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Russianizing America.

IN SPITE of the organized system of suppression of news and distortion, known as the Associated Press; in spite of the conspiracy of silence among those great makers of public opinion, the capitalist journals of America, enough facts have leaked through to show that the condition of affairs now existing in the mining camps of Colorado openly and definitely gives the lie to the claim that either national or state governments within the United States guarantee any rights whatever to any class of citizens unless those citizens have sufficient economic power to maintain those rights—unless, in short, they belong to the ruling class of capitalists. That the declarations of military law and accompanying outrages at Telluride, Victor and Cripple Creek are but part of a general movement by the capitalist class of America to crush out all political and economic resistance on the part of the working class is plain to any one who chooses to look at the evidence presented.

The following quotation from the Associated Press report of the meeting of the National Employers' Association held in Chicago October 1, 1903, gives the beginning of the plot:

"Blows at the Western labor organizations are to be struck repeatedly, and the American Federation of Labor is to be invited by the employers to step into the movement. Socialism, according to the claim of the Western employers, completely controls the Western labor movement, which is practically in the grip of the American Labor Union and the Western Association of Miners.

J. C. Craig, secretary of the Citizens' Alliance of Denver, who attended the employers' conference at the Auditorium Tuesday, said yesterday: "The American Labor Union and the Western Miners must go. Both organizations have reached the point where they are dangerous to the community at large. They are

lawless aggregations, teeming with Socialists and Anarchists. They do no good to labor and have an astounding record of crime and murder. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, I regard as a comparatively conservative man, and the employers of the West would be glad to see him succeed in extending the control of the American Federation of Labor throughout the West. If the American Federation of Labor would put its organizers in the territory controlled by the American Labor Union today it would reap a harvest in a remarkably short time. The manufacturers who will join in this movement of employers will assist in clarifying the dangerous Western situation, and I believe that the time is not far away when the American Labor Union and the Western Association of Miners will be wiped out of existence."

Whether Samuel Gompers is actually a partner in this nefarious work or not there is no evidence to prove. That he is lending it at least his tacit support is shown by the cowardly silence of the *American Federationist* concerning the present outrages in Colorado.

The plan of action here laid down once understood, all subsequent actions are easy of comprehension and form but part of one continuous, nefarious plot. In 1902 the people of the State of Colorado, in a referendum vote, declared by a majority of 40,000 for a constitutional amendment providing for an eight-hour work day in the mines. Unfortunately they neglected to elect any but capitalist officials to office and these officials promptly refused to take any notice of the referendum. Incidentally, this should help to teach something to the "initiative-and-referendum-first" bunch of reformers, as showing the uselessness of any such action not backed up by a class conscious Socialist party strong enough to carry through any demands not in accord with the interests of the capitalist class.

The miners becoming convinced of the impossibility of securing any assistance from capitalist legislative bodies, went on strike to secure what the supposed sovereign power of the state had declared was legally theirs, and in so doing offered the excuse for action for which the Employers' Association had been waiting. This strike took place in the mines surrounding Cripple Creek and Telluride. No evidence whatever has been put forth to show that any violence accompanied this strike. No one was injured, no property destroyed. Nevertheless, troops were at once rushed to the scene. Governor Peabody has since admitted that these troops are in the direct pay of the Mine Owners' Association; that is to say, he has turned the militia over to a branch of the National Employers' Association to be used by them as their private police force. This is not all, more direct action was demanded, so it was that members of the "Citizens' Alliance," as

the local branch of the Employers' Association is called, were directly enlisted in the militia as the following dispatch will show:

"Victor, Colo., Dec. 9.—Brig.-Gen. F. M. Reardon, retired, postmaster of Victor, has received orders from Governor Peabody to muster in a new company of the Colorado National Guard at the armory here tomorrow night. This company will be known as Company L, Second Regiment, C. N. G., and will be composed exclusively of members of the Victor Citizens' Alliance. Eighty men have signed the muster roll. Harry T. Moore, president of the Victor Citizens' Alliance, will be captain of the new company; A. A. Rolleston, cashier of the Bank of Victor, will be first lieutenant, and J. C. Cole, secretary of the Citizens' Alliance, will be second lieutenant."

Then that no link might be lacking to connect the whole machinery of government with this infamous work, the War Department of the national government, acting, it is said, under direct personal instructions from Roosevelt, supplied these militia companies with the latest improved Krag-Jorgensen rifles, manufactured at the United States arsenals, and accompanied them with a plentiful supply of the new "riot cartridges," designed for the especial purpose of shooting unarmed, unresisting men.

Finally, after the militiamen had done the dirty work of capitalism, had sold their manhood, and betrayed their class to help rivet the fetters still firmer upon their fellow-workmen, they were thrown aside by their masters with the same brutal recklessness that everywhere marks the treatment of the wage slave.

The *Rocky Mountain News* of December 11 has the following in reference to a company of soldiers who have been ordered from the Cripple Creek district and are in an armory on the outskirts of Denver:

"Thirty men, the remnants of the once proud Company L, First Regiment of the National Guard, State of Colorado, are out at the Berkeley Armory, near Elitch's Gardens, almost totally without food, with only such fuel as they can skirmish up around the country, and without bedding or sufficient blankets.

"These men have been at the armory since Saturday night waiting. They claim that the State owes them an average of \$50 each in pay for their services. Since their arrival in Denver the men have been furnished nothing whatever by the State or anybody connected with the military department of the State. * * * Yesterday the boys saw starvation staring them in the face. * * * Many of them are young boys. * * * Most of them have pawned their citizen's clothes and now have nothing to wear but their uniforms."

We are not, however, so much concerned with the fate of these hired murderers as with that of the miners whom they were hired to kill.

Having turned over the regularly organized militia to the mine-owners and organized the heelers and hangers-on of the local capitalists for the purposes of murder under the authority of the State, it only remained to arm and turn loose those dupes and tools of the employers who were too disreputable for military discipline and arm them with authority to carry on a guerilla warfare upon unarmed strikers. This was accomplished by the issuance of an order by the military authorities of Cripple Creek commanding all citizens to turn in any firearms they might possess. The houses of the miners were visited by searching parties who confiscated any firearms not previously surrendered. Permits were then issued by the thousands to the thugs of the Mine Owners' Association permitting them to carry firearms. In other words, the union miners were first disarmed and rendered helpless and then turned over to the tender mercies of any gang of thugs, scabs, "bad men" and "gun fighters" who might be designated by the Mine Owners' Association. Lest there might even then be some misunderstanding about the fact that it was a labor union and the Western Federation of Miners especially that was being attacked, the Mine Owners' Association ordered all its members to compel their employes to surrender their cards in that organization, as the following Associated Press item will show:

"FLORENCE, Colo., Dec. 10.—J. M. Hower, Jr., manager of the Dorcas Mining and Milling Company, received yesterday from the Mine Owners' Association of Cripple Creek a letter to the effect that he must discharge every employe who would not sever his membership with the Western Federation of Miners, and that in future he was to employ no man who was a member of that organization. If he did so he would not be allowed to treat any ore which could be controlled and diverted elsewhere by the association. Mr. Hower refused to comply and will leave for the district in the morning. When the trouble with the mills in Colorado City started Mr. Hower, who had always been friendly to the Mill and Smelters' Union, made an agreement with his men by which he has been able to work his property almost steadily. He has never had a labor trouble of any kind and his relations with his employes have always been of the most friendly nature.

"J. Q. McDonald, general manager of the mills of the United States Reduction & Refining Company at Florence, stated in an interview today that the Union mill would be started under full operation the first of the year, but that no member of the Western Federation of Miners would be employed; that the company had no local organization of their employes, but would not tolerate membership in the Western Federation of Miners."

In the territory under military law, outrages which still

further demonstrated this point occurred. Fifty of the miners who were out on a strike at Telluride, were arrested in their homes on charge of vagrancy, thrown into the "bull-pen," as the military stockade is called, denied the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* and were fined various sums, which they were compelled to work out with ball and chain, under military guard, on the streets. They were all informed, however, that if they would either leave the city or go to work as scabs the fines would be remitted. President Moyer, of the Western Federation of Miners, has been ordered out of the strike region under pain of arrest, although no disorder whatever has been urged against him and no charge save the holding of an official position in a trade union.

At Victor, Colo., on Sunday, the 22d of November, while the president of the local union of the W. F. M., who had died during the strike, was being buried, the funeral procession was stopped by the militia and twelve men were taken from the carriages in which they were riding with their families and thrown into the "bull-pen." This, of course, without any warrant being issued, any charges preferred or any hope of a trial to determine guilt or innocence.

Since practically the entire mining population of the West is included within the membership of the W. F. M. the usual talk about "peaceable men anxious to enjoy their God-given right to work," and being debarred of that right through union tyranny, was hardly suitable to the occasion. Indeed, it being manifestly impossible to obtain scabs through the ordinary methods the most high-handed means were adopted for this purpose. Men were shipped by employment agencies under various pretexts to Joplin, Mo., under promise of work in the zinc and lead mines of that locality. On arriving there they found no laborers were wanted, but they were then told that miners were wanted in Colorado. Not only was nothing said to them about the fact that a strike was on but all possible means were taken to keep that fact from becoming known. In some cases at least these men were locked in the cars with armed guards to prevent their escape en route. On arrival at the scene of the strike they were locked up in the stockades inclosing the mines and compelled to work as scabs, whether they wished or not. If they succeeded in escaping the armed guards that surround the mines they were promptly arrested as "vagrants" and given the ball and chain, with the alternative of going back to scab or leaving the place.

The next step was to prevent the laborers of the United States from gaining a knowledge of the situation, consequently press censorship was established. For the first time in the history of the United States a newspaper, *The Victor Record*, appeared with what has long become familiar to the readers of

Russian papers, a blank space where the leading editorial ordinarily appeared. The *Cripple Creek Times*, of December 20, contains a notice that the military authorities have notified it that no official statement of the district union of the Western Federation of Miners can be published by that paper hereafter. Meanwhile the strike goes on. The Western Federation of Miners has established co-operative stores for the relief of its members. Threats have already been made that these will be seized and their property confiscated. One thing is certain, the union workers of this locality are engaged in the most desperate fight for liberty and elementary justice that has ever yet been waged on this continent. If they are crushed, those officials of the A. F. of L., or their secret assistants who have contributed to that end, will have a chance to learn something of the gratitude of the capitalist, since the next step will inevitably be to transfer the same methods to the eastern states and the eastern unions. The Western Federation of Miners is an avowed Socialist organization and it is undoubtedly this which has added to the ferocity of the employers' attack. They are now seeking for help to continue this fight and that request should meet with a ready response from every trade unionist and every Socialist, and certainly from every Socialist Trade Unionist throughout the country.

Funds for the support of the strike should be addressed to William D. Haywood, 625 Mining Exchange building, Denver, Colo.
A. M. SIMONS.

[The following from the *Chicago Record-Herald*, coming just as we go to press, gives a vivid view of present condition:]

"CRIPPLE CREEK, COLO., Jan. 4.—Thomas Evans, a miner, and his wife and young daughter have been arrested and placed in the 'bull pen' by the military authorities for jeering at soldiers and nonunion miners.

"TELLURIDE, COLO., Jan. 4.—Twenty-six men arrested here by the military authorities, including former Attorney-General Eugene Engley, counsel for the Telluride Miners' Union; Guy E. Miller, president of the union, and J. C. Williams, vice president of the Western Federation of Miners, were placed on board a north-bound train today and taken beyond the boundaries of San Miguel county under military guard. They will not be allowed to return to this district while martial law is in effect.

"Under the proclamation issued by Governor Feabody declaring San Miguel county to be in a state of insurrection, and giving the military full power, Major Zeph T. Hill, commander of the military at Telluride, has established a strict press censorship and taken control of both the telegraph and telephone lines."

The Negro and His Nemesis.

SINCE the appearance of my article on "The Negro in the Class Struggle" in the November REVIEW I have received the following anonymous letter:

Elgin, Ill., November 25, 1903.

Mr. Debs:

Sir, I am a constant reader of the International Socialist Review. I have analyzed your last article on the Negro question with apprehension and fear. You say that the South is permeated with the race prejudice of the Negro more than the North. I say it is not so. When it comes right down to a test, the North is more fierce in the race prejudice of the Negro than the South ever has been or ever will be. I tell you, you will jeopardize the best interests of the Socialist Party if you insist on political equality of the Negro. For that will not only mean political equality but also social equality eventually. I do not believe you realize what that means. You get social and political equality for the Negro, then let him come and ask the hand of your daughter in marriage, "For that seems to be the height of his ambition," and we will see whether you still have a hankering for social and political equality for the Negro. For I tell you, the Negro will not be satisfied with equality with reservation. It is impossible for the Anglo-Saxon and the African to live on equal terms. You try it, and he will pull you down to his level. Mr. Lincoln, himself, said, that "There is a physical difference between the white and the black races, which I believe will forever forbid them living together on terms of social and political equality." If the Socialist leaders stoop to this method to gain votes, then their policy and doctrine is as rotten and degraded as that of the Republican and Democratic parties, and I tell you, if the resolutions are adopted to give the African equality with the Anglo-Saxon you will lose more votes than you now think. I for my part shall do all I can to make you lose as many as possible and there will be others. For don't you know that just a little sour dough will spoil the whole batch of bread. You will do the Negro a greater favor by leaving him where he is. You elevate and educate him, and you will make his position impossible in the U. S. A. Mr. Debs, if you have any doubts on this subject, I beg you for humanity's sake to read Mr. Thomas Dixon's "The Leopard's Spots" and I hope that all others who have voiced your sentiments heretofore, will do the same.

I assure you, I shall watch the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW with the most intense hope of a reply after you have read Mr. Thomas Dixon's message to humanity. Respectfully yours,

So far a staunch member of the Socialist Party.

The writer, who subscribes himself "A staunch member of the Socialist Party" is the only member of that kind I have ever heard of who fears to sign his name to, and accept responsibility for what he writes. The really "staunch" Socialist attacks in the open—he does not shoot from ambush.

The anonymous writer, as a rule, ought to be ignored, since he is unwilling to face those he accuses, while he may be a sneak or coward, traitor or spy, in the role of a "staunch Socialist,"

whose base design it is to divide and disrupt the movement. For reasons which will appear later, this communication is made an exception and will be treated as if from a known party member in good standing.

It would be interesting to know of what branch our critic is a member and how long he has been, and how he happened to become a "staunch member of the Socialist party." That he is entirely ignorant of the philosophy of Socialism may not be to his discredit, but that a "staunch member" has not even read the platform of his party not only admits of no excuse, but takes the "staunchness" all out of him, punctures and discredits his foolish and fanatical criticism and leaves him naked and exposed to ridicule and contempt.

The Elgin writer has all the eminent and well recognized qualifications necessary to oppose negro equality. His criticism and the spirit that prompts it harmonize delightfully with his assumed superiority.

That he may understand that he claims to be a "staunch member" of a party he knows nothing about I here incorporate the "Negro Resolutions" adopted by our last national convention, which constitute a vital part of the national platform of the Socialist party and clearly defined its attitude toward the negro:

NEGRO RESOLUTION.

Whereas, The negroes of the United States, because of their long training in slavery and but recent emancipation therefrom, occupy a peculiar position in the working class and in society at large;

Whereas, The capitalist class seeks to preserve this peculiar condition, and to foster and increase color prejudice and race hatred between the white worker and the black, so as to make their social and economic interests to appear to be separate and antagonistic, in order that the workers of both races may thereby be more easily and completely exploited;

Whereas, Both the old political parties and educational and religious institutions alike betray the negro in his present helpless struggle against disfranchisement and violence, in order to receive the economic favors of the capitalist class. Be it, therefore,

Resolved, That we, the Socialists of America, in national convention assembled, do hereby assure our negro fellow worker of our sympathy with him in his subjection to lawlessness and oppression, and also assure him of the fellowship of the workers who suffer from the lawlessness and exploitation of capital in every nation or tribe of the world. Be it further

Resolved, That we declare to the negro worker the identity of his interests and struggles with the interests and struggles of the workers of all lands, without regard to race or color or sectional lines; that the causes which have made him the victim of social and political inequality are the effects of the long exploitation of his labor power; that all social and race prejudices spring from the ancient economic causes which still endure, to the misery of the whole human family, that the only line of division which exists in fact is that between the producers and the owners of the world—between capitalism and labor. And be it further

Resolved, That we, the American Socialist Party, invite the negro

to membership and fellowship with us in the world movement for economic emancipation by which equal liberty and opportunity shall be secured to every man and fraternity become the order of the world.

But even without this specific declaration, the position of the the party is so clear that no member and no other person of ordinary intelligence can fail to comprehend it.

The Socialist party is the congealed, tangible expression of the Socialist movement, and the Socialist movement is based upon the modern class struggle in which all workers of all countries, regardless of race, nationality, creed or sex, are called upon to unite against the capitalist class, their common exploiter and oppressor. In this great class struggle the economic equality of all workers is a foregone conclusion, and he who does not recognize and subscribe to it as one of the basic principles of the Socialist philosophy is not a Socialist, and if a party member must have been admitted through misunderstanding or false pretense, and should be speedily set adrift, that he may return to the capitalist parties with their social and economic strata from the "white trash" and "buck nigger" *down* to the syphilitic snob and harlot heiress who barter virtue for title in the matrimonial market.

I did not say that the race prejudice in the South was more intense than in the North. No such comparison was made and my critic's denial is therefore unnecessary upon this point. Whether the prejudice of the South differs from that of the North is quite another question and entirely aside from the one at issue, nor is it of sufficient interest to consider at this time.

The Elgin writer says that we shall "jeopardize the best interests of the Socialist party" if we insist upon the political equality of the Negro. I say that the Socialist party would be false to its historic mission, violate the fundamental principles of Socialism, deny its philosophy and repudiate its own teachings if, on account of race considerations, it sought to exclude any human being from political equality and economic freedom. Then, indeed, would it not only "jeopardize" its best interests, but forfeit its very life, for it would soon be scorned and deserted as a thing unclean, leaving but a stench in the nostrils of honest men.

Political equality is to be denied the negro, according to this writer, because it would lead to social equality, and this would be terrible—especially for those "white" men who are already married to negro women and those "white" women who have long since picked the "buck nigger" in preference to the "white trash" whose social superiority they were unable to distinguish or appreciate.

Of course the negro will "not be satisfied with equality with reservation." Why should he be? Would you?

Suppose you change places with the negro just a year, then let us hear from you—"with reservation."

What now follows it is difficult to consider with patience: "You get social and political equality for the negro, then let him come and ask the hand of your daughter in marriage."

In the first place *you* don't get equality for the negro—*you* haven't got it yourself. In the present social scale there is no difference between you and the negro—you are on the same level in the labor market, and the capitalist whose agent buys your labor power don't know and don't care if you are white or black, for he deals with you simply as *labor power*, and is uninterested save as to the quality and quantity you can supply. He cares no more about the color of your hide than does Armour about that of the steers he buys in the cattle market.

In the next place the negro will fight for his own political and economic equality. He will take his place in the Socialist party with the workers of all colors and all countries, and all of them will unite in the fight to destroy the capitalist system that now makes common slaves of them all.

Foolish and vain indeed is the workingman who makes the color of his skin the stepping-stone to his imaginary superiority. The trouble is with his head, and if he can get that right he will find that what ails him is not superiority but inferiority, and that he, as well as the negro he despises, is the victim of wage-slavery, which robs him of what he produces and keeps both him and the negro tied down to the dead level of ignorance and degradation.

As for "the negro asking the hand of your daughter in marriage," that is so silly and senseless that the writer is probably after all justified in withholding his name. How about the daughter asking the hand of the negro in marriage? Don't you know that this is happening every day? Then, according to your logic, the inferiority and degeneracy of the white race is established and the negro ought to rise in solemn protest against political equality, lest the white man ask the hand of his daughter in marriage.

"It is impossible," continues our critic, "for the Anglo-Saxon and the African to live upon equal terms. You try it and he will pull you down to his level." Our critic must have tried something that had a downward pull, for surely that is his present tendency.

The fact is that it is impossible for the Anglo-Saxon and the African to live on *unequal* terms. A hundred years of American history culminating in the Civil War proves that. Does our correspondent want a repetition of the barbarous experiment?

How does the Anglo-Saxon get along with the Anglo-Saxon—leaving the negro entirely out of the question? Do they bill and coo and love and caress each other? Is the Anglo-Saxon capitalist so devoted to his Anglo-Saxon wage-slave that he shares his burden and makes him the equal partner of his wealth and

joy? Are they not as widely separated as the earth and sky, and do they not fight each other to the death? Does not the white capitalist look down with contempt upon the white wage-slave? And don't you know that the plutocrat would feel himself pretty nearly, if not quite as outrageously insulted to have his Anglo-Saxon wage slave ask the hand of his daughter in marriage as if that slave were black instead of white?

Why are you not afraid that some Anglo-Saxon engine-wiper on the New York Central will ask the hand of Vanderbilt's daughter in marriage?

What social distinction is there between a white and a black deck-hand on a Mississippi steamboat? Is it visible even with the aid of a microscope? They are both slaves, work side by side, sometimes a bunch of black slaves under a white "boss" and at other times a herd of white slaves under a black "boss." Not infrequently you have to take a second look to tell them apart—but all are slaves and all are humans and all are robbed by their "superior" white brother who attends church, is an alleged follower of Jesus Christ and has a horror of "social equality." To him "a slave is a slave for a' that"—when he bargains for labor power he is not generally concerned about the color of the package, but if he is, it is to give the black preference because it can be bought at a lower price in the labor market, in which equality always prevails—the equality of intellectual and social debasement. To paraphrase Wordsworth:

"A wage-slave by the river's brim
A simple wage-slave is to him
And he is nothing more."

The man who seeks to arouse race prejudice among workingmen is not their friend. He who advises the white wage-worker to look down upon the black wage-worker is the enemy of both.

The capitalist has some excuse for despising the slave—he lives out of his labor, out of his life, and cannot escape his sense of guilt, and so he looks with contempt upon his victim.

You can forgive the man who robs you, but you can't forgive the man you rob—in his haggard features you read your indictment and this makes his face so repulsive that you must keep it under your heels where you cannot see it.

One need not experiment with "sour dough" nor waste any time on "sour" literature turned into "Leopard Spots" to arrive at sound conclusions upon these points, and the true Socialist delights not only in taking his position and speaking out, but in inviting and accepting without complaint all the consequences of his convictions, be they what they may.

Abraham Lincoln was a noble man, but he was not an aboli-

tionist, and what he said in reference to the negro was with due regard to his circumscribed environs, and, for the time, was doubtless the quintessence of wisdom, but he was not an oracle who spoke for all coming ages, and we are not bound by what he thought prudent to say in a totally different situation half a century ago.

The Socialist platform has not a word in reference to "social equality." It declares in favor of political and economic equality, and only he who denies this to any other human being is unfit for it.

Socialism will give all men economic freedom, equal opportunity to work, and the full product of their labor. Their "social" relations they will be free to regulate to suit themselves. Like religion, this will be an individual matter and our Elgin negro-hater can consider himself just as "superior" as he chooses, confine his social attentions exclusively to white folks, and enjoy his leisure time in hunting down the black spectre who is bent on asking his daughter's hand in marriage.

What warrant has he to say that the height of the negro's ambition is to marry a white woman? No more than a negro has to say that the height of a white woman's ambition is to marry a negro. The number of such cases is about equally divided and it is so infinitesimally small that any one who can see danger to society in it ought to have his visual organs treated for progressive exaggeration.

The normal negro has ambition to rise. This is to his credit and ought to be encouraged. He is not asking, nor does he need, the white man's social favors. He can regulate his personal associations with entire satisfaction to himself, without Anglo-Saxon concessions.

Socialism will strike the economic fetters from his body and he himself will do the rest.

Suppose another race as much "superior" to the white as the white is to the black should drop from the skies. Would our Illinois correspondent at once fall upon his knees and acknowledge his everlasting inferiority, or would he seek to overcome it and rise to the higher plane of his superiors?

The negro, like the white man, is subject to the laws of physical, mental and moral development. But in his case these laws have been suspended. Socialism simply proposes that the negro shall have full opportunity to develop his mind and soul, and this will in time emancipate the race from animalism, so repulsive to those especially whose fortunes are built up out of it.

The African is here and to stay. How came he to our shores? Ask your grandfathers, Mr. Anonymous, and if they will tell the truth you will or should blush for their crimes.

The black man was stolen from his native land, from his wife and child, brought to these shores and made a slave. He was chained and whipped and robbed by his "white superior," while the son of his "superior" raped the black child before his eyes. For centuries he was kept in ignorance and debased and debauched by the white man's law.

The rape-fiend? Horrible!

Whence came he! Not by chance. He can be accounted for. Trace him to his source and you will find an Anglo-Saxon at the other end. There are no rape-maniacs in Africa. They are the spawn of civilized lust.

Anglo-Saxon civilization is reaping and will continue to reap what it has sown.

For myself, I want no advantage over my fellow man and if he is weaker than I, all the more is it my duty to help him.

Nor shall my door or my heart be ever closed against any human being on account of the color of his skin.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Another Red Spot on the Socialist Map.

MARVELOUS as has been the growth of the Socialist party vote in many of the United States, the most western province in Canada, British Columbia, has by its recent election campaign, taken a foremost place in the American class struggle which has for its goal the capturing of the powers of government by the working class, and through the intelligent use of that power abolishing the wage-system and establishing collective ownership of the means of life, production being for use instead of for profit.

The Socialist party of British Columbia was organized in 1901. Previous to that time there had been branches of the Canadian Socialist League and other Socialist clubs in existence.

The convention of 1901 united the various bodies upon a political platform of a "reform" character—there being nearly a score of "immediate demands" enumerated. In 1902 several revolutionary Socialist bodies were formed, but upon the Socialist party convention deciding to discard its "reform" policy and stand clear for "revolutionary" Socialism all Socialist organizations (with the exception of one S. L. P. section) united and the rapid growth of the party began. The platform of the S. P. of B. C. is probably the shortest and most uncompromising statement of the principles of revolutionary socialism that has ever been drafted in any country.

In 1900 a Socialist candidate for the Legislature secured 684 votes in Vancouver City and in 1902 another cast a vote of 156 in North Nanaimo. On October 3, 1903, a general election took place to choose 42 members of the B. C. Legislature. In the old Legislature there had been a labor member, I. N. Hawthornthwaite, of Nanaimo, who had joined the Socialist Party and he, with ten others (one being an S. L. P.) were nominated as candidates.

To prevent the working class from securing representation in the halls of legislation the capitalist class adopts various schemes. In the United States one of the plans is the requirement of petitions for a place upon the ballot. Once having nominated a stare ticket, however, every voter in the state has an opportunity of voting for the candidates for state officers. In Canada all governors, judges, etc., are appointed by the king's minions, and there being no state officers to elect, voters can only vote for the candidates in their own legislative district. This prevents a vote of

the entire province being taken unless the Socialist party has candidates in every district. And in elections for the Canadian parliament and B. C. Legislature a deposit of \$200 is required from each candidate, this being lost if one-half the vote of the winning candidate is not secured. In municipal elections labor is disqualified by property qualification laws in electing mayor and aldermen.

Massachusetts, with 39,065 votes, cast 9.9 per cent of the total vote in 1902. Montana, 3,131 votes or 5.7 per cent; Washington, 5,573 votes or 5.6 per cent, and Colorado, 8,994 votes or 4.8 per cent. The percentages of the socialist votes in the various states in the 1903 elections are not yet compiled, but the following figures show that British Columbia, for a time at least, holds the proud position of leading the socialist movement in America.

There are 34 electoral districts in B. C., electing 42 members. Vancouver City elects 5 members, each voter having 5 votes. Victoria City elects 4, each voter being able to vote for 1, 2, 3 or 4 candidates. Cariboo elects 2 members and voters have a double franchise. In the recent contest the Conservatives nominated 41 candidates; Liberals, 40; Socialist party, 10; Labor party, 4, and Socialist Labor party, 1. In two districts there was no election—Conservatives and Liberals each securing a member by acclamation, the districts being small and without socialist organization. In one district the Liberals withdrew from the field and assisted the Labor party in defeating the Conservatives. Two Liberals, two Socialists and one Socialist Labor party candidate lost their \$200 deposits.

The following table shows the total votes cast for the various parties, the S. L. P. vote (284) being counted as socialist:

<i>Party.</i>	<i>Vote.</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
Conservative	26,286.....	46.3
Liberal	21,316.....	37.5
Socialist	5,091.....	8.9
Labor	4,121.....	7.3

But as the above table includes all the plural votes cast in Vancouver, Victoria and Cariboo, it is manifestly unfair. For instance, the Liberal and Conservative voters having 4 or 5 votes would divide them between 4 or 5 candidates, while socialists would vote only for the socialists and not use their other votes, While there were many voters who split their ballots by voting for several capitalists and one socialist and, consequently, every voter who voted for socialism cannot be counted a socialist, the following table counting only the highest votes for each party in each district comes as near as possible to a fair test of party strength:

<i>Party.</i>	<i>Districts.</i>	<i>Votes.</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
Conservative	33.....	12,670.....	43
Liberal	32.....	11,211.....	38
Socialist	9.....	3,852.....	13
Labor	2.....	1,724.....	6

These figures cover the whole province although, as has been pointed out, the election deposit law disfranchised socialist voters in 25 districts. Thus a more favorable showing is made by only counting the highest votes in the 9 districts where socialist voters had an opportunity of exercising their franchise. Here are the figures for these 9 districts, together with the percentages:

<i>District.</i>	<i>Con.</i>	<i>Lib.</i>	<i>Soc.</i>	<i>Labor.</i>
Fernie	311.....	316.....	225.....
Grand Forks	355.....	175.....	233.....
Greenwood	181.....	241.....	231.....
Kaslo	289.....	250.....	166.....
Nanaimo	325.....	294.....	486 (elected)....
Newcastle	217.....	214.....	289 (elected)....
Revelstoke	248.....	221.....	185.....
Victoria	1,396.....	1,860.....	699.....
Vancouver	2,650.....	1,547.....	1,338.....	1,355

Highest votes in 9 districts:

		<i>Per Cent.</i>
Conservatives	5,972.....	37.
Liberals	5,118.....	31.6
Socialists	3,852.....	24.
Labor	1,355.....	8.4

The Legislature now stands 22 Conservatives, 17 Liberals, 2 Socialists (J. H. Hawthornwaite, Nanaimo, and Parker Williams, Newcastle), and 1 Labor. According to percentage of total vote cast it should be 19 Conservatives, 16 Liberals, 4 Socialists and 3 Labor. Five old party men were elected by less than 200 votes, although it will be seen by the above figures that the lowest Socialist vote was 166 and the highest 1,338. Thirteen were elected by between 200 and 300 votes, five by between 300 and 400, seven by between 400 and 500, and only ten by over 500 votes. It will be seen, therefore, that with only about 40,000 voting citizens of British Columbia, and with 32 of the 42 members elected by less than 500 votes, the Socialist party has only one or two more election campaigns to go through before it secures control of the powers of government. The great work now is education and organization and in these two fields the party is well equipped, it practically owning the Western Clarion, Vancouver, a weekly paper, and having in E. T. Kingsley, Nanaimo, a splendid

organizer, who, being a member of the S. L. P. for many years, is thoroughly grounded in the principles of revolutionary socialism.

Socialists as a rule belong to the propertyless class and are, therefore, practically disqualified from participating in municipal elections, except for the local school boards, for which every voter, regardless of property ownership, is eligible. In this field there is a splendid opportunity for activity and educational propaganda as is shown by the following figures of party votes in towns in the various districts, in most instances the places named being regularly organized into self-governing municipalities:

<i>Town.</i>	<i>Vote.</i>		
	<i>Socialist.</i>	<i>Conservative.</i>	<i>Liberal.</i>
Nanaimo	486	325	294
Ladysmith	208	187	171
Northfield	46	9	16
Revelstoke	107	18	12
Camborne	18	39	38
Ferguson	66	53	8
Trout Lake	17	35	37
Fernie	85	180	157
Michel	57	19	36
Coal Creek	44	14	10
Greenwood	132	95	104
Boundary Falls	44	15	37
Phoenix	161	74	31

The victory in British Columbia has given inspiration to the socialists in all parts of Canada. In Winnipeg, Manitoba, where the Socialist Party fused with the labor unions in the Legislative elections last June, they are again treading on dangerous ground, their aldermanic nominee having written the "Labor Representation League" stating that all "true socialists" would support labor candidates if they demanded the full product of their toil. In Ontario, however, a proposed fusion with the labor unions has been turned down almost unanimously and a strong pledge, with an anti-fusion clause adopted. They have also taken a clear stand as revolutionary socialists and resolved to nominate a number of candidates for the Canadian Parliament. Even priest-ridden Quebec and far-off Nova Scotia and Newfoundland will soon start the socialist snowball rolling down the mountain side to victory in the valleys beneath.

Canada must, therefore, be reckoned with as a red spot on the socialist map of the world. In May, 1902, the following vote was polled for socialism in 11 districts in Ontario:

SOCIALIST PARTY.

H. G. Wilshire, West Elgin.....	425
S. Carter, S. Wellington.....	413
J. Simpson, E. Toronto.....	265
J. A. Kelly, W. Toronto.....	265
J. McMillan, Manitoulin.....	241
S. Corner, S. Toronto.....	163
Margaret Haile, N. Toronto.....	81
<hr/>	
Total.....	1,963

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Gordon, W. Hamilton.....	375
Rhoadhouse, E. Hamilton.....	197
James, S. Toronto.....	100
Hazelgrove, London.....	97
Wellwood, W. Toronto.....	84
Kemp, E. Toronto.....	71
Wade, E. Middlesex.....	24
Tripp, N. Toronto.....	23
<hr/>	
Total.....	971

The combined vote of both parties in Canada is, therefore, as follows:

Socialist Party, Ontario, 1902.....	1,963
Socialist Party, British Columbia, 1903.....	4,807
<hr/>	
Total.....	6,770

Socialist Labor Party, Ontario, 1902.....	971
Socialist Labor Party, British Columbia, 1903.....	284
<hr/>	

Total.....	1,255
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Total Socialist vote in Canada..... 8,025

Reference has been made to the platform of the Socialist Party of British Columbia and its briefness may allow its addition to this record of the victories won since its adoption. It is as follows:

We, the Socialist party of British Columbia, in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to and support the principles and program of the international revolutionary working class.

Labor produces all wealth and to labor it should justly belong. To the owner of the means of wealth production belongs the product of labor. The capitalist system is based upon private or capitalist ownership of the means of wealth production, therefore

all the products of labor belong to the capitalist. The capitalist is master; the workman is slave.

So long as the capitalists remain in possession of the reins of government all the powers of the state will be used to protect and defend their property rights in the means of wealth production and their control of the product of labor.

The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-swelling stream of profits; and to the worker an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

The interests of the working class lie in the direction of setting itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into collective or working class property.

The irrepressible conflict of interests between the capitalist and the worker is rapidly culminating in a struggle for possession of the powers of government, the capitalist to hold; the worker to secure it by political action. This is the class struggle.

Therefore, we call upon all wage-earners to organize under the banner of the Socialist party of British Columbia, with the object of conquering the public powers for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic program of the working class, as follows:

1. The transformation as rapidly as possible of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railways, etc.) into the collective property of the working class.
2. Thorough and democratic organization and management of industry by the workers.
3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use in lieu of production for profit.
4. The Socialist party, when in office, shall always and everywhere, until the present system is utterly abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct: Will this legislation advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it will, the Socialist party is for it; if it will not, the Socialist party is absolutely opposed to it.
5. In accordance with this principle the Socialist party pledges itself to conduct all the public affairs placed in its hands in such manner as to promote the interests of the working class alone.

G. WESTON WRIGLEY.

Socialists in the Prussian Landtag Elections.

NOVEMBER, 1903, marks a new stage in the elections for the lower house of the Prussian parliament (landtag). For the first time in the history of Prussia, the class-conscious proletariat of this dominating state in the German empire made a general assault on this stronghold of feudal reaction. The significance of this historical event will be appreciated when the genesis and constitution of the present Prussian election system are understood.

Voters under this system are divided into citizens of the first, second and third class, according to the rate of direct taxes paid by them. The members of the first and second class are so outrageously favored by the privilege of plural votes that they wield a political influence ridiculously out of proportion to their numerical strength and importance. The working class, who form the bulk of the third class, are practically disfranchised by this system. *Vorwärts* well describes it as a device for discouraging voting.

The system is the product of the confusion following the revolutionary movement of 1848, by which the German bourgeoisie strove to overthrow the rule of the feudal nobility. It was designed to be at the same time anti-socialist and anti-feudal, to suit the requirements of capitalist development. But when it was tested in the elections, it failed to accomplish the object of the bourgeoisie and helped the feudal nobility back into the saddle, at least for the time being. And when this three-class system finally began to favor the capitalist class and make a feudal majority in the landtag impossible, Bismarck resorted to universal suffrage in the reichstag's elections as a means of playing the working class against the capitalist class, for the benefit of the feudal agrarians.

The three-class election system is not only grossly unjust to the working class, but also full of intricacies and surrounded by petty rules, all of which fall most heavily on the voters of the third class. First of all, each voter must answer a roll call and announce his choice openly. This results in a corruption of public morality and a degradation of manhood, by preventing all government employees from voting for Socialist candidates, on penalty of dismissal. It also leads to the discharge of many a class-conscious worker. Furthermore, representatives for the landtag are not elected by a direct vote of the people, but by a body of electors. The voters only elect these electors. Each party nominates two electors for each district, and the voters must vote for both of them together. An absolute majority is neces-

sary for the election of the electors as well as of the representatives. In case of an equality of votes, lots are drawn. Now it may happen that none of the contending parties receives an absolute majority of the votes in the first contest. In that case the voting must be repeated until an absolute majority or a draw results. But all the voters of each class must stay at the polling place until an election is secured, no matter how long it may take, on pain of having their vote cancelled. Many of the polling places are too small to admit all of the voters of the third class. These must stay outside in the cold, rain or snow, and await their turn in the roll call. When it is considered that it took 23 hours in certain localities to decide the contest, the reader will get an approximate idea of the endurance required on the part of the voters. Protests against such abuses must not be filed, otherwise the election of the protesting district may be declared illegal.

Another disadvantage for the proletariat is the apportionment of the representatives, which favors the rural districts, where the agrarians carry things with a high hand, at the expense of the city population. And every effort is made to revise the apportionment in such a way that the reactionaries may have a still greater advantage. One clerical organ, for instance, proposed to let the two rural districts around Berlin, known as Teltow and Beeskow-Storkow, with a total population of 312,799, elect three representatives, while the suburbs of Berlin, the cities of Charlottenburg, Schoeneberg and Rixdorf, with a total population of 375,777, were to be granted only one representative, or at best two.

Besides, the police department of all cities above 10,000 inhabitants is not controlled by the city administration, but by the state authorities. That the police terrorizes Socialist voters to the utmost, goes without saying. Even if a municipality is in control of the Socialists, they are powerless against this terrorism. It may not be amiss, in this connection, to mention that the franchise in municipal elections is likewise conditioned on a certain amount of taxes, and the plural voting system in municipal elections is similar to that in the landtag's elections, with public voting and all intricacies. But the municipal representatives so elected are not in control of municipal affairs. They elect a mayor and a sort of a municipal senate, who have exclusive charge of very important matters and whose consent is required for any measure which the municipal representatives may demand. The mayor and senate of cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants cannot, however, take office until the king, or the minister of the interior, have sanctioned their election. And the municipal representatives must continue to elect another mayor and another senate, until they succeed in choosing men whom the government finds acceptable. If no satisfactory choice is made in

the second election, then the provincial governor appoints men who manage the municipal affairs at the expense of the city, until the municipal representatives have elected the men whom the government accepts. Take furthermore into account that most of the policemen are former "loyal" soldiers, and that the higher election officials are also appointed by the government, and you will agree that even a thoroughly Socialist municipality has nothing to congratulate itself on in either municipal or landtag elections. The statement recently made in many American capitalist and Socialist papers that Berlin is in the control of Socialists would, therefore, require considerable modification, even if it were true that the majority of the municipal representatives are Socialists. But as a matter of fact, the recent municipal elections in Berlin only increased the number of Socialist municipal councillors from 28 to 33, which is not yet a majority. At any rate, even the absolute control of the municipal council would be of little use to the Socialists in the landtag's elections.

From the foregoing it will be readily understood why there has always been a strong sentiment in the ranks of the German Socialist Party against any participation in the landtag's elections. While in some of the South German states there was a possibility of success that was worth taking advantage of, Prussia was so well fortified against the rising proletariat that any attempt to dislodge the reaction there seemed absolutely hopeless. And so the comrades in the southern states had already some representatives in local parliaments, while the Prussian comrades were forced to remain inactive. But the growing strength of the Socialist Party in Prussia awakened the desire for an assault on the three-class election system.

In 1888 Max Schippel first suggested the idea of a public protest against this system, but nothing was done. In 1893, shortly before the landtag's elections, Edward Bernstein, who then lived in London, suggested a participation of the Socialists in those elections. But the national convention of the party, held at Cologne in September, 1903, declined any participation. A resolution demanding an energetic agitation for universal and direct suffrage, like that in use for reichstag's elections, was adopted at the same time. The national convention of Hamburg, 1897, revoked the Cologne resolution and left the question of the participation in the Prussian landtag's elections open, and the Stuttgart convention, in 1898, left it to the various local organizations to decide for themselves. In three places—Breslau, Linden and Altona—the comrades took part in the landtag's elections and pressed hard on the capitalist parties, without, however, obtaining any tangible results, mainly because the radical bourgeois parties proved too reactionary to support a Socialist against a Conservative or other capitalist candidate. The reichstag's

elections of 1898 had shown that there were 47 Prussian landtag's district in which Socialists and Radicals together had an absolute majority. It seemed likely that some of these districts might be wrested from the reactionaries.

In 1900, therefore, the Mayence convention of the Socialist Party decided to make the experiment. It was agreed to nominate Socialist electors wherever there seemed a possibility of success, and to leave it to the discretion of the local organizations how to instruct the electors. That the Socialists would succeed in electing any representatives was anticipated by very few comrades. It was, however, confidently expected by some that a goodly number of mandates might fall into the hands of the Liberals and Radicals if they would agree to support the Socialist candidates where the Socialist Party was strong enough to make itself felt.

The result of the landtag's elections has shown that even this hope was futile. The Radicals, rather than support a Socialist, left the field to the blackest reaction and the Socialists felt justified, under the circumstances, in refusing to support Radical candidates where the Socialist vote would have decided the election against the reaction. So the complexion of the landtag is practically unchanged. One million six hundred thousand Prussian Socialists have not one representative in the landtag.

No official report of the total Socialist vote has appeared so far. But some of the local results show that the Socialists displayed a surprising strength. In Berlin I, for instance, out of 1,209 electors, the Socialists elected 185, the Radicals 850, the Conservatives 174; in Berlin II, out of 1,427 electors, 498 were Socialists, 834 Radicals, 9 Conservatives; in Berlin III, out of 2,761 electors, 919 were Socialists, 1,189 Radicals, 222 Conservatives; in Berlin IV, of 1,525 electors, 488 were Socialists, 867 Radicals and 29 Conservatives. In Rixdorf, all the 118 electors of the third class and 72 out of 125 of the second class were Socialists. Yet these figures do not give any accurate idea of the numerical strength of the parties, on account of the plural vote. In Berlin IV, for instance, the Socialists cast 21,689 votes and elected only 488 electors, while the Radicals, with 1,653 votes, elected 867 electors and the Conservatives, with 27 votes, elected 29 electors.

Nevertheless, the Socialists have no reason to feel discouraged. They did not expect to capture any mandates. They simply desired to hold up to scorn the three-class election system and to agitate for universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage. This they accomplished splendidly. Besides, they received a valuable political training and mastered the intricacies of the system so quickly that they frequently beat the capitalist politicians at their

own game. The participation of the Socialists also had a stimulating effect on the voters of the other parties, forcing them to fulfill their civic duties in greater numbers than ever before.

The opinions of the German comrades as to the practical results of this experiment are widely divergent. But a calmer and soberer view of the situation will probably soon incline the majority toward the following summing up of *Vorwärts*: "The valuable result of this election does not so much consist in the fact that we have almost penetrated to the threshold of victory in such localities as Berlin III, Linden and Altona. Nor is it found in the surprising progress made in other districts. The abundant harvest of our hard labors is represented by the spread of enlightenment, the increased consciousness of the utter shame of the Prussian misery. . . . The brave fight of our comrades is not lost. This election will blaze the wrong into the soul of the working class. The consciousness of this injustice will never fade. The Socialist workingmen have declared war to the knife against Prussian class rule."

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

Congratulation *

We have struggled through the ages 'gainst the ignorance of night
Till at last the dawn is rising a millenium of light,
Priests have filled the Earth with terror and the horror of the tomb,
Adding festering damnations and the hells of woe and gloom;
Painting ecstasies celestial for each passing silent wraith,
Man's reward for creed acceptance by the credulous in faith,
Teaching only from the level human feebleness attains,
But persuading ev'ry acolyte the priest alone has brains;
They have forged for our acceptance something quite beyond control,
And have named that airy nothing a deceitful, "human soul."
Now fair Science lights her torches, torches man alone can trust,
Showing everlasting "principles" in every grain of dust;
These explain each act and atom with their uncreated laws,
Neither ending nor beginning, nor an antecedent cause.
Force and matter through the spaces are the sole eternal things,
From the mote within the sunbeam unto Saturn's mighty rings.
It is one eternal sparkle, just a jubilee of joy—
Just a universe of action Nought could make nor Aught destroy!
Death is momentary darkness while the light is life again—
And that "Soul" shall pass forever from the memories of men!

ISAAC A. POOL.

*There can be no law created to govern that which acts in obedience to its own inherent principles—that which is itself complete, being in itself both cause and effect, as when iron and oxygen, obeying their inherent principles, join and become what? Neither oxygen nor iron, but hematite—so remaining until that oxygen obeys the other superior attraction of carbon under heat and sets the iron free for other combinations. So force and matter are forever breaking up combinations to construct new ones, Life and Death forever succeeding each other. This they have done and will do through past and coming, so called eternities.

Looking Forward.

(A letter from the Strangeland "Capitalia.")

LATE in the autumn of the year ****, I entered the harbor of the city of No-Work, the famous metropolis of the strange land Capitalia.

The first object which greeted my gaze was a colossal statue of a golden calf. Floating about it was a great banner adorned with black stripes on a blue ground.

However, what impressed me most was the peculiar motto attached to the national emblem of Capitalia: "In Gold We Trust." To me it seemed an atrocious blasphemy.

After landing safely, I arrived, as all strangers do who visit Capitalia, at a dismal, dreary, inhospitable place, and entered a dingy building, bearing the queer name Cattle Guardian.

Here I encountered a venerable old man, the Commissioner of Immigration of the State of Capitalia.

"Do you speak our language, the language of 'Capitalia'?" was his first question.

My affirmative reply in fluent Capitalian idiom pleasantly surprised the officer.

"What object in view have you in our country? Our laws forbid categorically immigration from foreign lands."

"It is not my intention to settle in your remarkable country permanently. My only object consists in the study of your political, social-economic and other state institutions, whose fame filled the entire world with awe and admiration," replied I to the commissioner's inquiry.

I then made an attempt to get from the officer some information concerning the strange things I had seen in the harbor of the city of No-Work; the golden calf statue, the strange banner with stripes and no stars, the blasphemous motto "In Gold We Trust," and about the queer name "Cattle Guardian." The Commissioner glanced at me with a quizzical smile and said, somewhat hesitatingly.

"I ought not to give you any information whatever concerning our country and its institutions before you are examined by the Committee of Eternal Vigilance, and admitted into our domains as a temporary visitor. However, you made a favorable impression upon me and I will make an exception in your case.

"Many, many centuries ago the country bearing now the proud name 'Capitalia' was a howling wilderness sparsely settled by barbaric tribes called 'Naives.'

"A few peculiar people came over from across the ocean in order to enjoy what they pleased to call 'Religious Freedom.' I dare say they had all the religious freedom they wanted among the Naives, but mighty little to eat. The first immigrants were earnest, sturdy people and soon improved their opportunities with marvelous success. This success attracted other earnest and sturdy people from across the ocean and the colonies flourished in a short time. The colonists from across the ocean were what were called at that time pious Christians and civilized people. They wanted religious freedom for themselves. At the same time they insisted upon civilizing and christianizing the barbaric and pagan Naives. The protests of the Naives against their involuntary Christianization and civilization by the colonists from across the ocean proved of no avail. However, Christianity and civilization somehow did not agree with the barbaric aborigines and they soon died out, leaving the entire country to the newcomers. When the colonists arrived from across the ocean their only desire was to secure religious freedom. As years passed by and the colonists prospered nothing short of political independence from their mother country could satisfy them. They fought for their political independence and conquered it. More and more sturdy and earnest immigrants came over from across the ocean and helped to develop the natural resources of the country to unprecedented proportions. Soon a few crafty and unscrupulous people managed to appropriate the lion's share of the wealth of the nation. There arose a sharp line of demarcation between the few immensely rich exploiters of human toil called 'Capitalists' and the broad masses of the exploited toiling proletarians.

"All the means of production and distribution were monopolized by the parasitic class of Capitalists, while the producers were reduced to a state of abject poverty and dependence. Political and religious freedom turned into a snare and delusion as soon as industrial servitude put its iron grip on the broad masses of the people. An era of general dissatisfaction and unrest ensued. Wise and well-meaning people advised the capture of the power of the state by the intelligent use of the ballot and the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth in a peaceful way. Wise and well meaning people claimed that the intelligent use of the ballot by the proletarians would lead to the abolition of poverty, class rule and exploitation of men by men. Alas! The proletarians turned a deaf ear to their true friends and followed the advices of false prophets, so-called professional labor leaders, who were hired by the Capitalists to mislead the proletarians. The false prophets who were in the business for profits tried to keep the proletarians out of politics. For a short while so-called trade unions kept the encroachment of Capital upon labor par-

tially in check by the means of strikes and boycotts. However, the Capitalists gradually organized themselves into one gigantic anti-trade-union combine and with the political power in their hands actually disfranchised all those who were compelled to work for a living. A great uprising of the common people, so-called, against the ruling class followed. However, it proved to be too late for the exploited classes. The proletariat was thoroughly demoralized and divided. One part of the common people was educated and trained by the ruling class in the art of wholesale murder called war under the name of 'The Army.' The other part was unarmed and defenseless. The Capitalists ordered 'the Army' to murder 'the internal enemy' in the interests of 'public safety.' The fratricidal butchery resulted in favor of the ruling class. The industrial revolution was drowned in torrents of proletarian blood and the bullet killed the ballot. Since that time our country appropriated the name 'Capitalia,' removed the stars from the national emblem and replaced the statue of Liberty by the statue of the Golden Calf. Since that time *we trust in Gold* instead of *in God*, and exclude foreigners from our country. We make exceptions in the cases of a few savants like you, who come to study our institutions. The name 'Cattle Guardian' symbolizes our contempt toward foreigners in general."

I thanked the Commissioner for his courtesy and was conducted by him through narrow, well-lighted tunnels into the very heart of the city of No-Work. Here the officer turned me over to the Committee of Eternal Vigilance and then departed.

I was subjected to a most rigid and searching examination as to the state of my mind, convictions, beliefs and sympathies. My brief talk with the Commissioner put me on the right track in respect to the spirit of the culture and civilization of Capitalia.

Here follow some of the questions put to me by the Committee of Eternal Vigilance and the answers I gave. As you will readily see, there seemed to be little system in the sequence of the questions and I am inclined to think that this lack of system was intentional on the part of the examiners in order to catch me in inconsistencies.

Question—What is the main object of human life on earth?

Answer—Success. Nothing succeeds like success.

Q.—What do you mean by success?

A.—For the ruling class success means: The accumulation of as much material wealth as possible and the highest enjoyment of life imaginable. For the lower classes success means: The creation of as much wealth as possible for the valiant possessors of the valuable and satisfaction with the barest necessities of animal life for themselves as a reward for incessant labor.

Q.—What is religion?

A.—Religion is an institution, by the means of which the un-reasoning masses of humanity are hypnotized into cheerful submission to the ruling class.

Q.—Define the terms "right" and "wrong."

A.—Right and wrong are only the attributes of power and weakness—respectively. The strong are always right, the weak always wrong. Might is Right. Weakness is Wrong.

Q.—What do you understand under the term State?

A.—The State is an institution, by means of which one part of the common people compels the other part of the common people to submit to the will of the ruling class.

Q.—What is the difference between an unlimited monarchy and a republic?

A.—Under given economic conditions the difference is more imaginary than real. In a monarchy the people know that they are slaves and the ruling class does not pretend to represent the people. In a republic the unthinking masses imagine themselves to be free and the ruling class tries to keep up that illusion.

Q.—What is the object of science?

A.—To increase and perpetuate the power of the ruling class over the common people.

Q.—What is the object of Art?

A.—To enhance the enjoyment of life by the rich and powerful.

Q.—What is conscience?

A.—A prejudice characteristic of the civilization preceding the enlightened era of Capitalian civilization—a relic of barbarity.

Q.—Does the end justify the means?

A.—Most assuredly in case the end sought for is in the interests of the strong and cunning and against the interests of the weak and simple-minded.

Q.—What ought to be the normal relation between man and man?

A.—The same as between animals of the same species. The strong ought to associate with the strong and preach to the weak individualistic or anarchistic ideas according to the old and well tried maxim: "Divide and rule." (Divide et impera.)

Q.—What is the standard of human value?

A.—The bank account. He who possesses no bank account is of course below consideration. The value of those having bank accounts increases in direct geometrical ratio with the increase of the account. In other words, a man having a bank account of two million dollars has four times the value of one who possesses only one million.

Q.—Is there any difference between those who possess no value whatever?

A.—Yes, those who are contented with their lot are harmless, while those who are dissatisfied are dangerous.

Q.—What is morality?

A.—The ruling class cannot be immoral as it can do no wrong. A man who has to earn a living may be either moral or immoral according to his conduct toward the ruling class. If a working man is industrious, temperate, obedient to his superiors, he must be considered as moral. However, if he is lazy, shiftless, intemperate and stubborn he may be termed immoral. The ruling class always determines the rules of conduct, the ethical standard for the lower classes.

Q.—What would you consider an ideal state of society?

A.—An ideal state of society would demand the existence of three distinct classes. The highest class would have no useful task to perform, no duties, no obligations toward society. This class would only enjoy life to its fullest capacity, would live like the gods of ancient Greece. The lowest class would be composed of individuals of unlimited capacity for work with no desire except of the most necessary functions of life. The highest ambition of the lowest class would consist in making the life of the highest class as easy and pleasant as possible.

Q.—Do you consider the realization of such an ideal of a working class possible?

A.—Yes, by means of careful sexual artificial selection and systematic training from childhood. This, as well as all social functions demanding high intellectual attainments, will be in the hands of a middle class of highly specialized brain-workers.

Q.—What is charity?

A.—Charity is a cheap substitute for justice and a very convenient institution for the ruling class. It furnishes the opportunity for keeping the lower classes in a proper state of dependence, humility and demoralization. Besides this it saves them the annoyance of professional beggary. Organized charity allows beggars to be treated like criminals, without appearing heartless. Charity helps the benevolent rich in winning the confidence of the worthy poor, by throwing them a few crumbs from the overlaid table.

Q.—What is the distinction between the “worthy” and “unworthy” poor?

A.—The reserve army of unemployed is necessary in order to keep in check the employed workingmen. Charity helps to keep this reserve army on the brink of semi-starvation and in constant readiness to break a strike or destroy a trade union. Those poor who are so far demoralized as to be entirely unreliable in case of such an emergency we class as “unworthy” of charitable support.

Tramps, for instance, are "unworthy" poor. We cannot turn them into profit.

Most of my replies were declared satisfactory by the Committee of Eternal Vigilance. Before I was admitted into the interior of Capitalia I had to undergo another ordeal. I had to pass an examination by means of a mind-reading apparatus. It was a very ingenious and delicate instrument, recording automatically, in the shape of a curve, the vibration of the thought waves of the human brain. The appearance of the apparatus, with the helm adjusted to the human head and a net of electric wires, seemed to me formidable enough. What concerned me most was the apprehension that the real state of my mind would be revealed by the instrument and close for me forever the gates of Capitalia.

I was as nervous when the helm of the apparatus was adjusted to my head as if I were going to be electrocuted. In consequence of this nervousness my mind at that moment was a perfect blank and the instrument recorded a straight line, signifying something very near a zero of thought wave motion.

"This is the best record we had for years," explained the chief of the committee to me, benevolently.

Before I was admitted to Capitalia, I had to prove my respectability by depositing a sum of at least one million dollars in Capitalian coin with the treasurer of the committee. This did not trouble me much. It just happened that I had about two and a half million dollars in my pocketbook and made the deposition of the required sum. This unostentatious display of substantial respectability produced a magical effect on the members of the committee. Every one of them shook my hand cordially and invited me to dine.

I was supplied with a special guide and allowed to stay wherever I pleased and do whatever I might choose within the borders of Capitalia.

What I have seen, heard and learned there I shall reveal in my future correspondence.

Yours respectfully,

I. LADOFF.

History of German Trade Unionism.*

CHAPTER FIRST.—BEGINNINGS.

(1848-1868.)

EVEN in the middle of the nineteenth century Germany was principally an agricultural nation. More than two-thirds of the population lived in the country; in Prussia at least three-fourths. Agricultural products formed the greater part of the exports.

In urban industry, the small business, the artisanship of the Middle Ages still existed, with its guild organization. Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg had established, it is true, a very limited industrial liberty, and Westphalia lived under the French law. Everywhere else the old regime, with its spirit, remained. In 1850 the locksmiths and carpenters of Frankfort were still quarreling over their respective privileges, just as in the fifteenth century.

The laborers within the workshops no longer had any hope of becoming masters. It was becoming more and more difficult for them to maintain even their standard of life as laborers. The associations of apprentices, that counterpoise which was every day more necessary to the ever more exclusive guilds, were forbidden and hunted out. (Resolution of the Diet Dec. 3, 1840.) All that remained were a few societies for assistance in sickness or traveling. The right of coalition did not exist (law of 1845 in Prussia and of 1847 in Hanover). Strikers were rebels. The laborers who lived with their masters and under their surveillance were driven out of the city by the police when the masters discharged them and were still struggling for the right "to have a key to the house." A very few of them were affiliated with the little communist groups of Weitling.

Such was Germany in 1840, "below the level of history," as Marx has said. All that could be said was that the establishment of the customs' union, the first railroads and the increasing population were quietly preparing its industrial destiny, and that

*The series of articles, of which this is the first, are a translation of "*Le Syndicalisme Allemand*," by Albert Thomas, which is one of a series of booklets issued by the *Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition* of Paris. My particular reason for translating it is to be found in the fact that there is not as yet in the English language any work giving a brief yet comprehensive survey of the German trade union movement.

None of the German works which have come within my observation are as compact and satisfactory in their treatment as this work. It is of especial interest to American socialists at this time when the trade union movement is occupying so much attention. Very many of the same problems that are now occupying the minds of American socialists were discussed some years ago in Germany and settled satisfactorily, and their experience should throw great light on the analogous problems in this country. The whole book will appear in three instalments, of which this is the first.—TRANSLATOR.

a few great industries had begun what was felt to be a crushing competition with the artisans. Two regions alone were pushing forward into the future: Saxony and Silesia, upon the one side, with their exploitation of the workers in their homes, and the Westphalian-Rhine country on the other, where factories were beginning to appear. Here and there capitalism was rising and with it a proletariat—an unarmed, miserable proletariat, as is always the case in the period of the genesis of capitalism, and moved by hunger alone to wild fruitless uprisings. It was during one of these in June, 1844 that the weavers of Peterwalden plundered the house of the Zwanzigers, their “executioners.”

Suddenly the French revolution of 1848 broke out. We cannot here relate the political and national movement which followed in Germany, nor the vicissitudes of these revolutions. But the workers played their role in those days and their political activity tended to become transformed into a movement for social emancipation.

The congress of artisans, which met at Hamburg on the 2d of June, 1848, and which attempted to revive the guilds as the only remedy for capitalist competition, was opposed by a congress of laborers (*gesellen*). And if the latter were not able to completely divest themselves of the mediaeval guild thought, at least their idea of a guild comprising all the workshops and recognizing equal rights to all producers, however vague it might have been, was new.

The first important step in the history of trade unionism was the formation of the *League of Laborers*, by Stephan Born, a typesetter, educated in the Marxist group of Brussels. Born attempted in Berlin, after the days of March, to form an organization of the working class. He founded a political organization whose end was the capture of power in the State, but this organization had a trade union foundation. Unions were established in each locality for each industry; their delegates organized to represent local labor and the general assembly of delegates met to represent the working class before the authorities. This new organization was established throughout a large part of Germany, in Leipzig, Hamburg, Heidelberg and Nuremberg, with a total of 250 unions. Its political activity was remarkable. What principally interests us is that through its journal “The Brotherhood” (*Die Verbruederung*) and by direct assistance it supported numerous struggles for better wages. Some federated unions even resulted from these struggles, for instance, among the cigar-makers.

Finally, about the same time that the *Arbeiterbund* was formed (June, 1848) the printers founded a National association. To be sure, this included, according to tradition, both laborers and masters, the first enthusiastically, the latter under com-

pulsion. But like the modern union it proposed to stop the hardships due to the substitution of the machine for the hand press, which had thrown out the workers, and it established definite rules for arbitration, the payment of wages and apprenticeship.

The brutal reaction of the years that followed 1850 easily swept all this away. It was impossible for labor organizations to become deeply rooted in the poor soil offered by the stage of industry then existing. What is worthy of note is that the idea and plan of total emancipation had arisen in the minds of some workers to await the economic moment when trade unions might be established and live. The workers of 1848 were conscious proletaires and it was this consciousness which forced them to unite in trade organizations, even before the great industry had made them feel the necessity of societies for defense. Here they differ profoundly from the English trade unions, and this feature stamps the whole German movement from its first appearance, whatever form it takes.

* * *

Years of political reaction followed.

The liberal ambitions of the bourgeoisie were destroyed and sidetracked. Economic activities absorbed all its energies. Capital came out of hiding; corporations, founded at first by the banks, multiplied. From 1846 to 1861 the importance of spinning doubled; the number of mechanical workshops in weaving quadrupled. An equal progress took place in the metallurgic industry. Railroads grew from 469 kilometers in 1840 to 11,088 in 1860, and this development continued with only a little less rapidity until 1870.

Under this impulse the old social forms began to burst. From 1860 to 1866 all the German States which still maintained the old guild organizations, one by one established freedom, and the industrial code of the North German Federation in 1869 confirmed this revolution. On the other hand, the law forbidding coalition was repealed and the right to strike recognized. It was in Saxony that this important event was first accomplished (law of 1861); then in Prussia in 1865, and in the North German Federation in 1867. Here the workers themselves had struggled to secure recognition of their right and had forced liberal deputies to give it to them.

It was in the midst of these revolutions that the growing proletariat became conscious of its needs. We shall soon have to notice its political activity, and it will subordinate to this action even its economic efforts. But here it is only worth while to note the existence of this effort during the years 1866 to 1868.

From 1865 strikes were very numerous. These were for the increase of wages, decrease of the hours of labor, and the suppression of the old guild fetters. In the spring of 1865 the

strike of the typesetters of Leipsic attracted attention. During the same year wage struggles disturbed nearly all the trades of Hamburg. During 1866 and 1867 the political crisis, due to the Austro-Prussian war, temporarily retarded this movement. But the "International" again attracted public attention by taking a prominent part in the strike of the Parisian bronze workers, which had a triumphant end. In 1868 the movement, as a whole, revived.

These strikes rendered organization necessary, and the laborers drew together everywhere, especially in local unions. The monographs, which began to be written on union development in different trades and different cities, revealed little by little the intensity of this first movement. It was confused enough without doubt, since much of the old guild spirit often arose, but the features of modern unionism were slowly appearing. Even central unions were founded; that of the cigarmakers in 1865, of the printers in 1866, and the tailors in 1867. These scattered and ephemeral, but definite efforts at organization filled all that long early period in the history of German unionism, during which the English trade unions were being conceived and established. Because these facts have been overlooked it has been erroneously stated that the German unions were born one beautiful afternoon out of the political turmoil of 1868.

* * *

The birth of the great industry had forced the workers to found unions. These differed from the English unions of the eighteenth century in that they did not confine themselves to attempts to defend their wages against the effects of free competition. The more intelligent of the proletarians of that time, that is to say, those who founded the unions, had already come to understand through their educational societies, or the communist groups, not only the *evils* but also the fundamental *injustice* of the capitalist regime. They desired to *free themselves* and it was principally in political action that they sought to accomplish this end.

In 1868 the German workers, so far as the political field was concerned, were divided into two great groups; on the one side the old Lassallian party, the General Association of German Workers, founded in 1863 and at this time directed by Schweitzer; on the other hand, those workers belonging to the Progressiveist party, forming the Union of Laborers' Educational Societies. But dissensions began to appear here also. The turner, Bebel, was beginning to learn that the doctrines of Schulze Delitsch did not completely satisfy the aspirations of the workers.

From 1865 to 1869 frequent discussions upon commercial freedom and the right to coalition occupied public attention; struggles concerning wages and union development absorbed the two parties. At first it was the Lasallians who had founded a

few of the first trade organizations. Fritsche, among others, had organized the cigarmakers. But up to 1867 the officials of the party held, in agreement with the Lassallian doctrines, that strikes were useless and that nothing availed save to awake here and there the class consciousness of the proletariat. Some successful struggles, however, and a strong labor movement in Berlin modified Schweizer's opinion at the beginning of 1868. He was then brought to think that strikes freed the workers from the guardianship of the police-state and of capital, and that they were the necessary prelude of a strong Socialist movement within the masses, and that for this reason they ought to be systematically carried on. Thus, at the beginning the idea arose within the ranks of the Socialists that union organizations ought only to sustain and reinforce the political organization.

The Liberals, in their turn, had at first taken a false road. Schulze and his friends thought that the trade character of the English trade unions was only a survival of the past, and that modern groups ought to include laborers of all trades. It was the trade movement of 1868 which deceived them also. Dr. Max Hirsch went to England to study trade union methods on the spot.

About August, 1868, things came to a crisis. In the first place there were the articles of Max Hirsch on trade unions in the *Volks Zeitung* of the 7th, 11th and 12th of August. Whether they hastened the decision of Schweitzer or not it is impossible to say. But it cannot be said that they formulated the union question for him.

On the 23d of August the Lassallian party held its general convention at Hamburg. Fritsche, after having explained the attitude of the party toward strikes, wished to instruct the president of the convention to call a general congress for the purpose of establishing unions. The assemblage opposed him. Fritsche and Schweitzer declared that they would call the congress on their own account as delegates. After a lively discussion the assemblage gave its consent. On the 1st of September they issued a call. They called attention to the right of coalition recently granted and the necessity of organization for effective strikes. They described the irresistible force of an organization that stopped work simultaneously throughout an entire industry. They called upon the workers of each trade to unite in the unions for battle.

The success of this manifesto was tremendous. Numerous meetings discussed the project and organizations were founded.

Simultaneously, on the 5th of September, the fifth congress of the Union of Workers' Educational Societies, under influence of Liebknecht and Bebel, broke with the Liberal party and adopted the programme of the *International* by a vote of 69 to 46. They

rejected the proposition of the democrat Sonnemann to call upon the State to establish institutions for workmen's insurance. They decided that the trade unions were alone able to establish these, and that the workers ought to organize centralized international unions.

Events were pressing upon the Liberals; the congress of Schweitzer was to meet again on September 26. Max Hirsch returned in haste from England. From the 21st to the 23d the Liberal party, supported mainly by the machinists of Berlin, attempted to arouse the working class against Schweitzer and place in opposition to his project "that of a healthy organization of laborers according to the English model," created by the laborers, not "handed down from above."

On the 26th the Congress met again under the presidency of Schweitzer. There were 206 delegates present, representing 142,008 laborers from 110 cities, besides some which were sent by unions already organized. These figures are sufficient to show the depth of the movement among the German masses. The appearance of Hirsch at the congress precipitated a violent tumult. A resolution of exclusion was voted against those who came "in the interest of the capitalists to sow war and disorder in the midst of the laborers." He was thrown out of the door. The plans of Schweitzer were then adopted. He had in advance divided the trades into 32 groups (*Arbeiterchaften*), industrial unions, as it were, of which ten were formed before the meeting dissolved. This was a grave defect. By the division thus formed he antagonized the spontaneous movement towards unionization in each trade. These great unions were to form a league of German unions planned by Schweitzer, trade unions having the three members.

On the 27th of September Hirsch, who was excluded from the congress, had rallied the Liberal workers of Berlin. A meeting held on the 28th and presided over by the printer Franz Duncker, a deputy, decided to establish the pure and simple English system, and placed in opposition to the class struggle, industrial unions lanned by Schweitzer, trade unions having the harmony of labor and capital and a prospective physical amelioration of the future of the workers as the foundation of their activity. Hirsch cleverly formed a commission of seventy members of Berlin industries, who were charged with working out a plan of organization. After the publication of this plan, on the 1st of November, 1868, a central commission took up an active propaganda throughout Germany for the founding of these unions. A knowledge of these details is indispensable for a clear understanding of that which is to follow. The German unions were not born of the political struggles of September, 1868. A vigorous effort at organization had existed for several years be-

fore. It changed under the influence of political ideas, but it is necessary to understand the nature of these ideas and of these changes.

We have already noted the error in the idea which led Schweitzer to centralize each and all trades in a league of unions. There was plenty of laughter for the little groups of four and five Marxists who in a village of Saxony or Westphalia bravely called themselves an international union of weavers or of tailors, and everybody has repeated the liberal praise which Hirsch merited because of his sane ideas.

To be sure the Liberals cheerfully took up their struggle against fortune. When they commenced their union propaganda they had behind them only four or five hundred laborers in Berlin and Dantzig. The masses turned towards Schweitzer, Bebel and Liebknecht, towards those who advocated an organization of the entire proletariat. Thenceforth the character of the movement of 1868 showed its true nature. It was not the individual ideas of a few politicians which then misled the German workers. The proletarians, already preoccupied with the idea of total emancipation, instinctively attempted to create at the very beginning the vast single organization which they felt to be necessary.

The English trade unions, too, in spite of their strength, in spite of an experience which the German groups of 1868 had not had, have experienced a similar movement in their history when about 1830 the English workers awoke to political life. The movement of the *Grand National Consolidated Trade Union*, founded under the influence of Owen in January, 1834, makes intelligible the mistakes of September, 1868, in Germany.

At the close of this year the German unions, only just born or in process of birth, found themselves divided into three great rival groups, dominated by certain political prejudices.

CHAPTER II.

THE BARREN PERIOD.—1868-1878.

During the first of these years competition had its advantages. Outlines were complete; it now remained to fill it. The propagandists set themselves to work. The Central Commission, presided over by Hirsch, founded strong local unions in Berlin, Dantzig and Magdeburg, which it began to unite into industrial unions extending throughout Germany. By Pentecost in 1869 there were eight of these, composed of two hundred local groups. The congress which was then held at Berlin gathered these together in one Union (*Verband der deutschen Gewerkvereine.*) A central council composed of the representatives of the various unions was to control this central union. A Councillor (*Verbandsanwalt*) was to assist it. Hirsch, who at that time was

ected to this position, still fills it. A journal (*Der Gewerkverein*) was issued. By the end of 1869 the union had 30,000 members. Their principles may be summarized as follows: Peace and the longest possible agreements with the employers; they and their councillor have maintained these up to the present day.

During the same time Schweitzer also made a great effort, and within one year his league of unions included more than 35,000 members. It also had a journal, *The New Social Democrat*, and had conducted a great struggle for better wages in the building industry of Berlin.

The Marxists also had not forgotten the resolutions of September, 1868, and the weavers followed the example of the printers, and in March, 1869, formed a union. The woodworkers, the metallurgists and the shoemakers held international congresses. At the Socialist Party Congress of Eisenach, August 7 and 9, 1869, York, a woodworker from Harbourg, submitted a complete plan of organization and declared that unions should be created by the working class and not imposed upon them by a dictator.

Swiftly and surely this movement diminished in strength. German industry had not reached the point where it could give rise to a strong union movement. As long as the workers were not yet gathered together in battalions in the great workshops the union spirit could develop only with great difficulty. At this time the small business and domestic production still dominated in Germany. In other and more direct ways circumstances were unfavorable. To be sure, the years 1869 and 1870 were filled with strikes, a few successful and many vigorously conducted. But, in these struggles the poorly equipped unions, without resources, could accomplish little. Even the Hirsch-Duncker unions, those "apostles of harmony," became involved in one of the worst of these class struggles, when 7,000 Silesian miners in Waldenbourg went out for eight weeks, only to be at last compelled to bend their necks anew beneath the yoke of a patriarchal tyranny. It was during this struggle that the employers locked up the fountains from which the strikers' families were accustomed to draw water.

It seemed at this time (during the latter part of 1869 and 1870) that the German laboring class, which a year previously had shown such a clear insight, now drew back discouraged. The Hirsch-Dunckers, decimated by defeat, devoted themselves almost exclusively to their benefit features. Nearly every one of the *Gewerkvereine* organized their sick benefit funds and a general disability fund was established by July 1, 1869.

In both wings of the Socialists there was confusion of ideas. In the beginning of January, 1870, Schweitzer, undoubtedly hoping to secure more financial aid in time of strike, and perhaps

also for political reasons, proposed a dissolution of all the separate trade unions and the merging of their members into a "General Union of Assistance" of German laborers. A minority energetically opposed him. Many advised him to go slowly "in order not to rouse the old guild prejudices which the workers still retain." Thus the Lassallians repeated in their turn the old error of Schulze.

It is curious to note that the Congress of Stuttgart, held in June, 1870, showed that the same ideas existed in the ranks of the Marxists. Even there the question of using the *General Society for Laborers' Insurance* into a general fund for the sick was spoken of. To the honor of the party it must be told that York defended the trade organizations and gave a good exposition of their function. But his better understanding in this respect did not prevent him from falling into another error, that of recommending the establishment of protective associations.

The Franco-German war completed the collapse. The Hirsch-Duncker membership fell to 6,000 members, and on the 25th of May, 1871, the Union for Mutual Assistance of the Lassallians had only 4,257 left, though there had been more than 20,000 members the year before. The Eisenacher statistics, although lacking, would but have aggravated this showing. The passage of two years had left only this remnant as the result of the enthusiastic wave of organization of 1868.

* * *

In the very midst of this hopeless depression, the working class were caught by the sudden burst of capitalist prosperity of 1871 and 1872. Every one is familiar with the boom of capitalist industry which seized upon Germany when the torrent of millions was poured in by the French indemnity. From 1851 to July, 1870, 295 corporations, with a capital of \$575,000,000, were formed. From July, 1870, to 1874, 857 were organized with a capital \$826,000,000. During such a period of hitherto unequalled upward sweep in prices, and rents, strikes and unions were certain to increase. Nevertheless, German unions grew but slowly during 1871 and 1874.

Although during these "years of beginnings" and of great industrial activity the German unions were frequently compelled to take part in strikes, they seldom accomplished much. The 8,000 organized machinists of Chemnitz in November, 1871, the 3,000 metal workers in Nuremburg, the 16,000 miners in the valley of the Ruhr, and many others, injured themselves in bold attempts, which brought no other results than blacklists, counter organizations and legal persecutions.

Above all, this prosperity, which brought only oppression to the working class, was of too short duration to permit even of that organization which springs up in the midst of battle. Finally,

in 1873 and 1874, a crisis put an end to this prosperous period. The country was plunged into misery. The low tariff permitted English iron and French metals to swamp the German market until blast furnaces were extinguished *en masse*. Even in 1890 Germany had scarcely recovered its industrial equilibrium, and acquired the elements for a steady healthful industrial development. Naturally the union movement could scarcely be expected to revive during such a time.

In the second place the unions suffered during these early stages from their precarious legal condition. Since some phases of this condition remain unchanged even at the present time they may be definitely stated now once for all.

Paragraph 152 of the industrial Code of 1869 declared abolished "all prohibitions and penal regulations against artisans, industrial laborers, apprentices or factory workers concerning meetings and unions, having as their object the attainment of better conditions of wages and work and especially in relation to the means of suspending labor." And the same paragraph declared that any member of an organization had the right to withdraw whenever he wished. The enumeration contained in the first paragraph could be extended to other waged workers only when endorsed by special legislation. For domestic workers, for example, shipbuilders and agricultural workers (Prussian law of 1854), this right is not yet recognized.

But there were still many restrictions. Paragraph 153 punished with a maximum of three months' imprisonment the use of corporal restraint, threats, outrages or boycotting, to force any one or seeking to force any one into the unions designated by paragraph 151, or to prevent them from withdrawing from such unions.

Given a complaisant police and judges (and they were not lacking in these matters), and the celebrated saying of Brentano is justified, where he summed up the German law concerning trade unions as follows: "Art. 1. The right of coalition is recognized in Germany. Art. 2. The exercise of this right is a crime."

The right of trade organization, the indispensable corollary of any such law, is even yet not assured to the German worker. There is nowhere in Germany a law comparable to the French law of 1884. The unions are subject to the general legislation on associations. Now, since this legislation is nowhere defined in an imperial law, they are subject to the special laws of association of each state and most of these laws date from the reactionary period of 1850.

In just what condition a union finds itself in regard to these laws may be shown by the example of Prussia. In Prussia the unions have been considered, according to the circumstances, as: first, societies concerned with public affairs; second, political so-

cieties; third, insurance companies. The following are the specifications of the laws of 1850 to 1853 in each of these three cases: In the first case the rules and list of members must be deposited with the police, and the police, whenever occasion demanded, gave these to the employers. In the second case (that of political societies) two very onerous conditions are put upon the union movement which have only been removed in very late years (1899-1900); they are forbidden to admit women to their membership or to unite with other societies. But what constitutes a political society? The courts have never agreed on this point. The police, armed with their contradictory decisions, have solved the question very simply. A suspected union is a political society.

In the third case of an insurance society (and a sick benefit fund is enough to classify a union as such) it is necessary to obtain the authorization of the government.

In all three cases it is the police or the administration which decides upon the rights of the laborers to associate. Careful consideration then becomes very necessary.

Now the acts of the workers who have organized proves that they did not consider matters carefully. Aside from the Hirsch-Dunckers the unions have generally fallen victims to the chicanery of the police as soon as they were born. Motteler showed the unions of Saxony in 1872 how with a little cleverness it was possible to bring them under some of the paragraphs of the law. The proceedings in Prussia were much the same. When in 1874, in the Tessen Dorf era, the Prussian government began to drive out the socialists, many of the unions, especially the Lassallians, were dissolved. It was then that Hasenclever, the successor of Schweitzer, decided to suppress the mutual benefit association, which was making little progress.

Finally, as if all the difficulties must accumulate during these bad years, political discussion divided the economic organizations. He must be well informed, indeed, who would state exactly the different attitudes of the Lasallians and the Marxists towards the union movement. Both sides were very vague and very changeable. Formulas abounded, which it is necessary to carefully examine if they are to be understood. At one time the Lasallians had a very famous one. The unions, they said, are an evil, but an evil which it is necessary to encourage, lest they be taken advantage of by the progressivists or the Eisenachers. This much is certain, that both, even when they recognized the existence of the organizations, attempted to utilize for their own propaganda the union aspirations which steadily persisted in manifesting themselves. Even up to 1875 this was still a great cause of disorder.

Under the influences of these difficulties and deceptions a new tendency appeared of considerable importance. The German

workers sought for immediate advantages in their organizations. The great national federations had done nothing; the vague union of Schweitzer had collapsed; the strong local unions of the great cities were sending away money and making sacrifices that appeared to them profitless.

They concluded it would be better to carefully watch their pennies even of the three hundred dues payers with a well guarded treasury than of ten thousand scattered throughout Germany with no possible control. There was a further advantage that the law of association no longer applied. Having no definite external connections, it was possible when occasion demanded to vigorously engage in political activity. The localists preached isolation with success and the organizations were split and the union spirit shriveled up.

* * *

In the midst of this disorder there were some far-sighted individuals. In both the Lasallian and Marxist parties there were men who dreamed of an organization, independent of political parties, but devoted to the struggle for the amelioration of the lot of the workers; of an organization by trades but with a central control capable of simultaneously co-ordinating its efforts; of an organization prepared to strike, but furnishing the other services of insurance and employment agencies, and thus offering immediate advantages. There were many phrases which sound familiar today. In 1873 the president of the printers union said: "Officially we belong to no party, but at heart we belong to the Socialist party." During the same year the articles of Carl Hillman, a typesetter, in the *Volkstaat*, pointed out the necessity of separating the two movements, and showed the exact role thenceforth reserved to the unions. Finally, and most important of all, the woodworker York, who had become the secretary of the Eisenach party, true forerunner of the modern movement, actually set about creating a purely economic organization centralized like the political party, but independent of it.

He attained but very small results. At the two congresses which he called, at Urfurt in 1872 and Magdebourg in 1874, the fear of a dictator and the already powerful localist tendency forced him to alter his centralizing plans. At his premature death in January, 1875, he had been able to organize only a nominal union and that powerless and useless.

Slowly, however, from 1875 to 1878, it became evident that the movement had gained an assured place and was beginning to grow. Even if the ideas of York had not always been exactly understood or adequately appreciated, many of the laborers at least felt with him the necessity of the union. They had responded to the number of 11,358 to his appeal at Urfurt. Then came the union of the two Socialist parties at Gotha in 1875, brought

about by the attack upon them and the trials which they both had undergone. A conference was held after the congress at which the delegates from the unions of both factions also decided to unite by trades. This union was accomplished in many places and even where it was not accomplished the discussions led, nevertheless, to mutual acquaintance, esteem and aid. But many continued to wish something still more, and from 1875 to 1878 the question of the central organization occupied attention. At the second convention of Gotha in 1878 a complete plan was elaborated for submission to the congress. On the other hand, following the example of the Hirsch-Dunckers, more attention was paid to the work of establishing strong benefit features appropriate to each group. This method met with success. It was almost wholly due to the sick and disabled benefit funds that the Hirsch-Duncker membership increased from 6,000 in 1870 to 19,000 in 1872 and 22,000 in 1874. The Socialist unions also set to work, and in spite of the difficulties of a crisis period and in spite of police annoyances, they founded their benefit funds.

From this point of view the law of April, 1876, was an important event. It stands as a point of departure for modern workingmen's insurance in Germany. This legislation was of importance to the unions whose benefit features attracted and held their membership. It is certain, for example, that a large part of the strength of the English trade unions is due to their benefit features. According to the industrial code of 1869 the local authorities could compel the laborers to join a benefit association; but if they belonged to a free legal association (that is, one approved by the state), they were excused from belonging to a compulsory association. Did this apply to the benefit associations of the free union? On this point the courts and administrative authorities disagreed. This question was of paramount importance to the unions, especially to the Hirsch-Dunckers. The law of April 8, 1876, accorded to their benefit funds the right of acquiring as "registered funds" judicial personality, but it required in this case that the administration of the funds be separated from that of the union. This regulation might have injured the latter by destroying their unity of action; as a matter of fact, the administrations were generally the same in both organizations, and their development met few obstacles except in industrial conditions.

A few statistics will give a sufficiently exact idea of the extent of the movement during 1877 and 1878. The Hirsch-Duncker unions, with 49,055 members, twenty-five central unions, and five local unions had increased from 357 in 1874 to 365. On the other side, the work by Geib, of Hamburg, enumerates thirty socialist unions, with 49,055 members, twenty-five central unions, and five local societies. Including the hatters, who had not responded, he would have counted twenty-six unions with 50,000 members;

eighteen of these unions, with 22,145 members, paid monthly dues of 10 cents a member, and eight others, including two-fifths of the united organizations paid at least 15 cents. The principal expenses were assistance in case of strikes, traveling expenses (in seventeen unions) and death benefits. Then, in the second place, came the expenses for unemployment, sickness, disability and the expenditures for the press, amounting to sixteen journals. The most powerful unions were those of the printers and carpenters, who included between them more than half of all the members; then came the tobacco workers, the oldest union, and finally the mass of young unions, all dating from the fusion of 1875 and 1876. The figures gathered by Geib showed an excess of receipts of \$1,600 a month, of which the largest sum, \$740, came from the printers.

Sixteen benefit funds had been founded and the statistician declared that with skill and perseverance these funds were destined to become "the supporting columns of the union movement." The difficulties were undoubtedly great. During the bad condition of industry it was impossible to raise the dues and the lowering of traveling expenses could not be considered.

These were small results. Counting the Hirsch-Dunckers along with the others, after nine years of effort upon 3,000,000 German workers only 75,000 were organized, or about 2½ per cent. But when the vicissitudes of industry, the legal difficulties and trickery of the police, internal dissension and mistakes are recalled, the German laborers could look upon their work with hope.

Then it was that a great tempest swept over them.

ALBERT THOMAS.

Translated by A. M. SIMONS.

(To be continued.)

EDITORIAL

Circus Politics.

Brag and bluster are often said to be peculiarly American characteristics. A little closer investigation shows them really to be capitalistic traits; and since capitalism is more highly developed here than anywhere else in the world these features are most strikingly manifested here.

Capitalism produces goods to *sell*. The selling, and not the making or the using being the main object, advertising becomes more important than craftsmanship, or knowledge of human needs. The consequence is that very little attention is paid to the character of the goods to be delivered and very much to the manner of getting rid of them. Sometimes, indeed, confidence men of different kinds, from gold brick and green goods dealers to trust promoters, push this idea to its logical conclusion, and sell nothing but the advertising.

Unfortunately, this same tendency seems to have invaded the socialist movement. The idea is abroad that if you only shout loud enough and use plenty of printer's ink and smooth phrases, you are preaching socialism. Consequently, we have the phenomena of schools, correspondence and otherwise, for the special purpose of developing socialist agitators "while you wait." No idea of fundamentals is necessary, no deep study into social relations and laws of social development, no thorough examination of the industrial facts around us is required. Just commit to memory a parcel of phrases to use in case of "questions from the audience," then rehearse "the speech of 1904" and you are ready to go out and advertise your goods.

These half-taught students of poorly informed teachers have naturally no genuine goods to sell. But they have learned the great American lesson of advertising. And from soap-box and van and halls their little piece is repeated. Then borrowing a leaf from that incarnation of the same methods in the realm of religion, the Salvation Army, they see to it that the ox is not muzzled, although he has been treading nothing but chaff. The meeting is followed by a system of begging which reminds one of the "five cents more to make a dollar" cry that accompanies the street corner methods of the aforesaid religious propagandists. The whole thing is naturally disgusting to any intelligent workingman who simply sees "another set of grafters" turned loose upon him, whom he is unable to distinguish from many others who have preyed upon him in the past. If

these blind leaders of the blind do not fall together into the ditch of confusion, it will simply be because they are already wallowing there.

To a considerable degree the same tendency has invaded our literature and we have examples of papers where nearly all the energy and brains connected with the publication are expended in "hustling for subs" and working up an "army" while the contents of the paper are left to hustle for themselves, until they degenerate into meaningless platitudes and ridiculously exaggerated and ill-digested "statistics." It is the old story of the steamboat whistle so large it took all the steam away from the engine to blow it. Perhaps the big whistle may be necessary to attract attention amid the commercial uproar of capitalism. But if so let us add to the boiler capacity by better training of our editors, writers and speakers, and to push the figure a little further, this cannot be done by turning the whole affair into a "hot air" plant and making even the education itself a sham.

It is unfortunate that in a way socialism lends itself to this sort of work. Like the doctrine of evolution, or indeed any other great philosophical interpretation of facts, a few phrases are certain to be seized upon by those who are too lazy to make the effort necessary to grasp fundamentals. These phrases torn from their context and separated from the facts on which they are based, are misapplied and misunderstood until the result is one of those pseudo-sciences which always spring up alongside of every true science. With no subject is thorough study more necessary than with socialism. The facts with which it deals are so complex, the problems which it solves so interrelated, the literature of the subject so extensive and the forces which it must meet so powerful, that no one who attempts to teach it should neglect to avail himself of all possible opportunities to gain a thorough understanding of the subject. In the field of social phenomena personal observation, on which so much stress is often laid by the half-baked philosopher, is much worse than useless. The number of facts which come within the field of observation of any one individual are so small in proportion to the great mass of which they are but a part, that any general conclusions based on those facts stand almost exactly the chance of infinity to one of being erroneous.

At the same time, we would be the very last to claim that a literary education alone, especially if obtained in one of the great capitalist universities, is in itself sufficient to prepare a man to speak with authority on socialism. No one can have a greater contempt for the college diploma than we have, for we have seen how frequently it is but a certificate of misinformation and a testimonial that the owner was so thoroughly impregnated with capitalist psychology as to be absolutely incapable of ever understanding any philosophy not based on that psychology. All too frequently, we have seen men of whom we have had the greatest hopes that they might become active workers in the cause of the proletariat, become absolutely confused by university instruction. The experience of the Socialist Party all over the world with "intellectuals" but confirms this point of view. What is demanded is not "intellectual" leaders of the proletariat, but educated *proletarian* teachers, workers and speakers. Here again we do not wish to be understood as going to the other extreme and

condemning at wholesale the capitalistically educated intellectual. Of this, however, enough has been said elsewhere, so that a mere note of the exception will suffice. Neither do we wish to be understood in any way as condemning the "soap-box orator." We have filled that position too often ourselves and expect to do so too frequently in the future to deny it an important share in the work of socialist propaganda. So long as the socialist movement is a proletarian movement, and it never can be anything else, because when it loses its proletarian character, it ceases to be socialist, just so long we must use the open air for halls and call upon our audiences to help pay for the propaganda which we are making in their interest.

What is demanded is that those who fill these places should add to the instinctive revolt which membership in the working class has aroused in them, an intelligent consciousness of the reasons for that revolt which are furnished by the literature of socialism. This is asking no more than is possible to any man who can read the English language and is not too lazy to use his brains. He cannot do it in a minute, however, nor in three months, and especially if, during those three months, he ignores the fundamental classics and contents himself with popularizations of those writers, which may be all right as an introduction to socialism, but are wholly incapable of training any one as a speaker or interpreter of socialist thought.

Let us by all means retain the "soap-box" as a forum for socialist agitation, and give it even greater value in the future than it has had in the past by seeing to it that it does not become an auction block, from which fakirs can hawk socialistic "green goods."

One of the worst features of this whole matter is that the socialist movement as a whole, and the Socialist Party in particular, must bear the responsibility for those who often only serve to make the philosophy of socialism ridiculous. The problem of the "free lance speaker" seems to be peculiar to the United States. In no other country in the world, so far as we know, is there any considerable body of men who demand the right to speak in the name of and for the Socialist Party, but over whom that party has no control. Such a condition is abnormal and must not continue. Some arrangement must be found at the next National Convention, if not sooner, by which the speakers for socialism, at least so far as they speak for party organizations, shall be directly under the control of State and National organizations. The situation which has recently been presented in some states of men going into a State in the name of socialism and the Socialist Party to assist forces which are disrupting that party, cannot continue. Any talk about freedom of speech is pure claptrap. The majority of the party must decide through their regularly organized channels who shall represent them in presenting their doctrines to the public, at least so far as they are presented under the auspices of party organizations. The withdrawal of such endorsement from any person, does not in any way prevent him from talking whatever he pleases. It does not even prevent him from labeling his talk socialism, but it does free the Socialist Party from responsibility for him and his actions.

Two things then are necessary if we are to rid the movement of "circus politics" in the field of speaking: First, demand that before a man goes out as a representative of the Socialist Party he shall have taken the pains to familiarize himself with the classics of socialism, so that he shall, at least, not be ignorant. In the second place, for all locals to refuse to accept as a speaker any one not authorized by the State organization. This latter will, of course, include keeping watch of the State organization to see that it does not abuse this power. It will also include, as a corollary, the education of the membership in each State up to the point where they can distinguish between genuine and spurious socialism, for the responsibility for agitation will then be placed where it belongs in a socialist organization—with the rank and file of the membership.

A Correction.

To the Editor of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Through an unfortunate typographical error I am made to say in the article entitled, "Ascending Stage of Socialism," which appeared in the September number of the REVIEW, that "Anarchist Communism is * * * the best and highest stage of political and economic progress." A writer in the December number of the REVIEW rather indignantly takes me to task for this and demands to know how I can, as a socialist, make such a statement. Under the circumstances I trust that you will grant me the space to explain that for the word "best" my MS. read "last." Thus, "Anarchist Communism is the last and highest stage of political and economic progress."

Fraternally,

RAPHAEL BUCK.

Our Next Issue.

The February number will contain an article by Jean Longuet, on "The Idealism of Marxism," that is bound to attract interest throughout the whole international socialist movement. Andrew M. Anderson, whose recent withdrawal from the Labor Party of Australia and announcement of his determination to uphold the class struggle position is stirring the political circles of that country, contributes an article on "The Backwardness of Socialism in Australia," which contains more condensed information on conditions in that country than anything hitherto published. The second installment of "The History of German Trade Unionism" will cover the period of the "laws of exception," a period always of intense interest. The articles by Hitch on "Recent Developments in Corporation Law" and Edgar on the Negro Problem, crowded out of this issue, will also appear. These are but a few of the things already assured that will make this number of exceptional interest and value.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

Just what has been gained by the A. F. of L. officials in withdrawing the charter from the Amalgamated Society of Engineers is difficult to explain. The society is a truly international organization, having local unions in America, Europe, Australia and South Africa. It has about 100,000 members and close to \$2,000,000 in the treasury. The Federation officials claim the A. S. of E., which includes machinists, blacksmiths, patternmakers and kindred craftsmen, is an industrial and dual organization, and that it comes in conflict with the national unions of machinists, patternmakers and blacksmiths. But probably if the truth is known there were other reasons why the A. S. of E. was expelled. When General Secretary George Barnes, whose headquarters are in London, visited this country about a year ago he had an interview with President Gompers relative to the withdrawal of the charter. According to Mr. Barnes' statement before the Brooklyn branch of the society shortly after, Mr. Gompers did not appear to fear much trouble on the score of probable jurisdiction clashes between the unions, but objected to the "socialistic tendencies" in the A. S. of E. and to the "rasping tongue" of its American organizer, Mr. Isaac Cowen. During the past year Mr. Barnes' statement has been passed along the line in the A. S. of E., with the result that considerable feeling has been aroused and renewed efforts have been put forth to increase the membership. Despite the fact that the dues in the society are about as heavy in one week as are paid into other unions in a month, owing to the elaborate beneficial system that obtains, the gain in new members in the United States has been nearly fifty per cent, which is considered a fine showing for a high-dues organization, and one, especially, that loses few of its members during industrial depressions when low-dues unions become more or less demoralized. Now comes the sequel. By a referendum vote of fully five to one the Amalgamated Society of Engineers has decided to join the American Labor Union this month, and its officers frankly admit that they will advance the interests of the western federation wherever possible in the east. They confidently assert that there are several national unions connected with the A. F. of L. that may secede and join the A. L. U. in the very near future. One of those is the United Metal Workers' Union, which is being plucked to pieces by half a dozen other nationals, and whose charter is to be revoked by the A. F. of L. The United Brewery Workers declare they will not be dismembered by yielding jurisdiction over engineers and firemen in brewery plants, and it is believed if their charter is withdrawn next month they will join the A. L. U. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters are also declaring with emphasis that they will not surrender jurisdiction over mill workers to the Amalgamated Woodworkers, and influential members freely predict that if A. F. of L. officials force the issue, into the A. L. U. they will go. Then there are the Carriageworkers, who are called upon to give up the painters in their union, and if they obey the command they will lose a large part of their membership. Later on, officers declare, the woodworkers,

blacksmiths and other crafts would demand some of their members, and so the organization would be killed. Officers of the bakers say they will not yield jurisdiction over bakery wagon drivers to the teamsters, in accordance with the wishes of the "autonomists" in control of the A. F. of L., and there are several other national unions that would probably cut loose if extreme methods are resorted to to force them to yield jurisdiction over members they now claim. In this connection it is worth noting that while the "autonomists" seemed to have control of the Boston convention, and the carpenters, brewers, carriageworkers, bakers and several other organizations were given their orders, President Mitchell announced, upon the floor, that under no circumstances would the miners yield jurisdiction over engineers, firemen, teamsters, or any other workers in or about the mines. It is probably unnecessary to add that Mr. Gompers and his followers did not attempt to force the miners to live up to the same conditions as the "socialistic" brewers. Perhaps the "autonomists" have decided that it is a good scheme to first break the backs of some of the smaller organizations before ripping the miners to pieces. There is no use denying it, a crisis is rapidly approaching, and the very people who have been loudest in denouncing the formation of the American Labor Union are doing the most to strengthen that organization. History teaches one long, monotonous lesson that where a reign of tyranny begins there is no limit to its scope, and it looks as though industrialism, which "spells socialism," is to be wiped out—that socialists, who "think" they are trade unionists, are to be told in so many words that they are not wanted in the A. F. of L. And no doubt our famous leader (†) will also soon begin to tell us who the "disruptionists" are!

In writing to a friend in the West, President Gompers, of the A. F. of L., in speaking of the debate on socialism in the Boston convention, says that "the emphatic disavowal and repudiation of any connection with them" (the socialists) has not only encouraged the workers everywhere, but such action has also "largely disarmed our opponents and clarified the air of the prejudice of public opinion which was leveled against us last year, and it will undoubtedly take away much of the sting of antagonism directed against our movement by Mr. Parry and those who follow him." It should be stated that in the Boston debate the anti-socialists played hard upon the alleged fact that the close vote upon socialism in the New Orleans convention, a year ago, had aroused unnecessary antagonism of capitalists and had increased the difficulties of officials to secure agreements for higher wages, shorter hours and other concessions. But no sooner was socialism repudiated when our fellow workers everywhere are encouraged, the capitalists are largely disarmed and even Parry's sting of antagonism is withdrawn. If the spirits of our fellow workers were drooping because their leaders in the convention of 1902 voted in favor of socialistic resolutions the reports of their national officers to the A. F. of L. did not indicate that much, for Mr. Gompers pointed with pride, in his annual address, to the great increase in membership and the concessions that were won in the reductions of hours of labor and increases of wages. In fact, the year that elapsed between the New Orleans and Boston conventions was the most prosperous in the history of American trades unionism, despite "the prejudice of public opinion" and capitalism's "sting of antagonism." But no sooner are the socialists, who "think" they are trade unionists, "repudiated," our fellow workers "encouraged," and our opponents "largely disarmed," when our dear capitalistic brethren prove to their apologists and defenders in the trade union movement that their disarmament is much like that of Russia's, after an international peace pow-wow. All the plutocratic newspapers, of course, are greatly pleased at the "smashing of socialism" in the Boston convention and many are the encomiums of praise that are heaped upon Brother Gompers—compliments that cost nothing and that may be compared to the fleeting zephyrs of an Indian sum-

mer which precede a chilling frost or a howling blizzard. Even while our socialist-smashing president is penning his lines of exultation, Parry un-sheaths his trusty "stinger" and jars our nerves with this statement: "The A. F. of L. voted down the socialism that aims for peace through means of the ballot, but it did not vote down the socialism that President Gompers stands for—mob force socialism. It is this mob force socialism that we have to combat as much as the other." Nor are the great captains of industry reassured. In fact, having been served with notice that the socialists and their political policies (except the old begging business) were repudiated, that they had nothing to fear from an organized attack upon their privileges and exploitation at the ballot box, and that the workers would remain docile and submissive and continue to support the parties of Mark Hanna and Grover Cleveland, the other leaders of the Civic Federation, when the aforesaid captains are seized with a veritable craze to hammer down wages, conduct "open shops," force strikes and lay off thousands of men. Hardly was the Boston convention adjourned when it is definitely decided that more than a hundred thousand textile workers, North and South, must accept a 10 per cent cut in wages and many are laid off; 150,000 iron and steel workers are compelled to accept reductions of wages ranging from 5 to 50 per cent; the Parry people meet and outline plans to attack labor, politically and industrially; the building contractors of the leading cities meet in Chicago, form a national organization and declare their intention of enforcing the "open shop;" the bituminous coal operators hold a secret conference in Cleveland and agree to demand that 200,000 miners accept a 20 per cent reduction; prominent vessel owners announce that over 100,000 marine workers must accept lower wages the coming season; the war of extermination is pushed against the bridge and structural iron workers, tailors and type foundries; thousands of railway workers have their wages reduced, and other thousands are laid off indefinitely; rumors come of an attack upon the machinists all along the line; local strikes and lockouts are bitterly contested in all of the principal industrial centers, and there seems to be a regular mania growing to lay off myriads of workers everywhere. Doubtless President Gompers and his followers will now accuse the socialists of being pleased with this condition of affairs, but that position is absolutely untenable and false, for the reason that socialists are, unfortunately, compelled to suffer as much and, in some cases more, than the great mass of working people. The socialists are not responsible for the industrial depression, the reduction of wages, the unemployment of men and women, and the increase of labor's burdens, but the capitalists are, and their defenders and apologists in the trade union movement, and there were some in the Boston convention who are not entirely blameless, either. The intelligent thinking trade unionists of this country will compare the conditions that "encouraged" them after the New Orleans and Boston conventions and place the responsibility where it belongs. There will be plenty of time in which to think during the next ten months.

Several months ago the International Association of Machinists, composed of men who are rapidly gaining a clear understanding of social conditions, sent out for a referendum vote of their membership on three questions. First proposition was whether the membership indorsed industrialism as opposed to autonomous organization. Second, whether they favored the A. F. of L. indorsing socialism, and lastly, whether it was desirable that the present incumbent, Mr. Gompers, should remain president of the A. F. of L. The returns have been published in the Machinists' Monthly Journal for December, and this is how they read: For industrial organization, 4,544 votes; against, 1,650; majority in favor, 2,895. That the A. F. of L. shall indorse socialism: For, 4,403; against, 1,963; majority, 2,440. Whether Gompers shall retain office: For, 2,705; against, 3,603; majority against, 898. These returns came in before November 9, the day

the A. F. of L. Boston convention met, and now some of the locals want to know why their delegates paid no attention to the instructions they received through the referendum. At their last national convention the machinists adopted a socialistic declaration, and their officers pleaded that the matter of instructing them be sent to referendum. Not only did they vote against socialism, but one of their number renominated Gompers. They likewise voted against industrialism, and yet they are now trying to absorb the allied metal mechanics. There will be some warm times in the I. A. of M. in the near future.

The "sting of antagonism" in the capitalist class doesn't seem to be withdrawn in the least, in spite of the assurances of organized labor's greatest leader, Samuel Gompers. The Citizens' Industrial Association of America, of which the irrepressible Parry is the head, continues to grow in size and influence. At present upward of two hundred local, state and national associations are affiliated with this capitalistic federation, and the country is being thoroughly organized, according to their newspapers and riding delegates. The shibboleth of the association seems to be, "Down with organized labor in any form and long live scabism!" The C. I. A. bosses have given notice that they intend to not only attack trade unions and wipe out boycotts, the sympathy strike, etc., but they intend to enter politics and kill the union label laws, eight-hour bills and any other measures that may have benefited the trade unions. They are also encouraging assaults upon union treasuries through the courts. At the present writing damage suits, aggregating nearly a million dollars, have been filed against organized labor in the various states, and every decision so far has favored the capitalistic conspirators. Up to the present no hint has come from labor's chosen leaders as to how the attacks are to be met. Quite likely, after the horse is stolen, there will be a loud outcry to lock the barn door, but the robber will be allowed to wander at large. The socialists have their own views relating to these burning questions, but just at present the socialists and their "speculations" are highly unpopular among labor's great officials, and the latter cannot complain of not having full swing to put their plans in operation, if they have any. Let us hope that the salaries of none of our very conservative leaders will be endangered by garnishees or withheld if treasuries are confiscated by the capitalists and their courts.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Belgium.

In a recent article in *Le Mouvement Socialiste* on "The Present Situation of the *Parti Ouvrier Belge*," Emile Vandervelde points out that the reaction which followed the unsatisfactory result of the general strike in April, 1902, has now passed away and that the Socialists have resumed their previous rate of increase. Already the movement for universal suffrage is, on the whole, under way and this time is moving with even greater momentum than before. The co-operatives are growing at a more rapid rate than at any time in their previous history, and to quote directly from the above article: "For the first time the Belgian Socialist co-operators in place of attacking the small capitalists are able to attack the great industry."

"The daily circulation of Socialist papers is now in excess of 100,000 for a total population of 6,000,000. Since the beginning of 1903 the Co-operative *Germinal* located in Brussels is centralizing all leaflet propaganda. It prints publications in Socialist printing houses, established in various localities of the country, and particularly in the central printing house, which constitutes one of the most successful of the recent Socialist activities in Ghent. Nearly every fortnight a new pamphlet is issued with a circulation varying from 10,000 to 100,000, and its distribution is assured through the secretaries of the district federations and the newspapers of the party. * * *

"There is no locality of any importance without its *Maison du Peuple*. Everywhere we see arising groups of students, popular universities, laborers' libraries, and when the day of universal suffrage shall come it will find a class-conscious, organized, clear-cut Socialist proletariat ready to take full possession of the political powers and knowing how to use them for its own advantage when it shall have gained that victory for which it has fought so hard and waited so long."

The capitalist press of America have been rejoicing over an alleged Socialist reverse in the Belgian municipal elections held October 18, and those puppy dogs of the Socialist press which have recently appeared in charge of renegade Socialists in Massachusetts have been yelping in concert at their master's bidding.

When the facts are examined, however, it is discovered that this, like most Socialist reverses, is of such a character that a few more would abolish the capitalist rulers of Belgium. Quoting from Jules Destree in *Le Mouvement Socialiste*: "It is necessary first to explain the outlandish complication of our Communal electoral regulations which are wholly different from those prevailing in legislative elections. An elector must be 30 years of age, a long residence is demanded, and three and even four votes are given to certain classes of electors. Proportional representation is utilized but only in case no party has obtained an absolute majority. There are secondary counselors in the great industrial centers, some of whom are chosen by the employers, and some by the workers. Finally the

elections are conducted on the basis of electoral lists prepared a long time in advance and whose fairness is not always absolute. Then every attempt is made to push local issues to the front and make the elections apparently non-partisan."

Victor Ernest, in the same publication, has an article on "Statistics and Results," in which he says:

"When we come to closely examine the results, it is apparent that the Socialist Party has increased to a considerable degree its already numerous body of municipal officials and its electoral power. It has penetrated into a large number of new municipal councils, and especially in the agricultural regions. It becomes apparent that in the Flemish agricultural regions where hitherto the working class have reigned supreme, they have today received a check and Socialists have been elected. It is a curious thing that we have received our only important setbacks in industrial regions.

"It appears that the reason for this is to be found principally in the interference of the employers. Seldom has intimidation been so open. In some communes the officers of the factories have been deserted during the week preceding the election. The clerks and the small bosses have been turned into electioneering agents. Threats of discharge have been made to socialist workers, or those who are suspected of being such. It is not difficult to find the reason for this interference. Socialist administrators instead of increasing the taxes paid by the great body of consumers have substituted industrial taxes, or have increased those already existing. This is an important move for the factories, coal mines, etc. In one year, for example, in the single district of Charleroi, the annual product of industrial taxes has reached 225,000 francs, or double its previous amounts.

"The elections of the 18th of October have constituted a striking manifestation of the strength of our party. It took part in the electoral struggle and presented candidates in more than 800 municipalities. In 1895 it took part in only 507 municipal elections."

Summing up the results of the elections, it is seen that whereas four years ago the party found itself with 480 members in not less than 200 different councils, this year there are 1,247 socialist councilmen elected in 368 different city councils.

Servia.

The Socialist Party in Servia took part in the elections for the first time a few months ago and received 2,548 votes. Since the party was only organized for a few weeks this is considered a very satisfactory result. The larger part of the vote was obtained in the city of Belgrade. Only a very limited suffrage prevails; at least 150,000 citizens being disfranchised by their inability to pay the poll tax which is required for suffrage. One Socialist was elected to parliament. An active struggle is being carried on for complete universal suffrage.

Sweden.

The following item is taken from Miss Agnes Wakefield's bulletin to the National Headquarters of the Socialist Party:

In Eskilstuna, Sweden, October 15, in spite of the unjust system of municipal suffrage which gives a rich citizen 100 votes or less, the Socialist candidate, Comrade C. A. Flodin, organizer of the Iron and Metal Workers' Federation, was elected city councilman. He received 8,218 votes from 906 persons, the opposing candidate who came nearest to him had 4,602 votes from 104 persons, and a third candidate got 2,892 votes from 52 persons.

The Socialist press of Sweden gains constantly in circulation. "*Social-Demokraten*," which is published in Stockholm, now has 15,000 subscribers; "*Arbetet*," in Malmö, 12,000, and "*Ny Tid*," in Göteborg, 6,000; there three papers are daily. The following five papers are issued three times a week: "*Smålands Folkblad*" in Joenköping, with 4,000 subscribers; "*Aurora*," in Ystad, with 4,000; "*Arbetarebladet*," in Gefle, with 3,500; "*Oerebrokuriren*," with 3,000, and "*Landskrona Kuriren*," with 1,800 subscribers. The following three papers are issued twice a week: "*Nya Samhället*," in Sundsvall, with 3,000 subscribers; "*Lysökl Kuriren*," with 2,500, and "*Arbetaren*," in Motala, with 2,000 subscribers. A weekly paper, "*Folkbladet*," with a circulation of 5,400 copies is published in Stockholm. The 12 Socialist papers already named have 62,000 subscribers in all. Besides these, the young Socialist organizations publish two periodicals, "*Grand*" and "*Fram*," each having a circulation of 3,000 copies. The Christmas issue of the Socialist paper "*Julfacklan*" has a circulation of 45,000 copies and the humorous paper "*Karbassen*" is published weekly with a circulation of 15,000 copies.

Switzerland

The Socialists of Switzerland held their convention on October 30. The confused nature of the Swiss movement was shown once more in the fact that while a general resolution in favor of universal peace was adopted the Socialist members of the legislative bodies were authorized to vote for a military budget and the congress admitted "that it may be necessary to employ troops to do police service in case of strikes and boycotts." The majority of the Socialist papers of Europe criticised the Swiss comrades very strongly for this action.

BOOK REVIEWS

Trust Finance. A Study of the Genesis, Organization and Management of Industrial Combinations. By Edwin Sherwood Meade. D. Appleton & Co. (Cloth, 387 pp., \$1.25.)

We have no hesitancy in saying that this is by far the most valuable work that has yet appeared on the trust question. It expounds fewer theories and sets forth more new facts and original points of view than any previous work. The essential thing about the trust is its method of organization as distinguished from other industrial businesses. A study of the trust then should be primarily a study in "high finance," yet the great majority of writers on this subject have given this phase but little attention. Three brief introductory chapters give an historical survey from "The Regime of Competition" through the "pool" and "other temporary forms of consolidation" to the "holding company" organized under the corporation act of 1889 of the state of New Jersey. "Under the provisions of this act," the author informs us, "a body of men may form a corporation under the laws of New Jersey which, among other manifold privileges, may purchase and own the stocks, or other property of any corporation engaged in any kind of business in any state. * * * For momentous consequences this statute of New Jersey is hardly to be equaled in the annals of legislation. Sixteen sovereign states had passed searching and stringent laws in prohibition of any attempt to restrict competition; laws whose detailed minuteness of specification could hardly be improved upon; which had been proved effective against the only permanent form of competition regulation yet attempted, and which undoubtedly represented the conviction of a majority of the people of the United States—a conviction finding more general and authoritative expression in the Sherman anti-trust law, and strengthened by the anti-monopoly provisions of the common law; a well nigh unanimous sentiment opposed to any form of trust or pool, and the little state of New Jersey, containing two per cent of the population and one and three-tenths per cent of the wealth of the United States, by the simple act of amending its corporation law, nullified the anti-trust laws of every state which had passed them."

The legal foundation having been laid "the time was ripe for the universal application of the trust principle to manufacturing industries. On the one hand the manufacturer was weary of competition and anxious either to combine or sell. On the other hand stood the public, deeply impressed with the profits of the trust and anxious to buy the shares of industrial combinations if opportunity were given. Into this situation stepped the promoter, to whom a more promising opportunity to sell stocks had never been presented." The true industrial function of the promoter in the field of industrial finance is then described, first in relation to the original owners of the property which it is proposed to combine, second as an organizer and correlator of these various industries, and then, most important of all, in a capitalist society, as a seller of the "goods" thus created, to wit, the stocks and bonds of the new consolidated corporation. As a conse-

quence the two chapters on "The Sale of the Stock" are among the most interesting in the book. Two classes of possible purchasers are in the field whom he designates as "investors" and "speculators," respectively, although the latter term is something of a euphemism for what in the slang of Wall street would be called a "lamb," and of the Bowery an "easy mark." The question arises as to which of these classes are the more probable buyers of the trust stock. This leads to an analysis of industry and a classification into "investment" and "speculative" enterprises. This classification is one of the most valuable things to be found in the book, and while the author discusses it at considerable length there are two important and fundamental phases of the subject that he largely overlooks. He does not seem to see (save in a few points), first, that these are to a large degree but names for historical stages through which a large portion of incorporated industries have passed, so that the very railroads, for example, which he instances as typical "investment" industries were as highly speculative as any trusts discussed by him; and second, that the classification is also, and fundamentally, based on the source from which the owners of the securities (the great capitalists) expect to draw their incomes, i. e., in the case of "speculative" securities these incomes come from exploiting, by more or less of swindling methods, the little capitalists, while in the case of "investment" securities, the dividends come from the "surplus value" exploited from the wage laborers in the industries. Nevertheless, while criticising the author for not carrying out more fully the corollaries of his classification, yet we have need to thank him for making it as clearly as he has. His examination of the trust stocks shows that they belong in the "speculative" class, since the probability of an immediate return from "surplus value" of wage slaves (of course he uses no such phrases) sufficient to pay dividends on the amount and class of securities which are offered to the public is altogether too uncertain to tempt those accustomed to dealing in stocks and bonds. A most interesting study in popular psychology is then given, showing how the "speculative" spirit is roused, fostered and spread among the class of hoped for purchasers. "The speculator is by instinct a promoter. He is zealous in advocacy of this project to which he has committed his money. He urges upon his friends the merits of the new scheme. His enthusiasm is infectious. Others are drawn into the net by his representations, and they in turn compass sea and land to make one proselyte. In this way the wave of speculation is set going and sweeps through all classes of society, turning the accumulations of years of effort into the treasuries of the new companies."

The remainder of the work is largely given up to a discussion of the internal details of financing individual trusts, and while this portion contains some of the most valuable portions of the book the facts and theories stated are too detailed to permit of any satisfactory summing up in the space of a book review. Unfortunately the author has not sufficiently escaped from the conventional small capitalist idea that concentration and monopoly is something abnormal and pathological to prevent him from tacking on two chapters at the end discussing "remedies." Yet even here his treatment has none of the hysterical utopian stuff that is usually found at the end of books on trusts. He largely concerns himself with the necessity of placing trust securities on an "investment" basis for the benefit of the small investor, who will thereby, if history is any guide, be simply assisted in saving up money for the next generation of "promoters" to take away from him.

The Yellow Van. By Richard Whiteing. The Century Company. Cloth, 400 pp., \$1.50.

The reader of this book will find himself continually comparing it with the author's previous work, "Number Five John Street," to which it is in many ways a companion volume, since Mr. Whiteing aims in this later work

to do for the country what his earlier novel did for the city. It is a study of social conditions, relations and movements in a typical English country district. The Duke of Allonby, who rules over a great estate, marries an American "school marm," and she, filled with philanthropic ideas, sets about trying to help "her people." Everywhere her efforts miscarry and she finds herself helpless in the midst of the social conventions and economic antagonisms of which she is a part. The picture drawn of the abject misery and servility of the laboring population on the great estate and the way in which that misery and servility forms an integral part of the whole economic organization is a strong and vivid one. "The Yellow Van" is the traveling home of some socialist agitators, but it really plays such an unimportant part in the story as to scarcely justify the prominence it gains by being taken as the title of the book. Among the incidental points which serve to give completeness to the picture is the way in which the "American invasion" is depicted as pushing aside the native capitalist and crowding out the old landed nobility. As a whole the book covers a phase of contemporary life hitherto neglected, and it must be read by anyone who wishes a vivid picture of English rural society, and that largely from the Socialist point of view. As a novel the characters are strongly drawn and well worked out. The plot moves a little slowly at times, but interest never lags.

The Sale of an Appetite. By Paul La Fargue. Translated by Charles H. Kerr. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 57 pp., 50 cents.

One scarce knows which feature of this book to choose as the central one for a review—its keen satirical argument for socialism, its literary composition or the mechanical excellence with which it is printed, bound and illustrated. It is the story of a poor, starving wretch who was standing one evening outside a restaurant looking in at the delicacies displayed in the window, and the picture which the artist, Dorothy Dean, who illustrates the book, has made of this scene will haunt you for hours after you have laid the book aside. While this vision of plenty is adding to the torments of his hungry stomach he is approached by a bloated and dyspeptic capitalist, who proposes to buy his appetite for 2,000 francs a month. The bargain is struck and Emile Destouches, as the hero is called, takes up the work of digesting the gluttonous meals which the purchased appetite enables the capitalist to consume. For a time he congratulates himself on his good fortune, but soon his task palls on him, then becomes a terrible burden, which he seeks to escape, but the attorney who has drawn the contract rebukes him as follows: "You complain because you have become reduced to nothing but a digestive apparatus; but all who earn their living by working are lodged at the same sign. * * * Imprint this truth on your memory: the poor man no longer exists for himself in our civilized societies, but for the capitalist, who sets him to work at his fancy or according to his needs, with such or such of his organs." Many will read this who would draw back from prejudice before an ordinary propaganda book or shirk the labor reading a treatise on economics.

Two more volumes from the Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition come this month, both of which are of great value to the socialist movement. The first consists of an extract from the works of Proudhon with a short biographical sketch and portrait, consisting of 100 pages, and selling at half a franc. Another, a similar compilation from the works of Fourier, is 200 pages in length, and sells at one franc. Both are compiled by Hubert Bourgin, and for those of our readers who are familiar with French they will form an excellent and handy means of obtaining a knowledge of the works of these great forerunners of socialism.

The steady outpour of propaganda pamphlets continues. Some of those which are significant as showing interesting tendencies in the socialist move-

ment are noticed. Two on the farmer question show the growth of this phase of socialism. William C. Green writes on "Some Reasons Why Farmers Should Be Socialists," published by the Appeal to Reason, 12 pp., 5 cents. This is a direct appeal to the farmers to join the Socialist Party, and should do good work in the immediate field of propaganda.

E. A. Byrne, of Corsicana, Texas, is the author and publisher of another pamphlet on the same subject, entitled "A Farmer's Glimpse into Utopia," which will be interesting as showing how the influence of present environment affects a person's ideas of a future society. We feel that very few persons will agree with him as to the conditions under future society, but the views are at least interesting.

The Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association publishes at 5 cents "Che Cosa e il Socialismo," by Silvio Origo. This is interesting as showing the demand for pamphlets in the Italian language. The pamphlet itself is written on the conventional style of which we have so many in the English language that have done such good service in propaganda work. It begins with a survey of historical evolution, followed by an analysis of capitalism, the movement of concentration, the class struggle, and the socialist solution of the questions arising from this evolution and a special plea for the Socialist Party.

"Political Presidents and Socialists," by Celia B. Whitehead, published by "The Alliance," Denver, Colo., 55 pp., 10 cents, is a very good example of the result of a very slight understanding of socialism. The writer has evidently obtained a few ideas of Utopian Socialism and seems to think that the cause of socialism would be somewhat advanced by "moving to abolish" the office of president and refusing to make nominations for that position.

"Socialism Is Coming," written and published by T. J. Crump, Meridian, Mississippi, 67 pp., 10 cents, derives its main interest from the locality in which it is written and published as showing a waking up of the South. There is little new in the book and we feel like saying of that, as of a great many others, that had the author waited another year before writing it and spent his leisure during that time in gaining a thorough understanding of socialism, he would really have accomplished much more than by publishing at once.

"Panics, a Social Analysis," by John Mackenzie, Spokane, Wash., 39 pp., 10 cents, is a fairly good statement of the socialist doctrine of panics, but offers little new. It is valuable, however, as showing a tendency on the part of socialist writers to take some specific subject for discussion instead of seeking to cover the entire field of socialist philosophy in every pamphlet.

Books Received to be Reviewed Later.

American History and Its Geographic Conditions. By Ellen Churchill Semple. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Cloth, 466 pp., \$3.

Geographic Influences in American History. By Albert Perry Brigham. The Chautauqua Press. Cloth, 285 pp., \$1.25.

The Inside History of the Carnegie Steel Company. By James H. Bridge. Aldine Book Company. Cloth, 369 pp., \$2.

Life of Albert R. Parsons. By Lucy E. Parsons. Published by the author. Cloth, 310 pp., \$1.50.

The Psychology of Child Development. By Irving King. University of Chicago Press. Cloth, 265 pp., \$1.

Organized Labor. By John Mitchell. American Book & Bible House. Cloth, 436 pp., \$2.

Zurechnungsfähigkeit oder Zweckmässigkeit. By Dr. M. Brichta. Franz Deuticke: Leipzig. Paper, 129 pp.

Nouveau Programme de Sociologie. By Eugene de Roberty. Felix Alcan: Paris. Paper, 268 pp., 5 francs.

Le Peuple Roi. By Th. Darel. Felix Alcan: Paris. Paper, 188 pp., 3 francs .50.

The Organization and Control of Industrial Corporations. By Frank E. Horack. C. F. Taylor: Philadelphia. Paper, 207 pp., 25 cents.

Die Positive Kriminalistische Schule in Italien. By Enrico Ferri. Translated from the Italian by E. Müller-Roder. Neuer Frankfurter Verlag. Paper, 64 pp., 1.20 mark.

Histoire d'une Trahison. By Urban Gohier. Société Parisienne. Paper, 242 pp.

The Travels of John Wryland. Anonymous. Equitable Publishing Company. Cloth, 236 pp.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

SPECIAL MEETING OF STOCKHOLDERS.

In last month's *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* it was announced that the question of increasing the authorized capital stock of the co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Co. from ten thousand to fifty thousand dollars would be voted upon at the annual meeting of the stockholders to be held January 15. Since the announcement was made, however, our attention has been called to the fact that the Illinois statute governing the increase of the capital stock of a company is so worded as to leave some doubt whether the action can be taken legally at a regular meeting. To save any possible danger of legal complications it has, therefore, been thought best to call a special meeting to be held on February 4 for the transaction of this business. As no opposition from any one to the proposed increase has appeared up to the time of going to press, and as most of the stockholders have already sent on their proxies to be voted in favor of the plan, it may safely be assumed that it will be adopted on the fourth day of February.

But the mere authorizing of the stock adds nothing whatever to the strength of the company nor to its possibilities for effective work. The new shares that will have been authorized are yet to be subscribed, and the number of them that will be subscribed during the year 1904 depends mainly on the readers of the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*.

We shall not take space here to explain the plan of organization of the company, nor the terms on which stock is sold. Most of our readers are already familiar with these, and new readers will find them fully explained on pages 30 to 32 of "What to Read on Socialism," a copy of which will be mailed to any one requesting it.

WHY SOCIALISTS SHOULD SUBSCRIBE FOR STOCK.

We have already given reasons why any socialist local or individual can get more of the best socialist literature for circulation by taking advantage of our co-operative plan than can be obtained for the same money in any other way. We wish this month to point out how important the work of this company is to the socialist movement, and how desirable it is that it should be strengthened by subscriptions to its capital stock.

The object of this company is to circulate the literature of international socialism, the literature that will make not merely socialist voters but intelligent socialists. It is a rather easy but not a very useful thing to stir up a local excitement in behalf of socialism and to poll a large proportion of the vote at a single election. The trouble is that at the next election one of the old parties may put up a "good man" who is a "friend of labor," and the votes so easily gained are as easily lost. If votes are all we want, then no literature is needed, but the firmest appeals to the emotions, with rose-colored pictures of what "government ownership" and the referendum have accomplished in backward countries beyond the circle of capitalism.

But the real contest is not far away. Socialists will soon be obliged all over the United States, as already in Massachusetts, to defend their position against the ablest and the most unscrupulous attacks that the agents of capitalism can devise. The votes of those who do not under-

stand socialism will be won back from us, and the arguments of those who talk socialism without understanding it will be used against us by able opponents.

There is only one way to meet this situation, and that is by circulating literature that will make intelligent socialists, who can give good reasons for their enthusiasm, and who can not be diverted from their purpose by any side issues whatever.

Now, it happens that such literature requires study and application, and that the average laborer under capitalism prefers reading matter that requires little mental effort. Now, from a "business" point of view, the profitableness of any given publishing venture depends on the number of copies that can be sold at a given price with a given amount of advertising. So, if the publication of socialist books is to be left wholly to private initiative, the tendency will be to the circulation of such works as "Civilization Civilized" and "Looking Backward" rather than "Socialism Utopian and Scientific" and "The Social Revolution."

Some may agree with what has been said up to this point, but urge that the publishing ought to be done by the party organization, so that the "profit" could go into the treasury of the party instead of to "individuals." This view, however, is usually expressed by those who know nothing whatever of the conditions under which books are published, and who imagine that the publication of every book is profitable, whereas the fact is that every publishing house, socialist or capitalist, loses on more than half its books, and has to make up this loss from the profits on the successful ones. Moreover, to carry on such an enterprise successfully requires special training that can not be extemporized on demand, and a committee chosen by the usual party methods to carry on a special work of this kind would almost certainly have a deficit rather than a surplus to report at the end of each year.

Moreover, to publish the standard works of socialism requires not a little capital, but a great deal of it. Our co-operative company has made a small beginning in this needed work, and the cost has been over twenty thousand dollars. This investment, together with the organization that has been developed, puts our company in a position where every dollar of new capital can be used more effectively in the spread of socialist literature than it could be possibly used through any other channels.

To obtain an idea of what our co-operative publishing house has already accomplished in the way of circulating the genuine literature of socialism, it is only necessary to compare our latest catalogue with that of any other American socialist publisher, or even with our own catalogue of three years ago. To realize what we have done in cheapening the cost to buyers of the best socialist books, compare our prices with the prices charged by capitalist publishing houses for books on economics and sociology. It will be found that our retail prices are from a half to a third lower, while to our co-operative stockholders we allow a discount of one-half from our retail prices. Sometimes the difference is even greater. Compare, for example, Seligman's "Economic Interpretation of History," 166 pages, published by Macmillan & Co. at \$1.50, with Simons' "The American Farmer," 214 pages, cloth binding, published by our co-operative house at fifty cents, with the special rate to our stockholders of thirty cents, mailed, or twenty-five cents when sent at the expense of the purchaser. This book is one of the Standard Socialist Series, eight volumes of which have thus far been published, uniform in style and price. Ladoff's "American Pauperism," money for the publication of which is now being raised, will be a notable addition to this series, and we aim to add new volumes by the strongest socialist writers of Europe and America, as fast as the necessary capital can be raised.

Equally important with the publication of new books is the work of introducing the literature of socialism to new readers, especially to those

whose attention has been arrested by propaganda leaflets and newspapers, and who are ready for more solid reading on the subject. To reach such readers we propose, as soon as the necessary capital can be secured, to advertise extensively in socialist propaganda weeklies. Such advertising does not immediately pay for itself in direct sales, but it gradually enlarges the circle of our readers, and makes it easier to find a sale for each new socialist book that is issued from time to time.

STILL LOWER PRICES IN FUTURE.

We have already shown that our present prices are far lower than the prices made by capitalist publishing houses on sociological works. Some comrades, unfamiliar with the process of book publishing, are inclined to complain because our prices are still higher than those made on non-copyrighted novels, such as are sold by the hundred thousand. They do not realize that the cost of each copy of a book is inversely proportioned to the number of copies that can be marketed.

For example, "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History," 248 pages, is a book which a capitalist publishing house would probably issue at \$1.50, if, indeed, it could be induced to publish so "dangerous" a work at all, which is not probable. We publish it at \$1, with a special discount to our stockholders of forty per cent where we pay postage or fifty per cent where the book is sent at purchaser's expense. But it is impossible to deny that a book of more pages, entitled "Her Fatal Secret; or, the Villain Still Pursued Her"—we may not be quoting the title quite accurately—can be purchased at almost any book store for considerably less money. One reason for this is that the electrotype plates of each of the two books cost about two hundred dollars, but this expense on Labriola's essays is divided among only one thousand books, making twenty cents for each, while in the case of "Her Fatal Secret" the same cost is divided among a hundred thousand books, making a fifth of a cent for each. When there are enough socialists to buy our literature in editions of a hundred thousand, they will get their books far cheaper. Meanwhile every new subscription for a share of stock from a buyer of socialist books, and especially from a local of the Socialist Party, will bring us so much the nearer to the point where socialist books can be sold at lower figures: first, by increasing the number of the customers we can count upon; second, by providing capital enough so that we can print a year's supply of each title at one time, thus getting lower prices on the printing than would be made on smaller editions, and third, by relieving us of having to pay interest on borrowed capital, and thus to that extent reducing the cost of doing business.

NOT FOR PRIVATE PROFIT.

No dividends to stockholders have been declared, and while it is within the power of a majority of the stockholders to vote dividends in future, such action is extremely unlikely, since it would be in opposition to the almost unanimous wish of the 790 socialists who are now stockholders. The largest salaries paid any one are seventy-five dollars a month each to A. M. Simons and Charles H. Kerr. After providing for the ordinary running expenses, every dollar received, either from the sale of stock, the sale of books, or from subscriptions to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, will be used to pay off the debt and to increase the variety of socialist literature published and to push its circulation.

Are you a stockholder? If not, send on ten dollars for a share, and help the work along. If you are, see that you use your privilege of buying socialist books at cost, and cover your neighborhood with the kind of socialist literature that makes intelligent socialists. But also help us to find the four thousand new stockholders that are needed to ensure the complete success of our co-operative publishing house.

ORATORY ITS REQUIREMENTS AND ITS REWARDS

BY JOHN P. ALTGELD

There have been many books written on the subject of oratory, but few of them have been written by orators.

John P. Altgeld, Ex-Governor of Illinois, was one of the greatest orators in the United States.

Just before his death he wrote his famous book on oratory, and we are not exaggerating when we say that it is the greatest book on the subject ever written.

Upon its appearance it received instant recognition by the press, the pulpit and the public; it has run rapidly through three large editions and is now in its fourth.

Oratory is not a lost art by any means, and the signs of the times point to a greater need for orators than the world ever knew. The greatest orators have always been on the side of oppressed humanity, and when were the common people greater slaves in the midst of such wonderful prosperity as at present?

The following list of chapters will give something of an idea of the variety of subjects treated: Knowledge; Language; Arrangement; Delivery—Action; Gesture; Voice, Articulation; Writing of Speeches; Message to Audience; Newspapers; Breakfast-Table Audience; Literary Excellence; Demosthenes; Utilitarian Talk; Abstemiousness; Hospitality; Hand-shaking; Clothes; Censorship of Speeches; Lawyers; Great Subject—Pettifogging; Justice, Not Expediency; Rewards; Is Oratory Dying? Democracy; Oratory Develops Oratory; Repetition; Pericles; Conclusion.

It would take many pages to quote all the complimentary notices that were printed by some of the greatest papers throughout the United States regarding this wonderful little book, but we quote herewith a few brief extracts culled at random therefrom. The New York Journal thought the book of such importance that it printed a full page article, quoting from the book. Many others papers gave it a column or more.

READ WHAT A FEW HAVE TO SAY:

"The tone throughout is high and the advice temperate and sound."—*Chicago Tribune*.

"In almost every man's life there comes a time when he not only wishes that he could speak, but when he should be able to speak clearly and forcibly in public. The great majority of the lawyers and ministers have no shadow of an idea as to public speaking—which is a crime against the public. These men need Governor Altgeld's book. It should be used as a text and hand-book in every school in which any attempt is made to teach public speaking."—*Helena (Mont.) Independent*.

"The book will be found a practical volume for all public speakers."—*Scientific American*.

"The reader may have no inclination whatever toward public speaking, but the perusal of this address will inspire him to greater elegance in his daily conversation."—*The Philadelphia Press*.

"He writes briefly and tersely, facts which every student should understand."—*Chicago Inter Ocean*.

"Books on oratory are as plentiful as autumn leaves and ordinarily about as dry, but this is something absolutely unique in its way."—*Midland Methodist, Nashville, Tenn.*

"This is one of the brightest, sanest, noblest utterances of the season, not alone from its inspiration for oratory, but as well for its effect upon all literary, professional or ethical effort. It can be read in an hour or two, and yet one will spend hours of many days upon it before he lays it aside. It is a better book for a teacher's reading circle than books that are often there; indeed, it ought, sooner or later, to be in a teacher's reading course."—*Journal of Education, Boston*.

"It would be hard to find anywhere else a volume which can be so useful to intending speakers under modern conditions as this."—*Hartford (Conn.) Times*.

"John P. Altgeld is known as a speaker of great ability and from his services on the bench, his political speeches and knowledge of the effect of different styles of oratory, no one is better fitted to publish a book on that subject than he, and his opinions will be listened to with respect. Young speakers will find the book of much service to them."—*Buffalo Times*.

"The person who opens this book with the expectation of finding the same old hackneyed 'exercises' for voice and gesture, with mechanical instructions for proper 'delivery,' will be agreeably disappointed."—*Duluth Herald*.

The book is a handsomely printed square 18mo volume, bound in vellum de luxe with silver lettering and will make a beautiful book for any one's library.

Sent postpaid to any address for 50 cents.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, 56 Fifth Avenue, CHICAGO.