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The Discovery of the World Elements.

(In Honor of Ernest Mach's Seventieth Birthday.)

I. THE ABSOLUTELY UNCHANGEABLE BODIES.



IN A PARIS BUILDING expressly erected for this purpose, the *Bureau International des Poids et Mesures* (International Bureau of Weights and Measures), the standard measure of length, the prototype of the meter, is stored away. The walls of this building are hollow, so that liquids of definite temperature may be passed through them for the purpose of maintaining a constant temperature in the rooms, which contain the standard meter. But even this does not suffice to protect the rod against changes of temperature, and thus against expansion. In addition to these precautions, the rod must be kept in a bath of definite temperature. After many tests this rod was finally made of an amalgamation of Platinum and Iridium, which are but little subject, like other precious metals, to chemical alterations under ordinary conditions, and which have the additional advantage of great hardness.

The hardness of the metal, and the form in which this rod has been molded (its cross section is approximately that of a cross) protect the rod against bending by its own weight and thus against contraction.

We will not mention all the other precautions taken for the prevention of alterations in this rod of Platinum-Iridium. We have said enough to indicate how much the physicists have

labored, and how much the employes of the Bureau of Weights and Measures still have to labor every day, in order to maintain this body unchanged. Under these circumstances this standard longitudinal measure, aside from its great practical significance for systems of measurement, stands forth as the most striking monument of the variability of all bodies. For if the success of all exertions of science to find an unchangeable body is embodied in this Paris type of the meter, which human beings might break, melt, dissolve in acid, might change at will in all its qualities, then it becomes palpable that we cannot find in this world any body that shall be permanently unchangeable.

In spite of the immense labors performed by the physicists and chemists in the manufacture of standard measures, and in spite of the fact that all their labors have led only to relatively unchangeable bodies, the idea is still widely entertained precisely by the scientists of these fields that there are such things as unchangeable bodies, or even that all the changeable bodies of the world consist in reality of absolutely unchangeable bodies.

In our experience, as we have just indicated, we do not meet with such absolutely unchangeable bodies. We can construct them only in imagination. We may assert that they exist, and we may express the hope that we may find them some day. Such constructions of imagination have appeared several times in the course of the development of physical sciences and have presented different forms. The particles of matter carrying heat, electrical fluids, light as conceived by Newton, were such unchangeable bodies. But no one takes any more notice of them to-day. On the contrary, belief has now passed on to the existence of molecules, atoms, ions which have been joined quite recently by the electrons. These different classes of allegedly unchangeable bodies are mainly distinguished from one another by their size.

What does physics want with these imagined unchangeable bodies? It desires to understand the alterations of the real variable bodies, which we know, by different arrangement and different conditions of motion of such unchangeable bodies.

The aim of physics, then, is the understanding of the alterations of real bodies, which we know from experience. It desires to show in what manner the mutual positions of these bodies are changed, what is the interrelation of the changes in temperature among them (for instance in case of mixtures), what new bodies arise from the chemical combination or disintegration of certain bodies, etc. The imaginary unchangeable bodies serve merely as auxiliaries for the understanding of the changes in real bodies.

If we remember the fate for the many unchangeable bodies, which have fallen into oblivion, if we look at the meager success in the figuration of the world of phenomena by unchangeable bodies, when we consider that precisely those lines of physics,

which do not make use of unchangeable bodies, have made the greatest progress and are regarded as the most secure, then we involuntarily face the question: Cannot physics accomplish its aim, the figuration of changes in real bodies, without the existence of absolutely unchangeable bodies?

If we are to-day in a position to reply that the elimination of the idea of all absolutely unchangeable bodies from physics is possible, and therefore necessary, we owe thanks for this to the comprehensive critical labor, to the penetrating investigation of the entire science of physics, performed by *Ernest Mach*. In fact, the clarification of this question is one of the most important steps taken by *Mach* in his effort to remove all metaphysics from science.

The researches of *Mach* have been published partly in the form of critical historical essays, partly in monographs. He did not write any systematic presentation of the fundamental principles of physics based upon variable bodies. In the following lines, we intend to discuss briefly two preliminary questions, which belong to such a presentation of physics. These questions are: What is a real body, if it does not consist of unchangeable bodies, and in what does the unchangeable consist, if it is not a body?

2. THE DIRECT EVIDENCE.

A deep chasm has long separated the physical from the psychological sciences. (By physical science we mean physics in its widest sense, including chemistry and astronomy.) The psychologists opposed to the unchangeable bodies of the physicists the sensations and feelings of human beings, as the last resort of human experience. They argued justly that the sensations and feelings were directly evident in human beings, their existence could not be doubted, the standard of false or true could not be applied to them at all, they were the most reliable foundation of human knowledge. Of course, the direct sensations and feelings should be distinguished from the interpretations and theories, which are connected with them. The interpretations and theories may be false, but never the sensations and feelings as such.* And psychology adds rightly, that these directly perceived sensa-

1) For instance, I saw a man standing at a certain distance in a garden. But when I came closer to him, I noticed that I was mistaken, that it was not a man, but a dry tree stump. Now what was false here? What did I really see from the distance? A brown spot of a certain form. This was the real observation, which I shall make again, if I go back to the same place. This observation, this complex set of sensations, is something actual. What, then, must be false or true here? The interpretation, the theory, which I drew from the observation. In what does the false interpretation consist? I merely chose too narrow a term for the designation of my actual observation. Instead of the conception "a long and erect brown spot" I se-

tions and feelings are the most familiar and best known facts, which do not require any further explanation.

At this point the chasm widens. The psychologist says: I know only the directly perceived sensations and feelings, I do not know how I shall get them in touch with the bodies of the physicists. And the physicist says: I know only the bodies, which consist of nothing, but unchangeable bodies, that cannot be analyzed any further, and I do not know how I shall bring them in touch with the sensations and feelings. Between these two, there exists an apparently irreconcilable dualism: On the one hand the world of sensations and feelings, on the other hand the world of bodies.

Attempts were made repeatedly by both sides to bridge this chasm and to establish a monistic conception. The ways chosen for the purpose of reaching this goal resemble one another in that they are equally absurd.

On the psychological side the way led to "pure idealism" or "solipsism". Nothing was recognized but the direct evidence, but the existence of the bodies, of the "outer world", was denied. On the physical side the equally preposterous attempt was made to reduce the direct perceptions, the sensations and feelings, to the movements of atoms, or other unchangeable bodies, to "explain" the best known by the entirely unknown.

If we leave aside these two absurd expedients, the chasm between the physical and the psychic remains open. Nevertheless we may succeed by a simple move in overcoming this chasm and arriving at a truly monistic conception. Like so many other great discoveries, this move, which we will call the discovery of the world elements, was made simultaneously in two places, independent of one another. It was made on the psychological side by *Richard Avenarius*, and on the physical side by *Ernest Mach*.

3. SUBJECT AND OBJECT.

In the human language the separation of subjects from objects, such as is required for every day use, has been completely effected. It teaches us to recognize things (bodies), such as "the house", "the tree", "the book", etc., and "I's", such as "I", "You", "my uncle", "Mr. Smith", etc.

lected the conception "a man," which is much more defined, since it carries many more marks of identification than I had actually perceived. I merely expected to find those marks under different circumstances. My false interpretation consisted in the application of a false conception. The observed brown spot is a fact, which cannot be false, no matter whether I interpret its connection with other facts correctly or not.

This "I" of common speech comprises on closer scrutiny two different "I's", which may be distinguished even by the simplest mind. It is customary to speak of "body and soul", of "body and mind". The most complicated philosophical theories are connected with these terms. We need not enter into them here. It is enough to say that in almost every one of such commonplace expressions a certain understanding is put forth. From every one a correct kernel may be culled, which will prove useful to science. So it is here. There are two kinds of "I's". We will distinguish them for the present by the terms "physical I" and "psychical I", without deducing any further theories from them. The "physical I" is a body like other bodies, such as a house, a tree, etc. When we speak generally of the "I", we will have it understood that we mean the "psychical I".

Ordinary language divides everything into subjects and objects, into "I's" and "bodies". It enumerates "the qualities of the thing" as well as "the sensations" of the "I". We say that "the leaf is green" and besides that "the I has the sensation of green". The thing and the I's are regarded as isolated, the green appears on the one hand in the thing and on the other in the I, it appears twice.

This conception of things is in keeping with the ordinary view of the matter. But if we desire to know what a thing (body) and an I is, we must not analyse the abstractions of ordinary language, but must rather investigate the actual interrelations. The most complicated and superfluous problems of philosophy are due precisely to the fact that the abstractions of ordinary language were made special objects of investigation. But if we consider subject and object in their actual interrelations, as *Mach* and *Avenarius* have first done, then all these difficulties disappear.

The truth of the saying, that "the leaf is green", is accurately considered the following: If I or some other person look at a leaf, we have the "sensation of green", or rather, we often have this sensation. For the green appears only under normal circumstances, when the light of the sun and our organs of vision are normal. In the light of a sodium flame the color is brown, and when we have taken a dose of santonin it is yellow. The two phrases "the leaf is green" and "the I has a sensation of green" resolve themselves on close scrutiny into this single fact: Different I's have the repeated sensation of green. If I and a leaf enter into relation with one another, *one* green appears. If I turn my head, the sensation of green disappears. If I look again, the green reappears. We do not know what happens, when we do not look at the leaf. It is true, the philosophers have put forth many theories as to how the leaf looks, when we do not see it, but science can fulfill all its duties without knowing the unknowable.

A leaf is green, when I and the leaf, or more generally, when subject and object, are in touch with one another. This fundamental relation between subject and object, which is the only one that is known to us at all, is called by *Avenarius* the "co-ordination of principles". There is only *one* green which belongs simultaneously to the subject and object. In its relation to the subject, to the I, we call the green "a sensation", but in order to make it plain, that it belongs at the same time to an object, we call it "an element". As such elements we must consider all sensations known to ordinary language, that is, colors, forms, tones, pressures, etc. But in their capacity of "elements" they are not merely sensations in the sense used by ordinary language, they belong at the same time to certain objects.*

4. THE ELEMENTS AS STARTING POINTS.

We have now come to the understanding that an "element" is a combination of subject and object. This enables us to grasp the step taken by *Mach* and *Avenarius*. It consists in a change of perspective. They leave aside the ordinary separation into subjects and objects, and make the elements the starting points of their researches. Since the elements are the direct perceptions, the most familiar and known facts perceived by us, and since every element, which belongs to some object, must also belong to some subject, we undertake to show that the world of subjects and objects is built up of such elements.

The attainment to this standpoint of *Mach* and *Avenarius* which takes the elements as its point of departure, is by no means easy. It is true we may grasp the possibility of this point of view by logic, but in order to be safe against a relapse into the conceptions of ordinary language, it is necessary that the indicated change of perspective should be actually experienced. As *Mach* puts it, it requires "a complete psychological transformation". But once that we have worked our way through into this point of view, we find easily the solution of all so-called riddles of the universe, which go with the use of the ordinary language in the investigation of fundamental questions.

We will now attempt to sketch a few outlines of the world image, as it appears in the light of the conceptions of *Mach* and

*) There are also some elements, which correspond exactly to the term "sensation" as used by ordinary language, that is, there are some elements, which do not belong to any body. There are cases, in which there is no body that is "green," as ordinary language would express it, and yet the element "green" appears in some "I," as it does in mechanical affection of the retina, hallucinations, etc. These elements we will not discuss at this point, where we are concerned principally about the elucidation of the essential principles, particularly about physical bodies.

Avenarius. The understanding of all such questions and their details requires, of course, a familiarity with the original works.*

From our new point of view we now ask: What are subject and object, I and body, with reference to the world elements? (Keeping in mind that the "I" has also some elements, which are not bodies.) We answer: The "I" is a combination of elements, which are at the same time parts of different bodies. A body is a combination of elements, which are at the same time parts of different "I's".

It is, as a rule, readily understood that the psychical "I", or as *Avenarius* calls it, the central link, is but a combination of elements, but it is not so easily grasped that the same is true of the Body, or, as *Avenarius* has it, the opposite link. We cannot discover any other components in the "I" but sensations and feelings. Some philosophers, for instance Kant, operate with an "I in itself", but so far as we are concerned this is merely a metaphysical construction, with which we have nothing to do.

It is the same with a body. Take, for instance, a leaf of some tree. It is green, it has a certain visible form, it smells and tastes in a certain way, it feels soft and cool to the touch. This leaf may change its "qualities", yet in ordinary language we still speak of it as the same leaf. It may turn red instead of green, it may feel warmer to the touch, it may assume a different form, present a different scent. It may also lose certain qualities, it may become scentless, tasteless, invisible. This induces the idea as though all its qualities could be taken away and yet something left over, "the thing itself". But so far as we are concerned, "the thing itself" belongs as much to the realm of metaphysics as "the I itself". Science has for ever separated from metaphysics.

The elements are mutually connected in a very complicated manner. In this whirl of elements we might regard every bundle of elements, which turns around some central link, as a "thing", but generally we select a whole bundle of elements containing a goodly number of central links. The boundaries, which we draw, are to a certain extent arbitrary and determined chiefly by the temporary aim, which we seek to accomplish. Take, for instance,

*) Of the original works, the following will be most suitable for the beginner: *Avenarius*, "Remarks Concerning the Object of Psychology," a short essay, which appeared in volumes 18 and 19 of the "Vierteljahrsschrift für Wissenschaftliche Philosophie." Furthermore: *Avenarius*, "The Human World Conception," a small work, which appeared recently in a second edition. Mach treats of that part of the fundamental questions, which we are discussing here, in his "Analysis of Sensations," fifth edition, 1907. This, however, is not so easy for the beginner. A position closely akin to this one is taken by *Cornelius* in his "Introduction to Philosophy," and by *J. Fetzoldt* in his "World Problem," which appeared in Teubner's collection of "Aus Natur und Geisteswelt."

some monument, say, the "Lion of Lucerne", as an illustration of a thing. The "Lion of Lucerne" is a certain combination of elements, which, since the time of their creation by Thorwaldsen, have been parts of innumerable human beings. The "Lion of Lucerne" is therefore, in its capacity as a thing, above all *one* immense bundle of elements, which grows every time that this thing becomes an opposite link of some central link (co-ordination of principles). The interrelations of that network of elements, which we call our "I" (central links), pass through a similar development, which begins with the birth of a human being and ends with its death.

That immense bundle of elements called "The Lion of Lucerne" shows a certain systematic arrangement. Certain of its parts, which repeat themselves frequently, may be selected from it, that is to say, we can find in it certain groups of elements, which, aside from their connections, from which they are isolated, are equal. Such equal groups of elements belong successively at repeated intervals to some "I", and they may also appear side by side at the same time in different "I's".

5. THE BODY.

A body consists of a combination of different groups of elements which repeat themselves. For the crude approximations of ordinary life it is customary to overlook many changes and call a body the same, even though some groups may have received different elements, and other groups may have been entirely displaced by new ones. "My table is now lighter, now darker, according to the light, it may be warm at one time, cold at another. It may get an ink blot. One of its feet may be broken. It may be repaired, polished, renewed part by part. Yet it remains for me the table at which I write every day." Every-day life is inaccurate, it gives to a body the same name, when a certain relatively large part of its elementary combinations remain the same.

In science, likewise, the conception of a body had not been sharply defined, any more than in ordinary life. The term "body" was employed for various purposes. It will contribute materially to a clear conception, if we will consider a body as a definite combination of definite groups of elements, and every change, either in the individual groups or in the whole combination, as a transformation into a new body. Then we shall no longer speak of alterations in the conditions of *the* body, but shall rather express ourselves somewhat in the following manner: The body water becomes the body ice. Elements of heat, pressure, color, form, have changed, the groups of elements differ, a new body has arisen.

Scientific investigation generally extends only to certain elements, not to the whole combination of elements, which we term a body. This sort of investigation will not be interfered with, if changes of the body take place while investigation continues, provided only that the special objects of the investigation remain unaltered in the elementary combination. It will then be the task of science to define the characteristic part of the elementary combination for every kind of investigation and give it a special name. For instance, in the analysis of mechanics any changes in light, color, temperature, will be immaterial, since it is mainly a question of the volume, which presents itself as a combination of sensations of touch. So long as any such volume is bounded by *one* limited plane, the object of analysis is not altered for mechanics. Those changes, which mechanics does not consider, are, however, the objects of analysis of other physical researches, such as changes of temperature, which are the objects of the science of calorics.

Chemical analysis deals with a larger portion of elementary combinations (bodies) than any other, yet it also leaves aside some alterations. In short, no scientific investigation embraces the whole actual body, but always merely some segment of it, some abstraction. There is no reason why such segments should not be called abstract bodies. For instance, the objects of mechanics might be called "haptic (tangible) bodies". The science of the real body would then be the sum of all statements concerning the abstract bodies.

Let us keep in mind, that the physicists were always of the opinion, that a real body consisted of absolutely unchangeable bodies, and we shall realize the revolution in physics accomplished by *Mach*. We see, then, that science consists of abstractions, but the real body does not consist of abstracts.

In attempting to arrive at a clear conception of a body in the way indicated above, a difficulty arises often through the following circumstance. If we leave aside the color, scent, taste, temperature, of a body, its touch remains as a last kernel. This "tangible" part is either directly the actual essence of "the thing itself," although some philosophers will not admit this, or it is at least the source, from which this preposterous imagination, which carries this name, derives its life. For us, however, the tangible part is by no means an indissoluble kernel, which cannot be analysed, but a combination of pressure elements (sensations of touch).

This combination of elements of touch is relatively more stable than that of the other elements among themselves and with the first. For our orientation these relatively most stable combinations have a fundamental significance. We make them generally the points of departure of our observations and relate

the other elements, which are more fleeting, to them. But even these combinations are by no means absolutely stable. If we melt ice and then steam the water, the groups of tangible elements perceived in a piece of ice and a volume of water differ widely. The "tangible kernel" does not remain the same, there is merely a continuity between the various successive combinations of elements of touch. Their characteristic expression is the statement, drawn from experience, that no volume, which presents itself to us as a combination of elements of touch, can be reduced to the magnitude zero. This statement comprises one of the experiences which are summarized in the unclear phrase of the "indestructibility of matter."

We have just said that the sensations of touch have a fundamental significance for our orientation, and to that extent the commonplace conception is justified. But we must guard against an overestimation of the sensation of touch, because all kinds of elements are directly perceptible and to that extent of equal value. With the understanding, that only certain volumes present themselves as sensations of touch, but no other magnitudes (no mass, no capacities of heat, etc.), all difficulties disappear, which the conception of a body after the manner of *Mach* might offer.

6. THE LAWS OF THE TRANSFORMATION OF BODIES.

Does this definition of a body as a combination of elements say everything that might be said about a body? Even commonplace reason will say: By no means. And *Mach's* conception agrees to that.

Are two bodies, which are equal as combinations of elements, altogether the same? In what can their difference exist, if a body is *only* a combination of elements?

I have a number of coins before me. They show the same coinage (form), the same color (bright silver), they are equally hard and heavy, in short, they are equal as combinations of elements. And yet I may ask, whether all these coins are "genuine". In other words, I ask whether they differ in something. I throw every coin, or equal parts of them, into a test tube containing dilute nitric acid. The coins are "dissolved", that is, new bodies are formed. I combine every one of these new bodies with another body, a solution of kitchen salt. A solid white body is formed, which I call chloride of silver. If I obtain the same quantity of this white body in all test tubes, then the coins were all equal and I shall designate them with the same name, for instance, "genuine dollars". But if any of the test tubes contains less chloride of silver, or none at all, I shall give the original body a different name.

It follows, then, that we may distinguish such bodies, as are equal as combinations of elements, by the laws according to which they are transformed into other bodies. Two bodies, which are equal as combinations of elements, will receive different names when the bodies, into which they may be changed under otherwise equal circumstances, are different.

This may happen even in the case of the simplest alteration, division. If division turns bodies, which are equal as combinations of elements, into new ones that are unequal, then the original bodies receive different names.

We see, then, that we do not have to discover a mysterious "something" hidden in bodies, but only ascertain the laws, by which bodies are transformed into one another.

The finding of these laws is all that science can accomplish. But that is in fact all we need to learn. The most comprehensive of these laws, and therefore the most important, are that of the mass, that of the capacity of heat, etc., which are generally comprised in the laws of matter, and the laws of energy.

In the natural laws, which indicate the way in which bodies change, we also find that which remains unchanged in our image of the universe. With every progress of our knowledge, with every new law that is discovered, our image of the universe gains in stability.

The first step in every physical understanding consisted always in the claim that a new unchangeable body had been discovered. The latest discoveries on the field of electric radiation have again induced the belief in many physicists, that at last the unchangeable body had been actually found, namely the electron. But the opinion is only too well justified that just as our previous knowledge of electricity developed from the primitive conception of electric fluids to the laws of electric science, so the primitive conception of an unchangeable electron will be relieved in due time by the laws of electric radiation.

In spite of the rise and decline of the ideas of unchangeable bodies, the belief in the existence of unchangeable bodies remained. It seems that these unchangeable bodies lent a durable and stable basis to the various systems. In the conceptions of *Mach* the unchangeable likewise is recognized, but it does not consist of bodies, which we have never perceived. It consists in the natural laws, which we learn to understand in an ever increasing degree.

In the old conceptions the point of departure of science coincided with the permanent, stable, substantial parts of the universal picture. *Mach* has shown that a separation is necessary here. The point of departure of science should be the most variable, the elements: the permanent, stable, is the crowning of the system, the laws of nature.

7. PHYSICS AND PSYCHOLOGY.

We know only one kind of elements, but these elements form two kinds of combinations: On the one hand the psychical combination (The psychic I, the central link), on the other hand the physical combination (the thing, the body, the opposite link). In reality there is no opposite link without a central link, there are no other combinations but co-ordinations of principles. Research divides the field of labor in such a way that certain explorers, the psychologists, study above all the combinations which we call the central link, while those explorers, who deal with the opposite links, to the extent that they are bodies, are devoted to physics in the widest meaning of the term.

The central link consists of elements, which in their turn form opposite links in particular bodies. If this combination is intended to be the object of psychological study, then the elements must be studied in *all* their interrelations. If we are led astray into the belief that the boundary between the different fields of research is a boundary of the real elements, then the field of research becomes a hotbed of metaphysics, then people speak of a "soul itself", "a psychic force itself", "a thing itself". The accomplishment of *Avenarius* consisted in recognizing that psychology can be carried on scientifically only when the world elements are studied in all their interrelations, when the object of psychology is allembicing.

And on the other hand, in order to study the physical interrelation, the body, which is the object of physics, the opposite link, the body, should not be isolated, the elements, the co-ordination of principles, must not be drawn apart. It should rather be remembered that bodies consist of elements, which belong at the same time to central links. In this understanding culminates the achievement of *Mach*. In the experience of the physical we must not exclude the psychical, otherwise we come face to face with "matter itself", "energy itself", "the thing itself".

In following up special problems, we can devote ourselves only to definite interrelations at one time, we must leave out of consideration certain other interrelations, but we must not do this in such a way as to lose our way back to a monistic picture of the whole. The *one* whole picture shows that science is not limited to the sensations of the "I", that its progress does not consist in reductions to unchangeable bodies, but that its goal is rather the figuration of the mutual interrelations of the world elements.

DR. FRIEDRICH ADLER.

(Translated by Ernest Untermann.)

The Knout and the Fog.

[From advance sheets of "Stories of the Struggle."]



IT MAY sound incredible, but I can vouch for the fact that Nellie, when last heard from, had developed a profound admiration for the dense London fog,—that English survival of the ninth plague of Egypt. Now don't shake your head. Read on, and be convinced.

Nellie was a native of Russia. She was born of fairly well-to-do Jewish parents in the old historic city of Smolensk, where you can still see the fortifications erected by Boris Godunoff in the sixteenth century, and where the French in 1812 defeated the Russians under Barclay de Tolly, thus clearing their way to the ancient capital.

Nellie, blue-eyed, blonde, well-shaped, sweet-voiced, was the favorite child in the family, and as such got a good education. She was sent to a grammar-school—curiously called a gymnasium—for girls, from which she was graduated after a period of six years with honors, though disliked by masters and authorities owing to her somewhat "rebellious" spirit. She had a will of her own. To the Russian official mind such a thing savors of treason in its embryonic stage. Red tape sees in it the germs of Red Terror.

At that time Nellie was sixteen years old. As higher colleges for women were then still in existence in both capitals, she took it into her head to go to Moscow and there to study medicine. Her parents, old-fashioned, though not exactly orthodox people, with a deep-rooted aversion for all new-fangled notions, and particularly for the "women's independence craze"—so greatly in vogue among the youngest members of the fair sex in Russia—would probably have objected to Nellie's enterprise, but they were, alas, both dead. Her uncle, a brother of her father's, who had been her guardian for some years, offered no resistance, and so she left the "old place" for Mother Moscow, the White House-town with its forty forties of churches, its Kremlin, its Czar-Bell, and what was of more importance than the rest to Nellie, its college for girls. There, in the fall of 1882, she was allowed to matriculate, and to take a course of medicine, having bravely surmounted no end of difficulties before entering college.

For a while all went well.

Following upon the outrages against the Jews from below, persecutions from above were now in full swing, subjecting the old race to suffering of every kind. The most exasperating form of persecution was the rigid enforcement of the law by which Jewish settlers in the "Interior" of the empire were driven back to the "Pale of Settlement," that is, to the North-Western and a few other provinces which they had inhabited long before Russia annexed them.

The authorities now discovered that Jewesses, while entitled to study, had no right to live in either St. Petersburg or Moscow, where alone such studies could be pursued. Consequently, Nellie, like many others of the objectionable race, was told to go. The poor girl was thunderstruck. There was to her knowledge but one way out of the trouble; to embrace Christianity. She would never do that. "I am not a hypocrite," she said.

A few days went by.

"Whatever shall I do?" she exclaimed, while talking the matter over with a friend of hers similarly afflicted.

"The same, I suppose, as Minnie and myself," said the other girl, bitterly.

"And that is?"

"That is to take out yellow passports."

"Yellow passports! What do you mean?"

"What I mean? Why, you poor little goose, I mean that we shall get ourselves registered at the — at the Police Bureau as — as prostitutes — They don't mind Jewesses of that class here. For —" The poor girl, who had begun her little speech defiantly, expectorating, as it were, her words, those disgusting words, one by one, now broke down, and sobbed violently. Nellie bit her rosy lips, muttered something inarticulate and getting up, went away with a determined step.

In a few days she was duly registered a common harlot, free to live under the holy sound of a thousand Christian church bells, pursuing her studies as heretofore entirely unmolested. But she was no longer the same person. At a time of life when woman and love are supposed to be synonymous, Nellie learned to hate, her hatred growing in strength and intensity as one black day succeeded another, and the persecutions of the Jews increased in volume, in their variety and cruelty. However, she stayed at college some six or seven months longer.

* * *

In the spring of 1883, Nellie found herself an object of love. It was a young man of her acquaintance who now offered her his hand and heart. She hardly reciprocated the sentiment, but being more than ever in need of a friend, she was glad enough to receive his attentions. It is not at all improbable,

too, that Nellie would sooner or later have come to love the young man she did not dislike, but her first romance was cruelly nipped in the bud. The mail carrier had one morning brought her a letter couched in the following terms:—

“SMOLENSK, May 19, 1883.

“*Dear Niece,*—

Have just received a notice of expulsion. In three weeks from now I shall leave this town a ruined man. You must come home. You are, of course, welcome to a share in whatever may be left to us, but your continuing your studies is, under the circumstances, out of the question.
YOURS, ETC.

“Come home!” she exclaimed, repeating those words in a tone of voice almost terrible for a tender girl of her age. Then, the first shock over, she began to revolve various plans in her mind, finally deciding upon one. “But,” said she to herself, “*he* must know something about it. He might take it into his head to follow me, and I have no right to drag my friends into the whirlpool after me.”

In the midsummer of that year the population of the British metropolis was increased by one poor soul. It is true, the young woman’s heart was broken, but the census man counts folks without in the least bothering about integrity of hearts.

* * *

In London Nellie spent a few years trying to live. She only managed to vegetate. With all her knowledge absolutely inapplicable to anything, and her inability to eke out a regular living of any kind by manual labor, nothing she turned to seemed to prosper in her hands. In turns she worked hard at capmaking, buttonhole sewing, at needlework of almost every other description, at cigarette rolling, even at letter-writing (for illiterate countrywomen); but none of these occupations yielded her, on an average, fully six shillings a week, while gradually destroying her once robust health.

Nellie was soon in a fearful plight. Too ill to work, too honest to steal, too proud to beg, even too proud to apply for temporary assistance in the shape of a loan, she had starvation staring her in the face. With her colorless eyes, her emaciated cheeks, her faded lips, her neglected teeth, and her bending knees, she looked the very image of wretchedness personified. And the clouds kept gathering very fast. The arrears of her rent had accumulated to a *non plus ultra* extent, and her landlady, herself very poor, at last gave her notice to quit. She was not unprepared for that, and left the house without a murmur.

There was the workhouse, but no Russian Jewess ever went there. What else? Well, the streets and the sky. Alas! The streets in November are inhospitable, and the sky was chilling and terribly unfriendly.

When, after a day's wandering, the night overtook her, Nellie was sitting under the portico of a house in one of the least frequented streets. The rest was a great relief to her, and she was on the point of going off to sleep when she was rudely awakened by a watchful guardian of the public peace, and told to move on. Resigned to her fate she crawled along. A well-dressed young man passed by, glanced at her, and concluded that she was drunk. Having given vent to his feelings by violently spitting on the pavement, he quickened his pace, and soon disappeared in the darkness. After this Nellie made several fruitless attempts to give her tired limbs a rest, and was half-dead when the merciless night was gone at last.

With a few pennies, obtained at the cost of the last articles of comfort, she managed to keep body and soul together during the next few days; but rest there was none as the cold, angry nights relieved each retiring, gloomy day. Rest came at last, though.

One bleak November night London got enveloped in a dense, black, suffocating fog. No policeman, not even the most lynx-eyed, can then penetrate into the doings of the poor settled on doorsteps in the streets. Nellie slept, having closed her eyes with a fervent blessing addressed to the kind, merciful fog. The same happened on the night following. "Oh, that blessed, blessed fog!" she said. The third night was better still. She slept so soundly that when the stifling darkness at length cleared away, the constable "on duty" found it impossible to rouse her. Nellie was dead.

But Russia was purged of one moral monster, of one Jew-ess, at all events.

MORRIS WINCHEVSKY.

The Confusion of Tongues.

Reform or Revolution.



AND the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do.

“Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another’s speech.

“So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city.

“Therefore is the name of it called Babel; because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth; and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth.”*

What the Lord is here described as having done is exactly what we Socialists have now to undo; we have to put an end to the confusion of tongues first and we may then hope to put an end to the confusion of nations afterwards.

The competitive system operating between nations puts between them barriers not only of Space but of Language; and operating within nations puts between them barriers of Class which are added to these, so that we are never all allowed to get together nor when some of us do find ourselves together are we permitted to understand one another. The difficulties of space are not immediately surmountable; but those of language can be surmounted, and it is to the task of surmounting one or two of them that the following pages are devoted.

The first confusion attacked will be that contained in the words “Reform” and “Revolution” and my first contention is that these words must in their very nature and do as a matter of fact have a totally different meaning in America from what they have in Germany.

Germany is taken as a contrast to our own country because it is to Germany that we owe the great work of Marx and most of our Socialist literature; it is in Germany that Socialism is the most highly organized and it is by Germany that our tactics are for the most part determined.

* Genesis, Chapter XI, 6-9.

Amongst modern writers Kautsky, one of the orthodox apostles of the Marxian Gospel, has written an Article on Reform and Revolution which naturally suggests itself to all who think on the fundamental questions to which these words give rise.

The most important of these questions, because our tactics depend upon it, is this: Can Socialism be attained by Reform or must it be conquered by Revolution?

Kautsky recognizes that the French Revolution in 1789 is the one to which the public mind naturally reverts as the type of all revolution¹ but he insists that all revolution need not for that reason be attended by "force, as for example street fights or execution"²; what he regards as the essential difference between reform and revolution is that reform is a concession granted by, or wrung from the class in power, whereas "revolution proceeds from the class which has been economically or politically oppressed." Turgot's measures were reform; the measures voted by the Convention were revolutionary because "between the two lay the conquest of political power by a new class."

Kautsky proceeds from this definition to discuss whether this conquest of political power can be secured by successive reforms or whether it can only be attained after "a great decisive battle"³. In other words his book is a condemnation of "step by step" and a vindication of revolutionary tactics.

Now, while Kautsky's definition is *so far as it goes* correct, it contributes nothing to the solution of the question before us. The moment he defines revolution as the conquest of political power by the oppressed, we are all revolutionary, for all of us—even those he condemns as "parlor Socialists"—will be satisfied with nothing less. The only issue between us is as to whether we are to wait on the border of the promised land—as Moses did—until we have an army numerically superior to that opposed to us, or whether, confident in the justice of our cause, we are going to march boldly forward with the army we have—like Joshua—capturing every strategic point according as the lay of the land permits, step by step.

So instead of adopting Socialism "as a fad" with no weapon save "persuasion" and "moral superiority"⁴ we step by step men are the ones who are clamoring for action; who are challenging our leaders to talk less and act more; and who, as we impatiently

¹ p. 8. "The great transformation which began in France in 1789 has become the classical type of Revolution."

The translation of A. M. and May Wood Simons published by Charles H. Kerr & Co. is the edition referred to.

² p. 7.

³ p. 82, 83.

⁴ p. 48.

clash shield and spear, present a far more revolutionary aspect than those who sneer at us from philosophic heights because we ask to be led into battle.

But all this is not the fault of Mr. Kautsky; nor is it our fault; it is the fault of "the Lord" and of the confusion of tongues. What is a reform in America is a revolution in Germany; what is a revolution in Germany is a reform in America; how then can there be an understanding between us till this immense confusion is cleared away!

I. In the first place revolution implies a great deal more than a conquest of power by the oppressed class; it includes the idea of a destruction of political machinery. The Convention destroyed three things before it achieved the so-called conquest; it destroyed the Throne, the Nobility and the Church; it had to destroy these three things before it could get control of the great fourth factor of government, the Army. Now in Germany *these three things still stand between the oppressed and the political power they seek*; and they probably have to destroy all three before socialism can be attained. In America none of these things stand in our way; neither King nor Noble, nor Clerk; all we have to do is to *agree*.

II. In the second place Revolution generally involves the construction of new political machinery to replace that which has been destroyed. At present the Prussians have neither manhood suffrage nor secret ballot; and either they must get this before they conquer power or they must introduce it after they have conquered it. The present riots in Berlin indicate that some violence must be exerted and suffered before this essential weapon of Democracy can be secured there.

In America we have both; manhood suffrage and the secret ballot; in four States we have even female suffrage in addition; *all we have to do is to use them*.

III. In the third place Revolution is inextricably associated in the public mind with the use of extra-political methods for securing political ends. The extra-political method habitually used up to the present time is violence or resistance that results in violence: the capture of the Bastille is an illustration of the one and Hampden's refusal to pay ship money an illustration of the other. Now this is I think *the* essential distinction between Reform and Revolution; and Kautsky's whole scheme of argument proves it: for after having shown the difficulty, if not the impossibility of ever securing a parliamentary majority for Socialism in Germany owing to the Laodicean lukewarmness of the few intellectuals, bourgeois and farmers* whose minds are at all open to Socialistic theory, he explains that it is with extra-

* pp. 45-54.

parliamentary weapons that he believes the "decisive battle" will be fought and amongst them he enumerates: the disaffection of the army; strikes; and adroit use of the conditions produced by war*.

Kautsky is doubtless right as regards Germany; deplorably right; but as regards America he is altogether wrong; *Socialism can be attained in America by political methods*, that is to say by a political majority; why this is so can best be discussed under our fourth and last heading, namely

IV. The Socialists in Germany have no one issue which will unite the oppressed class.

In America we have.

And as this is the crucial point, it must be given a little preliminary study:

Socialists are agreed that the thing we ultimately aim at is the public ownership of all sources of production, including of course all franchises and the machinery for distributing the necessaries of life; this does not necessarily mean *government* ownership; what Socialists want is that the ownership be *public*, so that the benefits therefrom go to the public and not to a privileged class.

Now in Germany Government ownership largely prevails: the Government owns the Railroads and the Mines; the Municipalities for the most part own waterworks, gasworks and trams and the Government uses this ownership to oppress the people; for example the ballot not being secret, all the servants of the Railways, Tramways, gasworks, etc., who have a vote dare not cast it for the Socialist Party for by so doing they would lose their employment. But this is not all: Not only does the Government by this ownership of Railroads deprive the proletariat of votes; it also deprives the proletariat of a far more precious thing—an issue. Kautsky very persuasively explains that there is in Germany no issue that will unite the factory hand and the farmer; and that so long as the farmer votes against the factory hand a parliamentary majority is difficult if not impossible. And so Kautsky depends more upon the defection of the military, the strike and even war, than on parliamentary majorities for the ultimate conquest of political power.

Obviously then in Germany according to Kautsky *public* as opposed to *government* ownership cannot be secured through a parliamentary majority but only through a "great decisive battle" or in other words a revolution.

In America the situation is almost the exact reverse: In the first place our enemy is not the Government: it is Wall Street. Our government is *not* in possession of our railroads,

* pp. 88-98.

our franchises or our factories; but Wall Street *is*. The Government can not use this ownership to oppress us but Wall Street does.

On the other hand Wall Street does not present to us a homogeneous, well-drilled political majority. On the contrary it is not organized politically at all; it is divided between the Republican and Democratic parties, both of which being politically corrupt it alternately controls.

Again the rule of Wall Street is a far more obvious oppression than the rule of Government in Germany; in the shape of the Capitalist it obviously oppresses the Workingman by keeping down wages; in the shape of the Trust it obviously oppresses the Tradesman by its control of prices; in the shape of the Railroad it obviously oppresses the Farmer by keeping up rates. Moreover it has not the sanction of our constitution; on the contrary it is a monstrous violation of our constitutional rights; and because it is unconstitutional, un-American and intolerable, it outrages the conscience of every American who has a conscience left to outrage. An issue then aimed straight at Wall Street ought to unite all these. Now no issue will constitute a more direct step towards Socialism than public ownership; for public ownership means an eight hour day for the employé; the elimination of trusts for the tradesman and low rates for the farmer. Last, but not least, *Public Ownership is an issue upon which the oppressed class can ride into power* if it unites a majority at the polls on election day; such a vote will transfer political power from the wealthy minority to the unwealthy majority, and the transfer will take place without violence, without the destruction of political machinery, without military defection, without strikes and without war.

And so we are brought back to the contention with which we started, that what is reform in America is a revolution in Germany, and what is a revolution in Germany is a reform in America; for Public Ownership which has been repudiated as a mere reform by Socialists in America turns out to be an issue upon which the transfer of power from the exploiters to the exploited — that is to say a Kautskian revolution — can be effected; and although this transfer of political power can only be effected in Germany by a veritable revolution—that is to say by extra political weapons such as military defection, strikes and war—; it can be attained in America by the peaceful exercise of the ballot and upon so moderate a reform as Public Ownership.

All the foregoing must not be understood to be an effort to prove that the adoption of Public Ownership as a political slogan is recommended to the Socialist party in America; on the contrary the question of the particular issue, on which we are to

deliver battle or indeed whether we should ever deliver battle upon any narrower issue than the whole Socialist platform is a grave subject for debate not yet attempted in these pages. All we have endeavored to prove as yet, is that, because extra-political methods must be resorted to in Germany, they need not necessarily be resorted to here; the conditions are different here and because of different conditions we do not use the words reform and revolution in the same sense here as they are used in Germany. There being no Throne, no Nobility, no Church between us and our goal, we have no obstacle in our way to destroy; we already have the political machinery at our disposal if we will only agree to use it; in a word, we can peacefully secure by what we understand as Reform what in Germany can only be attained by Revolution.

There are of course objections to the adoption of Public Ownership as our political platform. The principal objection has probably been best expressed by Mr. A. M. Simons as follows: He fears, "the advocacy of such measures to such an extent as to bring into the organization members not fully in accord with the main purpose of the party"* and that the party will thus be diverted from the essential feature of the Socialist party, that is to say the substitution of co-operation for competition through the whole economic field.

The thorough discussion of this important point is impossible in the space left to me, but a word may be said on the subject if only to bring out another illustration of the difficulty in which a German finds himself when he undertakes either to prophesy or to dictate concerning matters of tactics in another country.

All Socialists are, I think, agreed that they cannot be satisfied with anything less than the ultimate realization of the whole Socialist programme, but in some countries Socialists are obliged to recognize that the class that is most interested in the realization of this programme is least disposed to adopt it; in other words there is among the majority of Trade Union men in America an aversion to Socialism which, however unfounded, Socialists must recognize as an undoubted and deplorable fact.

Under these circumstances another issue which has greatly divided Socialists is as to what the relations between Socialists and Trade Unionists should be. In Wisconsin the question has been solved by the Socialists under the leadership of Victor L. Berger. There they have persuaded the Trade Unions that while Trade Unions constitute the *economic* weapon—or arm—as Berger calls it, the Socialists constitute the *political* weapon or arm of the workingman. There is therefore in Wisconsin not only absence of friction but actual co-operation between the two,

* International Socialist Review, Vol. VI. p. 494.

and the result of this is that Wisconsin is the only State in the Union where the Socialists poll a sufficiently large vote to constitute an appreciable factor in politics, and the only State where the Socialist party has secured actual legislative results. Unfortunately such co-operation does not seem to be possible in other States. It is notably impossible in New York where workmen can hardly speak of Socialism without irritation.

The experience, however, of England upon this point is singularly illuminating, and all the more so because with the exception of the intellectuals, no one receives a larger dose of criticism and contempt at the hands of Mr. Kautsky than the English Trade Unions. "Nowhere," says he, "is political freedom greater than in England, and nowhere is the proletariat politically more helpless. It has not simply lost all independence in the higher politics; it no longer knows even how to preserve its immediate interests."¹

And again: "Even the latest scourgings of their opponents have not served to rouse the proletariat of England. They remain dumb even when their hands are rendered powerless, dumb when their bread is made more costly. The English laborers to-day stand lower as a political factor than the laborers of the most economically backward country in Europe—Russia. It is the real revolutionary consciousness in these latter that gives them their great political power. It is the renunciation of revolution, the narrowing of interest to the interests of the moment, to the so-called practical politics, that have made the latter a cipher in actual politics."²

In a book published in 1901, but written in 1898³ I ventured to predict that the prosperity of English Trade Unions could only last as long as English Trade was expanding and that when this expansion was checked, as it certainly must be, the defeat of the Trade Unions in their effort to maintain high wages with contracting trade, would drive them into politics.

Owing to the defeat of the Engineers in their great strike of 1897-1898, Trade Union Congresses had already begun to listen without impatience to Socialist doctrine and the Taff Vale decision proved the last straw that broke the back of their unwillingness to enter into the field of politics.

Events have since shown how unmerited was Kautsky's contempt, how effectual Trade Unions can prove on the political field and how political action inevitably swells the ranks of the Socialists. With a membership of only forty-one in a Parliament of nearly seven hundred, the Labor Party has obtained legislation

¹ p. 100.

² pp. 100, 101.

³ *Human Evolution*, Vol. II p. 149 and 525.

which has reversed the Taff Vale decision, and,—what is far more important — the Labor Members of Parliament though elected upon a purely Trade Union platform, have for the most part to-day become Socialists. The President of the Party, Keir Hardie, is a Socialist, and so is their secretary, Mr. McDonald.*

And this might have been foreseen in advance.

Socialism is not a mere programme; it is a destiny. Ever since the beginning of civilization, humanity has been moving slowly, it is true, and unconsciously, but inevitably towards Socialism. It has staggered on the way as a drunken man staggers, driven by action and reaction hither and thither, and sometimes lying for centuries helplessly in the gutter. But every time humanity has stood upon its feet, the inevitable and necessary direction of its movement has been towards Socialism.

The question Socialists have now to decide is whether humanity is to continue to stagger or whether it shall at last begin to walk. Unfortunately Socialists to-day are not content with walking; they want to fly. Mr. Dooley will not believe in flying machines until they have laid eggs; I am not so exacting; I only insist that until Socialists have developed wings and have learned how to use them, I shall be content to walk. What I object to is either staggering or standing still.

It seems to me that Socialists lack faith in their own principles. They stand in fear of being captured by somebody. They, whose mission it is to capture and conquer the entire universe, quake and tremble lest some one should capture and conquer them; and because of this terror, keep aloof from the real battlefield altogether. But when men go into battle they risk capture and even death. Those who are not willing to risk these things must not enroll in the Socialist army. Above all they must not undertake to dictate to the Socialist army what it shall do. It is as though we had with infinite labor and care constructed a great ship, prepared for it engines of untold horsepower; guns of unimagined calibre; plate after plate of impenetrable armor; and yet when the moment arrived to launch the ship, we were suddenly arrested by a cry of warning: "What! will you confide this, the product of years of labor to the dangers of the deep; of sinking of its own weight, or if it does not sink, of capture by the enemy? Will you deliver it over to a crew that may soil its decks, flood its boilers and tarnish its machinery? Let us be cautious. Let us keep this beautiful ship on the stocks, where, though it be perfectly useless, it is at any rate perfectly safe."

*) Since this article was written a Convention of the Labor Party has adopted Socialism as the party programme.

Perfectly useless perhaps, but not perfectly safe. While we quarrel over its destinies, it is threatened by dry rot and because we are afraid to use it, it may be putting itself by its own inertia beyond the reach of use.

I do not mean by the foregoing that the Socialist party should at once or ever adopt a political platform such as public ownership. On the contrary there are other ways of carrying on the fight. Caesar did not disdain to use auxiliaries; why then should we? And who are our natural auxiliaries in this great struggle? They include all the victims of existing conditions; whether they choose to organize in the Socialist party, or whether they prefer to organize a more comprehensive party with a less comprehensive programme, is a matter that ought to be indifferent to Socialists. The only matter of vital interest to Socialists is that our auxiliaries be organized *and that we have a hand in that organization*, so that when the day of battle comes we shall stand side by side and not find our natural fellow soldiers in the ranks of the enemy.

The Socialist party in a word has a higher mission than it seems yet to have realized. By all means let our own ranks remain homogeneous and our own ideals high; let us model our phalanx after that of the Sacred Band, pledged to unceasing and uncompromising effort till the goal is won; round us the hottest battle will rage and the weaker brothers falter and fly; but only to rally again—as the Boeotians at Delium—to our unbroken front; meanwhile let us organize all our natural allies in regiments of their own; let us assist them to conquer strategic point after strategic point until they have occupied enough of the enemy's country to justify the hurling of our Sacred Band straight at the Capitol itself. As to caution, let us be cautious indeed in our preparation but in our attack send caution to the winds.

In conclusion let us recognize that while our courageous comrades in Germany have an unrelenting enemy to fight *on the outside*, our enemy is *on the inside*—in the fierce individualism of American character. Individualism has been the sieve through which European immigration has sifted into America; none but individualists have passed through. Our most difficult task is to handle our own forces. Macaulay has somewhere said that the English Church has remained English whereas the Roman Church has become Catholic because Rome knew and England did not know how to utilize enthusiasm. Wesley was driven by Anglican intolerance to organize his *Methodists* outside the Church; Ignatius Loyala, Francis of Assisi and Francis of Sales organized their followers in Orders *within* the Church. Let us learn a lesson from Rome; let us not discourage enthusiasm by criticism and contempt; on the contrary let us encourage it; let us help the American Fabian to publish tracts; the American

labor man to secure his eight hour law; the American seamstress to get her vote; and as we are helping these diverse enthusiasts let us harness them; and as we harness, let us train them; until we attach them all to our chariot and start at last on our triumphant way.

EDMOND KELLY.

The Strength of Millions.

With song of the dynamo-swirling incessantly sounded,
 With chant of scurrying bobbins and clashing cranks,
 With song of the dynamo-swirling incessantly sounded,
 With rhythm of packed steam pounding the piston-tanks,
 We, that are factory hands—yea, hands, not Souls,—
 We, that are slaves of the mill's strong Soul, the Machine,
 Call in once more our God, whose great voice rolls
 Unheard in the engine-roar of our Human Scene.

O, God is scattered broadcast in the Earth's two billions,
 We call Him into a fire that sweeps the race,
 His Humans are stricken and kindled millions by millions,
 One by one catches fire, face by face!
 And the skies become the roof of a church eternal,
 And the Earth is as a floor in the house of God—
 And Work is Worship, and weird the rhythm diurnal
 Of human speech with the touch of Soul is starred!

Lo, we sway in our millions in one congregation,
 A new Divine Service, a Service of social deeds,
 Yea, and drive home the fires of Revelation
 With the sledge of Love, the simple meeting of needs!
 O thou God, we thought that Thy house of Earth
 Was a prize-fight ring where our fed lords watched as we bled,
 How could we know in the smoke and the stench and the mirth
 We stood in Thy church? Yea, were our brains not dead?

Lo, we have gazed on our lords where they smoke and drink,
 Lo, we have gazed on ourselves in the polished steel plates,
 Slowly our con-fogged minds pierce through and think,
 Think, think through this whirlwind of bales and crates,
 Think, think through to the Pain in the Engine, the Human,
 Think, think through to the Cry of the Steel-Work, Man—
 O the wild underworld horror of Man and Woman
 Where the sunk caissons shoulder the Bridge's span!

Earth is a slaughterhouse weird with the screaming Souls
 That go to the mangling and kill; but our butcher-lords
 Live in the Silence far, far from our bloody goals,
 And slaughter by wireless,—weapon so sweeter than swords!
 But lo! a wireless answers back from the skies!
 Lo! the crowd-hearts click—click—click with a shock—
 We arise, we are wild with the Word, we uplift our cries,
 "God, is it Thou?" And lo, the Soul-gates unlock!

Unlock, and poured on the Earth like a simoom of fire,
 Faith catches up the Earth crowds, wild faith, living faith,
 And the strength of two billion Souls with a common desire
 Becomes a might which shall reckon with the Living Death!
 Up, ye in bondage, the Releaser calls, the Earth rolls
 Shouting in new free skies; up, ye downtrod!
 Raise the vast anthem of eternal Souls
 God-mighty in the infinite House of God!

O be uplift, my million brothers in prison,
 Burst the steel-doors, break, mighty, the iron bars,
 Rally, ye circling millions, to the fire of the Vision,
 Go out to the Lord under the night of the stars,
 Go out to the Lord, ye millions a-march in the street,
 Send one in another your Souls, be one in the Lord--
 In the rhythm and trample and chant of your marching feet
 Shall ye be freed and uplift and released and restored!

JAMES OPPENHEIM.

A Nation of Ostriches.



BERNARD SHAW has called us a nation of villagers and incidentally says some very true things. If he closely watched recent events, he will probably charge us in the near future with being a nation of ostriches and very gun-shy at that. The ostrich, in hiding his head in the sand at the approach of danger, is like the little boy who draws the bedclothes over his head when he hears a noise and fancies he is safer than before.

Undeniably the muck-raker is in bad repute with the American people. So long as he confines himself to something afar off, we laud him, but, when he gets near our own toes and sticks the probe into our own intimate affairs, we condemn him and stick our heads into the sand. Of course, in doing this, we are not doing wrong. We are only following the dictates of the first law of nature, self-preservation. Nevertheless, it is the lucky doctor who does not occasionally find it necessary to turn his probe upon himself.

As in a good many other things, we believe in publicity so long as it does not make public anything of importance. We believe in the publicity of orthodoxy, which is "my doxy" and we abhor the publicity of heterodoxy which is the other fellow's doxy. Witness the present (or recent) financial stringency. Our first overt act, when we recovered our breath, was to seal up as many avenues of publicity as possible in order to conceal from ourselves the true state of affairs. This was the general policy and aroused no opposition except from the Socialists. Like the man going through the graveyard at midnight, we kept up a prodigious whistling. After seeing but one little corner of the catastrophic results of widespread and long-known business and financial chicanery, we drew the curtain and closed our eyes.

Day after day, the wise editors of the financial columns acted as if nothing much had happened and confidently asserted that liquidation was over and that the market had definitely turned upward. They did this for policy's sake and everyone approved. Every little fellow who was afraid he'd lose his job approved. Every little merchant who was trying to work off a stock of goods approved. Every bank that was trying to sell out stocks with which it was loaded approved. And yet the statements were false and, if the editors did not absolutely know them to be false, at least they did not know them to be true.

Day after day, the announcement was made that everything was all right, when every man in the country, no matter how circumscribed his own little experience may have been, knew that everything was far from all right. Every man who had to accept, in place of money, checks which were almost impossible to cash, knew that everything was not all right. Manufacturers who perceived their orders falling off, knew that such an announcement was untrue. Every dealer who knew that collections were "fierce", recognized the falsity at once, yet each one kept on whistling, stuck his head in the sand and allowed the lie to pass unchallenged.

Day after day, with all possible show of authenticity, it would be announced that all the banks which had so far weathered the storm, were safe, an announcement that had hardly found its way into the hands of the readers until another failure would come along to prove its falsity.

A long-established custom of immediately making public the condition of closed banks was overturned and only the most meager information was given out. Here was a violation of the law which was considered a virtue of the highest type.

Think what you please about the financial situation, but don't say a word. Act and talk as if you thought it was all right. Lie to yourself and to everyone else. That was the slogan. Keep up a prodigious whistling. Talk about the sunset, the famine in China, the next or the last polar expedition, but not a word about the financial situation as you value your standing in the community as a loyal liar. Talk about this politician or that, this candidate or that, but do not, for the world, offer the slightest hint against the great god Business.

That is the way of ostriches. They lie to themselves. But we have not always been that way. Time was when events such as have been and are transpiring, would have precipitated intellectual debates without end throughout the land, both in and out of Congress. Time was when from twenty-five to fifty per cent. at least of the newspapers would have spoken right out in meetin'.

Why the change? Does it come from a tacit understanding that our affairs, our business system, are so woefully out of joint that they will not stand plain talk? That would certainly be the conclusion of a casual observer, of the Man From Mars. If that is so, all the more reason why we should talk about them, quick and lively. If that is so, we are on the shifting sands and the wisest man is he who first recognizes it and demands its consideration. Is anything to be gained by supine silence? But a few days ago, we were talking about our unexampled prosperity and our wonderful banking system. Not even the most venturesome optimist now talks in that strain. Why the

change? We know ourselves too well not to know, if we still believed we had unexampled prosperity and an ultra-wonderful banking system, that we would not hesitate to say so. We have never posed as modest. What therefore is the logical conclusion?

The logical conclusion is that we no longer think as we did, but we are too cowardly to frankly admit it. But what is to be gained by silence? Why not look the facts square in the face? Why not speak the truth and hew to the line, letting the chips fall where they will? Honesty is the best policy. Why not discover the worst as soon as possible and not content ourselves with covering up the sore spots with courtplaster and rags and then forgetting the patient? Even that would be all right if it did the patient any good, but it does not.

I know why we falter and every man that reads this knows. It is because of a myopic fearsomeness, because we are ostriches. It is because each man's nose is on his own grindstone which prevents him from taking a large view of affairs. Each one of us thinks he can cover up his own little head and escape the general storm.

If we think at all about "big affairs", we take the jingoistic view that we have reached the pinnacle of all that's possible in civilization and that, in order to remain at that dizzy height, we must carefully balance ourselves on one foot, fearing to breathe lest we suddenly be precipitated into the uttermost depths of the middle ages. We feel that certain institutions which have grown up and with which we have been wont to glorify ourselves are *sine qua non*s to our very existence.

Oh, fie! Civilization is not so ephemeral and evanescent as all that. Civilization is, after all, more of a tendency than a realized goal and we have not yet reached the after-us-the-deluge stage. Not by a long shot. Nothing has happened to render less intrinsically valuable the products and contents of the farms and mines of this country. Nothing has happened to destroy the knowledge which scientists have organized and classified throughout the centuries. Nothing has happened to render abortive the efforts of Darwin, Burbank, Edison, Morse, Marconi and millions of others who have pointed out more or less distinct paths to a higher life. Nothing has happened, comparable to the San Francisco earthquake or a mighty war, to unduly destroy the existing works of man.

What then has happened? Merely that indisputable evidence has been furnished of the utter inadequacy of certain ways of doing business to twentieth century conditions. Nothing has happened to prove that we are not able to produce goods in plenty to meet the needs of our people, but something has happened to show that our methods of distributing those goods,

our medium of exchange, are outworn and antiquated. That's all.

If the blind leadeth the blind, then shall they both fall into the ditch. It is to laugh that our knowledge of the world and its eternal laws is so slight in this enlightened twentieth century, that a little truth about our business and industrial affairs can turn the wheels of time back to the stone age. If we were confronted by the bubonic plague or a dreadful famine, we might be justified in bewailing our fate. But it is neither one of these nor anything similar. We have our health. We have our wits. We have the goods, which only wait to be properly distributed.

It is not money we need, but goods which must be in the proper place at the proper times. We can not eat, wear or live in money, or burn it for fuel. Money is an institution, a way of doing things, if you please. Is a nation which finds itself able to telegraph across the Atlantic without cables, going to acknowledge defeat before a matter so slight as the distribution of actual tangible goods to the production of which there is no conceivable limit? That is the question which must be attacked in our national and state legislative halls, in our universities, in our clubs and debating societies, in our churches, everywhere, until we stand forth the proud victor instead of the slinking vanquished.

Let us not be like the ostrich, not "like the quarry slave at night, scourged to his dungeon", but like free men, freed by truth and light, with all the inherited powers of many centuries full of invention and discovery. Let us know the worst and do the best:

ELLIS O. JONES.

Universal Military Service.



WILLIAM H. CARTER, a brigadier-general in the United States army, writing in the January number of the North American Review, presents a few facts and a suggestion that are worthy of the most thoughtful consideration. From the Socialist view-point it is probably the most important article that has appeared in recent years upon the subject of "Militarism" in America.

The general is a graduate of the United States Military Academy and in his thirty-five years of active service has risen from the rank of a second lieutenant to that of a general in command of the Department of the Lakes, with headquarters at Chicago. He has a thorough knowledge of the status in which the American land forces are maintained at the present time, and in no uncertain terms he points out their utter inadequacy to cope with the best that any first-class Power might offer in opposition.

The article is written under the title "When Diplomacy Fails," and that it must fail General Carter seems to have not the slightest doubt. In fact, this defender of capitalism in America seems to have a very clear conception of the Socialist theory of "economic determinism," for he says: "It is easy for a nation to profess high-mindedness; but in the eternal warfare for commercial supremacy, it is much easier to be good if the consequences of an opposite course are to be feared." He is mindful of the efforts that have been made toward the disarmament of the nations and universal peace, also of the fact that most of the great world powers are expending enormous sums of wealth in the development of their naval strength. But he is certain that conflicts will arise between the nations that are struggling for commercial supremacy, that in these conflicts much will depend upon the land forces, and that the United States army has been neglected to an extent that is positively alarming.

Aside from Coast Artillery which is practically immovable and of use only in repelling attack made at established points, the American army of to-day has but fifteen regiments of Cavalry, thirty regiments of Infantry and six regiments of Field Artillery not yet thoroughly organized, a total of about sixty thousand regular troops if all the regiments were recruited on a war footing, but most of the regiments have barely one-half that strength. As a further consideration, one-

half of the Infantry and nearly the same proportion of Cavalry is on duty in our various "island possessions," which means that only a handful of well trained and thoroughly equipped men are available for the purpose of repelling invasion or suppressing insurrection within the borders of the States.

The Dick Militia Bill, passed by congress and signed by the president January 21, 1903, provides, "That the militia shall consist of every able-bodied male citizen of the respective states and territories, and the District of Columbia, and every able-bodied male of foreign birth who has declared his intention of becoming a citizen, who is more than eighteen and less than forty-five years of age." The second section of the bill provides that certain government officials and employes shall be exempted from militia duty, also all persons who are exempted by the laws of the several states and all members of religious organizations whose creeds forbid participation in war.

This bill, which has become a law makes soldiers of all of us, subject to the command of the president of the United States and the Governor of the State in which we live, unless exempted in the manner described above. It divides the militia into two classes—"the organized militia, to be known as the National Guard, and the remainder to be known as the reserve militia."

The total strength of the "organized militia" at present is about one hundred and five thousand, and there are upwards of ten million men who constitute the "reserve militia." But General Carter does not think very much of the ten millions who belong to the reserve militia, and, indeed, he has not a very exalted opinion of the one hundred and five thousand who belong to the organized militia. He says: "At a recent annual inspection of the National Guard by Regular Army officers, about fifteen per cent. of the men were reported absent. Out of a total of 2,179 organizations of all kinds, 1,437 were reported as fully armed, uniformed and equipped for field service at any season of the year."

Summing up all of his figures regarding the military strength of the nation the General concludes as follows:

"With these facts as a basis and past experience as a guide, it may be safely predicted that it will be a practical impossibility to assemble, at any point in the United States, two completely organized Army Corps of Regulars and Organized Militia. With proper regard for the general defence, in the event of war with any first-class Power, detachments would immediately reduce the strength of these Corps, if ever assembled, below a state of fitness for offensive action.

"It is hardly possible to conceive of any war in which

less than two hundred and fifty thousand men would be required at the start. All of the available men of the Regular Army in the United States, and of the National Guard, would amount to but little more than one-third of that number. The outlook for any material increase in numbers and efficiency of the National Guard is not encouraging. On the contrary, the surprising part is that so many officers and men are willing to devote their time and personal means to building up creditable National Guard organizations in the face of lack of appreciation, general indifference and much actual antagonism. Some of the existing organizations are hardly worthy to be called soldiers, but many others have not only fitted themselves to answer the call of duty in emergencies, but have the framework upon which to rapidly build splendid regiments of Volunteers. This is most creditable to their enthusiasm and patriotism, but it should not prevent a recognition of the fact that the existing system and laws do not meet the needs of State and Nation."

The above words uttered by an army general who knows whereof he speaks, ought to have the effect of green persimmons in the mouths of American capitalists. It is true that the General speaks mostly with reference to "war with some first-class Power," and situated as we are, geographically, and having close at hand a magnificent navy, there is really but little if any danger of invasion by a foreign foe; but here and there the General had to let slip a more or less guarded reference to the possibility of some sort of internal "rebellion against the authority of the United States," and this brings us to the point which should be of interest to the whole working class of America and especially to that portion of the working class which is class-conscious and revolutionary.

The tactics employed by the Socialist party at present aims at the capturing of the powers of government through political action, united action of the working class at the ballot box, and if this policy is to be adhered to the capitalists are really in no immediate danger of losing control of the industrial and political situation. But suppose the Socialist party with its half a million voters should change its tactics and begin secretly to organize military companies. We have many party members who have had military training either in the regular army or militia of this country or of some European country, and it is certain that a number of first rate strategists could be quickly developed. There is already a sufficient number of party members in many of the industrial centers of America, if they were properly organized and instructed, to swoop down upon the military garrisons that are situated in the outskirts of the cities, surprise the sleepy

sentinels on guard, pour into the barracks where the soldiers sleep and capture the gun racks. If properly planned and executed, the battle might be won without the firing of a single shot. Away from the industrial centers of the country there are not half a dozen regiments of soldiers and these would stand but small chance against a half million determined rebels.

Of the national guard organizations, a majority of the companies are located in the large cities. Their arms are generally kept at the armories, which are not guarded and to which access is easy of attainment. With the arms and armories of the city regiments and companies in the hands of rebels, the national guard would be disorganized and absolutely worthless.

However, it is not at all likely that the Socialist party will change its tactics; but regardless of whether or not there is any immediate danger from within or without, it is time that the American capitalists gave heed to the crying need for a stronger military if they would maintain their commercial supremacy and remain in control of the nation's industrial and political life.

General Carter proposes a plan, and it is akin to what the Socialists of Germany are demanding, a citizen soldiery, or, as the general calls it, "universal service." He says:

"The only way in which a State can secure an absolutely representative body of troops is by universal service in the Organized Militia. A State law requiring every young man, on coming of age, to serve one year in the Organized Militia, in organizations in which the officers and non-commissioned officers are appointed and not elected, would soon justify itself to all fair minded men for reasons not far to seek. Rich and poor alike would learn that the Organized Militia knows no class or creed, but stands for the majesty of the law. Lessons in patriotism, respect for flag and country and a high regard for citizenship would be some of the wholesome advantages of this system, under which there would be no purchasing of substitutes. The knowledge gained by actual service would allay the suspicions, and sometimes animosities of members of labor unions. More liberality in supplies and armories, enhanced State pride, improvement in knowledge of firearms and an increased ability to fulfil the highest duty of a citizen of the republic would be the natural consequences of universal State service. In no other way can the great body of citizens be made acquainted with modern arms and training, and properly fitted to fulfil their obligation, when called upon under the provisions of the constitution, to suppress insurrection or repel invasion."

In Germany and some other European countries, military service is compulsory, that is, all able-bodied male citizens upon attaining their majority are required by law to serve not less than two years. It is during this period of compulsory service that the men of Europe are trained to "fulfil the highest duty of a citizen" which is not to invent or improve productive machinery or processes, or to excel in art or letters, but to destroy human life whenever the interests of a ruling class demand it.

In America, in the past, this plan of compelling all young men to serve in the organized militia might have proven to the advantage of the capitalist class and it is possible that it might prove so just now. But the number of Socialist homes in America is constantly on the increase and the training which boys receive in these Socialist homes is such as would wholly unfit them for service in military organizations which exist solely for the purpose of maintaining and defending a class of parasites, idlers, who own the means of production and exploit those who perform the labor. In fact, the influence of these young Socialists in the capitalist's militia organizations would be decidedly undesirable for they would be continually spreading the propaganda of Socialism among their mates.

There are some Socialists in America who think that our young men should join the army of the organized militia and learn the methods in vogue with the capitalist's fighting machine. There are very many others who have never given the subject a single thought. But there are a few, among whom the writer of this article is included, who think that the best policy for the Socialists of America to pursue is to keep outside of the ranks of these military organizations and to carry on, by means of the circulation of literature, a vigorous campaign of propaganda among those workers who, unconsciously, have betrayed their class by joining the army or the militia.

It is not at all likely that the capitalists or their legislative agents will pay any attention to the recommendation of General Carter, for other men, both inside and outside of the army, have repeatedly called attention to the fact that the armed and trained forces in this country are insufficient to meet a demand that is apt to be made upon them at any time. The workers of America have been so thoroughly deceived as to their own interests that in the past they have always responded when called upon and served faithfully in the interests of the master class, and the masters are so confident that the workers will continue to be faithful that they can see no need of maintaining an expensive military establishment.

The Socialists of America have reason to rejoice that the organized forces of militarism are so small and it is our business to so educate the workers that they will oppose all efforts to increase this power. In his lecture at the Garrick Theater, Chicago, on the subject, "The Failure of Philosophical Anarchism," Comrade Arthur M. Lewis finished his masterly discourse with this sentence: "If a workingman will use his ballot to vote for his master, what would he do with a gun?"

MAURICE E. ELDRIDGE.

The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem.

CHAPTER II.

SLAVERY IN A REPUBLIC.



TOWARDS the end of the eighteenth century the development of negro slavery reached its most critical stage. This was mainly because of two events, which influenced both the political and the economic status of the South: First, the formal union of the American colonies into a nation, and, secondly, the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney. In their effect upon slavery these two events were diametrically opposed to each other, and it was the collision of the two opposed forces which not only created the negro question, but centered the entire subsequent history of the United States until the Civil War and for a good many years after that, around the black man.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century strong symptoms of the decay of slavery could be noticed. It had already vanished in the North, and was becoming less profitable in the South. The union of all colonies, which had taken place, in the face of a strong opposition, under pressure of unrelenting forces of economic necessity, made slavery an inevitable subject of issue between the North and the South; for the first time the Northern antagonism to slavery became a perceptible force in the South. Even the constitution bears the traces of such conflicts in the clause which prohibited the importation of new slaves after 1808. That was a compromise which must be considered as a material victory for the anti-slavery sentiment of the North. To these factors must be added the effect of the Haitian catastrophe of 1791, where the mutiny of the negroes, who greatly exceeded the white population in numbers, led to the extermination of the whites. Besides, during the period of economic stagnation which followed the revolutionary period, the profits of the exploitation of slaves could not be very high.

Rapidly even those states which fought against the suppression of the negro slave trade in the constitutional deliberations, one after the other passed laws, immediately and absolutely suppressing the importation of slaves; it actually seemed as if the young republic was on the verge of a peaceful solution of the slavery problem, as even George Washington had hoped.

But Eli Whitney's invention at once destroyed the hopes for an early solution. This invention has solved the very difficult problem of separation of the fibre from the kernel of the cotton plant at small cost, which problem arose at the very beginning of cotton growing in the South. By means of this invention cotton growing soon became the main business of the South, rapidly increased the value of land property, and created a demand for a great quantity of very hard and very unhealthy labor, for which the negro was much more fit than the white man.

The temptation is great to devote many pages to an investigation of the economic development of the South, and the political events of the following sixty years. But for obvious reasons we must limit ourselves to those facts only which have a direct bearing upon the problem of the development of the relations between the white and the black man.

The growth of cotton culture in the South stimulated the development of the cotton industry in the entire world. The demand for cotton grew even more rapidly than the supply. The importation of slaves, which had been falling off towards the end of the eighteenth century, soon began to increase rapidly. The acquisition of Louisiana met the demand for additional territory, and slavery began to grow rapidly westward. When the nation was formed, the North had reasons to think that, being limited to a few states, the institution of slavery would die a slow but natural and inevitable death; and the conditions of the times justified such a view. But the beginning of the nineteenth century brought with it a complete reversal of the attitude of the South towards slavery.

During the sixty years that followed, the South never once ceased to make all possible efforts to establish its right to extend the system of slavery into the new regions of the acquired territories; while the North was forced to fight against these efforts, though with indifferent success for many years. The aim of the Southern planters was to re-establish the principle of legality of slavery throughout the union, and these efforts finally led to the historical struggle of the Civil War. Who knows but that if the South had not shown such a militant spirit, slavery might have survived until now in some of the more backward states? But this militant spirit was not willful or malicious, it was inevitable because slavery could only be made profitable in conjunction with extensive agriculture.

Notwithstanding the constitutional prohibition, the importation of the negroes continued throughout the entire period. Southern men who remember ante-war times admit that newly imported slaves could be found as late as 1861; and I have a statement of a very patriotic Southerner that his father had bought new, wild negroes less than one month before open hos-

ilities had broken out, when the entire question of slavery was so hotly discussed throughout the land. It may now seem difficult to understand the speculative spirit which justified such investments on the eve of the great struggle. But new slaves were absolutely indispensable to the South. And under the influence of this necessity the ethical objections to the slave trade rapidly vanished. At the time of the formation of the republic all the Southern colonies, with the exception of Georgia and South Carolina, admitted that the forced importation of slaves from Africa was a very immoral and undesirable thing. Forty or fifty years later entirely different views were held in the South. Time went on and again conventions of Southern citizens during the thirties, forties and fifties expressed their conviction not only that slavery was just, but that even the slave trade and the capture of negroes in Africa for purposes of selling them into slavery could not be unjust or immoral. It was pointed out that the prohibition of such importation led to a creation of a monopoly in the negro trade in the hands of the states of Maryland and Virginia, and that it was therefore necessary to recall the provision in the constitution which prohibits the free importation of negroes. Among the reasons which have finally led to the war of secession this demand for the re-establishment of the importation of negroes was not the least important one.

But notwithstanding the smuggling in of considerable numbers of negroes the demand for labor could not be satisfied thereby, and the interstate trade in chattel slaves had rapidly grown. The border states, which did not need so many slaves, could dispose of their surplus and sell it down South. Gradually these states became veritable negro farms and the cases of forced family separations became much more frequent. This fate befell most frequently the children of the field negroes, who were so used to it that they took it quite philosophically. How profitable a business was this raising of negroes may be seen from the statement that about 1850 "a new-born picanniny was worth about \$200 at his first cry."

One can easily see what an attitude towards negroes such a situation was forced to create. The negro woman, like a cow, was valued primarily for her capacity for child-bearing. On the other hand, the negro woman who worked in the field found it to her advantage to become pregnant as often as possible, for this freed her for some time from labor, and besides guaranteed her some kind of care and comfort. A high development or even preservation of chastity and modesty was not to be expected under such circumstances. The slave owners did all they could to lower the moral feeling of the slaves. Strong and healthy male negroes were coupled with females as bulls are with cows for the improvement of the stock, and it was not unusual for one

slave owner to lend his "buck-nigger" to his neighbor. Often the slave owners themselves undertook this duty of improving the race, and the famous Southern chivalry towards women in general and their wives in particular did not at all interfere with these practices. The price of a mulatto was so much higher than that of an ordinary negro, that out of financial considerations the slave owners systematically encouraged the production of mulattoes and delegated it to their children, or friends, or to the white overseers of the slaves. There were few plantations on which blood relatives of the slave owners, brothers, children and grandchildren, did not work as slaves.

In the treatment of the negroes in the first half of the nineteenth century a noticeable step was taken backwards, as compared with the end of the preceding century. The distinction between house servants and field hands, which was noticeable in the colonial days, was strengthened and a greater part of the negroes belonged to the latter class. These became material of pure business enterprise, even up to the process of child-bearing in the interests of the employer exclusively. With the increase of the price of the slave from \$700—\$800 to \$1,500 or more, the cases of inhuman treatment were more or less exceptional. But on the other hand the general treatment grew more severe and impersonal. The Northern abolitionists may have somewhat exaggerated the conditions, for obvious reasons, in describing the cruelty of the slave owners, but on the other hand, the apologists of slavery always liked to and even now frequently do draw pictures of conditions before the war that are entirely too mellow and mild. For even the Southerner, E. Ingle, who writes on slavery in a very apologetic tone, admits that chastisement by means of straps was a matter of common occurrence. And he quotes the opinion of a New Orleans *physician* of that period, who argued "that if any slaves were inclined to raise their heads to a level with their master or overseer, humanity and their own good require that they should be punished until they fall into that submissive state which it was intended for them to occupy."

The great number of freed slaves in the South, and the Northern propaganda in favor of abolition, news of which gradually reached the Southern negro, influenced the slave owners to keep the negro on a low level of intellectual development. The prohibition against teaching the negro again became stricter, and included even free negroes. It is true that under pressure of public opinion the slave owners were making efforts to convert their slaves into Christianity, and that towards the end of the Civil War there were almost no heathens among the slaves; but this work of Christianizing the slave proceeded under many precautions and restrictions, in order that religion might not raise any revolutionary tendencies among the slaves. The Southern

clergy fulfilled its duty towards the slave owners so well that it succeeded in depriving Christianity of almost all its civilizing effects. Of the whole field of applied religion, or ethics, the only doctrine taught the negro was the doctrine of obedience. Even the doctrine of marital fidelity could not be taught; and to be frank, how would that doctrine have combined with the practices of the "buck-nigger"? In performing the ceremony of marriage the Christian clergyman administered the oath to remain faithful to their spouses "until death or *uncontrollable circumstances* (i. e., the will of the owner) shall divide them." Even in teaching the doctrine of the future life extraordinary precautions were necessary, for the promise of freedom in heaven could awake the thought of the desirability of freedom in this world. Therefore, teachers of the Lord's gospel would not go any further than the promise of a white skin in the other world to every good and obedient negro.

Such was the religion which the slave owners helped to spread, since they soon discovered that the negroes who most ardently visited the church usually made the very meekest and hardest working slaves.

Thus consciously, willfully, cunningly, the Southern slave owner endeavored to stupify and demoralize the negro population of this country, and many years later the results of this demoralization were pointed out as great argument against the biological potentialities of the race.

All these efforts were caused by the natural desire to preserve the economic advantages of the slavery system. It is not necessary to go here into an extensive discussion of the question, how far the slave system was profitable to the entire South. It is certain that, as Olmsted and other observers had pointed out in their own time, negro labor was not cheap labor by any means; that the working capacity of the negro, inert as he was, and absolutely disinterested in the result of his labor, was scarcely equal to one-half of the productivity of the white laborer. The high price of the negro made his labor dearer than the labor of the free wage worker in the North, and the fact that the negro slave represented an outlay of capital made his sustenance more expensive, as it forced upon the slave owner the cost of the care of the slave's health. Thus one finds a Southern economist in the early forties claiming that the natural progress of the South, by increasing the population and lowering the wages of free labor, would make the hiring of such free labor more profitable than owning slaves, and would thus create the natural conditions for the abolition of slavery. The well-known Northern economist, Carey, also thought that high prices of the slaves would lead to the abolition of slavery.

This rise in the price of slaves was most noticeable during

the fifties, and by that time the financial position of the slave owners, with the possible exception of a few thousand magnates, was anything but enviable. The profits of their industry was constantly falling: Why, then, did they hold on so tenaciously to the profitless system?

In one of his interesting books of travel through the Southern states Olmsted relates that many slave owners would rent their slaves into the mines for \$120 to \$140 a year, which was considerably more than the corresponding wages in the North, when the additional cost of feeding the slave is considered. An income of \$120 to \$150 per annum was considerable, even at the price of \$1,500. A freed negro usually received about \$150 to \$200 a year in addition to his food and lodgings, and a freed man could more easily save a competence in the South than a white laborer in the North.

In other words, because of the system of slavery prevailing, the South suffered from an insufficiency and high cost of labor, and slavery labor was necessary no matter whether dear or cheap. It is interesting to point out in this connection the obvious fact that at the present time the general rate of wages is much lower in the South than in the North. Individually each planter in the South felt the utter impossibility of getting along without the slaves, and a full emancipation of the slaves was feared as a crisis, the results of which could not be foretold. Finally there was the general hope of escaping the results of the rising prices of slaves by the acquisition of virgin and cheap land in the West.

While thus a number of potent economic causes forced the white South to hold on to the system of slavery, the psychology of the Southern gentleman,—in its turn the result of preceding economic conditions,—played a by no means insignificant part. The cumulative effects of two centuries of slavery, which Jefferson had feared so much, did not fail to manifest themselves. "The man must be a prodigy," wrote Jefferson, "who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. * * * With the morals of the people their industry also is destroyed." The evidence of many travelers through the South in the middle of the last century fully corroborate the truth of these predictions of Jefferson. The rich white people of the South clearly demonstrated the evil effects of this system. The superficial polish and manners, the classical education, were often found side by side with the wildest debauchery and a complete incapacity for productive thinking or hard work. The Southern gentlemen were much better prepared to enjoy the fruits of civilization than to create them. The poor white trash lived by hanging on to the rich planters, and looked with contempt upon manual labor. The South "classed the trading and manufac-

turing spirit as essentially servile" in the words of a Southern journalist in 1852, who wrote in the famous *De Bow's Review*. Certain forms of work were considered especially undignified, and the poor white man met the offer to perform such work with the contemptuous remark that "he was no nigger." This led to the idea that hired white labor was altogether unsatisfactory, and that the negro slave was indispensable to Southern industry and agriculture.

It was thought necessary to dwell so long on the psychology of the white population of the South, because this psychology played a very important part in the subsequent events. With such a psychology and such a national character, the philosophy of the necessity and inevitableness of slavery found general approval not only among the wealthy slave owners, but also among the poor white trash, which found considerable satisfaction and consolation from its poverty in the consciousness that, no matter how low its own social scale, there was still left a very large class of people below them.

The greatest effort to support this view upon slavery and the negro was undoubtedly made by the clergy. The part taken by the Christian church in the defense of the institutions of slavery presents one of the most interesting pages in the social history of the United States. "The American Churches, the Bulwark of American Slavery," thus runs the title of an exceedingly interesting pamphlet anonymously published in 1842. The war was not yet over when a doctor of divinity and professor of a Southern theological seminary devoted a bulky volume of 562 pages to prove the thesis that the clergy of the South was mainly responsible for the secession. This may well be an exaggeration; nevertheless the facts presented by these two authors are of the greatest interest and importance not only for the understanding of that epoch, but also because the Southern church is still a great factor of reaction in the relegated "negro question."

It is interesting to follow the development of the attitude of the church to the question of slavery. To take for example the Methodist Episcopal church. In 1780 it expressed its firm belief that "slavery was contrary to the divine, human, and natural law, and harmful to society." In 1784, membership in the church was denied to whomsoever did not promise to free his slaves. In 1801, the church was more than ever "convinced of the awfulness of slavery." But the invention of Eli Whitney made its impression upon the clerical mind, for in 1836 we find the assembly of the clergymen of this church protesting against the action of two of its members, who dared to speak against slavery, and hastening to announce that it denies any desire to interfere in the relations of master and slave. Even in New York the representatives of this church fought against any man-

ifestations of the spirit of abolition among its members. For preachers as well as other men owned slaves and therefore had direct interest in defending the institution. But more important undoubtedly was the consideration that the church felt the necessity of being on the side of the stronger.

Still more striking is the testimony gathered by Professor Stanton, whose work was referred to above. He inclusively shows that not only the Southern clergy, but even many of the Northern preachers, energetically preached the necessity of the Southern rebellion, and defended the South, after the secession had taken place. What Professor Stanton mainly objected to was the fact that the Southern clergy, in coming out in defense of the rebellion, had broken the pledge of obedience to the legal authorities. But in reality this was only caused by the natural anxiety of the clergy then, as now, to serve that legal authority which was recognized *de facto* by the majority of the population; and that was the authority of the Southern states and of the confederacy. Thus until the very last day of the emancipation of the slaves the entire clergy of the South continued to preach that slavery was morally in harmony with God's will, that it was eternal and necessary, because the negro was a lower being created by the Almighty for the special purpose of working for the white man, in exchange for the care which the white man was to take of his physical, moral and mental well-being. One may well recognize in this doctrine the forerunings of the latter day theory of the relations of the wealthy men to the working class, which Comrade Ghent has so characteristically christened as the coming "benevolent feudalism," and which finds its expression in the writings and speeches of Lyman Abbott, Andrew Carnegie, and President Baer of the Reading Railway.

A touching agreement and understanding may be found between these clergymen and the Southern professors, economists, politicians and statesmen. That the clergy exerted a direct influence upon the scientific fraternity of the ante-bellum South, is shown by the importance which the religious argument played in the reasoning of the latter. This unanimity may partly be explained by the peculiar character of education in the slave owning South, where a superficial polish and some knowledge of classics stood for real education and learning. The universities and colleges were mainly interested in oratory and partisan politics. The Southern periodical literature, the most important representatives of which were the *De Bow's Review* and the *Southern Literary Messenger*, defended slavery and savagely attacked everyone who dared to express the slightest doubt of the usefulness and justice and permanency of the peculiar Southern institution.

I. M. ROBBINS.



Confusion of Tongues. Mr. Edmund Kelly, in his able article in this issue of the Review, points out the difficulty which people of different nations have of understanding each other. He is quite right, but the difficulty extends further still. Comrade Kelly is a man with a fine classical education, a lawyer, a diplomat (not long ago the legal advisor of the American legation at Paris). In his past experiences the people with whom he has come into close personal touch have doubtless been of the possessing classes, while the working classes have probably figured in his experience mainly as voters to be reached by political methods. Now he has thought himself out of the class in which he has lived and joined hands with the working class. But he does not yet speak its language. There are many others like him; perhaps a third of our readers will heartily endorse his view. But the wage-workers will sigh, smile or swear at his artless assumption that the petty capitalists who hope to hinder the growth of the trusts are our "natural allies" in paving the way for a new social order. In saying this we do not wish to disparage the value of the writer's reasoning. Grant his assumptions, and much of it is irresistible. We need such writers and speakers. But we also need the other kind. In the next issue of the Review we hope to have a promised article from Vincent St. John, a comrade on the firing line of the class struggle (indeed he is just recovering from a serious wound inflicted by one of the mine-owners' thugs at Goldfield) who will write on Industrial Unionism.

Public Ownership as an Issue. One passage in Mr. Kelly's article is worth special attention. In his fourth section he says:

"Now no issue will constitute a more direct step toward socialism than public ownership; for public ownership means an eight hour day for the employé, the elimination of trusts for the tradesman, and low rates for the farmer."

Let us pass lightly over the eight hour clause. It is doubtless true that the sight of an increasing number of government employes working eight hours would intensify the discontent of the laborers who still have to work ten. But the government employes would no longer have to fight for their eight hour day, and might neglect to help the outside laborers who could not get it without fighting. And suppose the capitalists should decide to give all laborers an eight hour day, would that show that the end of capitalism was near? And if so, why? But the other two clauses of this "direct step", the tradesman clause and the farmer clause, are something more than doubtful. If we could "eliminate the trusts" for the tradesman (which we can't) he would cease to be a virtual wage-worker for the big capitalist with only "profits" enough to live on, and would be on the road to becoming a capitalist himself, destined to become a magnate and to be "eliminated" by the powerful

reformers of the next generation. And if we were to give the farmer "low rates" on his freight and the things he buys (and of course "high rates" on what he sells), would he not thereupon become a staunch conservative? Where does the proletariat come in, all this while? He has pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for his "natural allies", and he is still hungry. If the big capitalists were really as united and class-conscious and far-seeing as we used to imagine them to be when we were populists, they might reasonably come out for a large measure of "public ownership" themselves. Judicious concessions along this line might conceivably prolong capitalism fifty or a hundred years. But things don't happen in that way. The people who make history are not far-sighted theorists; they simply act as their environment makes them act.

What Shall Our Platform Be? There is one big debatable question. Two courses are open. We can make a vote-catching platform to allure as many as possible of our "natural allies" who want the trusts busted and railroad rates reduced so as to make small individual production or the petty exploitation of a few wage-workers more profitable than now. Perhaps such a platform would increase our vote faster than any other we could adopt. But the new voters who would thereby be attracted would be a source of weakness. If by chance we were to elect the officers of a state with such allies our party would be disrupted at the first practical test. The other way is to adopt a platform which will put on record our interpretation of the way in which the evolution of industry is urging on the development of society. The platform drafted by Comrade Hillquit, while it may require slight amendments, performs this task admirably. Industry is rapidly evolving to the point where the final grapple between laborer and capitalist is near. We can do little to hasten or delay this; what we can do is to think, talk and write clearly, and organize the workers who know what they want into a machine for getting it.

The Constitution of the United States. The recent Supreme Court decision setting aside the railroad rate laws of Minnesota and North Carolina, on the ground that their effect was to confiscate the private property of the railroad stockholders, by reducing rates to a point where dividends could not be paid, will help to clear the air. This decision is perfectly logical, and we socialists have no occasion to question either the integrity or the intelligence of the judges who rendered it. The constitution of the United States was framed for the express purpose of protecting private property. True, in 1788 the most important property interests were those of small producers, while now the trust and railway magnates control nearly all the property worth mentioning. But the constitution still works as it was meant to work in protecting property-owners against those without property. One moral is that trust busting on the part of state legislatures has now become merely amusing. Another is that if the socialists capture a city council or a state legislature, their hands will be tied so long as the capitalist parties control the federal courts. But all this is no reason for our sitting down and waiting. On the contrary, this logical action of the Supreme Court is a new stimulus to us, for it helps draw class lines more rigidly than ever before. When the people who work come to realize that they must act unitedly in order to get the wealth they produce, the battle will be all but won, and every act of the federal courts on behalf of the corporations helps the workers to wake up.

Socialists as Jurors. The right of trial by jury is one survival in the American Constitution that works to our advantage, and we have thus far been slow to realize the fact. The jury is a weapon that was

slowly and painfully forged by the English bourgeoisie in its struggle against feudalism, and it is embodied in this same constitution which is otherwise so useful to the capitalist. Moreover, it is one of the Fourth of July traditions that help persuade us that we are a free people, and to abrogate it now would be a dangerous experiment for the powers that be. A juror has full power to judge the law as well as the facts. Here in Chicago an attempt has lately been made to revive an obsolete state law requiring that saloons be closed on Sunday. Thus far every jury before which a case under this law has been brought has either acquitted or disagreed. Here is a precedent that will be to our advantage. As the class struggle grows warmer, arbitrary arrests of workingmen will be more frequent. Every man arrested should demand a jury trial, and every socialist should assert his right to judge whether the enforcement of the law in the case before him is for or against his own class interests, and act accordingly. Nearly every offender brought before a jury is deprived of his liberty because his actions are a menace to the welfare of the capitalists. They may also be a menace to the interests of the laborers, but these are two independent questions, to be settled on their merits. A clear recognition of this on the part of every socialist may do something toward hastening the break-up of capitalism.



England. — The impotence and bad faith of the Liberal government become more and more manifest. Since last month's report in this department two of its measures have failed of passage: the Scottish small land-holdings bill was defeated in the House of Lords by a majority of 120, and the unemployed workingmen's bill went down in the House of Commons under a majority of 149. Meantime two other long promised measures have been introduced, the education bill and the licensing bill. Both are having a rough time of it. The first provides that in all "one-school" towns the schools are to be taken over by the county governments. In places where there are more than one school denominational institutions are to receive support *pro rata* for their pupils. Like the education bill now in force this measure satisfies nobody. The licensing bill is more drastic than anticipated. It provides for local option, Sunday closing and the distribution of public houses in proportion to population. The last provision would close some 30,000 places of entertainment. The Laborites have got little comfort out of their anti-military propaganda. A resolution in favor of reducing the naval appropriations was lost in the House by a vote of 320 to 73. More than \$160,000,000 has been voted for the navy and a similar sum for the army—slightly less than the appropriations of last year, but more than was considered necessary at the time of the Boer war. All this must tend to drive intelligent Laborites out of the Liberal camp.

Two things have happened which throw light on the probable realignment of parties. The first of these was the delivery of Lord Roseberry's speech before the Liberal League on March 12th. The time might come, said the former premier, when Liberals would have to choose between Conservatism and protective tariff on the one hand and Socialism on the other. In that case he, for one, would not hesitate: for "Socialism is the end of all, of empire, faith—religious faith—freedom and liberty." The second significant event was the beginning, some weeks ago, of vigorous agitation in favor of the organization of a Center Party. According to its advocates this new party would stand for free trade, union with Ireland, moderate imperialism and—most important of all—war upon Socialism. This Center Party movement marks the definite beginning of the break-down of the present form of Liberalism: Lord Roseberry's speech foreshadows the final alignment of the friends and enemies of Socialism. The first will probably come soon; the second later on.

Australia. — Australia has a habit of following England at a distance—sometimes rather a long distance. This fact has been strikingly exemplified by recent developments in the Australian working-class movement. The Labor Party has rapidly increased in power: on the 5th of

February it made great gains in the number of its representatives in the provincial assemblies. But its program leaves much to be desired. Its chief demands are: compulsory arbitration of strikes, state ownership of certain monopolies and the abolition of the upper houses and the office of provincial governor. So far it has steadily refused to take action analogous to that of the Hull conference in England. Just recently, in convention, it voted down a Socialist resolution by 118 to 37. But if precedent counts for anything, it will probably fall in line with its English prototype within a year or two.

France.—In France the month has been uneventful. Early in March the Independent Socialists—those who have refused to come into the unified party formed in accordance with the resolution of the international congress—held a convention at Marseille. Only a small number attended and the event aroused little interest. The Chamber of Deputies is voting, item by item, a new fiscal law. This is made necessary by the half-way relief measures it is trying to palm off on the radicals. So far it has provided for an income tax, 4 per cent on the earnings of capital and 3 per cent on the earnings of labor. In Morocco the government is getting in deeper and deeper. It has recently dispatched fresh troops to the scene of action. The people become more and more restive as they see how a war ostensibly for the preservation of peace is becoming a war of aggression.

Germany.—The German government is always constructive—actively, paternally constructive. Witness its campaign against the steadily rising forces of the Social Democracy. True to the Teutonic instinct it began by playing the schoolmaster. Its first move was designed to save from pollution the minds of its youth. In order that its efforts might be systematic and at the same time effectively veiled it founded, more than thirty years ago, the "Society for the Propagation of Popular Education." Up to the present time this society has sent into the world about half a million volumes of "safe and sane" literature. Some of these are copies of well known literary and scientific works doctored to suit the governmental taste; others are goody-goody essays and stories especially prepared to keep the children of the Emperor properly respectful of political and ecclesiastical authority. Just now, sad to relate, the Liberals and Centurists wage bitter war as to just what sort of sterilized pabulum is to be doled out of the innocents. Meantime these latter seem to be waxing moderately lusty on food of their own choosing.

Not content with the moderate success of its campaign of education, the imperial government is now aiming to dominate the field of labor organization. This is the purpose of the Law concerning Labor Commissions which has just been submitted to the Bundesrat. This measure provides for the constitution of labor-commissions, one for each branch of industry in each administrative district. Their chief duty is to be the encouragement of peaceful and profitable relations between capital and labor. To this end they are to act as arbitration boards, to exercise a general supervision over workingmen's relief measures and to make suggestions to local governments. What has made workingmen suspicious is the make-up of these commissions. They are to consist half of capitalists and half workingmen. The labor members are to be elected by the vote of all workers over thirty years of age, union and non-union. In case of an even division of a commission the chairman, named by the government, is to cast the deciding vote. If the measure was to deceive the proletariat into thinking the government has an interest in them it has failed miserably. Organized labor is solidly opposed to it.

For more than twenty years the Prussian government has made a

notable fiasco of its Polish expropriation policy. It has expended nearly a hundred million dollars and accomplished little except to enrich German landholders. Nevertheless both houses of the Landtag—under Von Buelow's whip—have recently voted the appropriation of an additional fifty million for the further carrying out of this policy. Nothing could give better proof of the need of electoral reform.

Austria.—The Social Democratic Party of Bohemia has lately taken a decided stand in the matter of the German-Czechish race war. Bourgeois papers have represented its pronunciamiento as patriotic, i. e. anti-international. In reality it is nothing of the sort. Its chief contention is that a secret popular ballot would do away with a good part of the existing difficulty. It demands, further, the institution of two autonomous governments, one for each race. Opinions differ as to the wisdom of this demand.

Russia.—Russian labor unions carry on their work under the greatest difficulties. By misinterpreting a law promulgated in 1905 the Stolypin ministry finds means to prevent the delivery of lectures to workingmen and the distribution of relief to strikers or unemployed. In spite of restrictions, however, the unions are carrying on a thorough-going work of organization and education. In Petersburg and other industrial centers they have started numerous societies for the study of history and economics. Some of these count as many as five or six hundred members. An important part of the union propaganda is directed toward the moral improvement of the laborers. The government, especially through its sale of poisonous vodka, has done its best to demoralize the proletariat. Against this demoralization the unions are using their utmost influence.

Italy.—Near the close of February the Italian chamber voted down a resolution in favor of complete secularization of public education. In the support of this resolution Socialists and Radical Republicans were united. The fight was a bitter one—in fact so bitter that it is impossible to suppose that it will not be renewed.

Denmark.—Danish Socialists are facing a problem much like that of their comrades in Prussia. In Denmark there is in force a two-class electoral system. That is, the members of the two houses of parliament are named indirectly: the electors who make the final choice are chosen, half by the voters paying tax on a thousand dollars or more, half by those who are less wealthy. In both these classes the ballot is the prerogative of all male citizens over thirty years of age. Not willing to trust its fate even in the hands of the propertied class, the government retains the right to designate twelve members of the upper house. The Socialist group has introduced into parliament an extremely modest measure looking toward the modification of this system. It provides for universal suffrage for men and women over twenty-one years of age. It has been thought best not to attack the two-class system at this time.

LITERATURE ART



BY JOHN SPARGO

Jack London has joined the ranks of the prophets. It seems that few Socialist writers can resist the temptation to speculate upon the nature of the Socialist State and the manner of its realization. London makes his contribution to this branch of the literature of Socialism in his new book, *The Iron Heel*, published by the Macmillan Company. He resorts to the familiar device of the novelist, writing his forecast in the form of a retrospect.

He takes a long leap forward of some seven centuries in order to tell the manner of the transformation of society from capitalism to Socialism. One Anthony Meredith, writing from Ardis in the year 419 of the Brotherhood of Man, edits and publishes the manuscript story, discovered in the hollow of an oak tree, of the first of a series of revolts which overthrew the capitalist system, though at a terrible cost. The story was written by Avis Everhard, wife of the central figure of the first revolt, leader of the forces of the working class. Ernest Everhard, the hero of his wife's thrilling story, is a Socialist of the most composite type. There is a good deal of Jack London's vigorous personality about him, as well as something which the active Socialist Party member of a few years' standing will recognize as being characteristic of several other well known comrades. He writes a book, called "Working Class Philosophy", for example, which for three hundred years continued to be popular. Some quotations from the book are given, explaining the class struggle theory, and lo! I find that they are taken from my own book, "Socialism: a Summary and Interpretation of Socialist Principles". In a word, Everhard represents the Socialist movement rather than any phase of it.

"The Iron Heel" is the name which was given to the Oligarchy which developed about the year 1910. The Oligarchy reminds one of the Fourieristic prediction of a coming feudalism, which Ghent revived in his "Benevolent Feudalism". The Oligarchy was, however, the opposite of benevolent. In 1912 there was a landslide toward Socialism, fifty Congressmen being elected. But they found themselves without power. Then the Oligarchy forced a war with Germany which the Socialists of both countries frustrated by a general strike. Then the Oligarchy succeeded in dividing the ranks of the workers by conferring special advantages upon a few select unions, entering into compacts with the union leaders.

From this point on the story is one of terrible bloodshed. There is the "Chicago Commune" (why the word "Commune" is used in connection with the uprising does not appear!) of 1918, in which carnage far excels that of the Paris Commune of 1871. Tens of thousands of people are slaughtered, the workers' first great revolt is crushed, drowned

in blood. The Oligarchy follows its ghastly triumph with countless executions. This reign of terror continues until 1832, when they capture and kill Everhard. This takes place on the eve of the second revolt which he had planned—a revolt which took place and was crushed just as was the first. Here the story contained in the manuscript ends, but we learn from the editor that there were several other revolts of the workers, crushed in like fashion, and that the Oligarchy managed to maintain its power for three centuries—three hundred bloody years!

It is impossible to deny the literary skill which London displays in this ingenious and stirring romance. He has written nothing more powerful than this book. In some senses it is an unfortunate book, and I am by no means disposed to join those of our comrades who hail it as a great addition to the literature of Socialist propaganda. The picture he gives is well calculated, it seems to me, to repel many whose addition to our forces is sorely needed; it gives a new impetus to the old and generally discarded cataclysmic theory; it tends to weaken the political Socialist movement by discrediting the ballot and to encourage the chimerical and reactionary notion of physical force, so alluring to a certain type of mind. As a statement of the cataclysmic theory and an argument against political action, it is worthy the careful study of every Socialist and every student of Socialism.

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I have read with much satisfaction the little book, *Evolution, Social and Organic*, which Arthur Morrow Lewis has added to the Standard Socialist Series, published by Charles H. Kerr & Company. In this modest little volume of less than two hundred pages, in simple and lucid language, Comrade Lewis tells the story of the evolution of the theory of evolution, summarising most of the information contained in Clodd's well known book, "Evolution from Thales to Huxley". But he does more than this, a great deal more. He never loses sight of the application of the laws of evolution to society, completing his Darwinism by his Marxism, so to speak. Valuable, too, are the chapters on Weismann's theory of heredity, the "mutation" theory of De Vries and Herbert Spencer's Individualism, though, curiously enough in a Socialist treatment of the last named topic, no mention is made of the fact that Spencer himself repudiated Individualism and thought that if we had too much government in some directions, we had too little in others. Curious, too, that he should miss the point made in volume III of the "Principles of Sociology" that the wage system, commonly held up as exemplifying Individualism, is a form of slavery, the wage-laborer having "liberty only to exchange one slavery for another". Spencer himself threw over the whole superstructure of Individualism when he admitted that "in conformity with the universal law of rhythm, there has been a change from excess of restriction to deficiency of restriction". I cannot resist the feeling that had the writer been a little more familiar with Spencer chapters VIII and IX of his book would have been much stronger. I hasten to add, however, that the little volume is a valuable addition to our literature.

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When H. G. Wells was in this country a year or two ago I had the pleasure of meeting him upon several occasions. Nothing about the man impressed me so much as the robustness of his Socialist faith. I had long known him as a Fabian and was most agreeably surprised to learn that he had joined the out-and-out Social Democratic Federation.

As further evidence of this robustness of Socialist faith comes his new book, *New Worlds for Old*, a fresh and striking presentation of the case for Socialism. As might be expected from the author of "a Modern Utopia" and "Mankind in the Making", there is a utopian strain running

through the book. It is, also, written from a British point of view, a good many allusions to contemporary English life rather weakening its interest for the American. Both these defects—if so they are to be regarded—are, however, the defects of its qualities. The great value of the book lies primarily in the novelty of its approach to the subject and its statement in terms of contemporary fact rather than in terms of abstract theory. The book is published by the Macmillan Company and should be read by all Socialists.

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Benjamin Tucker, the Anarchist publisher, has issued in an admirably gotten-up volume Steven T. Byington's translation of Dr. Paul Eltzbacher's well known book, *Anarchism*. It is not too much to say, I think, that of all expositions of Anarchism this is by far the best for the average student. Eltzbacher is not himself an Anarchist, but he has succeeded in making a statement of the varied principles designated as Anarchism which most Anarchists accept. The opinions of Eltzbacher himself are of relatively small importance. What is important is the careful summary made, in their own language, of the principles taught by such writers as Godwin, Stirner, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Tucker and Tolstoy. Admirable portraits of all these—except Stirner, of whom no authentic portrait exists—are included in this very handsome volume.

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In view of the present revival of interest in the writings of Nietzsche, "the mad philosopher" of Germany, the publication, by Charles H. Kerr & Company, as one of the Library of Science for the Workers series, of an admirable translation, by Alexander Harvey, of Nietzsche's little book, *Human, All Too Human*, is a welcome event.

I have read a good deal of Nietzsche's writings and it has always been a puzzle for me what professed radical thinkers could find in his endless negations. From a Socialist point of view, it seems to me, Professor Alfred Russell Wallace gave a crushing reply to the Nietzschean pretensions about the development of the Superman, when he pointed out in "The Eagle and Serpent", some years ago, that the inevitable result must be the development of an Oligarchy, to which philosophers, poets, scientists, inventors and artists would be subservient.

"Human, All too Human" is, in my judgment, the clearest and most coherent of all Nietzsche's works. While Nietzsche was not a Socialist, being in fact bitterly hostile to Socialism, the Marxist will find that there is much in common between Marx and Nietzsche. Just as Marx shows the influence of economic conditions upon social evolution, and upon the ethical concepts of classes, Nietzsche shows the influence of economic conditions upon individual ethical concepts. The little book might be fairly described as an application of the extreme theory of economic determinism to personal conduct. Judge not any man's life too harshly—for he is human, all too human!

It is rather a pity that the translator of the volume did not include Peter Gast's preface to the German edition in which he contrasts the ideas of Nietzsche with those of his longtime friend, Paul Ree, bringing out the distinctive features of Nietzsche's teaching very clearly. Gast was Nietzsche's friend and literary executor and he has been a most faithful exponent of his master's teaching. He shows the utilitarian concept, what Nietzsche calls community-preservative ethics, as one half of ethics only, the other half, of course, being what he calls self-ethics.

In view of the foregoing, it is not necessary to remark that "Human, All too Human", is not published as a Socialist work, nor must it be so regarded. It is not a child's primer, either, and whoever fears to exercise his brain over a book, or resents an attack upon his intellectual idols, had better leave it alone. To all others the volume may be confidently recommended.



WORLD OF LABOR



BY MAX S. HAYES

Despite the petitions that have been sent to the executive council of the American Federation of Labor by city central organizations in various parts of the country urging that a national convention be called for the purpose of planning a political campaign as labor's reply to the recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court declaring the employer's liability law unconstitutional, legalizing the blackiest and outlawing the boycott, it is practically certain that nothing will be done by the national officials—that is, nothing along the line of independent political action.

During the past month a conference of officers of international unions was called by the Federation executive council to meet in Washington and discuss the crisis in which organized labor finds itself. Several hundred of our worthy presidents, secretaries, etc., did gather, but if any practical move was made that would throw the fear of God into the hearts of plutocracy and its politicians it escaped the notice of the lynx-eyed reporters. All that they did was to go through the same old mummery of the last year, when they, armed with a so-called "bill of grievances," solemnly marched up to Cannon, Fairbanks & Co. and in the name of organized labor demanded relief from injunctions, etc. This year they appointed a "committee on protest," and, after looking the field over, the committee concluded that there was really cause to protest, and so with Gompers in the van the whole crowd marched up to the Capitol with becoming dignity (it is not related whether a brass band accompanied the procession or how many times they had their pictures taken) and once more told their troubles to Cannon, Fairbanks & Co. The politicians looked wise and declared that the protest would receive their most thoughtful consideration, and then, after some handshaking, the delegation departed while Cannon, Fairbanks & Co. retired to their private offices, consumed a few cocktails, admitted that the labor men were a nice, conservative lot of fellows, and then fell to discussing ship • subsidy, new banking and financial laws, tariff revision, and so forth.

It looks as though the revolutionary spirit (or the spirit of secession) has been grounded on the Civic Federation wire. President Seth Low, and Vice-President Gompers, of the latter body, and Roosevelt have had their heads together, and an agreement is said to have been reached to use labor as the sad victim to secure the repeal of the Sherman law or to amend that act to make it useless. But there is no assurance given that labor organizations will be made immune from damage suits for boycotting. The injunction evil is also to be so modified as to permit strikers to come into court when capitalists seek a temporary restraining order and hear the edict promulgated by the court after the defendants' attorney goes through the form of opposing the bosses' petition.

Those workmen in New York, Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Toledo and other places who have been shouting for independent

political action—those members who pay the freight and who are compelled to undergo the hard knocks on the firing line while certain great leaders make merry at Civic Federation banquets and believe they cultivate an air of respectability by basking in the sunlight of great capitalism—the rank and file can swallow their chagrin and start little irresponsible and disconnected sideshow labor parties that can be easily shot to pieces by the trained politicians and capitalists with unlimited money. The common herd—the dues-payers—need look for no sign of progress from those in control of the Federation. Reforms do not come from the top. You can no more expect Gompers to give the word, "Forward, march!" than you can expect Cannon to take the lead in boosting labor legislation.

At the same time, while the actions of the Federation officials in refusing to call a national convention for the purpose of arranging plans to take independent political action are somewhat disappointing, their decision may really be a blessing in disguise. There is but one practical step that can be taken by the sincere and thinking trade unionists, and that is to follow the example of the several hundred thousand who have already made the move, viz.: join the Socialist party, the real and only labor party the world over. That many unionists are joining the Socialist party at present is clearly demonstrated by the reports of the officials of the national, state and local organizations of the S. P., but there is room for more. This is going to be a memorable year in political history, the year that will see the Socialist party make a tremendous stride toward victory. Help the good work along.

The indications are that the attempt of a few mine-owners to precipitate a national conflict will be frustrated. It is a well known fact that the United Mine Workers prefer national settlements rather than district agreements, and the national contract plan is especially preferred by the new administration of the miners, in fact it was one of the issues in the recent campaign in the U. M. W. Part of the Ohio operators and some in other states believed if they would stand out against a national agreement and in favor of a wage reduction they would force a national strike, when they could take advantage of the general industrial situation, after the unions were starved for a few weeks, to declare for the open shop or non-union mine. But the miners were shrewd enough to see through the game and went on record for district settlements, which means that the vast majority of operators in all the states will come to agreement with the men. In districts where the operators want fight they will probably be given fight and a chance to lose some money and markets. Two years ago the Northeastern Ohio crowd, who were the ringleaders this year in trying to create trouble, made a stand for the so-called open shop and it is doubtful whether they are through paying expenses of their Pinkertons at this date. Still they want more trouble. The truth of the matter is that some of the Ohio operators also own West Virginia mines and they are forcing their scabs to pay the price of creating scab mines in other states.

The talk of reducing the wages of railway employes has practically subsided. For the first time within the memory of man the railway brotherhood acted together in preparing to do battle. When the corporations, through their publicity departments, began to drop loud hints that it would be necessary to decrease wages in order to stimulate business, the brotherhood officials quietly got together and compared notes, with the result that they made the announcement that under no circumstances would they accept a cut in wages. They charged that the proposed reductions were merely stock-gambling schemes to assure gullible investors that dividends would be paid on the wind and water that had been poured

into railroading to enrich the frenzied financiers who worked out the plans. Observing that the men refused to be bullied or stampeded into accepting the gratuitous offer of the magnates, the impetuous Mr. Roosevelt could not resist the temptation to make another gallery play by instructing his interstate commerce commissioners to find out why the railway barons wanted to reduce wages, but no matter what the report of the government agents might be, whether a decrease in wages was justified or not the fact is the moment the various railway organizations decided to stand together they took a pretty safe position from which it would be difficult to dislodge them.

Another industry in which it was promised that the men would be compelled to accept reductions and perhaps accept other open shop conditions was that of marine transportation and longshore work. As long ago as last fall certain vessel owners made threats of what would be done this spring, and the marine reporters on the dailies "played up" the stories forty different ways. But it is doubtful whether there will be any trouble as the different branches of the traffic are now making their annual agreements, not without days of sparring and oceans of talk, but they usually make their arrangements on the basis of last season's conditions. Of course, there is still a chance for a general strike in some line, as not all contracts have been made at this writing, but such an occurrence is improbable and would hardly last long, as the workers would go into battle divided, many of the mariners having been tied down with agreements. Some day the marine workers will get together in an offensive and defensive alliance, but it will only be after some of the so-called leaders have been sent to the rear. The sailors especially are a clannish lot; many of them imagine that the world stands still and that the same skill and bravery to man a ship is required to-day as was necessary a century ago. The fact is the average sailor is just a common, ordinary piece of clay, a laborer, like a longshoreman.

The building and metal crafts have formed international trades sections, which will be subordinate to the A. F. of L., with the purpose in view of settling jurisdiction disputes among themselves, without dragging the whole labor movement into their quarrels, and also to insure more harmonious and united action in arranging working conditions with employers. If the open shop movement among the bosses had no other effect than driving the fighting factions together it was no unmixed evil. The building crafts held their get-together conference in Washington and the metal crafts assembled in Cincinnati. The international sections will charter local central bodies, which latter become branches of the central organizations chartered by the A. F. of L. The limitation of powers of the international and local bodies will go far toward removing a great deal of friction that has irritated the general labor movement.

The temporary injunction secured by the Bucks Stove & Range Co. against the A. F. of L. officials prohibiting the latter from boycotting the foregoing concern has been made permanent. Justice Gould issued the original order in the District of Columbia, and Justice Clabaugh, in the same jurisdiction, has now issued the permanent decree. The case will now go to the United States Supreme Court and the final decision is not difficult to predict. Outlawing the boycott makes the strike ineffective in many instances and probably the strike will next be declared illegal.

NEWS & VIEWS

AN OPEN LETTER TO CHARLES DOBBS.

Efficient Brains versus Bastard Culture.

New Canaan, Conn., March 14, 1908:

Mr. Charles Dobbs, Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Friend and Comrade: — Permit me to thank you most heartily for your article on "BRAINS" in the March REVIEW. It has brought sorely needed solace to my troubled spirit. I had of late been getting "cold feet" lest that sinister villain, La Monte the "literary demagogue," should drive out of the Party La Monte, the "Intellectual." But, glory be, you, like a modern Saint George (or, shall I say Don Quixote?) have entered the lists and at the first shock of conflict your good lance has unhorsed the malicious "demagogue" with his "spirit of bigotry and proscription, if not contemptible envy," and La Monte, the Intellectual, can once more breathe freely, and look confidently forward to years of usefulness in the Movement.

When Comrade Kerr told me, my dear Comrade, that you were coming to the succor of the sorely beset Intellectualettes, the news rejoiced me, for I felt assured that from you we would have an intelligent presentation of the case free from those felicitous epithets, "chumps," "yawpers," and "literary demagogues," which the talented Secretary of the Rand School showers so freely upon those Comrades who have the temerity to differ from him. But I confess I have been somewhat disappointed and surprised to find that you take so seriously your duty to "sternly rebuke." Was your keen sense of humor napping for once?

The fact is, my dear Comrade, that you and I and Comrade Ghent are far more nearly agreed than you and Ghent appear to realize. We are all agreed that the great need of the Socialist Party is for efficient brains and that we ought to utilize to the utmost for the common service such brains wherever we find them—whether in the skull of a Professor or a coal-heaver. But, in spite of your undoubtedly acute brains and your distinguished culture you and Comrade Ghent both make what appears to me the highly fallacious assumption that the possession of a conventional bourgeois education is a guarantee of the sort of mental efficiency the Socialist Party needs in its chief servants, otherwise y-clept "Leaders." So far am I from having a bigoted prejudice against Intellectuals, that I have for many weary years been scanning the horizon for any

NEWS AND VIEWS

sign of the rising of the star of a real American INTELLECTUAL. I have often in thought likened myself to Diogenes searching with his lantern for an honest man, and I have had no better luck than Diogenes. Who is there in the American movement whose name is to be written on the same page with those of Liebknecht, Bebel, Morris, Guesde, Vaillant or Jaures? So pitiful is our lack of men who rise to the real stature of leadership, that for months now we have been most pathetically trying to hypnotize ourselves into believing that a clever guerilla captain in that peculiar phase of the Class War that has raged in the mining industry of the Rocky Mountains for the past decade is really the timber out of which to make a Presidential Candidate — and that at the very first time in our history, when we have been so prominently in the lime-light that it has become a matter of the utmost moment that our Candidate should be a man capable of presenting our case creditably anywhere and everywhere, and especially that he should have a sufficient knowledge of Socialist Economics to explain in every utterance the significance of the recent panic and the present unemployment! While, when it comes to literary lights, I am sure, my dear Dobbs, you will agree with me that the best we can show are in Comrade Steere's happy phrase but "tallow candles."

But you have done us all a signal service in emphasizing the importance of efficiency. I would be the last to cavil at your insistence that we must have the "intelligence — the old-fashioned quality known as 'gumption' — to call, to the service of all, the most efficient individuals for the performance of any certain duty." I endorse quite as heartily the following sentences: — "Of course it is not always a simple matter to determine what comrade can discharge a given task most efficiently and we can rely upon only one rule: Efficiency produces order and results; inefficiency produces disorder and lack of results. Efficiency spells success; inefficiency spells failure." But I am unable to follow you when you appear to assume that the possession of a college sheepskin is *prima facie* evidence of the kind of efficiency you so well describe. So far as this certificate of bourgeois education tends to raise a presumption as to efficiency one way or the other in my mind, I confess the presumption is of inefficiency.

To show you that we "labor fanatics," "yawpers" and "literary demagogues" hold no patent upon this idea that the ordinary bourgeois education is no proof of efficiency, permit me to quote you a few extracts from the just published book on "The Philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche" by my very good friend, Henry L. Mencken, who is certainly one of the most efficient and successful newspaper men of his age in America, and I can assure you most positively that at the time he wrote these passages he was one of the most extreme individualists and convinced opponents of Socialism in this country. In his chapter on "Education," he says: —

"..... school teachers, taking them by and large, are probably the most ignorant and stupid class of men in the whole group of mental workers. Imitativeness being the dominant impulse in youth, their pupils acquire some measure of their stupidity, and the result is that the influence of the whole teaching tribe is against everything included in genuine education and culture." Further on in the same chapter, he says: —

"A further purpose of education is that of affording individuals a means of lifting themselves out of the slave class and into the master class. That this purpose is accomplished — except accident-

ally — by the brand of education ladled out in the colleges of today is far from true. To transform a slave into a master we must make him intelligent, self-reliant, resourceful, independent and courageous. It is evident enough, I take it, that a college directed by an ecclesiastic and manned by a faculty of asses — a very fair, and even charitable, picture of the average small college in the United States — is not apt to accomplish this transformation very often. Indeed, it is a commonplace observation that a truly intelligent youth is aided but little by the average college education, and that a truly stupid one is made, not less, but more stupid. The fact that many graduates of such institutions exhibit dionysian qualities in later life merely proves that they are strong enough to weather the blight they have suffered. *Every sane man knows that, after a youth leaves college, he must devote most of his energies during three or four years, to ridding himself of the fallacies, delusions and imbecilities in-
victed upon him by messieurs, his professors.*

"The intelligent man, in the course of his life, nearly always acquires a vast store of learning, because his mind is constantly active and receptive, but *intelligence and mere learning are by no means synonymous*, despite the popular notion that they are."

Frankly, my dear Dobbs, does not your experience in the Socialist movement show you that this "popular notion" that "intelligence and mere learning are synonymous," that education and social position are proofs of efficiency, is almost as powerful and widespread within the Movement as without it? Is it not a simple fact that so far from showing an ungracious suspicion of Intellectuals and Parlor Socialists, our proletarian comrades have in practice been too prone to place in positions of prominence and power in the Movement all those from the upper classes who have been seized by the caprice to uplift the down-trodden workers? I have in the past too often illustrated my arguments by specific personal instances, and I wish to avoid in this letter any personalities that might give rise to bitter feelings; but surely I am within the mark when I ask you if you have forgotten when our comrades in New York State precipitately nominated for Attorney-General a lawyer of prominence and wealth who had only declared himself a Socialist a few weeks before the Convention? If you recall this, you undoubtedly also recall how within a few weeks the State Committee was compelled to remove his name from the ticket, because they found he was giving aid and comfort to the political enemies of the working-class.

In view of such experiences (and any old Socialist will think of many others of a similar character) I, for my part, look on a reasonable degree of suspicion of Intellectuals and Parlor Socialists, as it is now being manifested here and there, as a most reassuring sign that the Proletariat are approaching maturity as a class, that they are showing the capacity to profit by experience, that their class consciousness is growing richer and deeper and thus coming to include class-self-respect, and that the Dawn of the Social Revolution is growing measurably nearer.

There is room in the Socialist Party for all of us; we are no longer a sect, but a Party with its doors wide open to the mental and the manual worker alike, to the Parlor Socialist as well as to the factory worker. But no one by reason of his past industrial or social position must be allowed to assume the *right* to leadership.

Again, my dear Dobbs, I want to thank you for impressing upon us all the fact that efficiency — the power to serve well the

working-class — is the only valid criterion by which we should select our chief servants, whether they come from the College or the Shop.

Fraternally,

ROBERT RIVES LAMONTE.

The Nature of Utopianism. — Your discussion, in the March number, of the question of Utopianism, in connection with Comrade Hannemann's letter upon the tactics of the Industrial Workers of the World, prompts me to remark that the great mass of our comrades in the Socialist Party do not understand the meaning of the word in the Marxian vocabulary. I am inclined, also, as a result of a somewhat extensive association with them, to agree with Comrade Untermann that the members of the Socialist Labor Party are, as a whole, even more ignorant of its meaning. For the majority of American Socialists, it seems, Engels and Plechanoff — and the publication of the latter's "Anarchism and Socialism" is a welcome event! — have written in vain. They are enslaved to abstract ideas! Funny, isn't it, that the most radical comrades, those who are fondest of appealing to Marxian authority, should be of this very class? Take, as an illustration, the demand for party ownership of the press and the suppression of private Socialist papers. The argument used is that as we believe in public ownership, as it is a necessary feature of Socialism, we ought to apply the principle now, within the party. Poor Utopians! Do they really believe that under Socialism all newspapers and journals will be published by the government, and that private enterprise in that field will be forbidden? If so, I prefer Russia under Czar Nicholas! The fact seems to be that our friends miss the substance while they grasp the form. Socialism is not mainly a movement to bring about public ownership. It is that only incidentally. Its main principle is to stop the exploitation of workers by shirkers, bees by drones, useful members of society by parasites. Public ownership is only in our programme as a means to that end. If we bear this in mind, it seems to me, as a very humble student, we shall get rid of many of these notions which make factions in the party ranks.

A. B. BEE.

Opportunism in France. — In spite of formal unity the Socialist movement in France is still divided by sharply contending factions. Three of these are well defined and energetically represented by propagandists: they may be called the Opportunists, Guesdists, or strict Marxians, and the Internationalists, or anti-militarists. The opposing contentions of these three groups are interestingly mirrored in a significant article which appeared in *La Revue Socialiste* for December. The article is entitled *The Crisis of Socialism and its Causes*, and was written by M. Louis Oustry. In general M. Oustry's contention is that the extreme form of Marxist doctrine represented by the orthodox French Socialists does not appeal to a large section of the French proletariat. This statement he endeavors to explain by a hasty comparison between Marxist theory and present economic conditions. In France, he maintains, centralization has its limits. In certain trades the laborer is still capitalist; and in agriculture there has of late been more division than combination. Therefore a large number of proletarians are not economically driven into the revolutionary camp. To these, naturally enough, the extreme form of the Marxist doctrine is repulsive. The doctrine of internationalism, in particular, makes no appeal to the agricultural population. M. Oustry seems to favor a sort of idealistic propaganda. Show the agriculturalist,

he would say, the advantages of combined production; neither economic necessity nor talk of internationalism will bring them into the Socialist camp.

In general this article, filled as it is with the spirit of Fourier, may be said to represent the point of view of the French Opportunists. An American reader may be led to excuse the author's apparent blindness to facts by remembering that in France economic evolution has been much slower than in America. But he cannot help wondering which are the trades in which there is no sign of consolidation; and he can hardly forget that here, where so lately every farm was tilled by its owner, nearly one half are now occupied by tenants.

Avenarius, Mach and Dietzgen. In a personal letter accompanying his translation of Dr. Adler's article with which this issue of the Review opens, Ernest Untermann writes: "You will note the similarity between the views of Avenarius, Mach, and Dietzgen. In fact, Mach has endorsed the views of Josef Dietzgen, and Avenarius is regarded by scientists like Adler as a counterpart of the proletarian philosopher. To what extent this view is borne out by their works, will have to be ascertained by mutual discussion between Adler and ourselves. If such a discussion is ever carried on in public, you may be sure, that it will be a fraternal one and a thorough comparison of actual experience, not a personal controversy concerning individual speculations. There are some passages in this article of Adler's, which seem to me to require a little further elucidation, for instance, on place, where he says (6. The Laws of the Transformation of Bodies), that two bodies, which are equal as combinations of elements, are really not equal sometimes, when you subject them to a test, such as a chemical transformation. If he had said here that two bodies, which *appear* equal as combinations of elements, turn out to be unequal in some tests, I would have had no further reservation to make. For it seems to me that bodies, which are actually equal as combinations of elements, must also turn out equally when subjected to the same scientific test. If they do not so turn out, there must have been some element in one that was not contained in the other, that is, they must really have been unequal. I don't know what comrade Adler had in mind, when he wrote that. Perhaps he was thinking of some chemical formulae, which are the same so far as human tests can ascertain, and which yet are represented by different chemical reactions. Perhaps comrade Adler can find time to elucidate this point a little more. While this does not in any way invalidate his fundamental statements concerning the new conception of world elements, still it leaves a doubt in the mind of the reader about some point, and even this doubt should be removed. We are all interested in clear thinking, and this we must get by fraternal discussion. It is in this spirit that I make these remarks."

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT



EIGHTY PAGES NEXT MONTH.

Last month and again this month we have been obliged to omit valuable and timely articles from lack of space. Next month we shall try the experiment of adding sixteen pages. To keep this size permanently will involve an extra outlay of about \$360 a year on the basis of our present circulation, while on the increased circulation that we should have the difference between the cost of 64 pages and 80 will be considerably more. The one safe way to cover this cost is by increasing the number of yearly subscribers at the full price of a dollar a year? Do YOU want to see the Review permanently enlarged to 80 pages a month? Then can you help by finding three new subscribers at a dollar each? In return for this we will send you by mail or express prepaid the seventh volume of the Review, including the numbers from July 1906 to June 1907 inclusive, durably bound in cloth. We have seven bound volumes of the Review, and all except the first can be obtained on the same terms as a premium for obtaining three new subscriptions. The first volume is so scarce that its price has been advanced to \$5.00 and will go higher still. Our supply of the other volumes is limited, and this offer will soon be withdrawn.

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