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Gorky as a Proletarian Literary Critic.

THE literature of Russia has attracted great attention in other than Russian countries during the last decade. This is partially due to purely esthetic reasons: it has a freshness and youth, and directness and simplicity of expression, which is seldom found in the same degree in the modern literature of other people. This interest is also partially due to the fact that it more directly reflects social life than the literature ture of other peoples. This interest is also partially due to the which in Western Europe are discussed only in special technical writings, in Russia find their expression in art, — in the lyric, in drama, in romance, in novels as well as in literary criticism.

The political reasons for these phenomena are well known. This fact offers the great advantage to the foreigner of enabling him to follow in literature (in so far as this is accessible through translation) the social conditions of Russia, and, to a certain degree, the psychological effects of those conditions. For example, the works of Tscheckoff's reflect clearly the universal mental condition of the intellectuals in the '80's; the discouragement and pessimism which at that time accompanied the downfal of the "Will of the People"-movement.

The translations from Russian literature however, are taken principally from the field of the romance and the novel, and only to a very slight degree from that of literary history and criticism. Consequently we have almost no knowledge of how the Russian critics — of whom there are many important ones — have looked upon their own literature. Now we are very fortunate in that two works of prominent Russian writers have appeared, which report and pass judgment upon the literature of their country.

To be sure there is a great difference between these two works. One, called "Russian literature," is written by the well-known essayist and sociologist, Kropotkin. It is an enlargement of a number of addresses delivered by him in the year 1901 at the Lowell institute in Boston, and contains a short summary of Russian literature from the time of the primitive folk songs until today, with special consideration of the modern writers, under which he includes the whole literature of the 19th Century. During this time if we disregard the old folk tales there has arisen for the first time a national literature with its own style.

The work by Gorky is of a wholly different character. This is entitled simply "Political Discussions" and is occupied largely with the psychology of the Russian middle class (*Kleinburgertum*). Through some twenty pages he treats upon Russian literature and its relations to social conditions.

The manner, however, in which he does this makes it very significant. This hastily prepared writing brings more instruction and deeper insight into the essence of Russian literature than the industriously and carefully prepared and interesting work of Kropotkin. The latter supplies us with a mass of important details, and gives much information concerning the activities, peculiarities and biographies of many writers. What it lacks is a general view of the distinctive, peculiar essence of Russian literature.

There is a good reason for this. The writer lacks that cosmical view furnished by Marxism, which would enable him to distinguish the universal in the many writers to which he introduces us; he has no common ground from which to judge life and reflect it back. He fails to see that the inmost essence, the peculiar spirit of the literature of any epoch is but the living reflection of that class to whose views and conceptions, hopes and aspirations the author gives expression. Kropotkin has not clearly grasped this inner essence, this spirit, this *class character.*

Turn now to the work of Gorky.

There is an old saying that the poet knows nothing of politics; and for him to take part in them only brings him misfortune, and does evil to the political field as well. This may well be true — for bourgeois politics and bourgeois poets. It is certainly true that the idealistic aspirations of the poet would necessarily come in conflict with the bald selfishness, the cold cruelty, and the calculating hypocrisy that dominates the world of bourgeois politics. Bourgeois politics consists of disreputable generalities carefully hidden under the threadbare covering of "eternal truths."

The poet who enters this sort of politics is compelled to choose between becoming a confused idealogist and a hypocritical *phraseur* — either to betray himself or others. In either case he ceases to exist as a poet.

It is wholly different when the poet sings of proletarian class consciousness and proletarian politics. Here principles and practice are in harmony; deeds and ideals agree. Here there is no hypocrisy about the "general wellfare" with which to cover up actual class interests; here there is the uplifting consciousness that the battle for class interests is identical with the battle for social progress, for the onward uplift of mankind. Nowhere today is this so completely true as in Russia, for nowhere else is it so plain that the proletariat represents the interests of all society. Nowhere else has the comprehension of the proletarian socialist position and the great ideas of Marxism by the intellectuals given such an impulse to their power and courage, and so filled them with new life as there. The writings of comrade Gorky give a striking example of this. They illustrate how taking part in proletarian politics, how becoming a socialist, so far from injuring a writer, raise him above his earlier self.

Gorky's writing, which we are discussing, was first published as an article in a Russian Socialist paper, which appeared in the heat of the battle, during that brief, quickly darkened, but never-to-be-forgotton dawn of freedom, which followed the great victory of the working-class last October. For a brief period the atmosphere was filled with the pride of battle and the joy of victory, as the air of a winter day is filled with tingling particles of frost.

Consequently it bears the traces of its origin. It is the work of an author at a time when he desired only to be a fighter, and felt only as a fighter. No attempt is made to explain *why* Russian literature is what it is; he does not attempt to explain what are its relations to social conditions, however clearly he may perceive these. He seeks only to judge its character and to express how this Russian literature appears to him through his new eyes; how it seems to him from the point of view of a new heart and a new brain — from the new class standpoint: the attitude and point of view of the revolutionary proletariat. This is what Gorky's writing means and only this. This is the significant, the new, the peculiar and the important thing, that for the first time an important Russian author looks upon the whole Russian literature with new eyes. For the first time he bravely, firmly, relentlessly expresses what his eyes see. For the first time, through him, a new class looks upon this old, venerated, sacred structure of Russian literature, without awe, without timidity, without veneration. For the first time this new class tosses aside the old critical estimates of this material and creates for itself new standards. For the first time the proletariat judges this national literature, as it judges all else on earth — according to the degree of *its* needs, *its* hopes, *its* loves and *its* hates.

The essence, the spirit of a literature is found in its com-

prehension of the relation of mankind to life, to society. The one dominating fact of Russian social life however, was, and is the frightful misery of the oppressed; the dehumanizing of the masses and the inhumanity of the rulers. The way in which art has comprehended this fact and its attitude towards it — this is its essence.

What is the attitude of Russian art to the relation between the martyred and the martyrers? This is the question which Gorky raises, and proceeds to answer from his new standpoint, the standpoint of the revolutionary proletariat.

"Our whole literature," he writes "is an obstinate preaching of passive relations toward life — the apology of passiveness."

To constitute an apology for passivity is certainly not the *whole* essence of Russian literature, but it is the phase of it with which the present fighting proletariat first meets, and which must make it hate that literature. This phase turns the Russian laborer away from the literature of his native land, since it can neither inspire nor strengthen him; because it places as the highest ideal of humanity, the very thing which he is making superhuman exertions to overcome — patient submission.

Gorky gives expression to this feeling with all the passion of the fighter, and it is this new proletarian truth concerning Russian literature that he for the first time expresses.

"No other literature beside the Russian," he writes bitterly, "has described its people with such mawkish repulsiveness, and described its sorrows with such a strangely suspicious resignation." It has "consciously or unconsciously, but always obstinately, painted the following picture of the people: patiently indifferent as to the nature of their lives; always occupied with thought of God and their souls; filled with a desire for inner peace; dominated by middle-class distrustfullness towards everything new; disgustingly good-natured; ready to excuse any and everything — a flat-nosed idealist, who long, long ago reconciled himself to being oppressed by whomever might desire it." Gentle and soft-hearted, strong only in his patience, dreaming of a heavenly paradise, silently enduring all things on earth — so popular literature has always represented him. It made a hero of him, but only a hero of suffering. This poetry moaned its gentle enchantment to him, singing hymns of praise to his patience — but it never told of the outbreaks of his rage, and his spirit of violent revolt against misery; the spirit of heroism is not in it. And yet this spirit lives in Russia. Gorky refers to the fallen heroes of the "People's Movement," and to a fragment of Neckrassoff, who, as the best poet of the people at that time, could wish them nothing better than resignation, — "Good Night." And this even "in those days when many were already

sounding the alarm bells and striving to awaken the people! In the days when heroes were falling alone in their battle for freedom!"

Not alone in Russian literature do the people become mere "living models," from which "with more or less talent beautiful highly colored pictures are painted for the satisfaction of the creative instinct and the aesthetic taste of the middle-class." This is a universal picture of middle-class literature, and especially of the modern realism, which everywhere seeks to make the misery, burdens, ignorance and degradation of the masses serve as objects for artistic presentation.*

Nowhere however, is this feature so glaringly evident as in Russia. Nowhere else is it so closely connected with the subjection of the masses, through their patient endurance of suffering, their acquiescence in their own bestialization. This is self-evidently a result of the fact that Russia has no strong, active, hopeful, politically influential class of large and small capitalists, such as are to be found in western Europe, and which are reflected in their literatures. Because of this, in spite of all its deep and delicate beauty, its tender touch of nature feeling, its psychological depth and humanity, it lacks the brave high spirited note, the victorious uplift of mind, the courage and joy of life — in short all the features of a literature which are brought to view through a class that has felt the victorious joy of conflict or tasted the sweets of power.

Because of this "Apology of the Passive," because of this dominating feature, Gorky designates the whole Russian literature as middle-class. In so doing he implies no undervaluation of such great Russian writers as Tolstoi, Dostoiewsky or Turgenieff, but simply gives a general estimate of the essence of Russian literature. The middle-class — at least the Russian middle-class — knows no other relation to life than that of passiveness. The literature of the middle-class, therefore can consist of nothing more than an apology for submission, "even when the middle-class artist is good-natured."

Gorky is well aware of the fact that all the narrow ideologists will misunderstand and abuse him, he knows that the middle-class look upon literature as something sacred and divine, standing above society, to which the general standards of political life cannot be applied. He is also fully aware of the deadly enmity of the middle-class views to revolutionary activity. He

*) This fact is expressed in many striking phenomena. In Holland, for example, where the impressionist painters have bought up the peasant houses, (with which the American millionaires so delight to adorn the walls of their homes), the miserable, dirty, airless and sunless huts of the domestic workers and the small farmers; they have forbidden the dwellers in these houses to alter them in the slightest, lest thereby the "poetry of poverty" be lost.

knows how middle-class thought, even in its transcendental form as beauty and art "seeks to reconcile the martyr and the martyrer;" he knows how impossible it is for this thought to avoid seeking for proofs of the impossibility of changing the relations between the possessors and the propertiless, — that it cannot avoid preaching patience, resignation and forgiveness to the oppressed; and that this must hinder the work of liberation. And in order to counteract this "criminal work" Gorky resolutely and fearlessly proceeds to uncover the middle-class and its art, which has been reflected in the magic mirror of beauty as gentle, loveable and alluring.

No socialist work is ever purely critical and negative; there is always something creative and constructive in it; something comprehended of the germ of the proletarian socialist world. This could not fail to be present in Gorky's work. Everywhere in it the new life bursts forth, and the consecrated fire of the revolution slumbers in its depths. A great current flows through these pages: the current of the measureless sense of power of a proletariat just awakening to a consciousness of its self and its power. So it is that Gorky's work is not simply a chronicle of the old, but an anticipation of the new Russia in art. The new Russia, that is no longer the "Home of Patience," but rather the home of the greatest struggle of our age; no longer the place "where heroes are lonely;" but rather the place where the greatest hero of modern times, the proletariat, bleeding at a thousand wounds, but still unconquered and undismayed, fights on.

"Fighting prevents my becoming a poet; the songs will not let me fight" — so sang once a Russian poet, but a bourgeois poet: Russia's liberator, the proletariat, was at that time unborn. How different today, and how much more fortunate is the lot of the proletarian author, as Gorky shows us! In this little work, in which it is the revolutionary fighter exclusively who speaks; his thoughts, ideas and words rise to a proud, powerful, glowing beauty that he has attained in no earlier work. To realize this one has only to read the memorial to the fighters of the "Will of the People" days, the description of the dying capitalism, and above all the magnificent passage on "Heroic individuality," where he sets forth the proletarian conception of the relation of the individual to the world. He has wiped out all trace of the element of weakness which has here and there affected the thoughts and conceptions of Gorky's previous writings — and which was due to the fact that the individual rebellion of those vagabonds and gypsies, who, however much they might need and desire freedom, were absolutely incapable of altering the world, were the highest type of rebels which he knew and celebrated. His vision now sees a new power arise out of the depths, the power of intelligent organized rebellion and

the glory of this vision and the consciousness of proletarian victory inspires him. His world has been transformed into a new and more joyous one, and this change must just as certainly express itself in his later writings, as the water must reflect the change in the heavens when the clouds roll away and the stars burst out of the depths.

This first proletarian survey of the old Russian literature, is therefore, at the same time the first view of the new — of that Russian art which is filled with the proletarian socialist spirit. May it be given to Comrade Gorky to create many an "Epic of the Heroic Individual," in that literature which shall be dominated by the new spirit, for which the world is ripe; and which shall reflect the relation of the proletariat to life, and whose beauty shall be to that of middle-class beauty as the glow of the all-illuminating god of day is to the pale shimmer of the moonlight.

HENRIETTA ROLAND-HOLST *in Die Neue Zeit.*

Translated by A. M. Simons.

Packingtown, "The Jungle" and Its Critics.

THE largest industrial center on earth is formed by the Union Stock Yards and Packing Houses of Chicago. Other things being equal we should expect to find here the most perfect type of capitalism, the most perfect hideousness, most wide-spread misery, the most highly developed exploitation.

Hence it was but fitting that the great novel of capitalism should be built around this industry. Into Packingtown came comrade Upton Sinclair writing as fiercely primitive as the savagery of that locality, as keenly complex as the industry upon which that savagery rests.*

The real story of the book is the story of concentrated, crushing industrial exploitation. This story is hung upon a group of Lithuanians, who, in any other book, would be called the "principal characters." But in this book the real characters are social classes and industrial conditions. Jurgis is but a sort of personified Packingtown proletariat. All the hideous conditions under which profit producers in the great Chicago meat factories toil is told with a power that brings the name of Zola again and again to mind. In some ways Zola is surpassed. The social philosophy of Zola was the utopian communism of Fourier; the social philosophy of Sinclair is the international socialism of Carl Marx.

The story of human evolution is photographed for us by contrasting Packingtown with Lithuania, from which Jurgis and his family come. Torn out of a social stage centuries older than that of Chicago, this group of Lithuanian peasants, accustomed to mediaeval, communal personal relations, based on status and tradition, suddenly find themselves hurled into a social stage whose only bond of cohesion is the possibility of profit, and where human beings prey upon one another as do the wild beasts in an African jungle, and where, worst of all, even their neighbors and fellow workers have lost the social feeling of caste and fellowship that bound together the peasants of far-off Lithuania.

In such an industrial society, such individuals could not but be dwarfed into insignificance by the industrial life that swallowed them up.

"It seemed to them impossible of belief that anything so stupendous could have been devised by mortal man..... It

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*THE JUNGLE, by Upton Sinclair, The Jungle Publishing Co., Box 2064, New York. Cloth, 413 pp., $1.50.

was a thing as tremendous as the universe — the laws and ways of its working no more than the universe to be questioned or understood. All that a mere man could do, it seemed to Jurgis, was to take a thing like this as he found it, and do as he was told; to be given a place in it and a share in its wonderful activities was a blessing to be grateful for, as one was grateful for the sunshine and the rain."

Then we watch that machine at work. All its coverings are taken off and its fearful cruel nakedness exposed. We see the helpless fight for life by the workers, — the wearing out and tossing aside of the strong — the grinding up of women and children inch by inch — the terrible accidents and insiduous poisoning to which the workers were exposed — the hopelessness of resistance — until at last the whole family is run through the mill as mercilessly and thoroughly as any dumb animal that ever entered the Stock Yards gates. But through it all, Jurgis, as the typical proletarian, retains enough strength to enable him at last to grasp the philosophy which the whole industry has been preaching to him while it crushed him — the philosophy of socialism.

The whole point and heart of the book centers around the condition of the workers and their struggle for better conditions. Yet it is safe to say that ninety per cent of the critics have spent a majority of their space on the few pages that are devoted to the abuses in the production of meat that affect the consumer.

Nearly half of the words that have been devoted to "The Jungle" in the reviews that have come under my notice have been with reference to about three pages of the book (pp. 113-115). It is these pages which are most frequently quoted as convicting the author of exaggeration or worse. Yet he introduces these with the words "And there were other things stranger than this, according to the gossip of the men." Certainly anyone who knows even a little bit about the Yards knows that it is just such things as these that make up the gossip of the men.

Nothing could be more illuminative of the character of capitalism than the way in which this attack upon it has been met. "Ignore what he says about the men; deny his assertions about the meat, but investigate a little to save our stomachs, and abuse the writer" has been the program of the defenders of exploitation.

Roosevelt had to get "strenuous" over the matter and has sent two commissions to Chicago to "investigate." So far as I am able to learn, and I was in a position to know something about what they were doing, neither found anything they did not want to find. The only strange thing is that anyone takes such "investigations" seriously. Capitalism investigating itself would be a roaring farce, were it not, like everything else in capitalism, so close to the terribly tragic.

So far as the facts of "The Jungle" is concerned I want to bear testimony here that terrible as is the arraignment, comrade Sinclair has still fallen far short of the truth. The time which he spent in study was too short to learn the whole truth — indeed it would have taken a life-time. But a large portion of his facts are notorious. Many of them were published by me six years ago. Since the appearance of "The Jungle" I have taken the trouble to look into those statements made by comrade Sinclair with which I was not familiar, and I have verified, by men who know whereof they speak all those which have been challenged, and have learned much more that cannot be told because of the suffering which it would entail upon the workers who are forced to do the sort of work which is denied as existing.

I make this statement after careful consideration of the facts as I know them, and "The Jungle," and its critics, that the person who claims that Sinclair has exaggerated speaks either from mendacity or ignorance — is either a liar or a fool.

The Chicago Evening Post sent out a reporter to get opinions on its truthfullness and published several columns of interviews on the subject. Strange as it may seem (?) the priests, preachers, packers and philanthropists of the Stock Yards district all agreed that the book was "overdrawn." On the other hand conversation directly and indirectly with the only people who know what they are talking about — the workers in the Yards — has failed to find a man who does not agree that it is a truthful picture.

To take some of the incidents that have been specifically challenged. I knew the family whose child was drowned in the gutter; I have helped to treat dozens of cases of infection and blood-poisoning of Yard's workers; I have known men and their families who have fallen into the rendering vats; I have talked with employes who had helped in the dodging of inspection and the marketing of rotten meat; as agent of the Stock Yards District of the Bureau of Charities, and a volunteer inspector of the Chicago Health Department I have seen things in the lives of the workers in Packingtown more terrible than any depicted in "The Jungle." Best of all, as a Socialist, I have seen the growth of Socialism in that locality until today it contains the highest percentage of socialist voters of any large industrial center in the world. I give this personal testimony because of the attacks which have been made upon "The Jungle" by ignorant or corrupt book reviewers and by others who are interested in the maintenance of conditions as they are in Packingtown.

A. M. Simons.

The Concentration of Capital and the Disappearance of the Middle Class.

I.

WITH the discussion, in the last article, of the *tendencies* of capitalistic development, we have entered upon the proper domain of *Revisionism*. While it is true that the Revisionists revise to a greater or less extent the accepted Marxian philosophico-historic and economic theories, this is done only as an incidental to their criticism of the Marxian conclusions as to the historic course and ultimate fate of capitalism. Moreover, wherever Revisionists attempt to criticize the fundamentals of the Marxian system, they do so usually only in so far as it is necessary in order to attack that superstructure of conclusions with reference to the capitalistic system which Marx erected on those fundamentals. This is to be seen not only from the nature of the criticism itself which the Revisionists pass on the Marxian theory, but also from its history. Revisionism, which was at one time, before it assumed its present proportions, known as Bernsteinianism, after Eduard Bernstein its foremost representative, began in a very modest and unassuming way by questioning the accuracy of some of the conclusions to which Marx arrived as to the course and tempo of capitalistic development. And it was only after it appeared in the course of the discussion that these conclusions were intimately related to the whole structure of the Marxian theoretical system that the fundamentals of his system were first called into question by Revisionists. But even then the true Revisionists did not attempt to pass independent criticism on the philosophico-historic or economic theories of Marx, but merely borrowed this criticism from older and more outspoken opponents of Marxism. The work of Revisionism proper still remained the criticism of what may be conveniently, though rather inaccurately called the sociological theories of Marxism, that is, the theories as to the probable future development of our social system, which we have attempted to set forth in our last article. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that Franz Oppenheimer puts at the head of his book on Marxism the thesis that "the foundation pillar of Karl Marx's social theory, the most important premise for all its important conclusions, is "the law of capitalistic accumulation". The center of gravity of Bernstein's book "Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus," the chief pronouncia-

mento of Revisionism, is what Bernstein has to say on the tendencies of the development of modern capitalism, although he criticises both the philosophic and economic theories of Marx. The discussion of these tendencies forms the bulk of Revisionist literature. And in the forefront of this discussion is the question: Does capital concentrate and the middle-class disappear, and as rapidly, as Marx predicted?

In his now famous book Bernstein attempted to prove: 1st, that capital does not concentrate in the manner, and certainly not with the rapidity that Marx predicted; and 2nd, that the middle-class does not disappear. To substantiate his assertions he cites some statistics to show that while there certainly is a tendency towards concentration, and even rapid concentration, in some industries, this tendency is not universal, and moreover, in the very industries in which this tendency does exist it is in a measure neutralized by the birth of new enterprises in the place and stead of those which disappear owing to the process of concentration. The conclusion to which he arrives, therefore, is that, while concentration of capital undoubtedly takes place, it does not take place in all the capitalist industries, and is, on the whole, extremely slow. He also cites another series of statistical data apparently showing that the tendencies in the distribution of incomes in modern society is not, as is assumed by Marxists, towards a wiping out of moderate incomes, and leaving only a small minority with large revenues and the bulk of society with only workingmen's wages. But, on the contrary, the tendency is towards an *increase* of the *number* of persons whose income is derived from the possession of property. From this he argues that the middle-class does not disappear, but on the contrary is growing.

The likelihood of the growth of the middle-class in numbers while capital was undergoing a steady, though slow, process of concentration, would seem of such doubtful nature as to raise a suspicion as to character of the statistics. Bernstein saw this, and he, therefore, hastens to allay our suspicions by the following observation: The corporation — says he — tends to neutralize to a large extent the tendency towards centralization of wealth through the centralization of undertakings. The corporation permits of a widespread splitting up of already concentrated capital, and makes superfluous the acquisition of capitals by individual magnates for the purposes of the concentration of industrial undertakings. Wherefore, he opines, the opinion, "prevailing among socialists," that the concentration of wealth runs parallel to the concentration of industrial undertakings is erroneous.

In the book which Kautsky has written in reply to Bernstein, "Bernstein and the Social Democratic Program," he shows

that Bernstein's statistics are unreliable and incomplete, and that the conclusions he draws from them are unjustified. We shall not enter here upon a detailed discussion of these statistics, as this would be beyond the scope of the present work. Besides, we fully agree with one Marx critic, Oppenheimer, who, evidently disgusted with the poor showing Bernstein made with his statistics, declares that those who attempt to refute Marx by statistics are on the wrong track. For, says he, you can only beat Marx by his own method, and the Marxian method is not at all statistical. Marx never relies on statistics to prove his assertions. He uses statistics only for the purposes of illustration. His proofs he gets from well-known facts which may be recorded in the statistical tomes but do not need any statistics to establish them. We will say here only this: Since the disastrous attempt of Bernstein to use statistics against the Marxian position, this weapon has been almost entirely discarded by Revisionists. On the other hand it must be admitted that Marxists also resort to statistics now with less confidence than formerly. It seems that since the publication of their books in which the same statistics are used by Bernstein on the one hand and Kautsky on the other, and such different conclusions arrived at by each, people have become distrustful of statistics. Oppenheimer voices this general distrust when he says: "Statistics are an extremely pliable mass, as the literary controversy between Bernstein and Kautsky has shown. With a little dialectical dexterity you can prove almost anything statistically."

We disagree with the learned Marx-critic that you can prove anything and everything by statistics. But we do believe that you can prove nothing by statistics unless you handle them intelligently. Of themselves statistics do not prove anything. No more than facts of themselves prove anything. If it were so there could hardly be two opinions on most points which have been in controversy ever since scientific research began. It requires intellect to read the facts. It requires intelligence to read statistics. Furthermore, it requires great intelligence to gather statistics, and in this respect statistics, which are mere records of facts, are a poorer basis for scientific generalizations than facts of observation. Unfortunately our statistics are not gathered by the people who are to use them, and as they are necessarily not full and complete, they must be used with great care and discrimination. Of course wrong or unintelligent handling of statistics will not make them "prove" anything that they really do not prove, as Oppenheimer seems to think, but it will render them worthless.

Kautsky has proven that Bernstein's statistics do not prove his assertions. The reason for it is that Bernstein handles his statistics unintelligently. But even Kautsky's intelligent handling

could not make them yield any great results because of the incompleteness of our statistics and of the lack of intelligence in their gathering. Hence the general dissatisfaction on both sides with statistics. We will, therefore, follow here the Marxian method of making only such facts the basis of our argument as require no statistical tables to prove them, but merely to illustrate.

Before proceeding, however, to discuss these facts we want to call attention to some significant circumstances in connection with the Revisionist movement and its literature. First in point of time and importance is the tone of early Revisionist Marx-criticism. We have already called attention to the nihilistic character of this literature. Now we desire to add that this nihilism was a gradual growth and was forced on the revisionists by their own inability to solve the problems which confronted them. At its inception Revisionism was merely doubtful. Doubt is the *leit-motif* of Bernstein's first literary attempts at revision. In the second place is to be considered the inability of the old-school Marxist to stem the flood of Revisionism, notwithstanding their great efforts. While the flood of Revisionism is now at a standstill, if not subsiding, this is not due to the efforts of the Marxian leaders on the theoretical field, but to its practical barrenness. And yet, there was enough in what was written by Marxists to show the utter untenableness of the revisionists' position. Kautsky's book was a crushing blow to Bernstein's attempts at theorizing. Yet it passed almost without any appreciable results: the question of Revisionism was not settled, although it should have been if it were a question of soundness of argument. Thirdly, we must notice the fact which we have already mentioned as the reason for the failure of the Revisionist movement: the fact that nothwithstanding its great literary influence the Revisionist movement was absolutely barren of practical results as far as the socialist movement was concerned.

All of these facts and circumstances is proof positive that there must have been something in the development of modern economic life which caused the appearance of the revisionist movement as an intellectual endeavor to take cognizance of and explain this development. It is clear that this development, whatever it may be was not, or at least not fully, reflected in our statistics, which accounts for the fact that neither side could prove its case conclusively by the aid of statistics, and the consequent distrust of all statistics. What was that something in the development of modern economic life, and how does it affect the Marxian theory?

The trouble with Bernstein and the rest of the Revisionist writers is that they do not go below the surface of things, and therefore do not know what "struck them," to use an inelegant

but adequate colloquialism. Bernstein talks of the "new middle-class," the "wide distribution of incomes," the large number of stockholders in the big corporations or "trusts," and the influence of corporations on the centralization of wealth, but nowhere does he examine these things systematically or in any way analyze them so as to see their real significance in modern economic life or even their exact meaning. Nowhere does their connection with the theoretical system which he criticizes appear. That is why his book makes the impression of the rambling talk of a man who does not know his own mind. The truth of the matter is he did not know his own problem. He had a vague feeling that there was a problem demanding solution, but he did not understand what it was. Hence his doubting tone; the lack of a clear and definite purpose, or even the statement of a clearly defined problem for the solution of others. Hence the overlooking of the problem by those who took up the fight against him. Hence, lastly, the endless discussion to no purpose. Yet there was a definite problem, and had Bernstein understood it sufficiently to enable him to state it clearly it would have found an answer long ago.

At about the time Bernstein was writing his famous book, the present writer stated the essential point of this problem which is in our opinion, together with the inability to appreciate the scope of modern imperialism, at the bottom of the whole Revisionist movement, in one sentence in the course of an unassuming magazine article. A good many well known writers have laid claim to the honor of being the original Revisionist. It is not the intention of the present writer to enter the lists as a contestant for this honor. This incident is mentioned here only for the purpose of showing that the air was then pregnant with certain questions which required answering. The present writer specificially renounces all claims to that high honor of being the Original Revisionist, for as a matter of fact he never was a Revisionist. It is of the essence of Revisionism to *see* or feel the problem and not to see its solution. The article referred to, however, not only stated the essential point of the problem, but also indicated its solution.

The problem consists in harmonizing the Marxian teaching with the development of corporate methods of doing business. We have already seen how Bernstein attempted to explain the discrepancy between the statistics as to the concentration of industrial undertakings and to the accumulation of wealth by a reference to the corporate methods of doing business. We shall see later that Bernstein has mistaken the influence of the development of corporations in that particular respect, and in general it may be said that Bernstein's weakness consists in his failure to appreciate and develop the strong point of his argument —

the development of corporations. The fact, however, that Bernstein and the rest of the Revisionists failed to present it properly makes the phenomenon none the less real. The Marxian analysis of the capitalist system and his deductions as to the laws of its development proceed upon the assumption of the absolute reign of the principle of competition. It was on the basis of that assumption that he declared that during the progress of capitalistic development "one capitalist kills off ten," thereby centralizing all wealth in the hands of a steadily diminishing number of persons, eliminating the middle classes and leaving society divided into two classes only: capitalists and workingmen. But what if competition should be abolished or checked? What if the capitalists, large and small, should decide not to compete any more with each other, or restrict the area and intensity of such competition, and divide profits amicably instead of fighting with each other over their division, so as to avoid the necessity of killing each other off? Evidently the result would be the arrest of the processes described by Marx in the event of the entire abolition of competition, and a retarding of those processes in the event of its mere checking. This is just what must happen owing to the development of corporations. The supplanting of individual enterprise by that of corporate is merely an attempt to avoid the results of competition, if not altogether abolish it. The effectual abolition of competition by the so-called Trusts, which are merely the logical result of the ordinary corporation-enterprise, is notorious and, practically, undisputed. But it is not only the Trust that interferes with competition. The primary, nay, the only purpose of a legitimate corporation is to blunt the edge of competition. It is designed either to nullify or suspend the baneful effects of past competition or to prevent or diminish its ravages in the future. There can be only two legitimate reasons for organizing corporations. Either to enable those whose capital is insufficient to keep abreast of the latest requirements of production to remain in the field from which they are individually forced out by the march of events by combining their several insufficient individual capitals into one sufficient to meet the new requirements; or to enable those whose capital is sufficient to undertake independently to split up their large capitals into many small ones, each to invest in many undertakings and each undertaking to consist of many investments, instead of each taking up one of the undertakings on his own hook. In the first case it is an effort to beat fate by those vanquished in competition. It is an effort by those whom competition has forced out of the economic arena to stay in, by *representation* at least. In the second case it is an effort to limit the effects of competition in the future by dividing up and limiting its risks and liabilities (it should be remembered

that the essence of a corporation is limited liability), and by providing a sort of mutual insurance between capitalists and capitals.

Here, therefore, is a check to the development of capitalistic society as outlined by Marx. A check which is destined to arrest or at least retard that development. The formula of centralization of wealth and of the disappearance of the middle-class evidently needs revision. The question of the disappearance or the non-disappearance of the middle-class was complicated also by another and minor phenomenon which apparently swells the numbers of the middle-class and particularly influences the distribution of incomes. We refer to the so-called "new" or non-productive middle-class. This phenomenon is very interesting in another aspect of modern capitalism, the aspect of waste and its uses in the capitalistic system. But of that aspect of this phenomenon we shall treat later at some length. Here we are interested only in the mere fact of its existence. And we shall, therefore, merely say here that the existence of this "new" middle-class, particularly while its origin and character remained unexplained and undifferentiated from the ordinary middle-class considerably complicated the in themselves not very easy tasks of determining the influence of the corporation on the destinies of capitalism and the effect of this new departure in capitalism on the Marxian theoretical system.

Of course it can easily be seen that these matters do not in any way affect Marx's analysis of the working of capitalism and the laws governing that system while it lasts. As we have seen before, competition is of the essence of that system. This is recognized by the friends as well as the foes of that system. It has been embodied in its written as well as in its unwritten laws. "Restraint of trade," which is the legal term for restricting or abolishing competition, was illegal and punishable by the common law of England, that classic land of capitalism. All our anti-trust laws are based on the assumption that competition — which is "the life of trade" — is the basis of capitalism, and, therefore, one of the inalienable property-rights of every man living in a capitalistic society. They are nothing more than a statutory enactment of the common law of capitalism that to interfere with competition is to interfere with the life-blood of capitalism, and therefore mortal sin in the eyes of capitalistic law. It is, therefore, not a refutation of the Marxian analysis of the capitalistic system to show that tendencies in the development of that system which Marx said would continue to exist as long as capitalism lived, disappeared in whole or in part when the basic principle of that system was abolished or modified. Naturally enough, the tendencies of capitalism cannot manifest themselves in a society where there is no capitalism, nor can

they fully develop under limited capitalism if such a thing be possible.

What may be affected by the phenomenon which we discussed above is not Marx's analysis of capitalism, nor even his prediction that capitalism as it existed is going to destruction — but his prediction that on the ruins of the capitalist system will be reared the edifice of a socialist society. As we have seen Marx's socialism is based entirely on his conclusions as to the future development of certain tendencies of capitalism. If those tendencies are abolished, even though with the basic principle of capitalism itself, or modified along with that principle, what warrant have we to say that socialism is inevitable? It is upon those tendencies that we are dependent for the conditions which are a prerequisite to socialism, according to Marx, and with the abolition of those tendencies the conditons which will bring socialism will never arise. The questions to be answered, therefore, are: Is capitalism going to be supplanted by some other system, or is it merely going to be limited or modified? And if it is to be supplanted what will take its place? *After Capitalism what?*

L. B. BOUDIN.

A Unique Game.

RECENTLY I stumbled across a booklet that gave me a great deal of pleasure. It is entitled "The Council of Four: A Game at Definitions," edited by Arthur Wallbridge, author of Torrington Hall, etc., third thousand, London 1848. The preface informs the reader that a small group had met at the house of a friend and after trying to pass the time at *bouts rim'es* and finding their efforts to be dismal failures, the members of the company turned their attention to definitions. The little book consists of one hundred words defined by four different individuals, each page being devoted to the definitions of only one word thus:

AMERICA.

America—A great historical picture on the easel.
America—A champion whose gage has never been taken up.
America—The safety valve of European monarchy.
America—Young John Bull working with his coat off.

Believing that many readers of the REVIEW would enjoy some of these definitions I have made a brief selection of such as took my fancy and have sent them to the editor.

F. DUNDAS TODD.

Child—A conscript for the wars.
Miser—An amateur pauper.
Ignorance—A dark place where people are allowed to grope about till they hurt themselves or somebody else.
Shop (Store)—Private interest disguised as public utility.
Politics—The quarrels of the workmen whilst they lay the foundation of sociology.
Prison—The grave where state doctors bury their murdered patients.
Metaphysics—Words to stay the appetite till facts are ready.
Taxes—Feathers plucked from all birds to line the nests of a few.
War—Murder to music.
Tyranny—Knocking people on to their knees for the crime of standing upright.
Sword—The first hope of the oppressor and the last hope of the oppressed.
Truth—The orthodox error of the majority.
Charity—Dust raised by wealth to obscure poverty.
Luxury—War's deputy in time of peace.
Iron—Labors present enemy and future friend.

Slave—One of God's children kept out of his property by a brother.
City—The palace of wealth and the hiding place of poverty.
Managerie—An epitome of the world-restraint and coercion, requited by food and shelter.
Money—The largest slave-holder in the world. A composition for taking stains out of character.
Justice—Blind man's buff.
Opinion—The only inalienable species of private property.
Law—Justice in fetters.
Contentment—Still-life.
Debt—The example set by a government to its people.
Coat—The mask of men—the honest distinction of brutes.
Pauper—A waiter at the National table who lives by what he gets from "the gentleman."
Policeman—One of the helpers employed in the Augean Stable.
Wages—A collar round the neck of modern serfs by which they proclaim their independence.
Soldier—A man who is an idler when he is not a murderer.
Poverty—A condition of life much recommended by the Rich.
Bee—Nature's apostle of Communism.

Whom Will Ye Choose?

Whom will the people choose as king?
The man whose party is gauged by gold?
The man who is bartered, bought and sold?
Who the want of his people never feels,
But crushes them under his chariot wheels?

Oh! where is the man with a soul to fling
Upon the shrine of the nation's need,
Strong and steady, and sure to stand,
Against the volleys of gain and greed
That close around him on every hand?
He is the man to choose as king.

Whom will the people choose as king?
It matters not, be he old or young,
Or be he silent or glib of tongue,
If he spurns his party's clamoring brood
And fights and works for the people's good.

Oh! where is the man whose voice will ring
For truth and right and who hates a lie?
Who champions all who are poor and weak,
Who dares to live and who dares to die
And for something better than gold can speak?
He is the man to choose as king.

Whom will the people choose as king?
Oh! he shall come in his might and power,
The people's knight, the man of the hour;
From the golden west to the east ride down
Baring his head for the nation's crown,
From the ranks of the people he shall spring,
And the dove of peace on his flag shall toss
And the banners of wrong shall all be furled,
For God is counting our nation's loss,
And measuring men in our narrow world.
Beware then, who ye will choose as king.

—Emma Playter Seabury.

Materialistic Interpretation of History.

I HAVE been absent from home and have only now on my return received the March number of the REVIEW, and read your reply to my criticism of the "materialistic interpretation of history" contained in my little book, "Garrison, the Non-Resistant." In your article you invite a reply, and while I doubt the wisdom of continuing such a controversy, I will add a few lines of comment.

The position which I took in my "Garrison" was that man's ideals and will played a large part in human history in general, and in the history of the abolition of slavery in particular, and that no merely material interpretation of history would suffice to explain all the facts. I insisted that the ideal must be mixed with the material to account for the sequence of human events. To this you reply that the socialist never contended that the food desire was the only one influencing man but that he always maintained that "it was the way in which man satisfied *all* his desires that determined his social institutions."

This admission seems to me to open the door to all idealism, and we really are in agreement. *"All"* a man's desires include his desires to establish the kingdom of heaven on earth, to put an end to poverty and suffering, to send msesages round the earth by electricity and to fly in the air and navigate under the sea. This is all that I have ever claimed, and while you call it the "materialistic interpretation" I should call it the "idealistic interpretation" of history. Our only difference is one of definition.

But when you come to define the idealism which you admit, you limit its scope most unnecessarily. You say, quoting Mrs. Simons, that the "systems of justice, morality, etc., which have arisen in previous social stages undoubtedly have a part in determining social institutions to-day. But how? They constitute the material upon which present economic environment must act, and they may so resist that environment as to greatly alter it. But when we analyze that back to its ultimate, we find that it is not a conflict between ideas and environment, but a conflict between a past and present environment."

This is a very pretty theory, but I produced facts in my former argument which it is unable to account for, and which you overlooked in your reply. I refer to the effect upon industry of the action of idealist vegetarians in changing their diet. When I wrote I thought that any perceptible effect of

the kind would be a matter of the far future, but since then at a convention of business men at Chicago a dealer in hides has publicly complained that the increase in the number of vegetarians was already affecting the price of hides. To my own personal knowledge a large fraction of the vegetarian movement is inspired by no idea or cause whatever except the dislike of cruelty to animals. This dislike is certainly not the product of any former environment but seems to point to future rather than past standards. When I see such ideals forming themselves in my own mind independent of any economic interest, I am unable to accept theories, however ingenious, which are contradicted by my own experience.

In the history on the abolition of slavery the same kind of idealism, the dislike of cruelty to man, played its part. It was this feeling, far more than any other, which kept the question before the public for thirty years and which frightened the South into secession. In this way it had a preponderant influence upon the result.

Again, idealism had a good deal to do with the determination of the limits of slave-territory. There is no great difference between the climate and soil of Pennsylvania and Virginia, but the settlers of the former state came there with the ideal of a democratic state in their mind, one in which every man would take an active part in the labor of the community, and hence slavery never throve there. The Virginian's ideal on the other hand was to make others do his work if he could, and there slavery found a favorable environment. These predispositions of the colonists had an important part to play. If Raleigh had landed at Philadelphia and Penn's followers at Jamestown, it is altogether within the bounds of probability that slavery would have flourished in the more northern colony and have died out in the more southern.

To return again to your admissions as to idealism. You say, "The socialist recognizes that ideas are effective in the social realm only when *applied in accordance with social laws.*" Is not this a truism, and a repetition in other language of my own statement, which you print, that "things which are not economically possible are not likely to happen"?

Yours sincerely,

ERNEST CROSBY.

A Note of Reply.

MR. CROSBY'S vegetarianism seems to bulk very large in his mind as a sociological factor. In so far as it is confined to whole-hearted humanitarians like himself, the numbers are too slight to bring about the rise in the price of hides which he discusses. The decrease in wages and the compulsory vegetarianism, assisted by the interested preaching of settlement workers and capitalist minded philanthropists, has had much more to do with the aforesaid rise in the leather market. That is. if the whole matter is not to be accounted for as an extra turn of the screw by the beef trust.

I would advise Mr. Crosby to keep away from the slavery question for illustrations of his theory since every one he instances always proves the reverse. The reason Pennsylvania did not have slaves was two-fold. First, if he will excuse the bull, because they did have thousands of white redemptioners who were taken from village to village through Pennsylvania manacled together to be sold to Mr. Crosby's democratically idealistic settlers. Second, negro slavery was not profitable outside the tobacco belt in colonial times, and tobacco was a Virginia and Pennsylvania crop.

A. M. SIMONS.

A Felicitan Fair.

A TRAVELER once lost his way among the Ragian Hills, and wandered about for many days until he came to a new and beautiful country.

And the fields of this country were glad with ripened grain. Fat cattle grazed in the pastures, and flocks of white sheep covered the hills. The winds were filled with the perfume of vineyards, and all the barns seemed bursting with plenty.

And the traveler journeyed onward until he came to a village which was called Felicita. And he entered gladly, for he said in his heart: So much wealth was never seen before.

And the village consisted of a great square, and four streets leading into it. And the square was filled with booths like the stalls of a market place, and gay ribbands of many colors waved in the breezes.

For it was the day of the Felicitan Fair, when the masters brought forth their bags of gold to pay their laborers for the toil of the four seasons, and the workingmen were given a holiday to make their purchases for the year.

Thus it was that there was but one market day, and one day for the payment of wages in Felicita during the whole year, in order that the laborer might spend his remaining days in peace and toil.

And the traveler saw that the masters had gathered together in the booths of the square all the goods that the laborers had produced during the year.

Coats and boots were in the first booth, and fine linen and coarse linen, and cotton and silk and jewels, and cloth and garments of every kind, sufficient to clothe the people of two villages like the village of Felicita.

And in the second booth there were bags of white meal and yellow meal, and flour and salt and corn; and there were loaves of bread, and honey and cheese and red and golden wine.

And in the third booth cattle and sheep, and rabbits and hogs, and there were also fish and fowl for the feeding of an army.

And the fourth booth was filled with fruit. Aloes there were, and bread fruit, and the sweet fig, and bananas, and other fruits in abundance; and spades and hoes and ploughs for the fields, also.

And a crier stood at the gates of the square to make announcement to the people, of new houses to be sold upon the fourth street.

And the coat-maker came with his children; and they were coatless; and the hat-maker came without a hat; and the boot-maker and his wife, and his children came with bleeding feet, for the way was rough and the feet were bare.

Then came the baker, with his children crying for bread; and the keeper of the vineyard also, and the tillers of the soil, and the garment-maker in his raiment of rags. And the carpenter, who had built the houses that were to be sold, arose from his bed of straw, and came also.

And all the people gathered together outside the gates of the square to receive their wages for the year. And after they were paid, they went in to the Fair, and spent all the gold they had received, and bought many things.

But when they came forth the traveler saw that their faces were sad and their burdens light. For the price of those things of which they had need, was greater than the wages they had received three-fold.

And there yet remained two-thirds of the goods that were gathered together at the Fair.

Then were the masters vexed, for they said: We must pay the banker for the money he has loaned us, and the land-owner his rent, and we must make for ourselves a large profit; therefore is our price just.

But after they had taken away sufficient for their needs, they wondered what should be done with those goods that remained at the Fair; and they refused to hire the laborers, for they said until all these things were sold, there would be no more work for them to do.

Then there arose a disturbance and a panic in the village of Felicita; the cause whereof no man knew, until at last there came forth a lawyer who said it was the curse of the village that Nature had given the people more than they could use.

So the workingmen went forth out of the fields weeping and cursing, because there was plenty is the village of Felicita. And the masters cursed also, because, having no place wherein to sell their goods, they could make no more profits.

And the traveler journeyed on his way with great speed, for he knew in his heart that he was come to the dwelling place of fools.

MARY E. MARCY.

The Conflict.

The conflict! I watch it from afar!
All spent and weak to earth which drinks the drops
Or struggling in the midst of it I go
Forward through the ranks of men who make
The mighty conflict.
Oh, the battle-cry!
The whispered hate, the smoother-toned deceit,
The cry of fear, the moaning of despair
I hear, I hear; and down into my soul
Go those discordant sounds, and raging there,
Within me, is the conflict, the despair.
For in my soul are all the souls of men,
And in my soul I long for harmony,
And in my soul I bow me down and pray
That love may live among the sons of men.

Escape the struggle? Never; though I bow
All spent and weak to earth which drinks the drops
Of life-blood oozing in the bitter strife
Within my soul.
And yet I know that I
Would drain my chalice to the bitter dregs,
Would spend my life blood, drop by drop, and joy
To spend it, if it would to human kind,
Bring hand-touch, heart-touch, soul-touch, harmony,
The brother-hood, the love of man for man,
In which the perfect man shall grow on earth
And rise there-from when, schooled by mortal life
He goes forth free, to meet the Infinite
And offer and receive a perfect love.

MARY O'REILLY.

Socialism and Public Ownership.

WHAT position should the Socialist Party of America occupy relative to the ever growing demand for public ownership under capitalism? This, it occurs to me, is a question of vital, even I might say of transcendental importance to the party as an organization. To a very large extent the present sentiment favorable to public ownership in this country has been fostered and developed by the Socialist press and Socialist agitators. Indeed, but one agency has been more potent in this direction than the Socialist voice and pen, and that has been economic and civic necessity; and even civic and economic necessity does not rob the Socialist party of the prestige and credit for having given intelligent direction to this great movement. Nothing but assinine stupidity coupled with a blind and fatuous sentiment can rob the party, as an organization, of the fruits of a generation of agitation and sacrifice. Unless we abandon wholly and absolutely the theory of economic evolution there is no place for the Socialist Party of America except in the very vanguard of the advocates of public ownership. Every recognized authority on Socialist economics from Marx to Ferri has been and is an avowed economic evolutionist. They all, without exception, recognize that public ownership under capitalism must come before the full Socialist program can meet with realization.

Since public ownership under capitalism is inevitable in the orderly development of economic evolution, why should not the Socialist Party of America promulgate a program which shall meet and accept this issue with all its responsibility? I hear at once the voice of my scientific sentimental revolutionary comrade shouting to me that I am playing the game of middle-class politics, and I hear again the oft repeated argument that the revolutionary Socialist cannot concern himself with remedial or reformative measures, but that only the ultimate finale of Socialism, full panoplied, is worthy the serious or thoughtful consideration of the class conscious proletariat. For a moment I beg your indulgence ere you pass final judgment upon this most momentous question.

It is conceded by all impartial observers of the drift of American political sentiment that unless the growing demand for public ownership finds expression through the Socialist Party of America, then a new political party with a public ownership program will come into existence and succeed to power, and it

is not altogether certain but that this result may eventuate, whatever position the Socialist Party may take in the premises. However, the point I wish to make is this, that no difference what the result, the Socialist Party of America cannot permit itself to be placed in the role of carping critic of public ownership under capitalism, or what is even more dangerous, the prevailing tendency of our party and its spokesmen to oppose openly the public ownership program. The Socialist Party of America, by reason of its economic understanding, is most splendidly equipped to take advantage of the prevailing public sentiment. As Socialists we need not deceive ourselves or the general public with any rainbow promises of great general prosperity to follow the realization of public ownership under capitalism. We know, as students of evolutionary economics, that the evil in the system of capitalistic industry is too deep rooted in wage slavery to yield to so superficial a remedy as public ownership of street cars, gas works, or national ownership of railroad or mines or any other public ownership under capitalism. Why then concern ourselves as Socialists with capitalist public ownership, is the very pertinent question of our ultra sentimental revolutionary comrade? Right here is the crux of this whole controversy, upon which in my judgment hinges the question of whether we shall obtain Socialism in ten years or fifty years, or whether we shall find the Socialist program attainable at all or not, and so I answer my sentimental revolutionary comrade that we should concern ourselves as Socialists with capitalist public ownership because of its final evolutionary eventuation — which is *Socialism.*

As a political organization the Socialist Party of America expects ultimately to succeed to power, otherwise there is absolutely no justification for its existence, with the attendant sacrifices of time, effort and money of its members. When the Socialist Party shall succeed to power in municipality, state or nation it will fall heir to the holdings of its capitalist predecessors. Every dollar's worth of property that we can wrest from private capitalism through public ownership will fall into the hands of the Socialist Party without a struggle, upon its succession to power. It occurs to me that our party would be upon an infinitely stronger foundation were it to succeed to power in a city which already owned its gas, electric light, street cars and other public utilities, than it would in a city where we fell heir to the political offices only and where all public franchises were privately owned. We recognize that public ownership under capitalism is not Socialism, but the moment we come into power in a city already owning its public utilities we have only to substitute *democratic* for *political* management in the publicly owned institutions to inaugurate an absolutely Social-

istic program in so far as those publicly owned institutions are concerned.

These publicly owned, democratically managed institutions under Socialist party administration ought to be the great intellectual training schools from which would graduate the experts in democratic industrial management, who would ultimately take charge of the mighty industrial machine of modern production and distribution under a complete Socialistic regime. We are often taunted with the more or less truthful assertion that we Socialists are mere theorists, and were we to suddenly find ourselves possessed of political and consequent industrial power, the application of our industrial theory to the every day affairs of life would be a flat and dismal failure because of an absolute lack of administrative experience. There is a fatal amount of truth in this assertion as applied to the Socialist Party of to-day, and unless we are to forever remain subject to this charge, we must so adjust our political program as to enable us to take an active part in the political and industrial affairs of the day, capitalist to the core though those political and industrial affairs may be.

Inasmuch as all Socialist authorities agree upon the evolutionary theory of industrial economics and that public ownership under capitalism is an integral and necessary part of this evolution, let us inquire how public ownership is to be brought about. Certainly there is but one avenue through which capitalistic public ownership can evolve from private capitalism and that is through some political organization. In this evolutionary process public ownership is bound to occupy the center of the public stage for some time to come. Is the Socialistic Party of America to be the medium through which this sentiment shall find political expression and crystalization, or shall the party hold itself aloof, taking the position that its only effective hour shall be that cataclysmal consummation of the capitalist program which our sentimentalist revolutionary comrades have for nearly three-quarters of a century predicted would mark the final breakdown of the capitalistic system? The cataclysmal theory is at total variance with the theory of evolutionary economics. The cataclysmal theory of industrial economics is purely theoretical and sentimental. The evolutionary theory of industrial economics is on the contrary based upon the absolutely fundamental natural law of continuous growth and change. Evolution can only eventuate in cataclysmal revolution when the natural law of evolution is interfered with by repression. The very fact that we are, as a nation, at this moment evolving from private ownership to public ownership under capitalism is notice as plain as the sun in the heavens that evolution is playing its destined part in our economic affairs and that repression and consequent cat-

aclysmal revolution is too faint a hope upon which to found a living political organization in America.

If the Socialist Party of America is to be an instrumentality in the final abolition of wage slavery within the life of any living man it must take its place in the living affairs of men. It must recognize the institutions and the conditions which exist to-day. While pointing out the ultimate end to be attained, of the establishment of Socialism and the co-operative commonwealth and the total destruction of capitalism and wage slavery, it must at the same time formulate a program dealing with the problems of to-day which claim more or less of the attention of all men and which are part of the evolutionary economic process which must eventuate in Socialism; and public ownership under capitalism is one of these problems. With the adoption of such a program the Socialist Party will practically have eliminated the possibility of a stampede Hearstwise or in any other direction, because the Socialist can promise through his political organization all that any public ownership party could promise with the additional assurance of complete industrial and political salvation in Socialism, which is the end and aim of his political party. He is then armed with a complete political program. He is not then, as now, placed in the false and often humiliating position of being compelled to abandon the evolutionary theory of economics by refusing to embrace the public ownership program which is an integral part of present industrial evolution. Admitting that the benefits from public ownership under capitalism to the wage working class is infinitesmal in ameliorating their economic condition, yet this should be no reason for repudiating or abandoning the theory of public ownership or of failing to recognize in the movement the natural law of evolution in economics. To the extent we recognize this law and place our political organizations in harmony with it we will be successful in enlisting public attention and support. To the extent we depart from it we will invite defeat and failure. By a just recognition of this law of evolution we sacrifice no part of our ultimate program, but we do strengthen our position and our ability to attain a realization of that ultimate program — which is Socialism. Until this supreme question of economic evolution is bluntly recognized in our party program so that our Socialistic comrades may take their place in the daily political life of the nation, our party will continue to be rent and torn by factional quarrels and dissensions and the membership distracted and discouraged by passionate bickerings over tactical and trivial mistakes. "Let the nation own the trusts" is not only a shiboleth for riding into political power but it is the voice in the wilderness announcing in unmistakable terms the evolution of industry.

We can as a political party close our eyes and stop our ears

and refuse to see or hear, but if we do we voluntarily defer the realization of our hopes beyond the age in which we live. Or we can, by recognizing the voice in the capitalist wilderness, give intelligent direction to the mighty sentiment back of it and turn the ten thousand rivulets of public ownership into the broad and mighty river which leads on to the calm sea of Socialism.

FRANCIS M. ELLIOTT.

The Franchise in Germany.

At the present moment a great agitation is taking place in Germany in favor of universal suffrage, and it may not, therefore, be out of place to devote a page or two to the consideration of the subject. It must be remembered that the German Empire is a confederation, or more correctly speaking, a federated State, founded in 1871. This federation consists of Prussia and the smaller German States which, till then, were called the North German Confederation, and of the States which adhered to it in 1871, namely, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Hesse, and Baden, and of Alsace-Lorraine, which was conquered from France in that year.

There is, first, an Imperial Parliament having two Chambers, the Bundesrath and the Reichstag, which form the legislative assemblies. The first Chamber has, however, some functions of an executive character, for it is a kind of Council of State which has to prepare regulations necessary for carrying out laws, and it also has a voice in the appointment of high officials.

It is not elected. Its members are appointed by the Government of the Federal States. Prussia has 17 members, Bavaria 6, Saxony and Wurtemberg 4 each, Baden and Hesse 3 each, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and the Duchy of Brunswick 2 each, and each of the other States one each; altogether there are 58 members. The members representing a State must always vote together, and if some are absent yet those remaining can vote for those who are away; its proceedings are secret.

The Reichstag is elected by universal manhood suffrage by ballot (every elector of 25 having a vote), and there is one Deputy for every 100,000 inhabitants. That looks very nice on paper, but it must be remembered that the electoral divisions were settled in 1869 and 1871, and have never been altered since. There were in 1871 397 Deputies, because the population was then 39,000,000; but now that it is nearer 50,000,000 there is still the same number. This might not be an evil, but there has been no redistribution, and that has had some very startling results. In Germany, as in other countries, the population of the rural districts has diminished while that of the towns has increased. For example, Berlin, in 1869, had 600,000 inhabitants, and therefore had 6 members; now it has a population of nearly 2,000,000, but still only has its 6 members (of whom

5 are Socialists). It is hardly necessary to point out how this system heavily handicaps the Socialists.

The system of the second ballot exists, but at the second ballot only the two candidates who at the first election received the highest number of votes, can stand.

The curious systems of franchise will be seen if we examine the system prevailing in each State, for we must not forget that in each State there is a local parliament or parliaments. In Prussia there are two Chambers. The Upper House (Herrenhaus) consists of some hereditary members and some appointed by the King (i. e., the German Emperor) who have been elected by the nobility, the large landed proprietors, the universities, or the municipalities of certain towns having that privilege. There are no elected members. The Lower House (*Haus der Abgeordneten*) has 350 members elected by delegates chosen by universal suffrage but with unequal voting power. The system, which is somewhat complicated, is as follows: All Prussians over 24 years of age are primary electors. In each constituency these primary electors are divided into three groups. The citizens are classed according to the amount of direct taxes which they pay, and those who do not pay any direct taxation are supposed to pay three marks. Then the amount thus obtained, though partly a fictitious one, is added up and divided by three. The members paying a third of this form the first group, those paying the second third form the second group and all the rest, the great mass, are included in the third group. Each group elects separately a third of the electors who are to choose the members of Parliament and these electors then *meet together* and elect the Deputies.

It is not, therefore, a system of election by classes, since all the electors join in electing each Deputy. But it is a much worse system; it is a kind of universal suffrage with plural votes, where the number of votes given to each elector depends on the taxes which he pays. The vote of a rich man is worth six or twelve times more than that of a member of the middle classes, and 60 or 150 times more than that of the poor. This gerrymandering has succeeded in making the Parliament very Conservative, and in order to still more emphasize this, all voting is not by ballot but is open voting. The Socialists have never yet succeeded in getting a member elected, though they have tried for many years. This system has been denounced, but Prince Bülow said recently that he would take care not to alter it, nor do I suppose he would unless the whole system was swept away by violence, as it suits the governing classes very well. Of course there is no real Parliamentary government in Prussia, where the Ministers are merely officials responsible to the Emperor.

In Bavaria there are also two Houses. The Upper House consists of some members who sit by virtue of their office, some are hereditary members, and some are appointed for life by the King. There are no elected members.

The Lower House is elected by ballot by indirect election. Every male aged 20 votes for a candidate — there being one for every 500 inhabitants — and these candidates choose the members of Parliament. At the present moment there is a Bill being discussed which proposes that all the members should be elected by universal suffrage, and it has very good chances of being passed. The Bill was supported by the heir to the Throne, who spoke and voted in its favor.

In Saxony there is an Upper House consisting of the princes of the blood and eight other members who sit by virtue of their office, the mayors of six towns, 15 life members chosen by the King, and 17 members elected by the nobility and the landed proprietors.

There is also a Second Chamber, which was formerly elected by all citizens over 25 years of age paying direct taxes of at least 3 marks a year in direct taxation. But this was found to be too favorable to the Socialists, for it must be remembered that all the Deputies of Saxony to the Reichstag, with one exception, are Socialists. The law was accordingly altered in 1896, and a system somewhat similar to that prevailing in Prussia was adopted. But it is even less liberal, for those citizens who pay less than 3 marks a year in direct taxation have no vote at all in the first election. The measure was, however, successful, for now there is not a single Socialist Deputy in the local Parliament for Saxony.

In Wurtemberg the Upper House consists of royal princes, of members sitting in virtue of hereditary right, and of some members chosen for life by the King.

In the Second Chamber there are 13 members elected by the members of the lesser nobility, 9 chosen by the Catholic and Protestant churches and also the Chancellor of the University. Then there are 71 members elected by universal suffrage and by ballot, the electors being all males over 25 years of age. There is a system of second ballots limited to the two candidates who obtained the most votes at he first ballot.

In Baden in the Chamber there are 64 members elected for four years, of whom half retire every two years. Every citizen of 25 can vote for a delegate, there being one for every 200 inhabitants; the voting is by ballot. These delegates then elect the Deputy by ballot.

The same system applies in the Grand Duchy of Hesse; all men over 21 years of age are electors, provided they are not domestic servants, and that they pay some sum in direct taxa-

tion. The Deputies are chosen for six years, half retiring every three years.

The small States have only one Chamber. In the Grand Duchies of Mecklenburg there are no Deputies representing the country districts, and the other members are the nobility and the mayors of towns. In the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, the Chamber is elected in the same way as in the Prussian local Parliament. It seems hardly necessary to go through the systems adopted in the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar, the Duchies of Anhalt, Brunswick, Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Saxe-Meiningen, the Principalities of Lippe, Schaumburg-Lippe, Reuss (two branches), Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen, and Waldeck and Pyrmont. All these States are very small, most of them nothing like so large as an average English county, and, of course, the assemblies are not large, the maximum being about 50. They have very little to do and very little power. In nearly all there is class representation, different sections, as the nobility, etc., being represented, or rather over-represented; sometimes the other members are elected indirectly, sometimes directly, and generally by citizens paying direct taxation.

There remains to say something of the three Hanse towns — Bremen, Hamburg and Lubeck, and of Alsace-Lorraine. The Hanse towns are nominally republics, but they are more like oligarchies. In Bremen the Senate is the executive body; it co-opts its members. The other Chamber contains 160 members, elected for six years. Members of the University elect 14 Deputies; merchants, bankers, etc., 42; manufacturers, 22; the other citizens 44 by double election; the inhabitants of Vegesack, 14; of Bremenhaven, 8; landed proprietors, 8; others in the country, 8.

At Hamburg, 80 members are elected by universal suffrage, with the ballot, each elector being 25 years of age; 40 members are elected by landed proprietors, and 40 represent officials and judges.

At Lubeck, however, matters are better managed, for the assembly of 120 members is chosen by ballot in a system of universal suffrage, there being ten constituencies, each having twelve members.

In the local assembly of Alsace-Lorraine the members are elected somewhat in the same way as in the French Senate, but they have very little power.

It will be seen that there is great diversity in the different electoral systems which prevail, but they all, however, agree in being so fixed as to prevent the opinions of the people being adequately expressed, and also in preventing the members of the central or local Parliaments really exercising any influence

on the policy of the Government. Parliamentary government as understood in England and in France does not exist in Germany, and this realized will enable people to see the grave dangers of a State which has for its head a ruler having the characteristics of the present sovereign. It will also be seen how difficult it is for the Socialists to effect any change, though they are strong in the Reichstag, and that the fear of universal suffrage being tampered with is not idle. The Socialists threaten that if this be done then they will proclaim a general strike, but I very much fear that it would not be successful. The military spirit is very strong in Germany, and I think that any attempt at an insurrection would be suppressed with great severity, and would be followed by a period of dismal reaction.

JACQUES BONHOMME.

The New Socialist School.

THE trustees of the Rand fund for the establishment of a school to teach social science from the standpoint of International Socialism have empowered the American Socialist society, an incorporated body formed in 1901, to found and maintain such a school.

The society has accepted the charge, and has been for some time actively engaged in the preliminary work of organization. It has leased for a term of years the large residence building at 112 East Nineteenth street, and will take possession on July 1. The rooms on the parlor floor will be fitted up for a library, reading room, archive, office and book-stand, and the rooms on the second floor for class rooms.

The leading Socialist publications of the world will be kept on file. A collection of the most authoritative works on Socialism and Social Problems will be made, $1,000 having been apportioned for the beginning of the library. An archive of old and rare manuscripts, pamphlets and books relating to Socialism and labor will also be collected. Comrades will be asked to contribute by loan or gift to this collection, which will be carefully guarded. Already several rare works have been promised.

It is expected to have the library and reading room ready for general use by July 15. The classes will begin on Monday, October 1. The instruction committee has prepared a tentative plan of studycourses, and though much remains to be done before definite announcement can be made, the following courses can be confidently promised at this time:

Systematic courses, with the use of text-books, personal assistance of instructors, examinations and seminars on

1. Elementary Socialism.
2. Economics of Socialism.
3. History of Socialism.
4. Nature and Functions of the State.
5. Composition and Rhetoric.

Lecture-Conference Courses, with opportunity for questioning instructors, on

1. Principles of Sociology.
2. Ethics.
3. Social Theories.
4. Social History.

Former lectures on a great variety of subjects, such as Methods and Tactics of the Socialist Movement; Socialism and Art,

History of the Labor Movement, Physical Evolution, and such special problems as those relating to Race Antagonisms, the Middle Class, the Farming Class, Trade Unionism, Child and Woman Labor, Old Age Pensions, Immigration, Housing, Proletarian Diseases, and Labor Legislation.

The services of all instructors will be paid for, and a moderate tuition fee will be charged students.

The officers of the society operating the school are. Algernon Lee, president; Morris Hillquit, treasurer; and W. J. Ghent, secretary. Among the directors, other than these officers, are Leonard D. Abbott, John C. Chase, Benjamin C. Gruenberg, Dr. Th. Levene, and Herman Schlueter. Mr. Ghent has also been elected the secretary of the school.

A preliminary prospectus, giving more detailed information, will be issued about July 15. Requests for this prospectus may be sent to the secretary at 260 West Fifty-fourth street, New York city. The secretary would also be glad to receive lists of names of those who might be interested in the work of the school.

Henrik Ibsen.

WITH the death of Henrik Ibsen modern life lost its most comprehensive and penetrating observer. Others may have seen piece meal more thoroughly; Maeterlinck the metaphysical; Whitman the unformed natural; Flaubert and Maupassant the passions; Tolstoi, Zola, and Gorky the grossly natural; Anunnzio the sensuous; Soti, natural beauty in a thousand fanciful aspects; Turgenieff and Bjornson simple sentiments and great patriotism.

But since Goethe no one has touched feelings and ideas of such wide range. From his poetry with the lyrical little songs and the impassioned lines of Brand and Pers Gyut to the most everyday talk in his later problem plays he is equally strong.

From the panoplied waning patriotism of the Middle Ages, in The Pretenders and The Warriors in Helgoland to modern smug bourgeois concern for the community in the Pillars of Society and the League of Youth the personnel and setting are equally well drawn. He sees the apple tree "dripping with blossoms" beloved by a busy bee and the mysterious awful ocean as he also sees stuffy old sofas, "rotten old tubs" of ships and bankrupt banks.

He makes good art the impossible idealism of Brand raving like a maniac against all that *Is,* but no less so Peer Gyut responsive to all that the senses are offered like a mote dancing in the sunbeams.

The morbid is as real as the healthy, the conventional as the unconventional whatever is, may or may not be right, but it *is.* Men and women and children living in houses, huts, villas, climbing mountains, carrying on war, encircling the globe. Little idiosyncracies, great motives, customs, heredity, laughing, quarreling, dancing, dying.

His plots are invariably slices out of the whole piece — an age, a community, a family, a personality — nothing scattered or confused. He is subtle enough to be stimulating. To what school of social thought he belongs one cannot say. He flings the individual at society and society at the indivudial with such shuttle cock speed that he cannot be classified. His development was a natural one and in touch with the times. Catalina showed the influence of the Revolutions of 1848. And for many years all that followed was historical. Then came the social plays as the world was beginning to feel that evils were not so much political

as economic and social. An the older and more experienced man turned to personal analysis.

He understood women and for the first time in literature gave them a recognized place in human affairs. His women are neither nonnenties nor accidents. He has shown that they may even be personalities, making in their own spheres some of the terms of life. He has shown what they do and undo, where they are weak and where strong. He gives them settings, antecedents, pasts, careers, futures, wills, in short everything that he gives his men. He has more pronounced types among women than men and greater variety: The Amagon spirited Hjordis, the kind, joyous perceptive Nora, the morbid Hedda Gabler, the matronly, benevolent Mme Alving, the frail, appealing, tender Agnes, "My beautiful butterfly," the strong purposeful Lona Hessel, the blighted Ella Rentheim, simple, maternal Aase, the noblesse oblige and dominating Lady Inger, the slatternly and devoted Mrs. Eckdal, the mystical elusive lady from the sea, the guiding Hilda, the patient waiting Solveig, are well-known types.

To say that Ibsen is provincial, is to put other dramatists in the class of backwoods men. Shakespeare as a traveller, worker and observer would be insular. We are too clever in our day of science and psychology to be interested even for a short time by any artist who would know figments of genus homo, and supply the rest from his imagination to make a good dramatic parade. When Ibsen soars he is free from the accepted classical bombast. He is the most honest of all realists, gives a lie due credit, and refuses to idealize even the truth.

As a practical playwright he will be acceptable only to artists for interpretation. Crudity and vulgarity could not possibly cope with such simplicity and honesty.

AMANDE JOHNSON.

EDITORIAL

The General Strike.

The thought of a general strike in case the murderous plot against the officials of the W. F. M. should be carried to its terrible completion has been in the minds of thousands of workers ever since the first step was taken. Comrade Wilshire first gave this feeling expression and the way in which it has been taken up shows that he struck a popular chord.

There is every reason to believe from present indications that the proposed assassins in Idaho are already getting very much frightened at the results they have brought down upon themselves, and would give a good deal if they were only able to let go of the task they entered upon so boldly. When dealing with human lives, however, we dare take no risks. Capitalism has won many a battle because of its persistence. So long as the possibility of profits is in sight it will never desert the field. For this reason no Socialist meeting should be held, no Socialist paper published that does not contain something to keep this case before the public mind.

But granting for the moment that capitalism dares its worst. What then? There is no doubt but what infinitely more is at stake now than in 1887, and those who, for fear of frightening bourgeois votes, would attempt to show the contrary deserve the contempt and condemnation which the Socialist press is now heaping upon them. In '87 the threat of Socialism was dim, confused and far away. Capitalism, at the worst, was threatened with little more than a reduction of its profits by an eight-hour day. The Socialism of that time was confused, unorganized, compromising upon the one hand, and violently and ignorantly destructive upon the other. The Socialism of to-day is widespread, well organized and definite in its aims. Nor was the capitalist conspiracy of '87 anything near as wide in its scope. It was largely a local matter. The capitalists were, to a large degree, comparatively small manufacturers and merchants, and there was little national solidarity. The present fight in the West is managed by the most powerful financial combination the world has ever dreamed of, — the Standard Oil "System." It has sufficient power to make and unmake state governments and to direct national affairs. It

has moved governors, senators, and (as Roosevelt's recent "muck-rake" speech shows) even presidents as pawns are moved upon a chess board. Where the Haymarket affair was concerned with police captains and "fly cops," this affair sets in motion the whole power of state and national governments.

Never in the history of the world has the fight been clearer between capitalism and the forces of proletarian revolution.

Once more, then, granting that capitalism, that has already staked so much, dares to play the game to its terrible finish. What then?

Must we, in truth, sit idly by and watch our leaders being strangled one by one? To be sure, we can respond at the ballot box, and this must ultimately be our most effective method of response. But is there really no other way?

It will do little good to histerically call upon millions of men to fight, since we know that there are no millions, or even thousands, ready to respond. It is still sillier to waste time crying for an "armed nation" when the slightest knowledge of American popular psychology and present social conditions would show that practically such an agitation will have as its only effect to help the defenders of capitalism in securing larger appropriations for the standing army.

But constantly comes the suggestion of the general strike. Is this really practicable at the present time? No one wishes more heartily than the writer of this that the answer might be emphatically affirmative.

Enthusiasm, however, is just as ineffectual in supplanting strength at this point as at any other. The confession is humiliating, but none the less true, that the forces of organized labor, which would need to be set in motion for a general strike are controlled by the very powers that are most active in the prosecution of the comrades of the W. F. M.

Any general movement of the trade union forces must necessarily be brought about through its central organization, and for the great majority of the organized workers of the United States that central body is the A. F. of L. But the leaders of the A. F. of L. whose function it should be to arouse these men to action against the attacks of capitalism were shown, in a recent number of this magazine, to be under the influence, if not direct control, of the Civic Federation, a Standard Oil tool.

Throughout every country of Europe the Socialists are discussing the scope, possibilities and methods of conducting the general strike. In all those countries there is at least some possibility that the organized forces of labor could be used in defense of labor's interests in any way that those forces could best further those interests.

If any movement is to be made toward a general strike for the defense of any of our comrades whose murder is threatened it must be carried out in spite of the Civic Federation agents of Standard Oil who are at present acting as officials of the A. F. of L. Nor is this so impossible as might seem. The rank and file of the labor unions of America have often shown themselves willing to act independently of the official

machinery. It depends upon the Socialist press of the country as to whether they can be sufficiently aroused to take any decisive step at this time.

It is at least worth the effort. Let those Socialists who are members of trade-unions exert all the powers at their disposal to arouse indignation and resentment against the culmination of the Idaho conspiracy. As the trial progresses point out what such murderous victimization of working class leaders must result in, and of what tremendous importance it is that such methods be not permitted to be carried out without the exhaustion of every resource at the command of the working class.

Did it once become evident that these men could be sacrificed only at the price of a complete paralysis of the industrial life of America, even though that paralysis be but for a single day, the rulers of industry would pause before carrying out their purpose.

Nor would it require the co-operation of all the workers to accomplish this end. So interdependent is modern industry that the stoppage of any large percentage of the laborers would throw the whole machine out of gear. The agitation which would result from such an exhibition of class solidarity and working-class power would in itself be a mighty help towards preparing for the time of general emancipation.

The effort is worth while. *Let us prepare for it.*

* * *

With this issue the REVIEW closes its sixth volume. During that time it has published more original educational matter by leading socialist scholars, both American and foreign; more translations of standard articles from foreign books and periodicals; more matter bearing upon the international movement by persons active in that movement; more discussions of the fundamentals of socialist philosophy, and more reviews of works of interest to socialists, — more of each and all these things than, not simply any one socialist paper, but then all other socialist papers published in this country combined. If you think that such work as this ought to be continued try and secure at least one more subscriber for the coming year.

The July number will contain a continuation of the valuable articles on Marxism by Comrade Boudin, treating of the subject of concentration of wealth and the disappearance of the middle class. Mrs. May Wood Simons will have an article in the same number treating of the peculiar conditions prevailing in the London department stores, known as "living in." This is of special interest at this time as the Labor members in the House of Commons have announced their intention of investigating this condition.

* * *

Contrary to the popular impression the funds for the defense of the Western Federation officials has not yet reached a sum adequate to meet the pressing needs of the cause. Up to the present time the total funds available do not amount to much, if any more, than $50,000.00, a sum

almost ridiculous in comparison with the amounts at the disposal of the state, — or rather of the Mine Owners' Association. Do not let this matter lag for lack of interest. *Our comrades' lives are depending upon it.*

* * *

The following extracts from a letter received recently from Comrade W. D. Haywood contain so much of the spirit of the man that we feel that its publication is permissible. The portions omitted were purely personal in character:

Ada County Jail, Boise, Idaho, April 25th, 1906.

A. M. SIMONS,

Chicago, Ills.

Dear Comrade: — It is good to get such letters as yours, to know we have the confidence and support of sterling men and women. It is good to know that at last the working class are aroused. We have heard from every prominent worker in the movement. Better still, we have heard the rumbling remonstrance of the working class itself. * * *

As you have learned, we are now in Boise, the Ada County Jail. Sheriff Mosely has done much to make us comfortable. We have been here a little over a month. It seems a lifetime since we left home.

Expected to have a visit with you in June, during the I. W. W. convention. But will probably be going through process of trial about that time. The prosecution cannot delay much longer. We have been ready for a hearing from the time we were *extradited.* But evidence seems to be a necessary article now, so our cases have been postponed to give Gov. Gooding time to *make a case.*

Moyer and Pettibone join in kindest regards to you. * * *

I very much regret the enemy has found means to prevent Gorky's mission from becoming the success it should have been. Capitalism, like the class struggle, is worldwide. Yours fraternally,

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

GERMANY.

The recent congress of the Socialists of Saxony shows that the party membership has doubled during the last five years, having increased from 25,000 to 54,000. The convention occupied itself largely with the formation of an organization for the young. This organization can be only indirectly Socialist, as otherwise it would conflict with the laws of Saxony.

The Polish Socialist party in Germany has at last united with the German Social Democracy. This is something that has been sought for years, but has always seemed impossible of accomplishment, owing to the nationalistic aspirations of the Polish Socialists. The resolution fixing the terms of union reads as follows:

"The Polish Social Democracy of Germany shall maintain an independent organization, for the purpose of agitation among the Polish population of Germany. The Polish organization is a fraction of the general German party. It recognizes the party platform and the party organization, and the German party congress as the highest authority. The writings which may be published in Polish shall be subject to the control of the Polish party officials and the convention of the Polish organizations. The 'Gazeta Robotnicza' is the official organ of the Polish comrades in the German Empire. It shall be controlled by a press committee, to which the German Social Democratic governing committee shall send one member."

Just to break the monotony of socialist growth the municipal election in the city of Darmstadt showed a decrease from 14,144 votes to 12,000. As a little off-set to this comes the report that since the adoption of the new and more centralized form of party organization the party membership has been making extremely rapid strides. In the one electoral district of Dortmund the party strength has risen from 2,000 to more than twice that number during the last year.

TASMANIA.

From "The Worker" of New South Wales we take the following paragraphs concerning the trend of events in Australia:

"Apart from the actual business transacted, the recent annual conference of the Amalgamated Miners' Association of Victoria and Tasmania, held at Stawell, was a very important one, for the delegates individually and collectively foreshadowed most unmistakably the imperative necessity of the organization extending its scope to the sphere of political action. The feeling that something definite should be done in this connection has been manifested for years, but never was it more pronounced than at Stawell, when fully 50 out of the 58 delegates present were solid for

becoming a political body. This is no mere guess work, but is based on the strongly expressed opinions of delegates. The whole tone of the conference was in favor of the old order of things — unionistic combination wholly and solely — giving place to the more up to date method of having the industrial force strengthened by political activity.

* * * *

"In becoming political there is but one organization that the A. M. A. can ally itself with, and that is the Labor Party. The miner cannot have any of the conservative crowd; the "Liberals" have hoodwinked the workers too long; but the Labor Party has steered straight in the interests of all sections of the community.

* * * *

"The conviction is now deeply embedded in the minds of those who have to toil for a living that in order to protect their individual rights they must be organized politically. Labor Member Scott Bennett put the position pithily when he said: "A body of workers, who are only organized industrially, trying to compete successfully without political action is, to my mind, like a bird with one wing trying to fly.'"

In this connection the following letter received just as we go to press is interesting as showing the close connection between far-parted wings of the working class. We regret that we could not report that the organized workers of America had awakened to the exercise of their political power.

Dear Comrade: — With a view to acquiring information regarding political as well as industrial action by the union I represent, and acting on the advice of Comrade Tom Mann, I decided to approach you, knowing that, though many thousand miles separate us, that, being brother workers in the cause of labor, I could rely on you supplying me with whatever information you may possess on this question, and accept as your reward the fact that such information shall materially assist Australian workers towards the realization of that goal to which we all aspire, no matter what our nationality. The constitution of our union at present prohibits political action, it being entirely an industrial body. Many of our advanced thinkers consider the time has arrived when our rules should be revised and when we should face the world as a united political as well as industrial body. For after all the salvation of the worker rests with the ballot box. Have you adopted the principle in America? If so, with what success? If not, could you forward me any discussion on the subject? Also your personal opinion. We have benefited by your brains in the past and on the present occasion a few kindly words of advice would be much treasured. There are many of our members who are adverse to the proposal, and as the matter is to be brought forward at our annual conference, to be held in February, 1907, I require intelligent and convincing argument to cause them to take the step.

Trusting to hear from you soon. Believe me to remain

Yours in unity,

HARRY SMITH,

President Amalgamated Miners' Ass'n of Victoria and Tasmania.

JAPAN.

Japanese evolution, which has proceeded with such speed during the last generation, now seems about to enter upon the stage of capitalist governmental ownership. The national government has just bought the

railroads and is proceeding rapidly to absorb other industries. The government has absolutely declared that it does not oppose trusts and combinations, but on the contrary encourages their formation. All of which would seem to show once more that Japanese capitalists are able to give their fellow exploiters of the West lessons in management.

The last number of the Japanese Socialist magazine gives a table of contents of its last two issues from which we learn they contain, among other things, the "Communist Manifesto," Liebknecht's "Life of Marx," Kautsky's "Life of Engels" and a history of the International Socialist Congress.

The following clipping from *The Hikan* (The Light) may (and may not) give an idea of some phases of the Japanese Socialist movement:

"There are three schools, so to speak, of Japanese Socialism. The first is Nippon-Shakwi-To, Japanese Socialist Party, to which we belong. The second is a school of Christian Socialism. Their organ is *Shinkigen.* the New Era. But they declare that they are not the same thing such as English Christian Socialism which seems to be no more than charity institions. They are also Social-Democrats. Only they strive to develop the spiritual side of Socialism. Mr. Abe, Mr. Kinoshita, Mr. Ishikawa and others belong to this. The third is Kokka-Shakwai-To, State-Socialist Party. Mr. Yamaji, a well-known journalist and historian, is its leader. He says that his State-Socialism is not the same thing such as German Socialism in Chair which is only social reforms without any definite aim. He is also a Scientific-Socialist. Only he applies Marx's ways of thinking to Japanese history. And he finds out that Marx's 'dualistic' view of present society (Proletariat and Bourgeois) is erroneous. So he established a new political 'trialism' (State, Bourgeois and Proletariat). This is the doctrine of State-Socialism. These schools may seem very singular to the eyes for foreigners. But this is a stage of development of Japanese Socialism."

FRANCE.

The election in France has most agreeably disappointed the Socialists. As was pointed out in these columns some time ago, the difficulties, both internal and external, under which the French comrades were laboring, were so great that few dared expect an increase in the vote or parliamentary strength.

The popular vote, so far as tabulated by the Socialist press, is given as follows: Conservative Liberals, 1,330,000; Radicals and Socialistic Radicals, 3,100,000; Nationalists, 380,000; Progressiveists, 1,170,000; Republicans, 850,000; Socialists, 960,000; Independent Socialists, 160,000.

The "Independent" Socialists are men like Millerand, Gerault, Richard, etc., who refuse to submit to party regulations. On the whole the vote was on very much clearer lines than ever before, and while the actual Socialist strength is something like 900,000, if the vote is to be compared with previous elections it would be much fairer to use the number 1,120,000, since it is certain that those who cast these votes were as much Socialists as those who cast the 880,000 of the previous election of 1900.

The first election, according to *Le Temps,* resulted in the election of the following deputies:

Conservatives ...	76
Nationals ...	29
Progressiveists ...	59
Total ...	164

of what might be called the conservative deputies.

Opposed to these are the following deputies:

Representatives of the Left	65
Radicals	83
Socialistic Radicals	75
United Socialists	33
Independent Socialists	12
Total	267

all more or less radical. One hundred and fifty-six seats were contested at the second election. Just exactly what the Socialist gains were at this election, we have not yet been able to find out. On the whole the result is looked upon as a great Socialist victory. The French papers all comment upon it in that light. Comrade Jaures declares that the large increase is due to the establishment of secular schools some twenty years ago, the pupils of which are now just beginning to vote. It is especially gratifying that among those who have been returned to the Chamber is Comrade Jules Guesde, the foremost exponent of Marxian Socialism in France.

At the second election eighteen more of the regular party candidates and seven independent socialists were elected. This gives a total of fifty-one straight socialists and nineteen independents; a total strength of seventy as compared with fortl-eight in the previous chamber.

RUSSIA.

The confusion of the Russian situation seems only to thicken. Everywhere comparisons are made between the meeting of the Douma and the General Assembly of France on the eve of the great Revolution. In spite of the fact that the socialists refused to participate officially in the elections for the Douma, and in spite of the further fact that the government imprisoned, exiled or killed all successful candidates who were suspicioned of being socialists, nevertheless a strong socialist party seems to have developed in the Douma.

While the struggle is going on between this first legislative body and the autocracy, the workers have relaxed no whit of their activity. Strikes, individual warfare on particularly brutal officials, and a continuous agitation, are laying the foundation for an actual revolution. Moreover, throughout all Russia the plans of a revolutionary state are steadily being elaborated. This will be ready to seize the reins of power as soon as the revolutionary forces are sufficiently strong to overthrow the czar and the grand ducal clique.

DENMARK.

The meager information which has been received concerning the Danish elections is sufficient to show that the old story of a steady socialist gain has been repeated. Indeed, it would seem that we have reached that final stage of accelerated evolution during which the rate of gain is immensely increased, since the growth, both relatively and absolutely is greater than at any previous election. The number of socialist representatives is increased from sixteen to twenty-four, and the popular vote proportionally increased. Among those who are elected to parliament is Comrade Gustav Bang, the well-known correspondent of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

AUSTRIA.

The municipal elections in Vienna add their story of the steady increase of socialist vote. In the fourth electoral class, that of the working class, the socialists elected seven out of twenty-one councilmen. They had only three at the previous election. The *Wiener Deutsches Tageblatt,* a non-socialist paper, admits that this was done in the face of the "most unscrupulous use of all means, honest and dishonest." The only effective opposition was from the so-called Christian Socialists, who are used as catspaws to capture working class votes. This party had previously possessed eighteen of the twenty-one seats. They lost four of these and their total vote was only 110,000 to 96,000 for the socialists.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

The strike of the printers for an eight-hour day in the job and commercial houses is not yet concluded, although the International Typographical Union has all the best of the long struggle. The United Typothetae, the employers' association, realizing that the journeymen were bound to be successful in the country as a whole, confined the battle to a few cities, like New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Buffalo and a number of smaller places and settled down to a contest of endurance. In upward of 450 cities and towns the printers have won the shorter workday, and in no place has the fight been abandoned. The total membership of the I. T. U. is, in round numbers, 47,000. Of this number close to 40,000 are working the eight-hour day, about 5,000 are on strike, and the balance are tied up to the nine-hour day temporarily by contract. It is worthy of notice that when the fight began in several places last August the total amount of money in the national defense fund was $6,026. On April 21, the last quarterly audit, the defense fund showed $109,858 on hand. Such a record is unprecedented in American trade union history. Instead of increasing their financial strength during strikes, most organizations find themselves heading toward bankruptcy after a month or two of battle. To have held their membership practically intact and increased their financial resources from almost nothing to over a hundred thousand dollars is highly creditable to the printers, and it is especially remarkable when one stops to think that every labor-hating organization in the country, from Parry's crowd down to the meanest and most obscure clique of snobs who fatten on the workers, gave solid support to the printing office proprietors. For going on six months the printers have been paying 10 per cent of all wages they earned into a national strike fund, which is also unprecedented in industrial warfare. But there is still more trouble in store for the printing office proprietors who are attempting to block progress. About the time this magazine is sent into the mails the pressmen will be in session in Pittsburg and the bookbinders convene in Washington. It is morally certain that both organizations will name an early date to take their turn in battling for the eight-hour day. The pressmen are quite strong, and when they begin to tie up the machinery the printing plants will have a lonesome appearance. If it wasn't for the trade autonomy fetish the present strike would probably never have occurred. Sooner or later all the printing crafts will be in one family.

As foreshadowed in previous issues of the REVIEW the strike of the longshoremen came on schedule time. But the outcome was anything but satisfactory. In fact, in many respects the strike was a fizzle. Not that the longshoremen did not respond to the call and quit work; they did that very thing nobly and brought lake transportation to a complete standstill where it was necessary to do so. But the place where the joke came in

was the utter unpreparedness, indifference and in some instances open hostility of the pilots, in whose behalf the fight began. In the first place, it developed that, in spite of big claims made, the pilots had no organization. Secondly, the expected stampede to the union did not materialize; and, thirdly, in a number of ports the unusual spectacle was observed of longshoremen being forced to board ships and chase the mates away in order that they might be assisted, only to have them slink back like whipped slaves or make the public announcement that they really did not want to strike. Of course, there were some fine, determined men among them, but the majority seemed to have no more fight in them than a jack rabbit. Quite naturally the longshoremen became pretty thoroughly disgusted. Their officers met the officers of the pilots in Cleveland, had a heart-to-heart talk, and the upshot of it was that the fake union formally announced its dissolution. This left the way open for the longshoremen to return to work pending the settling of the season's conditions in conference. Both sides got together and took up the negotiations where they were suddenly broken off three months ago when the longshoremen decided to stand by the pilots and their paper organization. Probably as a consequence of the fiasco of trying to assist the pilots the longshoremen did not gain a single concession. Perhaps they felt tickled at getting their jobs back. Anyhow, two year agreements were signed providing for continuance of present working conditions. And thus ends one of the most peculiar industrial incidents in labor history. Incidentally it drops a wet sponge on those who are enthusiastic for the industrial form of organization. The longshoremen have been accused of being a selfish organization. Yet they are combined along the lines of the industrial idea and were unselfishly aiming to assist the pilots and take them into the family, giving them control of their own affairs and only requiring them to make sacrifices for the common good. Just how anybody could do more than that doesn't appear very plain. Another point is that the vessel magnates and dock owners didn't worry in the least about what form of organization they were battling with — whether the strikers were industrialists or trade autonomists. They only saw labor opposed to them and got ready to swing a big club by threatening to starve the workers into submission, and to appeal to their court injunctions, militia, police and other political powers, showing that the fight is bound to become political sooner or later.

After months of sparring and a national suspension, the 150,000 anthracite miners are back at work under the same conditions that prevailed during the past three years. Nothing was gained — absolutely nothing, except possibly the right to talk to the coal barons through representatives, if that can be called an advantage. In matters of hours, wages and other working conditions, while not much was asked, nothing was secured. The miners had a month's holiday at their own expense and helped stiffen the coal market while a surplus was worked off at good prices and fine profits to Baer & Co. The latter couldn't stand to lose. They had the cards all nicely stacked and know the game of "business" all through. As the Lord is said to be always on the side of the victors, it does begin to look as though Baer & Co. have been divinely consecrated to run the mines to suit themselves. This theory is further established when one stops to consider that some unseen power seems to compel the workingmen, especially the mass of the miners, to throw their votes on the side of private ownership of the mines without any protest to speak of coming from the so-called leaders of labor. It is true that there is much talk just at present about getting into politics, but on what lines is a proposition that has not as yet been clearly defined. Let us hope that it will go a long stride beyond the freak scheme of "rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies," whatever that may mean. The psychological moment has arrived

when Mitchell, Lewis, Wilson and others could go into the anthracite region and deliver a terrific blow at the divine right theory by preaching socialism if they had the courage. Personally, I do not believe that they will utilize this golden opportunity to strike a blow that would stun the operators. It seems to be the fate of the great majority of union officials to fall down hard just when the time comes to take a long stride forward. I have seen it happen again and again, and it is deplorable to say the least.

In the bituminous coal fields it looks like a long and bitter strike. The operators in various parts of the competitive district are attempting to open the mines, and, as pointed out a month ago, are dragging out all their paraphernalia of war. The capitalists couldn't pay the 1903 scale — they are too poor. But hundreds of thugs are hired as guards at $3 to $3.50 a day and found. Then transportation and food is provided for strike-breakers; newspapers are salved with advertisements and employment agencies with fees; then there are retinues of hangers-on of various degrees who act as clerks, guides, spies, etc., not forgetting lawyers' fees and court costs in eviction cases, injunction proceedings and prosecutions of honest workmen against whom charges can be made. Neither are the bosses above handing out bribes to grafters in political and industrial positions of power. Still only a few weeks ago a gentleman in authority on the operators' side said to me, in the presence of a witness, that the bosses could and probably would make a settlement on the basis of the 1903 scale, provided that the miners would in turn concede the same conditions in and about the mines that exist in the Pittsburg district. He intimated that Robbins and his following who signed the 1903 scale were not losing anything for the reason that they raised rents and prices in their truck stores, and that while the pay envelopes of the men looked a little larger all the money was paid back to the operators again for increased cost of necessities. My informant admitted that it was a cold-blooded business, but that the operators were not in the game for amusement or their health. However, the operators must have changed their minds in spite of the alleged satisfactory conditions in the Pittsburg district, for they suddenly announced after a secret conference that they intended to fight. The probability is that they have decided to "throw off the yoke of union domination," and use the same tactics that have proven so successful in West Virginia, where the miners are little better than slaves, while the plutocrats and politicians of the Davis, Scott and Elkins crowd are touted far and near as great statesmen and workingmen's friends.

Meanwhile the A. F. of L. officials have not made the slightest move toward lending assistance to the miners in a financial way. Probably Gompers is too busy in Washington trying to figure out a political victory to pay attention to a little thing like a miners' strike. The latest reports are that the anti-injunction, eight-hour and employers' liability bills are to be shelved again. They are usually railroaded through one branch of Congress and forgotten in the other. But this fall we are going to "question candidates" some more and "reward our friends and punish our enemies." Perhaps "Friend" F. L. Robbins will be one of the lucky gentlemen to be "rewarded." He is reported as having aspirations to sit in the United States Senate and grind out labor laws. August Belmont, another shining light of the Civic Federation, is also said to be looking for political honors, and, of course, he, too, ought to come in for endorsement. There is no doubt but that the union people throughout the country are beginning to consider political action seriously. But when they start moving in earnest the fossilized scheme of Gompers won't receive much support. The workers will look to the Socialist party for results, and the time has arrived for Socialists everywhere to push the propaganda untiringly and systematically. Every member, especially if he belongs to a union, ought to load up with literature and place it where

it will do the most good. Purchase books and pamphlets, gather subscriptions for the party press and march forth and conquer the heathen. A little sacrifice at present will work wonders.

In this connection it might be added that the arrest of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone has done as much, if not more, to arouse the country than any occurrence since the Civil War. Labor organizations all over the land continue to hold protest meetings and adopt resolutions condemning the Western outrage. In every gathering held the fact is pointed out that the day has arrived when the workers must assert their power politically or soon it may be too late when the ballot will be effective in righting wrongs. It is improbable that the Western Federation men will be railroaded to the gallows, as was undoubtedly the original intention. The plutocratic conspirators never dreamed that they would raise the storm of indignation that has swept over the nation, and they are positively betraying fear. But it is not well to relax vigilance at this critical juncture. Watch the papers carefully and don't hesitate to speak out plainly and frequently. Let the grand dukes and their "black hundred" know that the working class will stand for no more Haymarkets.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE SOCIALISTS, WHO THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY STAND FOR, *by John Spargo. Charles H. Kerr & Company; cloth,* 147 *pp.;* 50 *cents.*

It would seem as if nearly every Socialist, who is able to do any writing, at some time during his life attempts to write a summary of the Philosophy of Socialism for propaganda purposes. As a general thing, these books possess one of two defects. If they are popular in style like "Merrie England," they are apt to be unscientific as to matter. If they are written by Marxian Socialists, they are very apt, for some reason or other, to be in a rather abstruse and difficult style. Comrade Spargo has avoided both these defects, and has produced the best work yet written to place in the hands of a man who asks the question with which it opens, — "Who are the Socialists and what do they stand for?"

"Socialism is not a plan or scheme which philosophy has evolved for running all the institutions of society. No Socialist can give specifications of the society of the future." This statement is followed by a discussion of the difference between "The Old Socialism and the New." "Modern Socialism, however, claims scientific parentage. It is fundamentally a theory of social evolution — a recognition of all that is comprehended in the wonderfully expressive phrase of Leibnitz: 'The present is the child of the past, but it is the parent of the future'." Then follows a brief discussion of the materialistic interpretation of history and a chapter explaining that this is not a theory of economic fatalism. Its knowledge, however, has given Socialists a power of social prophecy enjoyed by no other writers.

The class divisions of capitalism are quite fully explained, together with a chapter on the "Condition of the Workers," and another on "The Division of Wealth," which are filled with facts. Out of these industrial conditions arose the conflict of class interests — the existing class-struggle, which receives a clear, adequate treatment.

After this introduction it is possible to consider the collective ownership of things as the goal of the present Socialist movement without giving the impression that the co-operative commonwealth is all there is of Socialism. Two chapters consider the relation of public ownership under capitalism to Socialism. These clear up some of the points which most frequently lead to confusion in the new convert. The common objections to Socialism are met and considered, and the conclusion furnishes something which is almost always lacking in propaganda works of this character — an explanation of the form of organization of the Socialist party, and an appeal to unite with that organization. An appendix, giving a course of reading, completes a most effective work for the Socialist agitator.

We have no hesitation in saying that this is *the* book for propaganda purposes. It should have an immense circulation.

THE CURSE OF RACE PREJUDICE, *by James F. Morton, Jr. Published by the Author, at* 244 *W.* 143d *St., New York. Paper,* 78 *pp.; 25 cents.*

In the words of the introduction, this is an effort "to examine the essential characteristics of the human frailty known as race prejudice, and to trace it at least roughly to its origin; to indicate its influence in the decay of nations; to exhibit its fruits, as betraying the character of the tree whence they spring; to appeal to common sense against the bogey-worship which manifests itself in puerile fears and acts of worse than childish folly; to face squarely all the attempts to defend or palliate this great evil, and to meet every ostensible argument in behalf of race prejudice by an overwhelming refutation; and to establish the fundamental conditions of human progress, and to point out their irreconcilability with an indulgence in so demoralizing a superstition." So far as the arguments and the logic are concerned the author certainly has all the best of the affair. When he comes to causes and remedies, however, he is not so fortunate. He lacks the grasp of evolutionary thought and its relation to industrial life that would have given him the key to his subject, and he seems to trust entirely to the growth of a sentimental idealism to abolish race prejudice.

FROM STAR DUST TO SOCIALISM, *by Rev. A. M. Stirton. Appeal to Reason. Paper;* 10 *cents.*

One of those broad-sweeping general summaries of cosmical and social evolution, of which the Socialist writings already has so many, but which will always be needed so long as the great majority of the population act on the hypothesis that "things always were this way and always will be." Blatchford's "Reply to the Pope's Encyclical" is bound in the same volume.

THE FALLACIES OF SOCIALISM, *by Rev. Chas. W. Tinsley, with a reply by Rev. J. H. Hollingsworth, and a final answer by the first writer. The Terre Haute Tribune. Paper,* 28 *pp.; sent for stamp to pay postage.*

The criticism of Socialism is based so closely on R. T. Ely's "Socialism and Social Reform" as to suggest direct copying, and brings up the ordinary and frequently answered objections, which are well covered in Comrade Hollingsworth's reply.

LES PLAIES DU CAUCASE, *by E. Akouni; with preface by Francis de Pressense, and introduction by Pierre Quillard. Federation Rev. Armenienne, Geneva. Paper,* 360 *pp.*

Few portions of the Russian domain have suffered more than the Caucausus, and this work, published by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, can probably be taken as an authentic statement of facts. We learn here how the schools have been destroyed, religious liberty abolished, books confiscated, periodicals suppressed and the defenders of liberty most brutally punished. There is also considerable discussion of the various wings of the revolutionary movements in this quarter and their methods of work.

THE CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH. THE TRUST SITUATION. THE PUBLIC HIGHWAYS, *by Henry Laurens. Published by the author, at* 27 *Thames St., New York. Paper,* 32 *pp.; 10 cents each.*

These three little pamphlets, which are announced as the first of a series of six, are packed full of meaty information that should be in the hands of every Socialist worker. The facts are not new, but there is no other place, so far as we know, where they are brought together in as accessible a form. His conclusions, in so far as any are made, are Populistic rather than Socialist.

THE END INEVITABLE. THE PASSING OF THE COMPETITIVE SYSTEM, *by C. E. Obenchain. Appeal to Reason. Paper, 212 pp.; 50 cents.*

Still another of the general propaganda presentations of the regular argument for Socialism. We notice nothing to particularly distinguish it from several hundred others that have appeared in this and other countries, save that it is more up to date. It gives the industrial evolution that has developed present conditions, points out the wastes and abuses of capitalism and shows how co-operative ownership must be brought about. It will undoubtedly serve a good purpose in the propaganda field.

SONGS OF RUSSIA. *Rendered into English verse by Alice Stone Blackwell.*

"This little volume," says the translator in her preface, "aims to give a glimpse into the thoughts and aspirations of some Russian lovers of freedom, as revealed in their poetry." The selection well answers this purpose. The volume fittingly opens with Gorky's "Song of the Storm-Finch" and closes with the popular song of the favorite Yiddish proletarian poet Edelstadt:

"Good friends, when I am dead, bear to my grave
Our banner, freedom's flag of crimson hue,
Stained with the blood poured from the toilers' veins."

The translations are very well done. The closest approach to the original is the one by Dobrolinbov, who died at the age of twenty-six, but has within his short life won for himself a foremost place in the history of Russian literature.

LEWIS-HARRIMAN DEBATE. *Common Sense Publishing Co., Los Angeles, California. Paper, 32 pp.; 10 cents.*

This debate between Arthur Morrow Lewis and Job Harriman is a discussion of the question of whether Socialists should support any sort of independent working-class political action, or whether it should insist upon the adoption of Socialist principles before giving their support. A reading of the debate would seem to show that Comrade Lewis had all the best of the argument in his defense of straight Socialist tactics.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

THE REBEL AT LARGE.

We have just concluded an arrangement by which we become the publishers of this remarkable book of socialist stories by MAY BEALS. Some of the stories have appeared in various socialist papers, and one edition in pamphlet form was printed, put on the market, and quickly sold out.

Our new edition, now printing and ready for delivery early in July, will be in cloth binding, uniform in size with the Standard Socialist Series and the Library of Science for the Workers, so that the book will fit well into several thousand socialist libraries that have been started.

It will fit well in more than the literal sense. May Beals has written stories that tell the story of socialism in a way that will reach many who have not yet been reached. She is a keen observer and a sympathetic interpreter of those who can not speak for themselves. She throws a flash-light on the dark places of our crumbling civilization, and makes us feel the hidden suffering of the millions of helpless ones who suffer as patiently as may be because they know not what else to do.

A gloomy book? It would be this indeed, but for one thing, and that is the glorious hope of the coming revolution, which will right the wrongs that have no other remedy.

Read it, lend it, sell it, give it! There is a charm about the stories that is hard to resist, and there is a relentless logic about them that makes rebels. Send your orders in now and the book will be sent next month. Cloth, 50 cents postpaid; usual discounts to stockholders.

SPECIAL PRICE ON "THE ANCIENT LOWLY."

We have bought from the author's heirs all the remaining copies of "The Ancient Lowly," by C. Osborne Ward. This work is in two large volumes, selling for $2.00 each. Our stock of the second volume is now exhausted. We have the plates, and in the fall we shall print a new and uniform edition of both volumes. Meanwhile we desire to close out the remaining copies of the first volume. This is a work complete in itself. At the time it was written, no second volume was contemplated, and the first volume contains an immense amount of historical material of the highest value to socialists.

It is a book of 573 large octavo pages, with a number of full-page engravings, and it is well worth the regular price of two dollars a copy.

But we wish to get these copies out of the way quickly to make room for a new edition, and we need to turn them into cash as quickly as possible. We therefore offer them while they last to any reader of

the REVIEW at one dollar prepaid, and to stockholders at seventy cents postpaid or fifty cents by express at purchaser's expense.

LOOKING FORWARD.

This new work by Philip Rappaport is a treatise on the status of woman, and the origin and growth of the family and the state. It applies the theory of historical materialism in a popular and readable fashion, and will appeal as forcibly to non-socialists as to socialists.

This will be the eighth volume of the International Library of Social Science, price a dollar a volume, and we expect to have copies ready for delivery before the end of June.

THE WORKS OF JOSEPH DIETZGEN.

The long-promised volume entitled "Some of the Philosophical Essays of Joseph Dietzgen" is now ready, and we do not hesitate in calling it the most important addition to the socialist literature available for English readers that has appeared for years. It contains a sketch of Dietzgen's life, an introductory essay by Eugene Dietzgen contrasting the proletarian method of research developed by Joseph Dietzgen with the bourgeois method shown at its best in such writers as Max Stirner, and a translation of a considerable number of Dietzgen's shorter works. It makes a handsome volume of 362 pages, such as would be published by any capitalist house at not less than $2.00. Through the generosity of Eugene Dietzgen, who contributes the translation and the electrotype plates to the work of our co-operative publishing house, we are enabled to offer this book at $1.00 postpaid, with the usual discount to our stockholders. Our printers are now at work on a second volume of Dietzgen's works, which will be issued in the same style and at the same price in the course of a few weeks. It will be entitled, "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy," and besides the work from which the volume is named, will contain "Letters on Logic" and "The Nature of Human Brain Work."

THE LIBRARY OF SCIENCE FOR THE WORKERS.

The delays in publishing the sixth and seventh volumes of this library have been many and vexatious, but we are glad to announce that the plates of both, "Life and Death" and "The Making of the World," are now completed, and that we expect to fill all orders for these books before the end of June.

THE SOCIALISTS: WHO THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY STAND FOR.

This new propaganda book by John Spargo is rapidly taking its rightful place in the literature of the socialist movement as *the* best book to put into the hands of a new inquirer. The great thing about a really good literary style like Spargo's is that it suits every one. The uneducated man likes it because it is easy; the educated man likes it because it is artistic. Then in its substance also Spargo's book suits everyone. He states the fundamentals of Marxian socialism with a scientific accuracy that defies the criticism of an "impossibilist," and yet he states these principles with what Matthew Arnold, the great English critic, used to call "sweet reasonableness," so that he does not antagonize but persuade readers to whom the ideas are new. He has done all this in few words, so that in making a book of the usual size of the Standard Socialist Series, we have been enabled to use large type and wide margins, making the book very attractive to the casual reader.

Try the book on some one who is not yet a socialist, and watch the result. Now ready, cloth, 50 cents postpaid.

THE FINANCES OF THE PUBLISHING HOUSE.

The book sales for May were $1,056.97. The receipts from the sale of stock were $229.30. The donations were $15.00 from Mrs. S. D. Whitney of California and $1.00 from L. E. Seney of British Columbia, besides which Eugene Dietzgen contributed $300.00 toward the cost of plates of "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy," as already explained. The receipts of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for the month were $175.80. This is an improvement over last month, but the necessary outlay on the REVIEW each month is not less than $250.00.

Several hundred subscriptions to the REVIEW expire with this June number. To continue the magazine we must not simply find a new subscriber in place of each one who does not renew; we must also enlarge the list. If this can not be done it will indicate that the REVIEW is not desired by the American socialist movement. If you think it is desired, back up your opinion by sending in several new subscriptions.