writes as follows:

"Yours of Aug. 21 is received. I herewith send you postoffice order for \$50, for which please send note at 6 per cent. About the first of October I expect to have five or six hundred dollars that I can loan you if I can get it any time I may want it by giving thirty days' notice. Yours for Socialism in our time."

The conclusion to be drawn from these two letters is that our company has pretty nearly passed the stage of being in constant distress for lack of the necessary capital and that we may set about the laying of broad foundations for the tremendous task before us of supplying the literature required to build up the Socialist party of America.

We have made no mistake in organizing on the co-operative basis, with the ownership widely distributed among owners of single shares. Every day brings added proof that our plan of supplying literature at cost to stockholders is carrying the message of clear-cut, uncompromising Socialism into new fields that could not otherwise have been reached. The one weak point in our system, however, has been that the new, struggling locals and the isolated Socialists who are carrying

on a ceaseless campaign against heavy odds—the very ones whom our co-operative plan would help the most, are the ones who cannot advance \$10 for a share of stock. That is why we are especially glad that we can at last see our way clear to make the offer of

A Share of Stock for \$1.00 a Month, Ten Months.

One dollar down, with the promise of paying a dollar a month until the full sum of \$10 is paid, will give you the privilege of buying books at our special rates to stockholders, the same as if you were the owner of a full-paid share. These rates are as follows: On the Madden Library, 50 cents a hundred postpaid; others pay \$1 a hundred. On the Pocket Library of Socialism, \$1 a hundred postpaid; others pay \$2.25 a hundred. On other paper-covered books, one-half retail prices, postpaid. On cloth-bound books, one-half retail prices by express at purchaser's expense, or 40 per cent discount if sent by mail. It will readily be seen that it will only be necessary to buy a dollar's worth of books a month at these prices and sell them at retail prices to take care of the monthly payments on stock without feeling them. There is not a Socialist local in the United States too weak to carry this plan through successfully. If 400 of them undertake it at once, our output of Socialist literature will soon be doubled and trebled, and our company will be in a position to supply the literature that the rapidly growing Socialist party will require if it is to keep its millions of converts in touch with its best and clearest thought.

Now is the time to take hold. We have letters upon letters from comrades saying they want to become stockholders, but have not the \$10. Here is the chance.

No Liabilities.

Our company is organized under the general Illinois corporation law, and this means that you are liable only for the \$10 that you subscribe; when that is fully paid in you cannot be held liable for anything further in any event. If you desire any further particulars, let us know.

The Origin of the Family.

Our new translation by Ernest Untermann of Frederick Engels' great book, entitled "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," is now ready. This book has long since been translated into nearly every civilized language except English, and thousands of American readers will enjoy and profit by it as soon as it can be brought to their attention.

For the student of social science "The Origin of the Family" is of great importance because it gives in condensed form the actual results of the investigations of the last half century into the beginnings of the marriage relation. It is no mere grouping of facts, but the data are dealt with by a hand that can use them. Thus the book is as useful to the Socialist propagandist as to the student. Any reader who

masters this work of Engels will be rid, once for all, of the complacent notion that things have always been as they are, and therefore must always remain so. He will also find himself better able to understand the complicated problem which must soon be faced of adjusting the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, to the radically different economic conditions which are near at hand. "The Origin of the Family" is published in the Standard Socialist Series in cloth binding, 218 pages, and will be mailed to any address for 50 cents.

Socialist Literature for Striking Coal Miners.

In this department of the International Socialist literature for July and August we explained the opportunity offered by the anthracite coal strike for the circulation of Socialist literature among the coal miners who have, at present, no money to buy, but plenty of leisure to read, and whose own personal experience enables them to grasp quickly the truth of the Socialist message. Our offer is that for any sums contributed we will send by express, prepaid, literature figured at our special stockholders' prices to active Socialists in the coal region who are vouched for by the Secretary of the State Committee of the Socialist party of Pennsylvania, and who can be depended upon to see that every piece of literature is used where it will do the most good. Contributions for this fund have, thus far been received as follows:

Previously acknowledged	\$11.40
A stockholder, Chicago	3.00
Local Dayton, Ohio, Socialist party	1.00
C. C. Hitchcock, Ware, Mass.80
C. Nelson, Braddock, Pa.50
Lewis J. Mitchell, Holly, Mich.	2.00
J. F. Whittemore, Salt Lake City, Utah.	1.20
James Patton, Devils Lake, N. D.	1.30

\$21.20

The literature already supplied to the striking field from this fund has been producing good results, particularly at Wilkes-Barre and Mauch Chunk, from which places we have enthusiastic reports.

A bulletin issued by the State Committee of the Socialist party of Pennsylvania shows that most encouraging progress has been made in the anthracite coal region. "No Democratic or Republican meeting has been held in all this region since the strike began, and in four counties of Pennsylvania with 200,000 inhabitants there will not be a capitalist political meeting held during this campaign, if the comrades of the nation will give us the ammunition to keep up the agitation or increase it."

More literature is urgently needed at once, and if contributions are sent promptly the literature will be distributed in time to show results in the November elections.

The Career and Conversation of John Swinton.

John Swinton, who died about a year ago, was a notable figure in the newspaper circles of New York City, and was conspicuous for his outspoken sympathy with the labor movement. He was never identified with the Socialist party, and his efforts were for the most part barren of direct results on account of the erratic notions which he took up from time to time.

His personality, however, was something far greater than his published writings, and the story of his life is highly interesting and instructive, throwing side lights on the economic and political development of America during the last fifty years. This story has been admirably told by Robert Waters, a lifelong friend of Swinton and an experienced writer, whose literary style is admirable. The book will be ready about Sept. 20, and the price, including postage to any address, will be 25 cents.

Marx's "Capital."

We recently imported 250 copies of the standard edition of Marx's "Capital," such as is sold in London at half a guinea and in New York at \$2.50. We offered these books to the general public at \$2.00, postpaid, and to our stockholders at \$1.30 by mail or \$1.00 by express. The demand has been so great that the entire edition is exhausted, and we have been obliged to send for another edition. A little delay in the filling of orders for this book will therefore be inevitable, since our new edition cannot reach us before the second week of October. Future orders from stockholders will be filled at the rate of \$1.20, including prepayment of expressage by us or \$1.00 if sent by express at the expense of purchaser. The retail price will remain at \$2.00, as before. This book is one that should be in every Socialist library, and our second edition ought to be exhausted even more rapidly than the first.

Another work which will be practically unique in the literature of Socialism is entitled "Capital and Labor." This work is written by a black-listed mechanic and is the plain talk of a workingman to his fellows. We believe it will prove one of the most effective propaganda works ever written.

The translation of Kampffmeyer's "History of the German Social Democracy" is proceeding rapidly and we expect to issue it before the coming of winter. This will prove a valuable addition to the library of every Socialist worker.

We expect that the work of translation will soon begin on Karl Kautsky's latest work entitled, "The Social Revolution." This is one of the most important writings of the great German Socialist, and will prove a valuable addition to American Socialist literature.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Publishers.

56 Fifth avenue, Chicago.