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A Plea for the Unity of American Socialists *

THERE has never come to socialism so plain an opportunity as that now offered by the American political situation. We have reached the psychological moment when socialists may define the issues of life and death for the nation. A united and harmonious socialistic movement may now make clear to all the people the lines of conflict between capitalism and socialism; between despotism and liberty. These lines of conflict may be made so definite that no party of compromise or tinkering can enter the political field. Now is the time of socialist salvation, if we are great enough to respond to the greatness of our opportunity.

Nothing outside of socialism can defeat it; capitalism cannot defeat socialism, any more than it can defeat the law of gravity, or obstruct the progress of the seasons. It lies not in the power of capitalistic governments, or capitalistic laws, or capitalistic standing armies, or capitalistic religions, to withstand the socialist evolution and freedom of society. A united and harmonious socialist movement has the push of all the centuries behind it, and the human future for its own. But socialists themselves, by their want of noble unity and concerted action, may put off the co-operative commonwealth and prolong the suffering of the world's disinherited for a generation, or a century. And only by a factional and divided socialist movement can socialism be defeated.

Let us look at our political situation, that we may see what we have to prepare for. The break-up of the Democratic party, and its reorganization upon strictly capitalistic lines, is inevitable. The party will be captured by what is called the

* Address delivered at mass-meeting of Chicago Socialists, Nov. 18, and stenographically reported for the International Socialist Review.

old-line Democracy, represented by such men as Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Whitney and Mr. Hill. It will become merely an opposition capitalistic party, to alternate with the Republican or constructive capitalistic party in the possession of power. It will then make no sort of difference to capitalists, or to the working class either, whether the Republican or the Democratic party be in control of government; for capitalism will be in possession of both parties. The perpetuity of the capitalistic system depends upon its having two political parties, about equally matched, to play off against each other, and to shuttle-cock the Proletaire between blind issues. American political campaigns have long been a sort of Punch and Judy show; and it has been all one to the working man, whether he was looking at Republican Punch or Democratic Judy. The strings of both parties were in capitalists' hands. As evidence of this, you will only need to read the recent editorials of representative Republican newspapers, expressing most anxious solicitude as to the reorganization and purity of the Democratic party, with wise propositions as to its necessity for the development and protection of our institutions.

Now what will happen as the result of this organization of the Democratic party upon openly capitalistic lines? A very large portion of Democratic voters supported Mr. Bryan, not because they wanted him, but as a political makeshift. He was really wanted by neither the conservative nor the radical Democracy. His negative position made him unacceptable to old-line Democrats, and his want of economic knowledge or definite purpose made him unacceptable to the more radical and discontented Democrats. The capitalistic reorganization of the Democratic party means the breaking away of this large element of radical and discontented Democracy. With it will merge a no inconsiderable element of the Republican party, which voted for Mr. McKinley, not because it wanted him, but because it rightly saw only confusion in turning to Mr. Bryan. The danger of all this reshifting is the possible formation of a radical or new Democratic party, with semi-socialistic propositions and tendencies, to gather up and fuse this untaught and undisciplined American discontent, which probably represents one-third the nation's voters. This new radical party will certainly appear, and possess the situation, unless socialists lay aside all factional differences and enter the national political field with a unity and dignified action that shall win this discontent and discipline it for intelligent and constructive effort on the basis of the international socialists' program. And, mind you, the agents of capitalism will secretly encourage this semi-socialistic party, in order to withstand the appearance of socialism as a definite and organized proposition to the American people.

The present tory degradation of England is chiefly due to the tinkering, or so-called socialistic tendencies, of the liberal party. While English socialists were divided among themselves, the liberal party deluded the people with factory acts, municipal water-works, and the like. It was this English liberalism, under the leadership of that prince of fakirs, Mr. Gladstone, that wrought the present moral and political prostitution of England.

Meanwhile, during our reshifting process, the Republican party will be making steady encroachments upon liberty of speech and of suffrage. In more than one state, legislation has already been proposed that has no other motive than the elimination of the socialist ticket from the official ballot. The courts of injustice and the subsidized public press, as well as an ignorant and hireling pulpit, will be turned against that freedom of agitation and action which socialism needs for its progress.

And international preparations against socialism will increase. Behind the pomp and strut, the lies and treaties, of international diplomacy is the subtle and far-seeing purpose to unite the world-powers against the international socialist revolution. Diplomacy is to-day but the mere shadow cast by the vested interests of the great banking houses. And it is against the dreaded triumph of socialism that these banking houses are organizing the world's diplomacy. Not long ago, Kaiser Wilhelm frankly and brutally declared socialism to be the coming enemy against which the civilized world should arm itself. And he has had a ridiculous picture painted where-with to pamphleteer his warning to Europe. Lord Salisbury has recently said that it is time for the nations to come to a mutual understanding, or else the dregs of civilization would overwhelm it in the near future. Lord Salisbury's dregs of civilization are the Proletaire, no matter how else he may define his meaning. International understanding has already gone far enough to make sure that the menace of socialism in one nation means the co-operation of all the great world-powers against it. We had just as well understand that American socialism will not only have to meet American capitalism, but will have to be prepared to meet all Europe at the same time; for American capitalism will have armed Europe as its allies. For not a throne in Europe would stand a year after the triumph of socialism in America.

Comrades, do we see the greatness of our opportunity? Are we great enough to unitedly take up the responsibility which that opportunity puts upon us? I wish we might feel something of the stupendous and century-reaching consequences of what we may decide in this meeting to-night. Who knows but Chicago socialists may be deciding the fate of the socialist

movement for a generation, not only for America, but for the world? If we strive with each other upon questions of detail, or upon questions of place and power, then the new radical party of which I have been speaking will possess the field, and socialism as a distinct issue will be postponed for a generation. And we will perish in the wilderness because we are not worthy of our opportunity. But if we present a solidly united and harmonious comradeship, with an uncompromising socialist program, then in four years from now we shall have grown strong enough to hold the balance of power in the national political situation. We are able to present this program and harmony, if we will. But, in order to match our opportunity, socialism must pass out of the sectarian stage, out of the stage of mere sectional propaganda, into lines of action that shall win American sympathy, and nobly awaken American labor to that class-consciousness without which we are helpless. We have come to the moment in which a harmonious and disciplined socialist movement may lead the untaught peoples into the co-operative commonwealth.

Unity and harmony of action depend upon the widest liberty of opinion and detail. We make socialism the betrayer of the people who are crying for liberty of life, if we win them to our program only to menace them at every turn by sheer authority, and drive them from one jealous faction to another, each faction claiming authoritative powers. The principle of authority, of the rule of a single dogma or center of authority, belongs to the capitalistic system and not to socialism. Mere authority is a brute principle at best. And it is upon this brute system of authority that the capitalistic system depends. Liberty of thought and action, under the capitalistic system, means loss of position, daily bread, and even life itself. Socialism cannot make progress by the capitalistic principle of authority upon which the church stands; the principle upon which the old political parties and governments stand; the principle upon which capitalistic and ecclesiastical education stands. Sheer authority, brute dogmatism, political bossism, factional strife, have no place among socialists. In so far as we practice these we are traitors one to another, and capitalistic in spirit.

The international socialist program is broad enough for the widest variety of opinion as to detail, and as to the working out of principle. If socialism is to emancipate the world, it must stand for that liberty which the systems and institutions of the past have denied. We must remember that Marx' ideal was that of a perpetually fluid and endlessly growing civilization, in which every element of life may find free and full expression. The elemental meaning of socialism is the liberty of each man to take a free look at life, to see truth for himself, and to speak

his own mind about what he sees, without let or menace from any source. Socialism is under bonds to see that each man makes his full contribution to the common thought and common life. If we are socialists in spirit as well as in name, we shall not only hear one another as comrades, but we shall gladly welcome every comrade into the full expression of thought and feeling, and give due and reverent consideration to even the weakest and most seemingly stupid among us. We must not only not restrain, but we must encourage and sacredly nourish the utmost individuality of life and thought in each comrade. We are true comrades in so far as we convince every man in the ranks, and every toiler in the street or in the mine, that he has an inestimable worth, and that he has an invaluable contribution to make to the human whole. If we have so little faith in the elemental meaning of socialism that we must resort to ecclesiastical and capitalistic tactics in order to gain our ends, then we will fail, and we ought to fail. And the blood of the world's disinherited will be upon our heads and not at the door of capitalism.

The American nation began with eighteenth century ideas of liberty. It began nobly. But by the time the American revolution had reached the constitutional period, it already distrusted the liberty that was its inspiration. The Hamiltonian constitution of the United States was devised as an instrument for preventing the people from governing themselves. It has most perfectly succeeded in that for which it was devised. The ideals of Thomas Jefferson, of whom the Democratic party is grotesquely ignorant, had small place in the crystallization of our institutions. The old American passion for liberty has thus met with sad and baffling disappointments. Only one disappointment in history equals it; and that is, the monstrous perversion of Jesus by Christianity. The nineteenth century has just gone out in a train of disappointments, beaten hopes, broken ideals, betrayed faiths and doubted doubts.

Now socialism comes to our American life as the realization of the liberty that has met with sore disappointment; as the fulfillment of the genius and truth of democracy. Socialism points out the economic basis upon which democracy must stand in order to achieve liberty. It proclaims all liberty to rest back upon economic liberty, and all individuality to be rooted in economic unity. It affirms that there can be no liberty save through association; no true commonwealth save a co-operative commonwealth. It makes clear that democracy in the state is but a tantalism and a fiction, unless it be realized through democracy in production and distribution. It witnesses that liberty, order and progress depend now upon the ownership by the people of the means and sources of production. It offers history as the proof that there can be no indi-

vidual liberty or social harmony in a competitive struggle which makes every man's life a pitched battle with civilization for economic sustenance. It declares that liberty to be a mockery which means merely the survival of the strong and the cunning through the devouring of the weak, or through the devouring of those who are too noble to strike down their brothers.

Socialism must work out, in its propaganda, the needed synthesis between unity of program and individual liberty of thought and action. We must plant ourselves upon a socialistic propaganda that is democratic in spirit, and that shall respond to the cry of the human soul for emancipation. And this does not mean compromise; for it is comradeship and tolerance among ourselves that remove all danger of compromise, or of parleying with the capitalistic enemy.

The rank and file of attached socialists, and several hundred thousand unattached socialists, are asking that we present to them an uncompromising and yet harmonious organization that shall command their moral enthusiasm; their noble support and joyful sacrifices. We must give what these ask of us, or perish as a present-day movement. If we stand for the unity of human interests, we must prove our faith and sincerity by uniting. If we stand for brotherhood, we must act like brothers, and not like the so-called Christians who call one another brother and then proceed to devour one another. If we stand for the co-operative commonwealth, then in God's name let us begin to co-operate among ourselves. Let us give trust, and we shall receive trust. Let us show confidence in one another, and we shall receive confidence. Divided by strife and suspicion, we fail, and are faithless to the world's disinherited who stretch forth to us worn hands of entreaty. United by patience, by good-will and brave comradeship, we shall conquer the world, and make it a fit place for free men and comrades to live in. And the stars themselves cannot fight against us.

As a socialist, I believe I can be true to my comrades only by taking the position that I will let no man under the skies make me his personal enemy. At the same time, I will let no man take from me one jot or tittle of the philosophy and principle upon which socialism bases itself.

Socialists are not asking that old leaders get out of the way; for they recognize the long hardships which these leaders have undergone, and their noble pioneer service in the great cause. The socialist ranks are only asking that their leaders learn to work together and lead harmoniously. For the multitudes who really want socialism cannot bear to have their hopes, and the master-opportunity of socialism, wrecked by factional strifes, which are not only senseless and meaningless, but

wicked. I cannot believe that these strifes will continue. And I do not believe that they represent the real hearts and minds of those who have engaged in them. We have only to witness this meeting to-night, which has impressed me with its moral earnestness more than with anything else. I have not seen a sign nor heard a syllable of strife for advantage in the work of this day; in the committee-room and on the floor I have seen nothing but an honest and earnest desire for the good of socialism. I believe that the deep feeling of responsibility and unity which pervades us at this hour really represents the spirit and future of American socialism. If we here unite in one body and organism of purpose and action, then we shall compel the unity of socialists throughout the United States. And a united and harmonious socialist movement in America means a great new fire of hope kindled upon every socialist altar in Europe.

Socialism needs no religion imposed upon it from without, and the less it has of such the safer will be its course. But it does need to be shot through with that spiritual passion without which, as Hegel says, no great movement ever prevails. And socialism has within itself the germs of that passion; it has the seed of a new religion. Socialism has power to become its own religion. Essentially, socialism is a religion—the religion of life and brotherhood for which the world has long waited. It has in it that purpose which can command the idealistic motive that lies deep in even the most matter of fact man. Hundreds of thousands of young men and women are crying out for some cause in which they can invest their lives; some cause that shall afford them altars of exalted and self-denying service. They see the gods and their temples burning to ashes, and they ask for something that shall take the place of these in supplying the most elemental need of the human soul. Socialism can supply that need. It comes to the common life as the religion of a free and happy earth; the religion of comradeship, and mutual hope and brotherhood. Let socialists be true to the deeper meanings of the class struggle, and they may gather into the service of socialism the great fund of religious purpose and passion which is now heartsick, unattached and wasted. And this religious passion, quicker than anything else, will waken the working class to the consciousness of its worth and destiny, and of the struggle and solidarity by which the emancipation of life and labor must come.

Let me close with the proposition with which I began: that only a factional and divided socialist movement can defeat socialism. There is no power in capitalism, nor in the universe, that can prevent the consummation of a united and harmonious socialist movement in the co-operative common-

wealth. There has never come to the world of labor, nor to the international socialist movement, nor to the long struggle of man for liberty, an opportunity like unto that which the American political and religious situation now presents. The American people, led by the politicians to continued economic slaughter, are finding themselves in the economic condition of the proletaire, whose soul and body have been so long the grist of the capitalist mill, that he has had no opportunity to become class-conscious, or aspire to better things. Vast intellectual and religious resources are offering themselves to the socialist cause. Now is the opportunity of socialism to gather the disappointed American democracy, and the freely-offered brain and heart of the younger men and women of the educated class, into the service of inspiring and disciplining American labor for the coming struggle and the coming liberty. That opportunity means a responsibility that shall match it. For opportunity never calls a people, or a class, to responsibility without the people or the class being potentially able to respond. The way in which we meet this responsibility and opportunity can be nothing less than a divine judgment upon our lives and upon our cause. The call which comes to Chicago socialists to-night makes this the solemn and stupendous moment of every comrade's life, and ought to make heroes and Titans of us all. If we look our opportunity nobly in the face, and turn from our differences to our task with a spirit that shall melt all strifes and fuse all efforts, then in four years from now we shall find lined up against the capitalist system an invincible army of socialist comrades, filled with the joy of battle and the certainty of victory.

America is the stage on which international socialist revolution may first be dramatized. The curtain is rung up, and we are called upon the stage. In God's name, and in the name of the world's disinherited, let us play our parts nobly and acquit ourselves like men.

Prof. George D. Herron.

Decadence of Personal Property in Europe

THE characteristic types of personal property, instruments of labor for the proprietor, not instruments for the exploitation of labor, which still persist in the present capitalistic societies, are: the peasant proprietor, the artisan, and, to the extent that he retains property in his stock of goods, the small merchant.

The peasant proprietor, utilizing directly his own labor, assisted by the members of his family, reproduces among us, more or less adapted to the modern environment, the isolated domestic economy of the rural community of the middle ages.

The artisan, proprietor of his tools, and himself selling what he produces, is in our present city life the successor of the trade guilds of the communal epoch.

As for the little retailer, the middleman who multiplies to-day in almost all branches of production, we have seen him appear only since the moment when the progress of the division of labor and the extension of the markets has made way for his intervention in exchanges.

It is since 1830, says Degreef, that retail trade and wholesale trade have especially developed. The population active in trade arose in 1846 to the number of 103,696, a figure which by 1856 was to rise to 156,803,—that is to say that the increase of the number of middle-men during that period was more rapid than the growth of population; while the latter increased by less than 1 per cent a year, the number of merchants grew at the annual rate of about 5 per cent.

We see then that the development of capitalism and industrial concentration may have for a counterpart the multiplication of small enterprises in other branches, and notably in commercial pursuits. But we shall have to investigate in what proportion these little enterprises really constitute the personal property of those who exploit them.

I.—THE PEASANT PROPRIETORS.

It is necessarily in agriculture, the least differentiated of the great industries, that we find oftenest the archaic forms of property and of production. Such are the "commons," belonging to the communes, but appropriated to the individual enjoyment of the inhabitants; the "latifundia," of feudal origin, the domains of the prince which have become domains of the

state, and finally, that most perfect form of personal appropriation, "peasant proprietorship," exploited in direct production by the cultivator, aided by members of his family, and producing almost everything required for the needs of his household.*

It is needless to say that in our countries where capitalistic production predominates, those conditions of life where they persist are already profoundly altered; to find them intact with their purely sexual division of labor, it is necessary to go to the Slavic communities of eastern Europe.

The Bukowinian peasant, says Karl Bucher, usually efficient by himself, when he builds a house does the work of a carpenter, a roofer and other artisans, while his wife busies herself with weaving the partitions, plastering them with clay and stopping the chinks with moss, with beating down the earth which is to serve them for a floor, as well as many other labors of the same kind. From the sowing of textile plants or the care of sheep, up to the completion of his bedding or of his clothing, the peasant of Bukowina produces everything, even his dyes, which he extracts from the plants he cultivates, and his tools, naturally very primitive, which are necessary to him. And in general it is the same with his food. Cultivating laboriously his field of maize, he reduces, with the aid of a hand-mill, the grains into meal, which is his principal food; he constructs for himself the simple tools, dishes and utensils for his house-keeping, or at least there is in the village some self-taught mechanic who can do it. He generally leaves to the Bohemians, who live scattered over the country, only the manufacture of iron.

In this stage of evolution, exchange, money, capital, all the categories which bourgeois economy assumes to be eternal, reduce themselves to nothing,—they can be dispensed with.

But, beginning from the moment when labor is divided, or the acts of production are separated, one after the other, from the domestic economy, to be transferred to social production, peasant proprietorship, where it is not actually suppressed as in certain districts of England, by brutal and bloody confiscations, none the less is radically transformed.

The development of industry, in the cities, does away with domestic industry, the baking of bread, wood-working, the use of the spinning-wheel, hand weaving, for the needs of the family; or at least it specializes them and transforms them into those home industries, miserably paid, which still vegetate in the lofty valleys of mountainous regions and in certain parts of the level country.

The extension of cultivation, necessitated by the increasing

*For precise information regarding peasant proprietorship, see chapter I. of the book by A. Souchan, "La Propriete Paysanne" (Paris, Larose, 1899.)

demand for food products in proportion to the increase of urban and industrial population, carries with it the abolition of common pasturage and woodland, the sale or the division of "commons," and the consequent suppression of the customary rights so precious to peasant proprietors.

"The communal heaths," said in 1847 the deputies from the province of Luxembourg in the Belgian Chamber, "are the most assured possessions of the poorer inhabitants. They make it possible for them to keep some heads of cattle on the common pasturage, furnish them with bedding for the cattle and thatching for their cottages, and moreover, in certain places a supply of firewood which aids them in procuring the bread needed for the subsistence of their families."

Deprived of their "commons"—except in certain regions where uncultivated fields are still numerous—obliged to have money, to buy what the work of the home no longer produced, to pay the ever-increasing government charges, to pay the hired help which replaces their sons, taken from the home by the factory or the army,—the peasant proprietors, reduced to the exclusive function of cultivators, are obliged to produce exchange values, to keep their personal expenses down to the minimum, to eat lard and oleomargarine from America while they sell their butter, their calves, their cattle, their pork, either at the market in the next village or to merchants who too often exploit them and keep them in debt.

Finally, when the development of international relations, the perfecting of means of transport, the invasion of cereals and other products from beyond the sea, expose agriculture to all the fluctuations of the world market, the cultivators find themselves obliged to improve their tillage, to amend their technique, to transform their culture which no longer pays into a culture that is still profitable.

The aspect of the fields is being modified. Wheat loses its ancient preponderance; it is giving place in large measure to market gardens, dairies and the raising of fat cattle. Pasturage is being transformed into artificial meadows. The soil is furrowed with drainage and irrigation ditches.

Meanwhile, for industrialism and agriculture alike there is need of capital, and most of the peasant proprietors have none. So, many of them have been obliged to contract heavy burdens of debt, to pledge their goods, or to give up laboring on their own account and become tenant farmers.

It is this which in great part explains the notable falling off of peasant proprietorship in Belgium since the agricultural crisis, and especially in the interval between the census of 1880 and that of 1895.

In 1880, out of every hundred hectares (247.1 acres) of land under ordinary culture, 66 were worked by tenants as against

34 by owners. In 1895 the proportion worked by owners had declined to 31 as against 69.*

It is also important to note that direct working, peasant proprietorship, retains its importance only in the poorest regions, in the heaths of Campine, the higher marshes of Ardenes, the woodland cantons of the Entre Sambre and Meuse. On the contrary, capitalist proprietorship, the exploitation by tenant farmers, prevails almost without exception in the richest regions, so that a conservative writer, M. de Lavallee Poussin, could say: "The development of peasant proprietorship proceeds in inverse ratio to the selling value of the ground. Where the land is high priced, tenantry is the dominant system; few proprietors cultivate their patrimony themselves and most of the peasants are tenant farmers. The reverse is the case where the land has little value, and the more that value declines the more does direct working tend to become the exclusive system."†

Thus all the causes which tend to increase the value of land, — the increase of population, the growth of cities, the extension of industrial centers, the progress of intensive cultivation, — tend equally to cause a divorce between property and labor, to replace direct working and personal property by indirect working and capitalist property.

"A necessary consequence of private property in land, under a system of capitalist production, is the separation of the cultivator-proprietor into two persons, the proprietor and the farmer (entrepreneur)." — Marx. Now, from the moment when this separation is produced, the exploitation of the laborer begins.

It matters little, from this point of view, whether large or small farming predominates. In districts of capitalist agriculture, in the strict sense of the word, characterized by the distinction between farm proprietors, farm operators and farm laborers, the exploitation of labor is even, as a general rule, less excessive than in the districts of small farming, where the farmer is in reality nothing but a piece-work laborer, reduced to the lowest conditions of existence.

It will suffice us to cite, on this point, the unquestioned tes-

*In Germany, out of 5,276,844 holdings, there are 15.7% rented, 68.6% worked by the owners, and 20.7% partly rented and partly worked direct, but "The proportion of lands rented out by contract to those worked by the proprietor himself seems to be actually increasing." — (Blondel, *Etudes sur les Population Rurales de l'Allemagne*. Paris: Larose, 1897.) In France, according to the investigation of 1892, out of a total of 5,618,317 holdings, there are 4,190,725 worked directly and 1,427,523 indirectly. The general proportion of cultivation by owners to cultivation by tenants is in the ratio of three to one. In England, according to Schaeffle, there are six times as many holdings worked by tenant farmers as by proprietors. (Kern und Zeitfragen, p. 93. Berlin, 1895.) Thus the proportion of direct working is much larger in Germany and France, where the farmers still include half the population, than in England and Belgium, where the industrial and commercial populations form the great majority.

†"La Propriete Paysanne" (Revue Sociale Catholique, Feb., 1896; p. 100.)

timony of Paul Leroy Beaulieu: "The parceling out of estates into very small farms, whether it be in countries with a dense population like Flanders and the *Terra de Lavoro* (land of labor) in the kingdom of Naples, or in a starving population like Ireland, may be favorable to the proprietors, but it is not without social inconveniences, sometimes also economic disadvantages. The desperate competition of the small farmers forces up rents in normal times to very high figures; the proprietor, thus finding an easy income and one which in prosperous times tends to increase, stops cultivating land himself. In this particular case, the high rents rest upon the distress and the low standard of living of the tenants. It is this that certain English writers have called "competitive land-rents." *

Supposing then, as Sering forces himself to assert, in his critique of Kautsky's recent book,† that the progress of intensive culture generally results in multiplying the small and moderate holdings—a matter we shall discuss later—still would it not result that the exploitation of the agricultural laborers must be less intense and less unjustifiable? And up to this point, the conclusion we have reached is the decadence, more or less rapid, more or less complete, of peasant proprietorship, wherever the capitalist system is developing.

Again, even when they persist and where they escape being mortgaged, the family goods, robbed of their primitive characteristics, deprived of their autonomy, incorporated into the vast organism of production for exchange, are subjected to the sovereignty of grain merchants, millers, sugar manufacturers and other great barons of the agricultural industries.

Moreover, in proportion as population increases, and especially in countries where inheritance is equal—when the "zwei kindersystem" does not come in with its demoralizing consequences—the holdings, always more divided, always more impaired or encumbered by the claims of collateral heirs, become so slender that they no longer suffice to make a living for their proprietors.

The reader may remember the imprecations of the old Clousier, the justice of the peace in Balzac's "Cure de Village," against the title of succession of the civil code,—“that pestle whose perpetual motion distributes the land, individualizes fortunes by taking away their necessary stability, and which, always decomposing and never recomposing, will end by destroying France.” It contributes, at least, in a large measure,

*Leroy Beaulieu: "Traite Theorique et Pratique d'Economie Politique." II., p. 24. (Paris, Guillaumin, 1896.)

†Sering: "Die Agrarfrage und der Sozialismus," pp. 322 et seq.

to destroying peasant proprietorship, whether it be to the profit of capitalist proprietorship or of ownership in petty parcels.*

In the first case, the peasants are replaced by tenant farmers.

In the second, they find themselves obliged to seek other means of livelihood, which are at first incidental, but eventually become their main dependence.†

Some, and it is necessarily a small minority, start on some small commercial pursuit,—they become retailers, tavern-keepers, dealers in cows or poultry or manure.

Others, uprooted from their native soil, abandon to their wives or to their relatives the cultivation of their parcel of ground, and go abroad in the summer to work in the harvest field, or at gathering beet-roots, or at making bricks, or any such work, so when autumn comes they bring back a few hundred francs to live on through the winter. Others again, while they keep a patch of land, which they generally have prepared by the nearest farmer instead of working it with a spade as formerly, themselves become wage-workers, industrial or agricultural.

In Belgium notably, thanks to the closeness of the centers of population and to the institution of "workingmen's trains," which carry them at a rate ten times less than that for ordinary travelers, there are daily more than a hundred thousand country people, among whom are many petty proprietors or sons of proprietors, who go by rail to work in factories or coal mines, and often at surprising distances from their homes.‡

Some time ago, for example, the writer was at Ossche, a peaceful Flemish village northwest of Brussels, some forty miles distant by rail. Observing among the peasants who had gathered in the public square, attracted by the socialists' shouts, some whose faces were scarred by powder-burns, so characteristic of miners, I asked them whether they had formerly worked in the "black country." "We work there yet," they replied. "We go every morning from Ossche to North Brussels, from North Brussels to South Brussels by the belt line, from South Brussels to Charleroy, and we return home every evening by the same route."

According to information furnished by the department of railways, there are in the district of Brussels, and especially in East Flanders, thousands of workingmen who are in practically the same condition: ten hours at work, two hours of

*We should regard it as a remedy worse than the disease to replace equality of shares by any system of inheritance which should favor one of the children at the expense of the others, and which might consolidate the peasant proprietorship in favor of the privileged heir, but only by hastening the proletarianization of the heirs sacrificed.

†According to the industrial census of the German Empire, June 14, 1895, out of each hundred agricultural holdings there are 40.85 which are occupied by people exercising as their main dependence some nonagricultural profession.

‡Vandervelde, "Les Villes Tentaculaires" (Revue d'Economie Politique, April, 1890.)

railroad travel going, two hours of railroad travel returning, and often a long walk besides. We may well ask with apprehension what human element can remain in such lives, wholly absorbed in the struggle for bread. And yet in spite of all some of these very men, unconscious types of Prometheus, are carrying back to their homes the spark snatched from socialist altars and are kindling, even in the obscurest country places, the great flame of hope in a better future.

Emile Vandervelde (translated by Charles H. Kerr.)

(Concluded next month.)



Some Ethical Problems



UCH has recently been said about "approaching socialism from the ethical side," and as to whether the changed conditions and relations that would arise from the application of socialist principles would or would not be "moral." A growing class of pseudo-scientific literature refers frequently to the "ethics of industry," and characterizes the relations between individual employers and their workmen as being "unethical." It is offered as a "moral" indictment against present society that it is "wrong" that the working class is not better housed and that it does not receive a larger proportion of the things it produces.

Unfortunately these ethical terms in the general conversation and writings of to-day have been so misused that they have been deprived of almost all definite meaning. When the terms of any science have been thus perverted the serious investigator finds himself confronted with a very dangerous confusion at the outset of his work. Numerous questions confront him. What constitutes a moral system? What is the standard by which an act or relation is judged as moral or immoral? In this article there is not the space to review even briefly the various standards of right and wrong that have been expounded in different systems or the "ends" that have been viewed as constituting the "ultimate good." For a future time likewise must be reserved the proof of what will in this paper be accepted as the "final object" of ethics.

In each and every stage of society the test of the fitness of any system of ethics lies in the proof that it does or does not conform to those conditions which make for the progress of the race. By progress is here meant an increasing control by man over the forces of nature; a greater ability to make them serve his comfort and perform his tasks; in short a growing mastery over his environment. This greater control is equivalent to a higher development of the human race. Up to this test every system of morality has been obliged to come or disappear. I am not here considering the various ideal systems that have arisen in the minds of philosophers, and have been formulated as utopias toward which their authors vainly hoped to elevate society. Neither do I refer to those ideological creations of the human mind that have sought to analyze, classify and arrange the motives, ends and impulses of human activity, and which have come to be known in philosophy under the various names of intuitional, utilitarian, eudomistic, evolution-

ary, etc. Reference is here had to those codes of ethics actually existing in different stages of social development.

All such systems of morals as pointed out by Spencer, Loria and others are changing both in time and place. There has never yet been a permanent or a universal code of ethics. Like every other social institution they have been a product of the changes in material surroundings, geographical locations and different methods of gaining a livelihood that have marked different ages and peoples. That any system of ethics prevailed at a certain period argued that it was produced by an underlying economic development which at that time was making for human advance. In the earlier stages of barbarism, community of goods was in general accordance with social progress and ordinarily prevailed. Gradually the institution of private property displaced this, and with it came a code of ethics that was suitable in every way to further and support the rights of individual owners of property. The societies first making this change were better able to compete, that is, more fitted to survive, in the new economic environment than those retaining the communal organization belonging to an earlier environment.

Further, as has been frequently pointed out, the practice of killing those captured in battle was regarded as right at a time when tribes which conquered, if they were to retain their conquests, had no other way of disposing of their enemies. But as soon as these nomads settled to agricultural pursuits they found it profitable to utilize their prisoners for cultivating the land, and an ethical system arose under which slavery was "right." In states where the slave passed directly into a wage-earner, the institution of slavery was viewed as "wrong" by public opinion only when modern industry found it more profitable to hire men and women by the day and leave them to shift for themselves at those times when a profit could not be made off their labor, than to house and clothe the slave through the year. Again, as shown by Wundt, the Reformation, which was an outgrowth of the great economic transformation of the time, found the ethics of the Christianity of the day unable to meet the needs of the new conditions, and a fundamental change took place.

Since then every ethical belief is in a state of change, according as the conditions that produce it change, the question arises as to the meaning of the phrase "approaching socialism from the ethical side."

We are able to answer this only by means of an examination of the system of ethics prevailing at the present time. The present code of morality has been directly formed by the great rise of modern industry acting upon earlier ethical prac-

tices and transforming them to meet the new requirements arising from the rights of private property.

One of the best illustrations of this position is seen in the study of early German history. The German barons, fortified in their castles, descended upon companies of travelers or weaker neighbors and committed all sorts of violence and robbery, until they are known in history by their most characteristic trait, as the "robber barons." But an industrial change took place in society. The modern system of trade and industry appeared and the just arising capitalism saw its existence threatened by these barons who fell upon the trains of merchandise. As this trading class grew rapidly stronger and more wealthy, "public opinion," which hitherto in no way condemned these robberies, began to be formed by this new class in its own favor, and the robber barons found themselves compelled to give up their practice because of the economic change which had given rise to new moral beliefs.

Now there will be few to deny that the industrial system of capitalism has meant the advance of society as a whole. Applying any standard of judgment which has ever been applied to social organisms, it cannot be disputed that the whole system of capitalism, based on private property, competition, wage-slavery and the exploitation of the producer, belongs to a higher stage than the system of feudalism which it supplanted. Had the domestic system continued to prevail or had each laborer received the full return of his work from the beginning of capitalist production the present form of compulsory cooperation in production and consequent division of labor probably would not have taken place. Neither have we reason to believe that the perfection of machinery and the growth of great industry would have advanced so rapidly. No one can say what the condition of society would have been had it taken other lines of development. We are not here concerned with conjectures as to how advance might have taken place, either more perfectly or with less suffering to the race. We can only deal with the fact that society has progressed through capitalism to a position far ahead of the seventeenth or eighteenth century; that Thorold Rogers notwithstanding, the laboring population have to-day a greater amount of the things that constitute life. More fundamental still the actual control exercised over material environment is infinitely greater than under any other stage of society ever existing.

Capitalism had a direct function to perform for the advance of society. To-day the question arises, is not this function performed? Will it not prove an injury to social progress if capitalism is longer continued? The socialist answers, Yes. The interests of the class that profit by capitalism are no longer in

accord with social progress, and if further advance is to be made this functionless class must be dispensed with.

To return to the ethical beliefs that have had their origin in capitalism and that in turn were necessary during this period if capitalism was to continue. If capitalism meant advance socially, then the beliefs that, arising from it, reacted upon it and helped to maintain it, were a fit code of morals for the time. As pointed out by Leslie Stephens in his *Science of Ethics*, normally the most efficient society survives, and we may judge from the fact of its survival that it developed the conditions on which its efficiency depended.

In the light of these positions what is then meant by "approaching socialism from the ethical standpoint?" Which ethical standpoint is meant,—that of feudalism, capitalism or socialism? Is it simply meant that the ethics of socialism will be different from and hence not in accord with those of capitalism? If so, this is rather too axiomatic a truth to be worthy of much elaboration. Or is it meant that the ethics of capitalism are violated by that system, as for example, when the principle of private property is violated by competition and exploitation? If so, this again is simply to say, in a very roundabout way, the long recognized fact that capitalism is full of contradictions,—that it is "its own grave-digger."

Again it is often said that the present economic system is not "right" or that it is "immoral," or that some other system would be "better" or more "moral." By this it is usually meant that since men are poorly housed, clothed and fed, therefore a system that would remove these things would be "right." This is not the real justification of socialism, or the reason that it may be spoken of as "right." Back of this lies the fact that socialism will mean the progress of society. If it could be shown that this suffering were necessary, as has been sometimes claimed, to eliminate the unfit and secure social progress, then this would be a proof, according to the position accepted in this article, that socialism is "immoral." This point has been argued out by so many, including Enrico Ferri, that it will not be discussed here and it will be taken for granted that this suffering is not essential to social advance.

That socialism will work for social progress is the test by which it must be judged on the economic side. This is the only test of its "rightness" or "wrongness" on the "moral" side. On this ground we can meet out capitalist opponent.

Capitalism to-day must answer to the charge of clogging the wheels of progress. The class which benefits from its continuance must prove that it is any longer of social service or produces what it receives. The socialist is able to show that it does not do this and that it is this fact that is sapping the social organization, notwithstanding Prof. J. B. Clark's recent elab-

orate attempt in his "Distribution of Wealth" to show that each factor in production at the present time receives but its own.

As a corollary to the above positions the "ethical socialist" frequently speaks of the individual employer as a "robber." But each employer is but a part of the system. No single employer can lessen exploitation and continue to exist. It is the system as a whole that must be judged. The social student who hesitates long over the "morality" of the actions of individual employers is frequently thereby hindered from appreciating the full "wrongness" of the capitalist system. "He cannot see the woods for the trees."

ETHICAL SURVIVALS.

Before touching upon the more purely theoretical part of ethics it would seem well to consider somewhat fully the different elements going to make up any given system of ethics. It is a commonplace to the socialist reader to be told that morality in common with all other social institutions and systems of thought has its foundations in the economic conditions and relations of men in society.

In the early tribal times we find accounts of the killing of the aged and the exposure of female infants. The existence of the tribe depended on maintaining a large number of able warriors, and since the aged and females could not assist in this principal occupation, but only pressed upon the scanty means of subsistence, they were disposed of. When war was no longer the chief means of existence and food became more certain and plentiful this practice died out and became "wrong."

But no given system of morality springs directly from the immediate economic stage in the midst of which it has its being. Each economic system gives rise to certain ethical beliefs and customs which are not completely destroyed by succeeding economic changes unless these latter are wholly antagonistic to their predecessors. These customs and beliefs survive after the conditions from which they arose have passed, and themselves influence new moral acts. Hence each new system is not a thing apart from all previous ones. So that certain ethical practices belonging to a primitive time may still survive and constitute a part of the morality of to-day. In treating of courage, for instance, Leslie Stephens points out that the estimate of that virtue once fixed has survived after the early conditions that produced it have long disappeared.

Present ethics are really composed of those practices arising from present environment and the survivals coming down from earlier economic environments. The use of these two terms, roughly corresponding to the biological terms heredity and environment, does not assume a dualistic philosophy. It is simply a recognition of the existence of the time element in en-

vironment. No system of economic conditions and relations has ever had a clear field upon which to operate. No social stage has ever been *tabula rasa* upon which to write a new system of ethics. Customs and practices, originating in earlier times, become a part of the environment of to-day; persistence of type being only past environment making itself felt in the present.

For clearness sake, it is well here to define what is meant by environment. Not only does this include all existing means of economic production and distribution, but also all legal, political, educational and cultural institutions handed down from previous economic organizations. Since civilization began a most important factor, founded on material differences, has arisen in environment,—divergent social classes.

By survivals is not here meant anything in the sense in which Herbert Spencer speaks of certain tendencies to act in certain directions becoming hereditary, but rather the persistence of ethical beliefs after the economic cause from which they first arose has been removed.

Such for example is the idea of patriotism, the outgrowth of a past age. Starting in the tribal impulse arising from the need of united defense against surrounding foes, it took various forms in the Greek cities and in the Roman Empire; sank almost out of sight during the Middle Ages, to be revived with well nigh wholly new ends and objects during the time of the building up of powerful nations. The state, as the representative of the interests of the newly arising capitalist class, was the point around which all else centered. The constant struggle between capitalist nations demanded large armies and these could be best secured by preaching the virtues of "patriotism." Although the conditions that made patriotism an essential to social progress have long gone, it lingers on, is taught in our schools and praised in our pulpits, for the benefit, as ever, of a ruling class, to whom alone it is advantageous.

No example can be given that will show more clearly the existence of these "survivals" than that of prostitution and illegitimacy. The younger and more beautiful women among the early slaves were forced to become the physical creatures of their masters, who recognized no sacredness of person among their chattels. The lord of the middle ages demanded of his vassals, as his right, the person of their daughters or wives. It has always been the women of a class economically lower that have thus been compelled to submit to this degradation. Today even a superficial study of prostitution shows the same condition. It is the women of the laboring class who are forced, not because they are less "moral" than the women of other classes, but because of economic pressure, to sell their bodies to the men of the ruling class.

An examination of illegitimacy shows that with few exceptions the mother of such a child is of a poorer economic class than the father. Many men and women who would shrink in horror if one should suggest that their daughter take the place, see nothing wrong in legalizing a house to be filled with daughters of laborers. While here and there capitalist reformers have talked upon the need for an identical standard of morality for the two sexes, no bourgeois "moralist" has yet been bold enough to suggest an equal standard of sexual "morality" for all economic classes.

"Private property" offers a choice illustration of the point under discussion. At one period there was a justification for the individual ownership of property. When each workman took the raw material and made his tools, and then with these tools manufactured cloth or shoes or tilled the ground, each thing that he produced was to a great extent the product of his individual work. To-day this method no longer exists. All things are produced collectively, and still there survives the idea of the "sacredness of private property." It is to-day the corner stone upon which rests the whole superstructure of capitalist society and class rule. Private property for the laborer is but a farce, since the class that preaches most of the virtues of private property is the one that takes from the producing class all that it produces except a scanty subsistence. This fact that "survivals" make up a part of present environment and so help to determine ethical beliefs has been overlooked by those who have thought of environment only in the sense of the immediate present, while on the other hand the great majority of moral teachers have entirely ignored the whole economic basis of morality.

To turn next to the present environment, as thus constituted, we find that one of the principal elements that has entered into it since the beginning of the so-called age of civilization is the economic class distinctions that have arisen from the ownership of private property. As pointed out by Marx and Engels the whole history of civilization has been the history of the rise and fall of classes. The interests of each dominating class while it existed made for social progress. Each class fulfilled its function, became useless and disappeared from power. Further, a most significant fact, different ideals of right and wrong have at all times prevailed for the ruling and subservient classes.

We can trace this in the idea of freedom. Plato early recognized freedom as a right, but to him it meant only the freedom of the ruling class. The slave was necessary in his theory in order that the intellectual class might have leisure. This same term freedom came down to the Middle Ages, but again it applied only to the lords and nobles; for the serf and villain there

was nothing of freedom. So to-day we speak much of free men, and many in the United States pride themselves that they are such. For only an infinitely small part of the race, though, does such a thing exist to-day. Freedom to-day means freedom of opportunity, but to how many of the laboring class or their children is there a remnant of such? Unable to attend the schools, develop their physical manhood or artistic sense, forced to toil merely for subsistence, they are as closely bound by the system in which they live as was the serf or slave.

This double system of ethics is most plainly seen in the history of the rise and fall of classes. One of the main things which has been instrumental in insuring the enslavement of the subservient class, be they slaves, serfs or wage-earners, has been the action of a code of morals formulated in the interest of the ruling class. Under chattel slavery this moral code was enforced largely through fear. This fear took two forms,—fear of a “ruling power” on the one hand and of the master on the other. Later, when the slave changed to the serf, Christianity did valiant service in enforcing a moral code enslaving the worker by preaching its doctrines of humility, affected contempt for worldly goods and lavish promises of rewards after death.

The serf, freed from the land and armed with the new inventions, demanded a still stronger restraint to retain him in wage slavery. The laborer, politically free, was still bound economically. This restraint took on a psychological form,—the laborer's body was ruled through his mind. The ruling class, controlling press, lecture-room, school and pulpit, was able to form public opinion and infuse into the laboring class those ideas which would insure their continued submissiveness. The mind can but arrange, classify and act upon those things that the senses bring to it. He who controls the sensory channels determines what thoughts the brain shall think. If the capitalist class is able to decide what shall be printed in the press, what shall be taught in the schools and what shall be spoken from the platforms, it is able to a very large degree to decide what the great mass of the people, and especially the laborers, whose minds are more confined than those of the wealthy classes, shall think. That they have used these channels to inculcate lessons teaching principles of interest to the capitalist class no observer can deny. Everywhere they have preached the lesson of frugality, the “virtue” of economy, the “sacredness of private property” and the existence of “equal opportunity to rise” with consequent deification of the “self-made man.”

THE ETHICAL MOTIVE.

We come now finally to the much-disputed question of the part played by ethical motives in deciding upon certain courses

of action. Ethics is not the outgrowth of some particular "moral sense" implanted in men by a Divine power, as a certain school of ethical thought would lead us to believe. We have not in ethics to deal with some indefinite "free" quantity that cannot be reckoned upon. Ethics can become nothing of a science while we admit that the will or impulses of man are not amenable to some laws.

In the field of biology it has been shown that from the lowest organisms to the highest, if any stimulant is applied that affects its nervous system painfully the organism seeks to withdraw from the irritating substance. Those forms of life that responded most quickly survived, and those that did not respond so quickly were soonest destroyed.

This tendency to avoid pain became fixed in the organism and in time we may say it grew to be an hereditary tendency, as only those who avoided pain were left to carry on the species. As pointed out by Rolph in his "Biological Problems," any such tendency is merely a certain inherited pre-disposition acquired during thousands of years, which makes it easier to act in certain directions.

Moved to action by this motive arising from painful or pleasurable feelings, that is by self-interest, man's intellect acts but the part of a discriminating guide. Hence those tribes of men following most closely the principle of self-interest have been the ones best able to cope with and overcome other tribes and accommodate themselves to their environment.

In every case the self-interest of the individual has been merged in that of the tribe, clan, or later the class to which he belonged. Those individuals who recognized that their interests were inseparably bound up with those of their class performed acts that, while serving their own interests, at the same time were in line with the progress of their class. This is the basis of the socialist term "class consciousness." The socialist sees that he can further his own interest only by working for that of his class.

It is here that we meet the fact that society with its present organization of classes has made possible the following of self-interest by but one class. In a recent article in the *Journal of Sociology* by W. W. Willoughby on "The Ethics of the Competitive Process," the author endeavors to show that the interest of the individual need not necessarily be antagonistic to that of society. He criticises the statement of Kidd that in every conceivable state the individual and society must be in antagonism. He points out that with certain adjustments the individual will be able to do the best for himself while furthering social progress. But he does not see that this is unthinkable of all the individuals of society while it remains under class divisions. There has been no antagonism between the

self-interest of the ruling class and society so long as that class was the one which carried on social development. The antagonism has been between the social organization and the self-interest of the subservient class. While a social organization depends on the existence of two classes, one following its self-interest, the other a code of morals serving to maintain it in subservience, there can be no reconciliation of the interests of all the individuals composing society with the interests of the social whole. This is conceivable only in a society of individuals to whom equal economic opportunity is assured.

Again it is here that our conception of self-interest must differ at two essential points from that of Hobbes and other early English writers. Beginning with Locke and extending through Bentham and James Mill, we find the idea of self-interest predominating. But these assumed the infallibility of the individual, when the individual's interests were concerned, and likewise took for granted that every one had an equal opportunity to exercise his self-interest. In no way did they perceive the existence of social classes and the consequent inability of the laboring class to follow its own interests. Their idea of self-interest was individualistic and was based on the principle of free competition.

On the psychological side modern psychical research also leads us to differ with these writers. Their "ego" was confined to the narrow bounds of the person of the individual. Prof. James has given us a definition of the "me" that materially changes the face of the question. According to James, "A man's 'me' is the sum total of all that he can call his, not only his body and psychic powers, but his clothes and his house, his wife, children, his ancestors and friends, his reputation and works."

With the brute and the lower savages the "self" includes, with some exceptions, the offspring. The gorilla and the human mother seek to protect their young. A dualistic philosophy would speak of this as an example of altruism, or as a separate 'race instinct.' But we see in this no separate motive or instinct. Starting from the basis that the "ego" includes more than the individual, this is also seen to be self-interest. With the wider development of civilization the individual widens and is more intricately bound up with social relations.

Many ethical writers have indicated a belief that society will develop into a condition where a "higher" form of ethics will be possible. Patten speaks of passing from a "pain to a pleasure economy." Loria writes of a "final ethics." J. S. Mill recognized that utilitarianism was unworkable in present society, but laid all his emphasis upon the possibility of intellectual advance, none upon economic changes. Spencer and Ward describe "absolute ethics" in distinction from present "relative

ethics," and speak of present ethics as being "pathological." As society develops into higher forms its ethics will in that sense become "higher." But I would hesitate to speak of them as at any time "final" or absolute," or to describe them at any period as "pathological."

Without passing wholly into the field of conjecture we can, from the principles on which socialism rests, draw conclusions as to some of its probable effects upon "ethical beliefs." The socialist philosophy emphasizes the certainty of the abolition of class distinctions founded on material differences and presupposes a society of economic equals. In every stage of society since the establishment of the institution of private property there have existed two codes of ethics. The ruling class has followed as a motive its self-interest, restrained only by the fear of rebellion on the part of the class of slaves, serfs or wage-earners. The subservient class, on the other hand, has been lulled into acquiescence in its enslavement through the persistent inculcation of the "virtues" of self-sacrifice, humility, reverence, docility, frugality and patriotism. The abolition under socialism of these warring class interests would necessarily carry with it the abolition of these contradictory codes of ethics.

In a socialist society, where all are equally able to exercise their self-interest, it will be asked what safeguard is there that each individual will not follow this to the detriment of himself and society? In the first place there will be the power on the part of those injured to retaliate, a power of which the laboring class in our present society is deprived. Further, the individual who follows this motive in ways detrimental to himself or society will be the first to be extinguished in the race. Selection, here as elsewhere, will weed out the harmful and "morally weak," for the "morally weak" will be composed of those who thus retard social progress.

The ancient problem of philosophers, the reconciliation of the individual and the race, ever discussed and never answered, because of their blindness to the fact of class antagonisms, will at last be solved by the abolition of these antagonisms in the co-operative commonwealth.

May Wood Simons.

How Much Work Is Necessary?

LABOR COST OF PRODUCTION.

THE statistical work embodied in the XIIIth Annual Report of the United States Department of Labor* has, so far, been treated in a wholly non-critical manner and largely through mere quotations such as were given in the daily papers.* Besides, only one of its features was considered,—that of the opportunity it offered for a comparison between different stages of the productive efficiency of labor. That is, the productivity of the highly developed methods of to-day was compared with the primitive methods of a previous industrial stage. While any thorough treatment of the subject matter of the report would demand a discussion of this comparative phase, yet the very source from which the information is secured could not fail but throw doubts upon the conclusions, and so this discussion will be confined to other phases of the subject.

In taking this position, that portion of the work is neglected which was the sole object of the inquiry by the department. As is known, this inquiry was called forth by a joint resolution of Congress under the provisions of which "the Commissioner of Labor was directed to investigate and make report upon the effect of the use of machinery upon labor and the cost of production, the relative productive power of hand and machine labor, the cost of manual and machine power as they are used in the productive industries, and the effect upon wages of the use of machinery operated by women and children; and further, whether changes in the creative cost of products are due to a lack or to a surplus of labor or to the introduction of power machinery."

The department itself expressly admits that the results of the inquiry do not bear upon all the points specified in the resolution of Congress. In fact it does not touch the two last-mentioned requirements. In explaining this omission, Mr. Carroll D. Wright, in a rather diplomatically hoodwinking way, offers the following information:

"Wages have never been steady; during periods of depression there is usually a decrease, not only in rates but in earnings. This phase of the subject therefore (?) involves too

*Thirteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1898. Hand and Machine Labor. 3 volumes. Washington, D. C., 1899. To receive copy gratis apply to the Commissioner, Mr. Carroll D. Wright, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., U. S. of America.

much speculation for a thoroughly statistical presentation; the statistical method can be used for or against the use of machinery because of its effect on wages." (Preface, p. 5.)

Yes, the statistical method can be used or misused for any given purpose, and in the case under consideration it is somewhat difficult not to find a misuse definitely suggested in the prefatory remarks just a few lines after the above cited passage. Here the Commissioner says:

"It is evident from an examination of the statistics presented in this report, and especially from a study of the text analysis, that there has been a larger increase in the number of persons required for the production of the articles considered, in order to meet present demands, than would have been necessary to meet the limited demands under the hand-labor system."

Now, what is there behind the wood-pile of this phraseology? Certainly, no statistics are needed to prove that a larger number of persons is required to meet the increased demands of our time than has been necessary to meet the limited demands of past decades. But, does Mr. Wright mean to assert that the increase of persons employed in the production of the articles in question was *relatively* larger than the increase in the demand for those things? Of course, this is not what the Commissioner wants to say; nor is there any evidence to this effect in the statistics and analysis published by him.

It is natural with the system of modern or capitalist production and especially with the method of division and sub-division of labor, that in a factory hundreds or thousands of workers are employed in making certain articles with machine power where formerly a dozen or a smaller number of men were making similar articles by hand. The whole problem concerning the influence of machinery upon the condition of the laborer hinges on a question to which the report before us has no answer at all. That question is, does the increase in the demand for the products of labor keep pace with the increase in the number of laborers displaced by the introduction of new machinery? It would take the space of a separate paper to establish the actual impossibility of this equalization, which is with many writers a much-favored lullaby for discontented adult children of the wage-working class. Moreover, in entering into an examination of the comparisons made by the department with respect to the labor cost under different industrial methods, we meet statements of alleged facts that in a startling manner challenge contradiction, but would require for an effectually conclusive and convincing refutation an effort of no lesser magnitude than that of a counter-inquiry about the elementary facts from which the results claimed by the department have been derived.

Fortunately the usefulness of this publication of the Depart-

ment of Labor is not limited to the comparisons made therein between different periods or methods in the industrial development. There is much other material of value in it. Taking the work in its entirety we believe it is a product of diligent and careful labor, and of skillful labor, too, although it may be true that the subject requires a good deal of insight into the exceedingly complicated nature of the capitalist system of production, far more perhaps than was at the disposal of the Department. However that may be, in the two volumes before us we are offered an opportunity for an inquiry of our own. To this end we have to confine ourselves to the use of those statements, given in the report, that refer to the labor cost under the *machine* methods alone, taking these item by item, and assuming that, in consequence of the ultra-capitalistic character of our government, of which the Department of Labor is a branch, all the possible errors contained in the figures tend in one direction only, that is, in that of magnifying the wage account in the cost of production. With this general warning stated in advance, and with proper objections reserved for special cases, we will now submit some of the official figures to an extended calculation with a view of eliciting the ratio of the elements of time and money in the cost of labor. Whatever results we may attain will serve as a contribution to the solution of a very interesting problem of the theory as well as a help in the practical agitation of socialism. It will contribute some items for the construction of the proper answer to a question that may be formulated in these terms:

Proceeding from the present state of mechanical productive power, how much time of daily labor would be needed under socialism to create all the means of a comfortable standard of life, wholesome recreation and the highest possible culture for all the members of the commonwealth?

Here, the reader will notice, we approach a subject that, under the hands of the well-known Austrian reformer, Dr. Hertzka, yielded a result as summarized in the proposition that about two and one-half hours of daily work devoted to, and performed according to the directions of, the commonwealth would be all that is necessary to produce wealth in abundance for everybody. The result of Dr. Hertzka's work may, with or without cause, have been viewed with suspicion among socialists as being made up of mere hallucinations, or a result of rainbow chasing. It is different with our undertaking in that, we now are going to use for a similar calculation the results of an inquiry made under the auspices of a capitalist government. Our sources of fundamental information in this respect are simply unimpeachable; they stand far above any suspicion of a socialist tendency.

And now, having such an unobjectionable witness on hand, let us see what we can draw out of him.

LABOR COST IN AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES.

On a separate page of this issue the reader will find a statistical table giving the first of the results we have obtained in our inquiry upon the question under consideration. Some explanations may not be out of place before we enter into comments upon the subject matter itself.

From the Thirteenth Report of the Commissioner of Labor as stated above, only that part is here considered wherein the creative power of labor employed under the modern method of production is represented by itemized statements. In other words, it is the "machine method" (to use this term for brevity's sake) that chiefly engages our attention, while the results concerning the older or "hand" labor method will be touched only in some incidental remarks, wherever such appears desirable for rendering the discussion more intelligible and fruitful.

In this discussion it is of principal importance to agree upon the meaning of the term "labor cost." Taken in the sense of the Marxian school of scientific political economy, the conception of labor includes all socially useful exertion, directly or indirectly applied to the end of wealth production; and cost of labor is the name accepted for the aggregate amount of wages (or salaries) paid for the total of labor that was employed in the accomplishment of a given amount of work at a special stage of the working process. This item of expenditure is to be understood as a component part of what we call the cost of production, the latter term including some more elements, such as the cost of raw materials, the charge for depreciation of buildings, tools, machinery, etc., and the cost of auxiliary materials necessary for the attainment of the industrial result in question.

It must now be noted that in this paper the term, labor cost, will be used in two different meanings, and wherever distinction is required to avoid misapprehension, proper qualification will be made.

If we use the term *without* applying any qualification, it refers to labor cost as described in the above general definition. In this sense the labor cost of wheat bread is the total amount of wages paid for a given quantity of the article on that special stage of the working process that is represented by the bakery establishment. The labor in question is here essentially confined to the transformation of flour into bread, and the labor employed on earlier stages of the working process, as in the flour mill and on the wheat farm, is not included in the consid-

eration. In this instance it is the *specific* labor cost of wheat bread to which reference is had. However, there will be other cases where we are to consider the grand total of wages paid for the labor that was employed in the creation of a given article on all the different stages through which the original raw material has passed in the working process. Wherever this is the case, all the items of specific cost in these different stages must be included in the computation, and the sum total resulting from such addition is in our terminology the *aggregate* labor cost. Thus, if we wish to determine the aggregate labor cost of one pound of wheat bread, a proportional part of the specific labor cost of both, flour and wheat, must also be considered and reckoned up with the specific labor cost of bread.

The whole problem of these computations is a great deal easier and simpler with respect to exclusively agricultural products where, with the exception of seed grain, no raw material enters into production.

The department, in the introduction to its report, states "that none of the administrative or clerical forces of establishments are covered by these unit presentations," and further says, "what has been aimed at has been to secure the required facts about the actual making of an article and to neglect entirely officials managing the business and clerks attending to the accounts." This, in our opinion, is not quite in conformity with the requirements of a scientific treatment of the subject. A certain proportion of the labor performed by directors or managers and superintendents, also book-keepers and clerks, is necessary for purely regulating and administrative work and is on principle admissible for recognition as a component part of the labor cost. On the other hand, we must also recognize that the principle just indicated will debar from the necessity of consideration the lion's share of the eight minutes' daily work performed by corporation presidents and other highly salaried officials, that is, all of it that is applied merely to efforts of throat cutting and wage cutting in the competitive and class war of our time,—advertising of their goods, bribing legislators, and all other specifically capitalistic wasting and spoliating occupations. Rejecting all such work, which is for society neither useful nor necessary, the remainder, if there is something left properly chargeable to the account of labor cost, will cut but an infinitesimally small figure.

We now come to another point regarding the range of meaning covered by the term, labor cost, and there the position taken by the department seems to us perfectly right. To use the language of the report (introduction, page 19), this includes "foremen and others who do not devote themselves exclusively to the production of the unit under consideration.

but who, at the same time, are in charge of other branches of work, producing other units or articles, and engineers and firemen furnishing power not only for the making of the unit under consideration, but also for the manufacture, perhaps of many units." These foremen and others, the department says, "have received special attention, and in each case the greatest effort has been made to determine exactly the amount of time and labor cost chargeable to them in the production of the particular unit about which the department was making inquiry."

In the department's report as well as in our extended computations and comments, the factor of labor cost is regarded under two aspects, namely, as expressed in money and in time. Indeed, the drawing of comparisons between the money side and the time side of this economic factor, the cost of labor necessary for the production of wealth is the aim and end of the work before the reader.

It need hardly be said that the department carefully refrained from touching the comparative feature just indicated.

From the domain of agriculture the department has selected twenty-seven articles to serve as units for its inquiry. Among these there are some that in name, description and quantity appear as if being identical with another unit, while in fact we have there different items. In order to facilitate for the reader the survey of the tabulated matter, this duplication is discarded wherever it can be done without injuring the value of the results.

From the two corn units of the department, 8 and 9, the former can be omitted, as it includes the operation of cutting into fodder the stalks, husks and blades, this being an operation which does not properly belong to the production of corn for the market, but should rather be regarded as a means accessory to the raising of cattle or to other branches of animal production. A similar consideration recommends the setting aside of the second of the two hay units, 12, wherein the operation of baling the hay is not taken in, although such is in general required for making the product a marketable commodity. The duplicated units for apple trees, 1 and 2; carrots, 6 and 7, and wheat, 26 and 27, have been disposed of by averaging the parallel figures in each of the three cases, and therefore they appear in our table as single units.

HOW MANY MINUTES FOR ONE CENT?

Looking at the table presented in this paper, the reader will observe that one line is devoted to each item of this tale in figures; furthermore that each item refers to one of the articles selected by the Department from the field of agriculture and is taken to constitute, by a given quantity, that which is

The Labor Cost in Money and in Time
AGRICULTURE.

TWENTY-TWO OUT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR'S TWENTY-SEVEN UNITS CONSIDERED AND USED FOR AN EXTENDED INQUIRY BY THE AUTHOR.

UNIT	NAME	QUANTITY	THE DEPARTMENT'S FIGURES.			THE AUTHOR'S REDUCED FIGURES.						UNIT			
			LABOR COST.			LABOR COST.									
			IN TIME		IN MONEY	IN TIME		IN MONEY		RATIO OF TIME IN MONEY AND MONEY IN TIME.			CENTS	MINUTES	CENTS
			Hours	Mins.		Hrs	Minutes	1 cent	1 Min.						
SMALL GRAINS															
8	Barley.....	80 bush.	2	42.8	\$ 0.6080	0	5.4966	0	2.0066	0	9.7045	0.8668	8		
13	Oats.....	40 bush.	7	5.8	1.0732	0	10.6450	0	2.0830	0	3.0638	0.2681	12		
17	Rice.....	8640 lbs.	17	8.6	1.0671	0	0.2673	0	0.0361	0	10.1683	0.0361	17		
18	Rye.....	20 bush.	25	10.9	2.4648	0	6.0400	0	10.0169	0	0.5689	1.7573	19		
26 &	Wheat.....	20 bush.	3	19.2	0.6016	0	9.4850	0	3.4463	0	2.7278	0.3658	26 &		
27	Wheat.....	20 bush.	2	58.4	0.7180	0		0		0			27		
ROOT CROPS															
4	Beets (a).....	300 bush.	208	35.0	18.3688	0	40.5166	0	6.1378	0	6.6119	0.1513	4		
6 &	Carrots (b).....	30 tons	257	28.0	23.1687	0	15.8838	0	82.6640	0	5.9811	0.1660	6 &		
7	Carrots.....	30 tons	398	3.0	33.6567	0	53.6154	0	8.9811	0	0.0027	0.1668	7		
14	Onions.....	250 bush.	223	32.6	22.2277	0	41.3657	0	6.1220	0	6.7482	0.1453	14		
25	Turnips.....	350 bush.	240	50.0	21.4363	0		0		0			25		
MISCELLANEOUS															
1 &	Apple Trees (c).....	10000	898	4.0	142.9100	0	5.0054	0	1.2727	0	3.9829	0.2547	1 &		
2	Broom Corn.....	10000	870	24.0	111.6384	0		0		0			2		
5	Corn, Yellow.....	1 ton	257	20.0	26.1697	0	28.1000	21	10.8400	0	4.7896	0.3068	5		
9	Cotton, Seed.....	40 bush.	15	7.8	1.5190	0	23.6850	0	3.7825	0	6.0000	0.1666	9		
10	Hay, Timothy, Baled.....	1000 lbs.	78	42.0	7.9700	0	4.7320	0	0.7570	0	6.0000	0.1666	10		
11	Hay, Timothy.....	1 ton	11	34.0	1.2894	0	7.8000	1	23.5400	0	7.0405	0.1420	11		
15	Peanut Field.....	20 bush.	45	88.0	4.7684	0	16.9000	0	23.7670	0	5.7901	0.1786	15		
16	Potatoes.....	220 bush.	38	0.0	3.8000	0	10.2698	0	1.7273	0	5.9959	0.1667	16		
21	Sweet Potatoes.....	4000 qts.	129	7.0	7.5492	0	9.7998	0	2.3356	0	9.7895	0.1087	21		
19	Strawberries.....	105 bush.	675	21.2	93.4253	0	10.1278	0	3.5356	0	4.3864	0.2006	19		
20	Sugarcane.....	20 tons	291	33.0	11.3189	0	16.6300	0	6.6945	0	10.1538	0.0985	20		
23	Tobacco, Leaf.....	1250 lbs.	863	10.5	30.2344	0	34.6524	0	3.4184	0	7.0091	0.1487	23		
23	Tobacco, Sp' sh, s. 1. (d).....	1500 lbs.	253	64.6	25.1190	0	10.1164	0	1.1744	0	6.0418	0.1655	23		
24	Tomatoes.....	150 bush.	184	52.5	12.3864	0	53.9466	0	8.2596	0	6.5813	0.1531	24		

(a) Blood turnip beets. (b) Long orange carrots. (c) Apple trees, 32 months, from grafts. (d) Tobacco, Spanish, seed leaf.

here called a unit. We have there, for instance, the unit 3, for barley, 30 bushels (1 acre); again, the unit 17, for rice, 2,640 pounds, and the unit 19, for strawberries, 4,000 quarts. Now, these unit quantities as adopted by the Department may be well taken, if considered only from the commercial standpoint. It is different for the wage-earning producer and proletarian consumer. To let him know what the labor cost is in one bushel of barley, or in one pound of rice, or one quart of strawberries means not only to bring the whole matter nearer home to him for a practical understanding, but comparisons between the different labor cost items are facilitated by such reduction of the quantity.

We may now be interested to learn how much labor cost there is contained in one bushel of barley, one pound of rice, and other items of daily use. The department's table informs us that there is a labor cost equal to 2 hours 42.8 minutes time, or \$0.6020 money represented in 30 bushels of barley, and that 17 hours 2.5 minutes time or \$1.0071 money are likewise expended in the production of 2,640 pounds of rice. Alongside with this information derived from our official source we give our reduced figures telling the reader that in 1 pound of rice the labor cost amounts to 0.3873 minutes or 0.0381 cents. Having once reached this stage in our presentation, it is almost a matter of course for us that we now would like to know how many minutes the laborers in this special branch of industry are made to work for 1 cent.

How many minutes for 1 cent? Information contributed by ourselves answers this question.

The answer is, 10.1653 minutes.

To one cent 10 and about one-sixth of a minute, this is the ratio of the specific labor cost in time to that in money on the rice plantation.

In the series of our own ratio presentations there occurs one case where the statement challenges objection. This refers to unit 18, rye. Here the ratio of time to money presents itself in such strikingly low a figure as 0.5689 minutes to one cent. If there is a fault, and it is pretty sure there is one, it is not ours. The error must lie in some of the fundamental figures that we had to use in our computation, and however sorry we may be for it, we cannot, in this instance, go behind the records. The figures of only about half a minute to one cent, if taken as the ratio of time to money in this case, would imply an assertion not less astounding than this, that the wages paid in the production of rye are so high as 1.7578 cents for a minute's work, which is equivalent to \$1.05 for one hour, or over \$12 per work day of twelve hours. Certainly, there must be something wrong, either in the original information received by the department or in its computations, and we

must decline to accept the results obtained in this case. Therefore the ratio figures regarding the rye unit, although inserted in our table, have been eliminated in the process of taking the average of the ratio column.

Exactly six, or only a fraction of a minute less or more, is the ratio for the following ten items: Unit 15, peas, 5.7601 minutes; units 6 and 7, carrots, 5.9911 minutes; unit 16, potatoes, 5.9999; unit 9, corn, 6.0 minutes; unit 10, seed cotton, 6.0; unit 14, onions, 6.0027; unit 23, Spanish leaf tobacco, 6.0418; unit 24, tomatoes, 6.5313 minutes; unit 4, beets, 6.6119; unit 25, turnips, 6.7432 minutes to 1 cent.

Seven or more minutes to 1 cent is the ratio of time to money in five items; these are:

Unit 22, leaf tobacco, 7.0091 minutes; unit 11, hay, 7.0405 minutes; unit 21, sweet potatoes, 9.7326 minutes; unit 20, sugar cane, 10.1538 minutes; unit 17, rice, 10.1653 minutes to 1 cent.

Ratios of less than five minutes to 1 cent are shown in but five items, namely, those of broom corn, strawberries, oats, apple trees, and barley. Of course, these comparatively low rates inversely taken would indicate rates of wages of a commensurately high standing. In some of these cases, however, the fundamental results of the Department seem doubtful, which is especially notable in the case of the barley item where the time rate of 2.7045 minutes to 1 cent would mean a wage rate of 0.3698 cent per 1 minute, or 22 and nearly one-fifth of a cent per hour. But the possible amount of the error may be of minor significance, and therefore we did not feel justified in excluding these latter items from their range in computing the average.

The average ratio of time to money is for the twenty-two items considered 5.9179 minutes to 1 cent.

This is the last of our general results in regard to agriculture. Herein the actual relation of time to money in the specific labor cost, as ascertained for each of those agricultural products, has found a common expression as near exactness as could possibly be made from the official statistics.

A TYPICAL CASE—WHEAT.

The Amount of the Aggregate Labor Cost Established by Calculation and by Estimate.

For this purpose we take the case of wheat production, as actually carried on in the far Western region by using the best and most efficient agricultural machines and implements of to-day, and taking as a basis for the computations to be made the conditions on a 5,000-acre farm. The Department of Labor has taken just the same course in that part of its inquiry where the labor cost of products made under the "ma-

chine method" is considered; the wheat units (26 and 27) having been made in the year 1895-96 on a "bonanza farm" where they used a six-gang-plow, each gang having four plows, each plow cutting ten inches, with a seeder and harrow attached to each gang, and all operated by a traction engine. Of course, also the steam harvester was employed there, a machine that, after the cutting, threshes the grain in the field. Based on an example like this, the rate of the specific labor cost, according to our own calculations, represents to a rather satisfactory degree the scale of efficiency reached in modern wheat production, although some newer improvements have become known since 1896.

These remarks will suffice to introduce the following table which exhibits the result of the effort made to ascertain the aggregate labor cost in the case of wheat, in part by using figures contained in the report of the Department of Labor, and in part by estimates founded on other reliable information and statistics.

WHEAT—SPECIFIC LABOR COST RAISED TO AGGREGATE LABOR COST.

(By computations made on the basis of a farm comprising 5,000 acres and yielding an average crop of 20 bushels per acre, or 100,000 per year.)

NOTE—1. Where the sign * is attached to figures, these represent results of estimates.
 2. The factor of motor power, steam or animal, is included in the specific labor cost of wheat.

	SPECIFIC LABOR COST OF	1 bushel, Cents.	1 bushel, Minutes.
1	Wheat.....	3.45	9.43
2	Seed Grain, one-twelfth of a bushel.....	0.29	0.79
3	Loading—transferring grain from storage bins to steamship....	0.25	0.54
4	Unloading—transferring grain from canal boat to storage bins.	0.14	0.30
5	Railroad freight, 1000 miles; per ton per mile, 0.1 cent; 40 bushels to one ton.....	2.50	10.00*
6	Fertilizer.....	1.00*	4.00*
7	Depreciation of machinery, implements, etc.....	2.00*	8.00*
8	Superintendence, bookkeeping, clerical labor, etc.....	6.00*	12.00*
9	Cost other than specified.....	1.00*	5.00*
	AGGREGATE LABOR COST OF WHEAT.....	16.63	50.06

As the reader will see, the time rate of the aggregate labor cost of wheat presents itself by the figures of fifty and a very small fraction of one minute.

If we now, in order to have round figures for the concluding review which is to follow, add so much as ten minutes and a quarter to the rate obtained, then there can certainly be no doubt that the final result is considerably in excess of the actual conditions in existence in up-to-date wheat production. One hour per one bushel, as we now take it for argument's sake, means a proposition that may pass only on the ground of being decidedly disadvantageous to the argument we are going to submit.

Well, let us now take it, that the time cost of one bushel of wheat is as high as one hour per bushel. What does that mean?

For socialist society exportation will be a matter of decidedly secondary consideration; first of all, the new commonwealth will care for *home* production. There is no shadow of contention about that. Now, the quantity needed for home consumption is about 350,000,000 bushels a year. Furthermore, it is here to be noted that the number of persons actually engaged in the production of this quantity of wheat,—small farm owners, members of their families, and laborers, all included—varies at present in the neighborhood of 1,000,000, and some times exceeds this number. Let us now proceed from these facts.

Henceforth, and with no better means of labor than are already in use on the large farms in our Western states, socialism could accomplish, by an arrangement in the disposition of farm land, and an organization of work in agriculture, the production of the entire amount of wheat needed for home consumption, 350,000,000 bushels, in a like or lesser number of hours.

This is the *first* of our concluding propositions. Of course, it stands or falls with the work of our calculations. We challenge contradiction from the professorial body-guard of capitalism.

Secondly—The task of furnishing 350,000,000 bushels of wheat in the like number of hours will employ 1,000,000 persons, that is, as the reader will remember, exactly the same number as employed at present under capitalistic domination—and these laboring forces will be needed for not more than eighty-seven days a year, at a work day of four hours only.

Thirdly—Since eighty-seven days constitute but about the fourth part of the year, we may take it that three-quarters of the year these 1,000,000 persons, are not yet disposed of, and hence are free for employment in other necessary and useful occupations, subject to the direction of the commonwealth. In fact, the strength of the working force required for covering the national demand for wheat, on the basis of the present population, can be expressed in any one of the following ways:

- (a) As 1,000,000 persons working 87 days, 4 hours each, or,
- (b) As 250,000 persons working 4 hours all the year through; of course, Sundays and holidays excepted, or,
- (c) Again as 1,000,000 persons working 1 hour a day on every work day of the year.

The last of these three expressions for one and the same actual condition is the most simple and strikingly illustrative.

We are now going to extend this inquiry to the province of

the manufacturing industries, presenting the conditions in question as found in a few of the most typical and characteristic branches.

One million persons one hour a day for wheat production! This means that one hour's work per day of 50,000,000 adult and able-bodied persons of this nation is sufficient to perform all the work reasonably required, to satisfy the national demand for all the products or services available from agriculture and manufacture, transportation and distribution, and also of science and art,—in one word, of all kinds of occupations that are to furnish the means for sustaining, elevating and refining life?

The gigantic apparatus of capitalist economy has reached a stage where it is perfectly ripe for socialization. The *economic* conditions preliminarily required are on hand for establishing heaven on earth for all mankind. It is but a *political* provision that is yet to be supplied. This is especially true in our own country. *One hour workday* will be not only a possibility but a sure feasibility as the normal quantity of work required from every man and woman, if able to do some work.

Taking only the means of labor as applied at the present stage of economic evolution, wherever enterprises are carried on in the manner of progressive capitalism, and two, or two and a half hours a day work of our nation's whole working force would create wealth for all in abundance.

As individual property, machinery is to-day a curse to the great majority; so as common property it will become a blessing to the entire human family.



Women in Belgium

IN the August number of The International Socialist Review I see mentioned the fact that the Belgian socialists include women in their demand for universal suffrage, and this in spite of the ignorance that still exists among Belgian women "and which is so great as almost to pass belief on the part of American readers."

One may say that till last year there was no women's movement existant in Belgium. There has been—there are still—several "bourgeois" societies composed of women, desiring, in principle, to alleviate the sufferings of their sex. These societies hold reunions from time to time, at which those women who know anything about social questions are literally swamped by the mass of those whose incompetence and ignorance defy description. They have no fixed program, and although there can be no doubt that amongst them there are noble-minded women, only too desirous of doing something useful, they have accomplished nothing, or next to nothing, and their time is flittered away in personal dissensions.

The socialist party—as one united body—is, comparatively speaking, a very young party (the "Parti Ouvrier" was founded in 1885), all its energies have been concentrated in the amelioration of the life of the working man, in obtaining for him a better economic and political standing. Indirectly, evidently, this has been a distinct advantage to the working women too—the affiliation of the working family to one of the socialist co-operatives meaning cheaper bread, cheaper coal, etc., and every member of a co-operative having a share in the profits. But it is only now that the "Parti Ouvrier," being established on a very firm basis, now that it polls the maximum number of votes possible with the present electioneering system, now that its trade unions, its mutual societies, its co-operatives have greatly developed that the more far-seeing socialists have begun to understand that one of the great features of future prosperity will be the embodiment of women in the socialist movement.

To understand this one must first of all keep in mind that Belgium is a Catholic country, that the Roman Catholic religion is one of the great factors in national life. There is no sort of compulsory education, schools conducted by nuns and by priests being in the majority, especially in the rural districts. This means that a very large proportion of the population is kept in the most dire ignorance; that superstition and bigotry are inculcated into the minds of the young. The

men escape this baneful influence when their work takes them into one of the industrial centers, but the women attached to the place of their birth know no other influence. They are pleased to be exploited by their employers because "women have always had lower salaries than men" and if they are worked to death and almost starved in this world, they will be rewarded in the next. These are the sort of fallacies expounded to them by the priests. Of course all this again reacts on the man, the husband, the father. Say a workman lives with his family in a rural district and goes to work all day long in one of the industrial centers. (This is the rule in Belgium, where distances are comparatively short and where workmen's trains are numerous and very cheap). He has been converted to socialism by his fellow workmen. He has become a member of a socialist trades union; he attends socialist lectures, meetings, etc. His wife, of course, gets to know this. She is terrified, having been told by the priests that the socialists are devils. She consults her spiritual adviser, who threatens both her husband and herself with all the tortures of hell should the husband persist in his "iniquitous ways." What is a wretched, bigoted creature to do? Either her tears and her imprecations produce the desired effect—the man wavers—he is making his wife miserable—there may be some truth in what the priest says; or else if he is intelligent and has already become a conscious socialist his family life is more or less at an end. His wife is left at home to her ignorance and her superstition, whereas the husband makes use of all the advantages that a socialist *milieu* offers to its members.

The same division takes place among the children. The girls remain under the clerical influence and follow their mother. The boys, if they become industrial workers, are certain to be socialists. In parts of the country, the Flemish provinces, two purely agricultural districts, both men and women are completely (or almost completely; for even in that stronghold of clericalism socialist scouts have penetrated) under the priests' thumbs.

As I have said before, socialists are beginning to see that for the advance of socialism in Belgium it has become all important that the immense reactionary body formed by the women should be gained. What is done by the men in socialist assemblies is undone by the women at home. In the large factory towns where both men and women are employed in the mills and consequently where both sexes are found in the socialist organizations, the movement is strong. Where the women are under clerical influence, the socialist movement has the greatest difficulty in implanting itself. It is certain that it is only through socialism that women can obtain redress of their many grievances. Of what use are legislative measures

if the whole condition of women is based on injustice, if they are considered as inferior beings? It is the whole economic situation of women in society as it is to-day which must be modified. The woman's movement must therefore be a socialist one. Woman must be by the side of man in the class war, and must not be like an enemy in the opposite camp. In another way, too, socialism can release women from the clerical domination by giving them an ideal.

It is almost impossible to make a very poor and very ignorant woman understand the advantages accruing to herself from an economic change. But it is not difficult to raise her enthusiasm for an ideal of justice. Every one has in him the thirst for an ideal. The poor women I am speaking of are told of the delights of a hypothetical world to come. The incense and the images in their places of worship appeal to the higher side of their nature. How much more should all the hidden possibilities in them vibrate when they are told of the delights which doing their duty to their fellow-men and to themselves can bring in this world and when they are made acquainted with the noble and beautiful life which will come to all in a socialistic state,—the socialists' heaven, and one that will be realized, not one that is only promised and of whose possibility and existence there are absolutely no proofs. In the days of early Christianity women and men suffered the most cruel tortures, not for any immediate advantage, but for an ideal. In our time socialists are banished and imprisoned for having preached their ideal. When women have once been brought to understand the new ideal no power on earth will ever be able to drive it out of their hearts and minds. This is what the Belgian socialist party understand. About two years ago a woman's league was formed at the *Maison du Peuple* chiefly owing to the indefatigable energy of a noble woman, *Mlle. Gatti de Gamond*, who, after having for twenty-five years directed a large girls' school, supported partly by the government and partly by the city of Brussels, now devotes her life to the woman's cause. She has just finished a tract on female suffrage which will be published by the *Parti Ouvrier*. She has commenced to give lectures throughout the country and her natural ability and logical frame of thought have done wonders for the cause. During the forthcoming campaign for universal suffrage all the principal orators of the socialist party have promised to explain at every meeting the necessity for woman suffrage, and so although it may be a very long time before women will be electors in Belgium, yet the movement in their favor will cause them to awaken from their lethargy and to understand that resignation is not a virtue, but that it is their duty to join the socialist movement with their husbands and brothers.

Civilization

Do you think it will go on forever?
The foul city spreading its ugly suburbs like an ink-blot over
the fresh green woods and meadows,
Its buildings climbing up to ten, twenty, thirty shapeless
stories,
Its lurid smoke smothering the blue sky;
The mad rushing hither and thither, by steam and electricity,
as of insects on a stagnant pool, ever faster and faster;
Forests falling in a day to fill the world with waste paper,
Presses turning out aimless books and magazines and news-
papers by the ton,
Factory chimneys poisoning the west wind with unnamed
stenches,
Dark pollution from chemical works and sewers silently suck-
ing up the limpid purity of our streams,
Squalid brick-yards eating like leprosy into the banks of the
river,
Coal mines belching forth black vomit over whole counties,
The endless labor of digging gold and silver out of their natural
deposits under the distant mountain and heaping them up
in unnatural and equally useless deposits under our side-
walks,
The raging whirl of machinery forever whirling its tasteless,
shoddy, adulterated products into the laps of the idle,
Stalwart country folk, lured into overcrowded slums, to be
bleached and stifled and enervated in the slavery of dull
toil,
The army of tramps and unemployed swelling, suicides multi-
plying, starvation widening, in the wake of steam-yachts
and multi-millionaires,
Prisons, poor-houses, insane asylums, hospitals and armories
growing bigger and bigger;
And yet in all this wild, material maelstrom scarcely a glimmer
of art or beauty or dignity or repose or self-respect.
Do you think it can go on forever?
Do you think it ought to go on forever?

Ernest Crosby,

Author of "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable."



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The Trust. William M. Collier. The Baker Taylor Company.
Cloth, 338 pp., \$1.25.

It is seldom that a greater mixture of good and bad, false and true, are to be found in a single book. The first portion of the work is one of the best contributions yet made to the study of the "trust problem." He clearly recognizes and points out the fact that trusts are a natural outgrowth of competition, and sees the great economies which they furnish in production. His paragraph showing how the circle of the market has gradually enlarged side by side with the increased size of the industrial unit is one of the best statements of these facts yet printed, as the following quotation will show:

Page 44. "There has always been a tendency for industrial organizations to increase in size. It is more marked to-day, because invention and discovery have enlarged the field of business, strengthened the competitors and intensified the competition. The vastly improved means of travel, communication and transportation tend to build up trusts since they tend to increase competition. When the market was limited by the circle whose radius was the stage-route, competition was bounded by that circle. Outside of it a maker, although his cost of production was greater, could nevertheless find a market and could sell his goods. The great expense of transportation by these primitive methods, when added to the cost of production, often made it necessary for the cheap producer to charge in the relatively distant market a price in excess of that charged by some producer in that remote locality whose cost of actual production was much greater. But transportation has now become so much improved that each producer is the active competitor of all others. When shoes were made by hand and the stage was the means of transportation and communication, my local shoe cobbler could charge me much more than a cobbler in Syracuse twenty-five miles away. To-day if my cobbler were to charge overmuch, I could buy from many stores in my own city of Auburn, N. Y., shoes made at Lynn, Mass., or Brockton, Mass., or at many other places hundreds of miles away. Fifty years ago my local cobbler had hardly

a competitor. To-day he competes with all the great shoe factories throughout the entire country. To-day, to tell the truth, my local cobbler is out of business as a cobbler. The factory-made shoes were better and cheaper and we took our trade from him."

He has gathered some interesting and convincing material showing the presence of the trust movement in other countries, points out in an extremely clear manner the savings of concentration and ridicules the movement to re-employ useless laborers.

Then he forgets all that he has ever said before and begins to talk about "fair competition," "natural monopolies," and to suggest "remedies" for what he has just shown was inevitable and desirable. He suggests the tariff as a means of assistance in solving a "problem" he has just shown to be international, declares that "we can manufacture twice as much as we can consume," and in short talks all the ridiculous bourgeois rot that has been current for the last twenty years. It is a book that is well worth any one's time to read if the proper parts are skipped.

Plutocracy's Statistics. By H. L. Bliss. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Paper, 32pp, ten cents.

Mr. Bliss has become well known through his merciless criticisms and exposures of the "official statistics" issued under the supervision of Carroll D. Wright. In this work he exposes the fallacy that child labor is decreasing or wages increasing and also shows the fallacy of the government statistics on prices. The pamphlet makes very interesting reading for those who are accustomed to accept the government stamp as a guaranty of accuracy on things statistical.

Nequa, The Problem of the Ages, by Jack Adams. Equity Publishing Company, Topeka, Kan. Paper, 387 pp., fifty cents.

Here is a utopia that is far above the average of its kind, both in literary form and educational matter. Taken as a whole the book is probably as good a guess as has yet been made concerning the nature of the coming society. The story is not simply a vehicle to carry an overload of sermons but has a real interest in itself that holds attention to the end.

The Evolution of Immortality. By "Rosicruciae." Eulian Publishing Company, Salem, Mass.

This is an expression of that general indefinite "psychial" idea that is showing itself in such a multitude of forms at the

present time. For those who are interested in such things this book perhaps contains matter of importance. It is at least difficult to disprove the claims of those who keep so completely outside the realm of the "knowable" and it is no less difficult to intelligently criticise.

The Glorious House of Savoy, by Francis Sceusa. Co-operative Printing Works, Sydney, New South Wales. Paper, 24 pp.

A scathing arraignment of the Italian outrages which led up to the assassination of King Humbert.

The following books were received too late for extended reviews, but will be noticed at length later:

"Plain Talk in Psalm and Fable," by Ernest Crosby; Small, Maynard & Co.

"China's Only Hope," by Chang Chi Tung; Fleming H. Revell Company.

"Newest England," by Henry Demarest Lloyd; Doubleday, Page & Co.

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

No surer sign of the growing strength of socialism is seen than in its increasing influence in the field of periodical literature. It will be the aim of this department to give each week a very brief resume of the articles appearing in current periodicals that are of especial interest to socialists, either because of the point of view, the subject matter or the manner of treatment.

The *Cosmopolitan* has an article on "What Communities Lose by the Competitive System" that easily takes first rank this month as being the most valuable article from a socialist standpoint in American magazines. The article is one that received a prize of two hundred dollars in a competitive contest for the best article on that subject. It is a careful and elaborate study of the subject and contains a wealth of detailed material of greatest value to socialist writers and speakers and all who wish to be well informed on the current phases of socialism.

The *International Monthly*, although but little over a year old, has taken front rank among the impartial scientific periodicals published in this country. The November issue has

among other interesting articles a discussion of "Ruskin, Art and Truth" by John LaFarge which serves in no small degree to explain from the artist's point of view the weakness of Ruskin's entire philosophy. The impossibility of "absolute truth" or its expression is shown and it is not hard to draw from this article analogous conclusions as to the explanation of the defects in Ruskin's economic philosophy. Other articles of interest are "Modern Sociology" by Franklin H. Giddings, and "The Pacific Coast: A Psychological Study," by Josiah Royce.

The Quarterly Journal of Economics furnishes an excellent example of the bankruptcy of brains to which the bourgeois economists of America are reduced. Its 166 pages contain little that may be given a more dignified title than "intellectual gymnastics" save its bibliography and book reviews. Prof. J. W. Jenks' discussion of "Trusts" is a reiteration of platitudes that he has repeated on a half-dozen previous occasions. One might pardon these calisthenics if they even succeeded in gaining clear concepts of the subjects discussed, but where, as in the example under consideration, the first forty-five pages are filled with technical contortions over "Recent Discussion of the Capital Concept" by Frank H. Fetter, and then in the same number an article is admitted, "Enterprise and Profit" by Frederick B. Hawley, who (p. 78) speaks of the laborer's overalls and dinner-pail being capital, a depth of driveling inanity is reached that speaks eloquently of the fearful decadence of capitalist economic thought.

The Annales de l' Institut des Sciences Sociales contains one of a most notable contribution to socialist and sociological literature in Prof. Guillaume DeGreef's "Essais sur la Monnaie, le Credit et les Banques." It is practically an economic history of Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth century from the socialist point of view. It would be well worth translating into English and it is hoped that some one may be found to do the work.

L'Humanite Nouvelle, for November, contains an article on "En Marche vers la Reaction" that gives an extremely interesting view of present French politics. Kropotkine's autobiography is also running through the current numbers of this periodical.

❁ SOCIALISM ABROAD ❁

It will be the aim of this department to so present the news of the socialist movement in each country that the possessor of a file of *The Review* will have a condensed connected history of the socialist movement of the world. Owing to the stupendous amount of work and extensive facilities necessary for the proper accomplishment of this end we have not thought it wise to attempt such a department before, and even now we feel that only a beginning has been made which will require very much improvement in future numbers.

ENGLAND.

As almost all of our readers know by this time the English elections like those of America have been a victory for the large capitalists against the small ones. The Liberals have been overwhelmingly defeated and the ground thus cleared for a strong, clear, revolutionary socialist movement.

By holding the election just before a new list of electors was compiled the Conservatives succeeded in disfranchising more Englishmen than the Boers ever disfranchised outlanders. This fell somewhat heavy on the socialists as there is always a larger percentage of the younger voters in the socialist ranks than those of greater age. The socialists were also handicapped by other features of the election law, which by a property qualification disfranchised many thousands of laborers. Still more important is the provision of the law that compels the candidates or the parties they represent to bear the election expenses, including the expenses for polling, counting and returning the vote. Just how heavy a burden this is is seen from the fact that in the sixteen districts in which the socialists had candidates these expenses varied from \$550 to \$1,650, with a total of over \$15,000. This had to be shared among the candidates or parties according to the number of contestants for the seat, so that the socialist had always to bear from one-half to one-third of these sums before they could have a cent for agitation purposes. This also compelled them to refrain from nominat-

ing candidates in any districts where they were not exceptionally strong, and it thus came about that no record could be secured of the socialist vote in 553 out of 669 districts.

Hence the English comrades are to be congratulated that in these sixteen districts they succeed in casting 50,624 votes and electing one member (Keir Hardie) to Parliament. As the total vote polled was only 3,482,234, it will be seen that socialism has secured a pretty strong hold in England, notwithstanding the many difficulties it has had to contend with.

In the London borough and town council elections the socialists made some important gains and elected a number of officers. Unfortunate Will Thorne was defeated for re-election by a vote of 1,082 to 1,007.

* * *

FRANCE.

The French socialist parties seem to be again split by internal dissensions. Notwithstanding the recent attempt at a unity convention, those who have been most determined in their opposition to the entrance of Millerand into the cabinet have issued a call for a new "socialist unity" which shall exclude the "ministerialists." This division seems to have spread even into the parliamentary group, which until now has always acted as a unit, whatever quarrels might be existing outside. This was shown at the opening of the Chamber of Deputies, where Viviani made a speech indorsing the course of Millerand and was immediately followed by Vailliant with a notice that his division would no longer support the ministry.

In this contest both sides claim to have been indorsed by the International Congress. The organ of the Parti Ouvrier, or "Guesdists," *Le Socialiste*, declares that "not only the Kautsky resolution, in spite of its conciliating expressions, is wholly a condemnation of their ministerial policy, but the resolutions concerning alliances with bourgeois parties, colonial politics, so-called 'municipal socialism,' universal peace, general strike, constitute a defeat for them." On the other hand the "ministerialists" supported these resolutions (or some of them at least) and claim them as an endorsement of their position. Kautsky himself, in a recent article in the *Neul Zeit*, declares himself very decidedly against Millerand and his tactics.

Le Mouvement Socialiste, which claims to take a purely neutral ground as a scientific review, but which is sometimes accused by the "Parti Ouvrier" as inclining toward the "ministerialists," after denouncing the extremists of both sides, says:

"At this moment it is neither Guesde nor Millerand who represents the central tendencies (*les tendances moyennes*) of

French socialism. If reference is had to the general direction taken by the autonomous federations, which are perhaps the only ones who in the present crisis have acted spontaneously and freely, it is seen that the mass of our movement has held itself equally distant from sectarian dogmatism and corrupt empiricism. . . . In the chaos of our debates it is natural that these extreme tendencies should seem to have divided French socialism under the names they have respectively taken. But this is only an appearance. The militants of the provinces, speaking generally, do not expect a socialist society to come all at once by some act of Providence as the revolutionism of Guesde would preach to them. But they know equally well that if the social transformation they seek may only be obtained at the price of a long and carefully planned work of organization and preparation, it is necessary to guard against all weakening or deviation in the course of this practical action. For the rest, once that socialist unity is realized, these two tendencies, now exaggerated because they are in opposition, will become counterpoises; and losing the grotesque form they now have, will draw closer to the general position of the great mass. This is why unity ought to be realized at any cost with the least possible delay; unity of organization will create unity of tendencies."

The Bulletin de L'Office de Travail gives a resume of strikes in France during the last year. From this it appears that in the month of September last there were 76 different strikes. In 67 of these the number of strikers engaged was known and reached a total of 14,230. In the entire year of 1899 there were 740 strikes, including 176,826, and the total days lost were 3,350,734. Furthermore for the ten years from 1890 to 1899 inclusive there have been 4,210 strikes, involving 924,486 strikers and a loss of 15,021,184 days work.

* * *

HOLLAND.

The following report is based largely on an article in *Le Mouvement Socialiste* by W. H. Vliegen.

Capitalism developed very early in Holland, and with it came the beginnings of socialism, but the labor movement actually first took form with the International. After the dissolution of the International the *Algemeen Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond* (General Federation of Netherland Laborers) was formed with many Social Democrats in its ranks, but it soon ceased to be socialist, and its president is now a Liberal mem-

ber of the legislative chamber and most of its members are radical politicians and opponents of socialism.

July 7, 1878, the socialist members of this organization founded the first Social Democratic Association, with a tailor, H. Gerhard, as its principal member. Shortly afterwards Domela Nieuwenhuis, a Lutheran minister at The Hague, joined the party and founded the first socialist paper,—*Recht voor Allen*. He was a man of independent wealth and an orator and writer of ability and soon became the foremost socialist propagandist.

The party took up the agitation for universal suffrage and apparently grew with great rapidity. But many of its new members were not socialists, but advocates of violence and anarchy. These began to incite the laborers, who did not yet understand socialism, and the whole movement culminated in a police riot and ridiculous fiasco July 26, 1886. A long period of reaction followed. Domela Nieuwenhuis was imprisoned and all socialist activity suppressed.

Some time afterwards the electorate was somewhat extended and Nieuwenhuis was elected to Parliament. While here he made almost no reference to socialism, but busied himself with the merest palliative reforms. This led to a strong opposition to him, not only in Holland, but throughout the international socialist movement. The result was that in a short time he came out in opposition to all parliamentary action and declared himself for the universal strike and violent revolution.

Then followed a long, painful and disgraceful fight between the socialists and the anarchists under Nieuwenhuis. In August 1894 the Socialdemocratische Arbeiderpartij was organized, and little by little the forces of anarchy began to fade away until in 1898 the fifty-two anarchist sections had dwindled to ten, while the socialist forces had grown to a powerful army.

Finally during last June, anarchy having been practically crushed out of existence, the remnant of what was once the anarchist organization joined the socialists, forming one powerful united movement. Since then they have gained a number of local victories. They now have a majority on the municipal councils of Utrecht, Gronigen and Haarlem. The party has once more taken up the long-discarded struggle for universal suffrage and now look forward to an early victory.

* * *

BELGIUM.

Le Peuple is now filled with long lists of meetings and accounts of demonstrations for universal suffrage upon which the Belgian socialists are now concentrating their strength.

Mlle. I. Gatti de Gamond, Emile Vandervelde and other speakers and writers are devoting all their energies to the work of organization and agitation to secure this end. What makes their tasks especially difficult is that they are making their demand with no distinction as to sex. Here, as in England and America, the Liberal party is disappearing and the line is being drawn between capitalists and laborers on the political field.

The Vooruit, the great co-operative of Ghent, has just been very much enlarged. A department store has been added and \$8,000 has been expended in the purchase of an adjoining building which is to be remodeled and fitted up as a printing establishment. This printing plant will issue the daily Vooruit and will have complete telegraphic and telephonic service, making it the leading daily of the city.

* * *

GERMANY.

The special election for the seat in the Reichstag made vacant by the death of Liebknecht was a brilliant socialist victory. While the socialists were certain of the seat, they were scarcely prepared to greatly increase their vote and secure so overwhelming a majority as was actually received. The following shows the actual vote cast, Herr Ledebour being the Social Democratic candidate:

Social Democrat,	53,896
Conservative	10,490
All other parties.....	1,422

The socialists won a seat in the Diet of Coburg for the first time last month.—Herr Pens, another Social Democratic candidate to the Reichstag, was recently elected from the very heart of the rural Brandenburg district.—In the Thuringian States and Wurtemberg a number of socialists have recently been elected to local legislative bodies.

At Gotha the socialists have managed to secure ten out of nineteen seats in the local parliament. This has been a work of some difficulty, as the members of that body are elected indirectly.

A recent inquiry has brought out the fact that *outside of the factories* there are employed in German industries 532,283 children under fourteen years of age. The wages varied from ten to sixteen cents a day.

Trade is poorer than one year ago and the number of unemployed larger. The employes of the Krupp works have just had their wages reduced 5 per cent.

ITALY.

The Italian socialists are congratulating themselves upon their recent triumph over a Neapolitan political "boss." Alberto Casalle has for years had despotic control over everything political in Naples. Even the mayor held office only by his sufferance and he had a system of blackmail in operation that would have done credit to Tammany Hall. Some time ago "La Propaganda," the socialist paper recently established in Naples, took occasion to expose some of his work, whereupon he sued them for libel. In the resulting trial the rottenness of Casalle's schemes was exposed to such an extent that in spite of all he could do his power is broken and several of the city officers have been forced to resign.

* * *

AUSTRIA.

No definite reports as yet have been received concerning the elections which are being held in Austria, but the correspondent of the Berlin Vorwaerts states that the outrages at the present election are even worse than at the election of 1897. The fact that at that election one Social Democrat was elected and that candidates have now been nominated in other districts have led the officials to commit still greater outrages. From all parts of the country comes reports that those communal representatives who are laborers were not permitted to enter the polling places. In Dumbrowa the laborers were told by the government officials that the whole matter was one which did not concern them. In Michalowice the names of 300 voters who voted in 1897 were peremptorily struck from the list of voters. In Galicia the Poles and Ruthenians have nominated thirteen candidates. The following dispatch by the Associated Press confirms these statements:

"Vienna, Nov. 8.—Intimidation at the polls caused a fierce riot at Siebor, in Galicia, yesterday. The election of deputies to the Austrian Reichsrath was in progress. The prefect placed the gendarmerie of the town about the polling place, with orders to arrest all who voted for the Democratic candidates. After a number of arrests had been made the populace stormed the voting offices, disabled the gendarmes, smashed in the ballot boxes and set fire to the buildings.

"Afterward they caught the prefect, stripped and beat him and drove him out of town.

"Great socialist gains are reported in the industrial districts."

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes



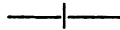
THE American Federation of Labor meets in its twentieth annual convention in Louisville, Ky., Dec. 3. In point of attendance of delegates and members represented it will be the largest congress ever held by that body, and some important questions will come up for consideration. Disputes between various trades will consume much of the time of the convention. The woodworking and the iron crafts are having much difficulty, owing to the subdivision of their trades by machinery and new methods of production, in fixing their jurisdiction, and considerable jealousy exists between several of the larger bodies, charges of encroachment of one organization upon another being apparently on the increase. The printers and machinists and the brewers and engineers and firemen's controversies will undoubtedly receive further attention. Political questions will also come in for much discussion. The legislative committee's poor showing in obtaining the passage of labor bills in Congress has caused wide comment, and the opinion is gaining ground that it is a waste of time and money to solicit the present capitalistic legislative bodies to enact palliative laws. The socialists will come forward with a number of resolutions that they will attempt to have adopted to place the Federation in line with the more progressive labor bodies of Europe and even Canada, while the trust question, ship subsidies and other matters will open the gates for a flood of oratory such as the land of the colonels has never before known. Rumors are flying about thick and fast that quite a few changes will be made in the present executive council. A New York sensational daily paper charges that certain political interests are conspiring to use President Mitchell, of the miners, to encompass the defeat of Samuel Gompers, the present incumbent, and a counter-charge is made that the rumor was set afloat to create sympathy for Mr. Gompers. First Vice-President P. J. McGuire will not be a delegate this year, and unless all precedents are disregarded he will not be a member of the new council. Sixth Vice-President Thomas I. Kidd is understood as desiring to retire, and several of the larger organizations threaten to

go after the scalp of Third Vice-President James O'Connell. A brief synopsis of the convention's important transactions will appear in next month's Review.

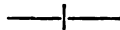
In September the A. F. of L. chartered one national union, one state branch, three city central bodies and thirty-one local unions, aside from the locals chartered by national trade organizations. The laundry workers organized a national body at a convention held in Troy, N. Y., November 12, and the lathers held their first annual convention in Cleveland, November 12. The seamen convened in Boston, November 16, and the butchers meet in Cleveland December 3. The miners assemble in Indianapolis on January 21, and there is already much discussion on regarding the future course of that body and the probable composition of the incoming administration.

A tremendous economic revolution is promised in the near future for the industrial world. Thomas A. Edison, the "electrical wizard," is busy day and night in his wonderful laboratory at Orange, N. J., perfecting his plan to utilize all the energy stored in coal. At present 90 per cent and more of this energy is lost in the process of combustion—carried off in the form of smoke and gases through the chimneys of factories and the smokestacks of motor engines. Mr. Edison's invention aims to control the full energy of coal by means of compressed air, heated to about 450 degrees Fahrenheit, and, if successful, will solve a problem which for years has occupied the attention of scientists the world over. By this means it is claimed that power enough could be extracted from a pound or two of coal to carry a man around the world. It would revolutionize motive power on land and sea, cutting down the cost of operation to figures undreamed of by the most hopeful economist. Mr. Edison has perfected his invention, insofar as heating compressed air is concerned, to a point where its potency is doubled and the volume of coal consumed is minimized. This of itself is a notable achievement, and already the officials of a street railroad in Orange are negotiating to utilize the invention in heating their cars this winter. Mr. Edison has also applied his compressed air to several steam drills and one engine with splendid results. It is reported that the revolutionary idea which promises to work economic wonders in this new device was suggested to Mr. Edison by a little Chicago foot-warmer. The army of the unemployed is destined to grow into many more millions in number when this marvelous new device is completed.

Besides the socialist publications mentioned in the "Socialist Campaign Book," the following new recruits must be added to the list: The Islander, Windby Island, Puget Sound; the Citizen, formerly a Bryan paper at Ardmore, I. T., has changed its name to the Social Democrat and come out for socialism; Work and Study, Berrien Springs, Mich.; Central Missouri Push, California, Mo.; Utah Socialist, Salt Lake City, Utah; Graham Gem, Hill City, Kan., and People's Press, Albany, Ore., both former Bryan papers.



The compromising of the miners' strike in the hard coal region of Pennsylvania on an increase of 10 cents a ton, and the immediate advance of coal 50 cents a ton by the trust, has caused no end of discussion in labor circles. It was at first thought that the people would only be compelled to pay the increase of 50 cents a ton until the barons had cleaned up enough to pay the losses they sustained during the strike, but such is not the case, as a New York financial organ says that at a meeting in that city the barons took action that will make the advance permanent. It is declared by some that the coal capitalists, besides needing the money, forced up the price of coal "to teach the people a lesson" for sympathizing with the miners, and also to make unionism obnoxious. Howsoever that may be, the people, the voters who have just finished casting their ballots for private monopolization of mines, may feel assured that the mine owners will not squander the extra 50 cents gained on each ton in a reckless manner (as the miners would no doubt do in "living right"). Mr. Morgan is saving up his half dollars for the purpose of perfecting the machinery of several other trusts in order that he may introduce "stable prices" in other industries, and several of his colleagues are building more colleges and churches.



New York financial organs quote figures to show that immediately following election stock in trusts in which Mr. John D. Rockefeller is interested increased in value the enormous sum of \$27,345,000 in two days, the Standard Oil trust alone clearing \$13,000,000 during that time. The Standard has already declared dividends this year amounting to over \$67,000,000, and it is figured that its "earnings" this year will be about 100 per cent of its present capitalization. Besides, its stock, valued at \$100 per share, is likely to be worth ten times that amount in the near future. The enormous income enjoyed by Mr.

Rockefeller enables him to grab stocks and bonds of other industries almost at will.

The would-be trust-smashers of the South are rapidly changing their tune. The Bourbon rice-growers have just formed a combnie which has been financed by the Vanderbilts. The capitalization is \$15,000,000 and the object of the new octopus is to enforce "stability of prices," the industry of rice-growing having been "demoralized" by sharp competition, which means that consumers will be called upon to yield more of the coin of the realm if they want to eat rice.—A \$25,000,000 cattle trust is being organized in Texas. Mr. Rockefeller is to be the financial power.—The salt trust, another Rockefeller pet, has more than doubled the price of salt.—A general rise in meat, butter, eggs and other necessities was announced a few days after the polls closed. We must have prices. Then we'll all get rich.

The striking woodworkers of the Pacific coast are reported as gaining their demand for the eight-hour day.—Cigarmakers' strike is off in some of the New York shops.—The desperate battle between the molders of Cleveland and the Foundrymen's National Association is still on, with no indication of an early settlement. The fight has already cost three lives and hundreds of thousands of dollars.—The shorter workday of the machinists has gone into effect pretty nearly all over the country.—Garment workers surrendered jurisdiction over shirt and waist makers and the latter formed a national union.

A. W. Puttee, the progressive labor member of the Canadian Parliament, has been re-elected in the Winnipeg district by an increased majority.—In the recent national election the Independent Labor party, though but organized a few weeks, polled a large vote in some districts, and the Canadian laborites are enthusiastically predicting victory in the near future.

The Polish socialist organizations, which formerly supported the DeLeon S. L. P., recently held a convention in Buffalo and voted to support the Social Democratic party and to form an independent alliance.

The iron-workers are having their "full dinner pails" tampered with. It is announced that the National Steel trust will

hack into wages from 20 to 60 per cent, and that the Tin Plate trust will cut off an 8 per cent chunk. Mills in Pennsylvania are cutting puddlers from \$4.25 to \$3.00 a ton and muck roll hands proportionately. The puddlers declare they won't stand for a reduction of over one-quarter of their full dinner buckets, but the bosses claim the cut is general and must be made because of the low price of bar iron. The iron-workers are among the most stubborn upholders of the capitalistic system. They don't want to hear anything about socialism. They vote for "prosperity" and "protection" every time they have the opportunity. They are getting what they vote for.

Postoffice employes are organizing and applying for charter from the A. F. L. They claim the eight-hour law is being constantly violated by officials, and they also want a reform in the matter of making promotions and other grievances adjusted. A Washington employe informs the writer that there seems to be a conspiracy on among certain interests to secure the repeal of the eight-hour law.

Pennsylvania courts decide that the law prohibiting employers from discharging workers because they belong to unions is unconstitutional.—United States Circuit Court at Little Rock, Ark., issued a decree forbidding striking street railway employes from wearing union buttons or badges.

Printers may soon take a referendum vote on the question of severing all connection with political parties of the capitalist class, thirty-six local unions having endorsed the proposition to put the matter to a vote, fifty endorsements being needed.—Cigarmakers are taking referendum vote on nominating and electing officers. The race for president will be between George W. Perkins, the present incumbent, and J. Mahlon Barnes, the brilliant young Philadelphia Social Democrat.

The American Steel and Wire Trust is reaching out and attempting to absorb the powerful Tennessee Coal and Iron Company and the mills of Alabama.

Many new locals have been formed and joined the Social Democratic party during the past few months, according to National Secretary Butscher.—In December the municipal elec-

tions occur in Massachusetts, where the S. D. P. made a splendid increase in November, and the old parties are leaving no stone unturned to defeat the socialists. In Haverhill the hardest battle will take place, as the Republicans, Democrats and Prohibitionists have combined. An appeal for financial aid has been sent out by the S. D. P., and all donations should be sent to William Maily, Gillman block, Haverhill, Mass.—In other states the S. D. P. is also actively preparing to carry on an aggressive educational campaign until the polls close in the spring elections.





EDITORIAL



SOME COLOSSAL LYING

It is now definitely announced that the United States has decided to join in with the "European concert" in the partitioning of China. Here ends, for the present, one of the most elaborate and comprehensive examples of national lying and hypocrisy offered by history. When Cuba had been suffering for fifty years and the United States army and warships had been used repeatedly to stop and severely punish all those who dared attempt to assist her, it was suddenly discovered by our capitalist classes that they needed new markets, and at once they set their "yellow press" in operation on the woes of Cuba. In preparation for the deliverance of Cuba they sent a captain with one ship to Havana and an admiral with a whole fleet to Hongkong. Then when Manila was taken while "freeing Cuba," all the agencies by which public opinion is made declared that it was only for the purpose of assisting the brave and noble Filipino patriots to throw off the hated yoke of Spain. But when the treaty of peace was signed it was found that the United States had paid \$20,000,000 for the privilege of using that yoke herself and the government of this country proceeded at once to fit the aforesaid yoke still closer around the necks of the Filipino patriots, who had now become a lot of disreputable Tagal savages, according to these same makers of public opinion. Then it was found that the possession (!) of the Philippine Islanders enabled our capitalist rulers to become mixed up in the Chinese question. So the engines of public opinion were again set in motion and this country felt a "thrill of horror" play up and down its backbone as the press published sections from "Fox's Book of Martyrs" as original telegraphic descriptions of the tortures being inflicted on the Christians in China. The United States troops now became part of the "European concert" (where did the Monroe doctrine go?) and United States soldiers were among the first to enter Peking and to find that the much-tortured and many-times massacred missionaries were still in pretty good health.

Then began a series of outrages, murders and tortures that might have fully justified all the previous descriptions of supposed Chinese crimes. It was simply one more instance of the bourgeoisie imputing their own crimes to those they wished to destroy. During all this time we were repeatedly assured by the mouthpieces of capitalism that the United States was in China only to protect the missionaries and to "defend the integrity of the Chinese empire." Under no conditions would she consent to a partitioning of the Flowery Kingdom. This position was given an appearance of seeming sincerity by the fact that the United States having the best exploited laborers in the world was able to undersell all the other nations anyhow, and hence an "open door" would be more to her advantage than to that of any other set of capitalists. But it seems that either the other members of the "gang" refused to "stand for" this move or else, as seems much more probable, this was only another case of lying, for now the word comes that the United States has selected Amoy as its port and is busy staking out the boundaries of its section of the Chinese pie. This brings the story down to date save that no discussion of the lying and hypocrisy of this period would be complete without some reference to the gigantic fraud of the "Anti-imperialist" Democratic campaign. From one end of America to the other one portion of the plutocratic press declared itself as bitterly opposed to expansion and insisted that its instant checking was the "paramount issue" upon which the laborers of America should divide. Then on the very morning after election, before the votes were all counted or the returns all in, these same papers were out shouting for expansion and declaring that the Democratic party had made a mistake in ever opposing it. As one reads over this record of the most colossal mass of lying, trickery and hypocrisy by which the American nation has been befuddled, deceived and enslaved he cannot but say "How long, O Lord, how long shall these things be!"

* * *

THE RECENT ELECTION

It is still impossible to give complete and accurate returns of the socialist vote at the recent elections, but enough is now known to make it certain that the vote of the Social Democratic party will be somewhere near 150,000, while that of the DeLeonite Socialist Labor party will be about 25,000. This is only the vote that is actually counted and turned in by the

recording officers, while from almost every city in America and from nearly every precinct in the great cities comes reports of uncounted and unrecorded votes. So it is probable that the actual vote cast exceeded 200,000. This means that the socialist vote has increased between three and five-fold since 1896. But it is not in the increase of the purely socialist vote alone that socialists find reason for encouragement. A new arrangement is being forced in political lines by the new economic developments that is bringing the class struggle into political divisions. The Populist party is gone—the Democratic party is being “reorganized” to “rid it of undesirable radical elements,” and the Republican party has thrown down all disguise and openly champions the cause of concentrated plutocracy. This serving of a writ of ejectment by the old political parties on all persons not willing to accept the whole program of capitalism has created a great body of “unattached” individuals among whom the socialist propaganda is making rapid headway. As many socialist writers have seen, the greatest danger to an intelligent social development in this country lies in the possibility that this incoherent floating mass of discontented may find some common points of confusion around which they can rally in support of some “leader” and thus give another opportunity to side-track political development into useless channels. But there seems to be every sign that before this can take place the socialists will rise to the opportunity confronting them and, uniting in one strong harmonious party, absorb and direct in an intelligent manner these new and mighty energies that are coming to it.

* * *

From the beginning of the *International Socialist Review* to the present the entire aim of the management has been to make each number superior to all previous numbers. We have had and still have plans for extensive improvements, and shall put them in operation as fast as circumstances permit. We feel that with the present number an advance has been made in the opening of the most complete summary of news of the international movement ever attempted in any socialist periodical in any country. With forthcoming issues this department will be very greatly strengthened and improved. With the January number a most significant advance will be made. This is the new department edited by Prof. George D. Herron. This will really mean almost a new era in the growth of *The Review*, as from now on this will be positively the only periodical with which Prof. Herron will be connected in any way or to which

he will regularly contribute. He will bring with him an able corp of writers, who, with those already enlisted, will make *The Review* one of the foremost publications of this country. In all these endeavors for improvement the management of *The Review* finds itself sadly handicapped for lack of capital. Starting with barely five hundred dollars, we feel that the results so far accomplished are little less than marvelous. Now if our present subscribers will but assist us during the next month by securing all the new subscribers possible within the next four weeks we can enter the new year with a magazine of which every socialist in Chicago may well be proud. When the circulation gets a trifle larger than now, it will be possible to enter the field of advertising profitably. That will mean that new and paid regular foreign correspondents can be secured, that expert reporters can be hired who will visit scenes of industrial disturbance or localities and industries of interest to socialists, and can present studies of local conditions of the greatest value for socialist education and propaganda. Every dollar that comes in for *The Review* will always be used in making a better magazine and increasing its circulation. No dividends will ever be declared on the capital stock of the company and no fancy salaries paid its officers. Its books are open at all times to those who wish to know its condition. Now, will not every one who reads this make one grand, tremendous effort to send in a large club of subscribers before the January number is issued? Do so and we shall begin the new year with the best socialist magazine in the world.



The International Party.

French Words by EUGENE POTTIER.

Translated by CHARLES H. KERR.

1. A-rise, ye pris'ners of star-va-tion! A-rise, ye wretched of the earth,
2. We want no condescending sav-iors, To rule us from a judgment hall,

For justice thunders con-dem-na-tion, A bet-ter world's in birth.
We workers ask not for their fa-vors; Let us con-sult for all.

No more tradition's chains shall bind us, Arise, ye slaves! no more in thrall!
To make the thief disgorge his boo ty, To free the spir-it from its cell,

The earth shall rise on new foundations, We have been naught, we shall be all.
We must ourselves decide our du-ty, We must de-cide and do it well.

REFRAIN.

'Tis the fi-nal con-flict, Let each stand in his place,
C'est la lut-te fi-na-le Grou-pous-nous et de-main,

The International Party. Concluded.

The In - ter - na - tional Par - ty Shall be the hu - man race.
L'in - ter - na - tio na - le Se - ra le genre hu - main!

'Tis the fi - nal con - flict, Let each stand in his place,
C'est la lut - te fi - na - le, Grou-pons-nous et de - main,

The In - ter - na - tional Par - ty Shall be the hu - man race.
L'in - ter - na - tio - na - le Se - ra le genre hu - main!

8

The law oppresses us and tricks us,
 Taxation drains the victim's blood;
 The rich are free from obligations,
 The laws the poor delude.
 Too long we've languished in subjection,
 Equality has other laws:
 "No rights," says she, without their duties,
 No claims on equals without cause."

4

Behold them seated in their glory,
 The kings of mine and rill and soil!
 What have you read in all their story,
 But how they plundered toil?

Fruits of the people's work are buried
 In the strong coffers of a few;
 In voting for their restitution
 The men will only ask their due.

5

Toilers from shops and fields united,
 The party we of all who work;
 The earth belongs to us the people,
 No room here for the shirk.
 How many on our flesh have fattened!
 But if the noisome birds of prey
 Shall vanish from the sky some morning,
 The blessed sunlight still will stay.