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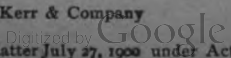
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DEVOTED TO THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS INCIDENT
TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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VOL. VII

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First Impressions of Socialism Abroad.

No. 5 German Elections, 1907.

BY IMPERIAL order the dissolution of the Reichstag took place on December 13, 1906. The government had demanded from the Reichstag a supplementary grant of 29,220,000 marks, a comparatively small sum, for the maintenance of troops in South West Africa. In spite of a pathetic appeal from Prince von Buelow this demand was rejected by the Reichstag. The Conservatives, Antisemites and National Liberals were ready to give their 168 votes, but the Clerical and Social Democratic parties refused their 178 votes. On the contrary they demanded a reduction of the fighting strength in the colony from 8,000 to 2,500 men. Military advisers declared the refusal of the demand dangerous to the interest of the German colonial policy. Buelow insisted upon the Reichstag voting the required sum, and upon his defeat, he carried out his threat of dissolving the Reichstag.

This gave an ostensible reason for strong opposition on the part of the government to the "red and black" parties. The Socialists were dissatisfied with the entire policy of the government, for as a great Socialist said, "Since the kaiser ascended the throne the national debt has increased from 721 million marks to 4,000 million marks. We are asked to spend unprecedented sums for the national defense, no less than 799 million marks being apportioned for military purposes and 291 million for naval purposes in the budget for 1907. Under the regime of the pres-

ent government taxes on beer, cigars, cigarettes and legal documents have been increased, fresh taxes including those on railways have been introduced, return tickets and free luggage on the railways have been abolished, our frontiers barred against import of foreign meat etc., (resulting in a net gain to the Conservative landowners of about 1,000 million marks) everything is done to make the lot of the poorer classes still worse. Can anyone expect us to support such a government?

The Clerical party pretended that "Economy and thrift in a colonial policy corresponding to the financial resources of the country" was the reason for their attitude; but there are those who do not hesitate to assert that they were influenced solely by a desire to show their strength in military as well as other questions. It is further said that the sop always thrown by the government to the party, when a majority on any important question is required, was omitted on this occasion."

On the other hand Buelow wanted to come to a conclusion with the Clericals and to cut himself loose from the control of that powerful party. In the last years Buelow has been obliged to hold with this powerful party. Without their aid he could do little or nothing. It was thanks to the Catholics that the chancellor had become successively count and prince. It was the Centre who aided him to carry through all his measures such as the "Treaty of Commerce" for which the title of Fuerst von Buelow was conferred upon him. But the chancellor felt that he was not only being aided by the catholic party but also dominated by them and, when one of the leaders of the party showed up corruption in the colonial office and abuses in the colonies, their power was felt to be a danger to the empire. In dissolving the Reichstag the kaiser and the chancellor hoped to strike a blow at the Centre and it was their object to crush its power, in which effort as we know they failed miserably. On the other hand they did not consider the time ripe for defeating socialism and they were not hopeful of gaining a victory in that direction. The dissolution had been planned for 1908 and when the action of the Centre hastened it, the government was in something of a dilemma.

The dissolution of the Reichstag created a tremendous excitement throughout the German empire. The general belief was that the actual position would not change. It was expected that the Centre would loose a few seats, but as its candidates had been returned by large majorities at the previous elections, and as clerical voters do not record votes according to the exigencies of the situation but entirely from a religious point of view it was possible that the party would not lose one single seat. On the other hand the Social Democrats with their splendidly organized

political and electioneering system, were, it was thought, sure to gain one or two seats at the expense of the other parties. It was also generally expected that the Poles would add a seat to the sixteen they possessed, but all in all politicians considered that the situation would remain the same, and that government would have to meet the same opposition when the next parliament assembled.

This was briefly the situation at the dissolution of the Reichstag. Before describing the campaign perhaps it would be well to give the American reader an idea of the German governing institutions and the principles of the various parties.

There is only one imperial minister—the imperial chancellor. The German Parliament consists of two chambers, the Bundesrath and the Reichstag, which form the legislative assemblies. The Bundesrath is a kind of a council of State. It prepares all regulations necessary for carrying out laws and it has also a voice in the appointment of high officials. It is like the British Cabinet in so far as it discusses and prepares the legislation upon which the Reichstag votes. It is like the British House of Lords in that the legislation, in the form in which it leaves the Reichstag, must obtain its approval before being submitted for the emperor's signature. The Reichstag itself cannot initiate any legislation. It can only accept, reject, or amend legislative measures which are sent down to it by the Bundesrath as the body which represents the federated governments of Germany. In theory, doubtless, and, indeed according to the letter of the constitution, the emperor, the Bundesrath and the Reichstag are constitutional factors of equal standing. In practice the Emperor and the Bundesrath—factors which never differ at least openly—are permanent institutions, while the Reichstag can be sent about its business if it does not agree with them.

The Bundesrath is not elected. Its members are appointed by the government of the various federated states. Prussia has 19 members, Bavaria 6, Saxony and Wuerttemberg 4 each, Baden and Hessen 3 each, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and the Duchy of Brunswick 2 each, and each of the other states has one each; all in all there are 58 members. Members representing the same state must vote for those who are away. Its proceedings are secret.

The Reichstag is elected by universal manhood suffrage by ballot (every elector of 25 has a vote) and there is supposed to be one deputy for every 100,000 inhabitants. But the electoral divisions were settled in 1869 and 1871; and have never since been altered. In 1871 there were 397 deputies, because the population was then 39,000,000; but now it has increased to nearly 50,000,000 and the number of deputies has remained the same:

The rural population in Germany has during this period decreased while that of the cities has greatly increased. For example, Berlin in 1869 had 600,000 inhabitants and therefore 6 members. It now has a population of nearly 2,000,000, but is still represented by only 6 members.

In the German Reichstag as in other continental parliaments there are many parties with different shades of political opinions. It is extremely difficult to give an American an idea of exactly what these various parties stand for, as they differ so much from the type known to us. They represent almost every conceivable point of view, sometimes they stand for the interests of certain classes, sometimes for the interests of certain nationalities in the empire, sometimes for economic and political principles. It may, however, be briefly said that there are sixteen different parties or fractions as they are called in Germany.

The five most important groups represent as nearly as possible the following definite interests: The Conservatives are a powerful group representing the old landed Aristocracy and they support everywhere Monarchical and Autocratic Institutions. The National Liberals here as everywhere represent the Industrial Interests and while politically more advanced than the Conservatives, from the economic point of view their interests are even more violently opposed to the workers than those of the Conservatives. During the last 10 years the Liberals have been forced to support the Monarchy. The Freisinnige represent the free Trade section, its philosophy is mainly that of the Manchester School, and their watchword is "Modern Progress and Freedom of Commerce." The two most powerful parties are the Clericals or the Centre and the Social Democrats, together they have more votes than all other parties combined, but the division between the two parties is complete. The Clericals represent the Catholic interests. Their strength is among the most conservative and ignorant classes of the population and their power is immense. The Social Democrats represent on the other hand the wage earning classes and the most intelligent and farseeing of the non-propertied classes. A careful consideration of the constitution of the various parties will give anyone a fairly clear idea of the main political elements working at present in Germany.

Perhaps the most interesting idea of the strength and influence of the various parties can be gained by an examination of the influence of the press. The Berlin "Post" publishes some interesting particulars with regard to the number of so-called "political" newspapers in Germany and their party color. Of the 4,997 German newspapers which may be described in this manner 2,924 are Radical and Democratic and 80 are Socialist. Of

the remaining 1,993 journals 415 professedly belong to no party, but as a matter of fact their tendency is Radical, while the political creed of 268 cannot be accurately determined. In addition to these there are also 420 so-called "official" journals which serve as the press organs of the local government officials such as Regierungspräsidenten and Bezirkspräsidenten and Landräthe. They publish the statements and ordinances of the central and local authorities. In return for their support these journals receive the benefit of the government notices and advertisements. During the Bismarkian era these journals became the willing instruments of the government and won for themselves the designation of the "Reptile Press." The remaining journals include National Liberal 250, Conservative 230, Catholic, 229, Free Conservative 36, Anti-Semite 38, Polish 78, Danish 7, and Guelph 2. The total circulation of those journals which may be classed as Radical in their tendency is estimated at over 4,000,000 copies, and is far in excess of the circulation of the combined Press of the remaining parties."

Now let us return to the campaign. Having broken with the Centre, Buelow had now to look elsewhere for the governmental majority. Accordingly when the chancellor did give out the "Wahlparole" he did not publish it in an official paper but addressed an open letter to the head of the National Party (Reichspartei), a section of the Liberal party whose chief aim is to combat the socialist movement. The combatting of socialism was the bridge that should join the two parties. In this letter the chancellor refers to the smallness of the gap that separates the two parties and clearly shows that the electoral tactics of supporters of the government must be to awaken that apathetic part of the bourgeois, who seldom trouble to vote, to a sense of the danger of revolutionary socialism. This made it appear that the government was not chiefly combatting the Centre although, as was subsequently shown, the government used underhand methods in its vain attempt to crush the power of the Catholic party. After this statement the electoral campaign resolved itself into a struggle of Conservative and Liberal parties against Social-Democracy.

At the beginning of the electoral campaign "the honor of the nation" was preached from every reactionary platform, but rather unfortunately for the empire makers the government were themselves obliged to admit at the end of a week that the war against the *Hereros* was at an end. This, however, did not discourage the bourgeois candidates in using to their advantage the people's patriotism. The votes were obtained by two methods. The workers were beguiled into forgetting their own trouble by jingoism and Imperialism; the bourgeois were awakened to

the danger in which their privileges stood from socialism. The merchants were terrified into action at the impending danger of a socialist state and were assured that their hope only lay in joining to form a compact majority. The interested classes were called upon to support the institutions which supported them. The disinterested and exploited workers were fed with "Chauvinism" and fallacies of the advantages that would accrue to them from the colonial policy of the government. Glowing pictures of the might of Great Britain were played before them, due it was pointed out to her comprehensive colonial policy. These two chords were harped upon with considerable success.

Social-Democrats make no compromises with the bourgeois. They agree to nothing that will not radically change the present system and the bourgeois, knowing that they cannot compromise with them or placate them by passing small reforms, are now awake to the fact that if they are to continue their present power, they must crush socialism. The socialists had in some cases opposed small measures of reform in Parliament as being inadequate, and the opponents were not slow to misrepresent this action to the workers, telling them that the socialists did not want or intend to pass measures for their benefit. The Trade Unions look to the socialists members they elect to support reforms in their interest without regard to Social-Democratic principles and as has been mentioned in some cases the socialists in Parliament have not done so, preferring to oppose reform measures which only tend to staunch and not to heal injustices caused by the present system. Other parties have also been able to turn such action on the part of socialists to their benefit. Besides these "constitutional" methods the reactionary parties used others. It would seem almost unbelievable that in modern Germany methods were used to coerce working people to vote against their convictions and interests. But everywhere the governmental machinery was used to carry out a great scheme of intimidation against the workers. As we know there is no such thing as free speech in Germany. Every political meeting is under the supervision of a "gendarme" who may break up the meeting if he thinks that the speeches are dangerous ones to the powers that be. It is therefore a very simple matter for those in power to break up and prevent socialist meetings and as this power was used to its greatest extent in the last elections the socialists were tremendously handicapped. Many saloon-keepers were forced by brewers and rich proprietors to refuse to let their rooms to socialists and meetings were dispersed on the flimsiest pretexts. The socialists in many places took to holding meetings in the open air but the season was against them. As an instance of really tyrannical intimidation may be cited a case in the indus-

trial town of Saar where the employers engaged men, armed with stout cudgels, to prevent workmen returning from the factory from reading socialist leaflets.

On the other hand the socialists were by no means idle but carried on a vigorous campaign. Their 4 daily newspapers with the nine hundred thousand readers did good work. Daily the "Vorwärts" with ease and vigor refuted the lying assertions and libels of the opponents of socialism. It showed the workman the fallacy of believing that the government's colonial policy would benefit anyone but the shipowners and merchants. The good work done by the propagandists and canvassers for the socialists is clearly shown by the increased socialist vote of 250,000 and had it not been for the silent vote, and the combination of all the other parties against them the socialists would still, despite intimidation, unfair methods, and unfair distribution, have returned more members than ever instead of losing 39 seats.

So much for the battle carried on against the Socialists and of their effort to meet by their own strength the combined onslaught of the government and the other parties and classes. The figures of the parliamentary strength of the Socialists before and after the elections may be given as follows:

	Election 1903		Election* 1907	
	Votes	Deputies	Votes	Deputies
Centre (Catholics)	1,875,273	100	2,275,000	109
Social-Democrats	3,010,771	81	3,250,000	43
Conservatives	948,448	54	1,800,000	60
National-Liberals	1,317,401	51	1,570,000	56
Free Conservatives or Freisinnige	333,404	21	1,200,000	13
Antisemites, Poles, etc.	244,543	111	450,000	134

From these figures it will be seen that the government has gained a striking parliamentary victory, but it would be a mistake if anyone thought that the Socialists had suffered a defeat. The strength of Socialism can never be measured by the number of its Parliamentary representatives. For instance their parliamentary strength depends largely on the Electoral law. When the election law was changed in Belgium a few years ago the Socialists immediately increased their Parliamentary strength by double what it had been before. In Saxony there is a second chamber, which was formerly elected by all citizens over 25 years

*1 These figures are taken from the Press Reports, the official figures have not yet reached me.

of age paying direct taxes of at least 3 marks a year. But this being found too favorable for the Socialists it was altered in 1896 and a system similar to that 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 method was found successful for now there is not a single Socialist deputy in the local Parliament for Saxony. This is somewhat similar to the condition in Prussia where one million 650,000 Socialist votes do not elect a single deputy while only one million Conservative votes elect 202.

If the Electoral Law were changed in Germany it might be impossible for the Socialists to capture a single seat, but these Electoral Changes have no importance whatever. The vote is the sole test, or to express it better the number of convinced class-conscious Socialists alone can demonstrate the power of the movement. In my opinion therefore the Socialists have really gained a great victory. The first reason for this belief is that in spite of the terrific campaign against them they increased their vote. The second reason is that they have finally forced the more advanced sections of the bourgeois parties into the Conservative ranks. In other words they have been fortunate in this campaign in compelling all other parties to form a block to fight unitedly the interests of the Working Class. The Liberals were only too glad to throw in their lot with the government party. It has therefore ceased to be a democratic opposition party and now that it has sided with the government in favor of reaction its power with the people will diminish. Similarly other parties, such as the Radicals, have joined the "Anti-Socialist Block" and have been returned to Parliament strengthened in numbers but weakened in their power of reform. Commenting on the results of the Elections the "London Daily Chronicle" well says, "It is difficult to understand the rejoicings of the Radicals. Their aggregate vote, it is true, has largely increased and the number of their deputies in the Reichstag will be also somewhat increased but they have no reason for jubilation. They come back as supporters of Prince von Buelow's national policy. Instead of a step to the left which would have been in keeping with their best traditions, they have taken a step to the right." This forcing of other parties into the ranks of the reactionaries is a great gain for the Socialists' cause, for in the next election hundreds of thousands of voters will see that there is no longer any hope of reform from these other parties.

The loss of Socialist seats then is not due to a diminution of the Socialist vote. It was the result of the Co-operation of all parties, excepting the Centre, against socialism and the bringing to the booths of the great mass of apathetic citizens who seldom

vote. Whatever could be done by the government to weaken the suffrage of socialists was done, but these methods have their limit as the "Vorwärts" said immediately after the first election." From 1877 to 1884 the socialist vote only increased from 493,288 to 549,990, but from 1884 to 1893 the party gained an increase in their votes of 2,500,000. In the seven years 1896-1903 they increased nearly one million. But these million new socialist voters were not all grounded socialists, while those in the present election, some three and a quarter million, who gave their vote for socialist candidates were no recruits but thorough socialists. All but the very surest were swept off in the tumult of jingoism created by the other parties. It will therefore be seen that although there has not this time been the same immense increase in votes as in 1903 such increase as there has been is worth more to socialism. The German party has undertaken to train the recruits of 1903 into reliable soldiers, and whereas some of the socialist voters of 1903 had given their vote on the spur of the moment the three and a quarter million of 1907 are surely steadfast socialists. Thus everything goes to show that the socialist defeat is more apparent than real; and reading the future in the light of the past, the day must soon come when the power of these three and a quarter million voters will be felt. It would therefore be a great mistake to assume that the power of the Social-Democrats is broken. They have lost some seats but they are not crushed and they still remain the most important political factor in the Empire.

It will be interesting to the American reader to examine carefully the following figures which show more clearly perhaps than could be done in any other way the steady and insistent growth of the Movement in Germany. It will be observed that this is not the first time that the Socialists have increased their votes and lost seats. In 1887 they lost over half of their Parliamentary representation and yet they gained an increased vote of nearly 200,000.

Growth of Social Democracy since 1867.

	Votes.	Members,
1867.....	30,000.....	8
1871.....	101,000.....	2
1874.....	351,952.....	9
1877.....	493,288.....	12
1878.....	437,158.....	9
1881.....	311,961.....	12
1884.....	549,990.....	24
1887.....	763,123.....	11
1890.....	1,427,298.....	35

1893.....	1,876,738.....	44
1896.....	2,107,076.....	57
1903.....	3,010,472.....	81
1907.....	3,250,000.....	43

It is needless to make any comments, the figures themselves show how steadily is the increase and power of the German Movement. Some writers have argued that the governing body of the party must change its tactics. Both Jaurès and Victor Berger have written editorials criticising the leadership of the German movement. Both seem inclined to believe that the tactics of the REVISIONISTS are wiser than those at present pursued by the directing body of the party. How it is possible to draw such a conclusion from the Election is difficult to imagine. As a matter of fact almost all of the leaders of this policy were defeated in this election. I need only mention Bernstein, Von Elm, Edmund Fischer, Dr. Leon Aron, Gradnauer and Dr. Heinrich Braun. Even Vollmar came for the first time in many years to the second ballot before he was elected. On the other hand those who have been the most uncompromising in their attitude towards the Government have been returned by increased majorities. I state this fact not because I think that it is possible to build upon it a theory of tactics. But I am convinced that the German Party will be destroyed if revisionists tactics should prevail. In coming to this conclusion I seem to find myself in agreement with His Excellency Prince von Buelow, for recently in the Reichstag he openly praised the attitude of men like Jaurès, Millerand and Turati. Men with similar views in Germany have been defeated and I suppose that this is the reason von Buelow is so enthusiastic about that type of Socialists. But it is not for me or for anyone else from a foreign country to criticize any group of the German Movement and even if I wished to do so I could not. As I have said in a previous article the greatness of the movement astounds me,—not the greatness of its leaders—although they are great, but the greatness, the intelligence and the independence of the working people who make the movement. Its growth will go on and its power will increase. The electoral arrangements can be shifted, the opposing parties can alter as they will their preferences at the second ballots, the Government can exhaust its power of intimidation and oppression. The Movement grows and must grow because its vitality lies in conditions and its root in the brains and convictions of men. It would be absurd for any one to feel discouraged and no-one could who knew the tremendous power of this superb Party.

ROBERT HUNTER.

Industries and Wages: Census 1905, U. S.

I HAVE before me Bulletin 57 issued by the Department of Commerce and Labor entitled "Census of Manufactures: 1905, United States." This bulletin is a considerable improvement on similar publications that have come from the same source in former years. The scope of comparative statistics is somewhat wider and the significance of the rows of figures grows ever more illuminating — even the comments of the statistician contained in the bulletin are getting to be more suggestive. Still it cannot be said that the compiler dwells sufficiently on the most important features of the bulletin or is candid in his conclusions. So all the figures of the bulletin, in their monotonous rows, present an eloquent symposium on concentration of the industries of the United States. In the comments this feature is slighted over with a few words.

On page 19 of the bulletin we find that in the year 1905 there were in the United States 216,262 establishments that could be classified as factories. This excluded all repair shops and all factories the value of whose yearly output was less than \$500. The total capital employed in these establishments was \$12,686,000,000; the number of wage-earners employed was 5,470,321 and the total value of the product was \$14,800,000,000. We classify the 216,262 establishments into three groups:

1. The value of whose yearly output was less than \$20,000;
2. The value of whose yearly output was not less than \$20,000 and not more than \$100,000;
3. The value of whose yearly output was over \$100,000.

Out of about 216,000 factories there were about 144,000 or 67 per cent whose product was less than \$20,000 each. What was the value of the product of these 144,000 factories? One hundred and forty-four thousand establishments out of a total of 216,000 produced in 1905 \$927,000,000 worth of products out of a total of \$14,800,000,000, or 6 per cent of the total; 67 per cent of factories produced in 1905 6 per cent of the product. Imagine that out of every 100 factories 67 had in 1905 for their joint share \$6.30 worth of trade while the other 33 factories had \$93.70 worth and you will have before you a rough but striking and truthful representation of the economic condition of the middle and the large capitalist classes. But this is not all. If we will examine the composition of the 33 per cent of factories, which had for their share \$13,900,000,000 of trade out of \$14,-

800,000,000,— we shall presently see that the great capitalist class is so firmly entrenched in the industries of our country that the attempt at this time of dislodging it by anti-trust laws or anti-rebate laws is folly beside which a certain old lady's attempt to sweep back the Atlantic with a broom, may be viewed as an ingenious engineering achievement.

We have grouped these 33 per cent of establishments into two classes. To the second class belong all factories whose output for the year was between \$20,000 and \$100,000. There were 48,000 such factories or 22 per cent of the total. The value of their product was \$2,131,000,000 or 14 per cent of the total. The third group included 24,000 factories or 11 per cent of the total the value of whose product for the year was \$11,743,000,000, or 79 per cent of the total. Here is laid bare before our eyes the entire process of economic concentration. 67 out of 100 establishments have for their share \$6.30 out of \$100 of the trade of 1905. 89 out of 100 establishments have for their share \$20.70 of trade; while the remaining 11 establishments have for their share \$79.30 out of each \$100,000. Out of 216,262 establishments, 192,082 had as their joint share \$3,058,000,000 worth of trade while the remaining 24,080 had \$11,742,000,000.

Turning to page 14 of the bulletin, we find fresh battalions of figures in array against the existing order. We are told that out of 216,262 factories 162,000 or 75 per cent were owned by individuals or partnerships and 51,000 or 23 per cent were owned by corporations. The few remaining were owned by charities, co-operative societies, etc. The 162,000 factories had together a capital of \$2,150,000,000 or 17 per cent of the total capital of \$12,686,000,000 invested in the manufacturing industries of the United States in 1905: While the 51,000 establishments had a capital of \$10,510,000,000 or 83 per cent of the total capital invested in those industries. 75 out of each 100 factories had for their share \$17 out of each \$100 of capital, while 23 out of each 100 factories had the remaining \$83.00.

The 162,000 factories which were owned by individuals and partnerships employed together less than 1,600,000 wageworkers or 29 per cent of the total number; while the 51,000 factories owned by corporations employed 3,800,000 wage workers.

The 162,000 factories turned out a product of the value of \$3,834,000,000 while the 51,000 factories turned out a product of the value of \$10,912,000,000.

The question which is of immediate interest to the wage worker is, How is his condition as a wage worker affected by this movement for concentration? It is not a question of mere theoretic or academic import. The wage-workers are called upon to answer this question by various so-called reform and rad-

ical movements which invite him to crush the trusts; to help the 162,000 factories which have only 26 per cent of the trade and employ 1,500,000 wage-workers in their hopeless struggle against the 51,000 establishments which have 74 per cent of the trade and employ about four millions of wage-workers.

Let the wage-worker put aside all the campaign clap-trap designed for the voting gudgeon and answer to himself this question: Is it in the interest of the wage-workers to reduce the 51,000 factories owned by corporations to the conditions which we find in the 162,000 factories owned by individuals and partnerships? Is it in the interest of the working class to break up the large industries into small industries? Can we find out the condition of the wage-worker in the small factories and also his condition in the large factory? Is there a way of finding out how the wage worker is treated by the so-called middle class as compared with the treatment he receives at the hands of the trusts.

The bulletin shows, on page 14, that the capital invested in 51,000 factories averaged for every wage-worker \$2,720; while in the 162,000 small factories the capital invested averaged for every wage-worker less than half that sum or about \$1,300. What does this show? It shows that corporation factories have more improved machines; more valuable machines and more of them for every plant; that the corporation factories had a greater number of wage-workers for every plant. And, indeed; whereas the 162,000 small factories had an average of ten wage-workers for each factory, the corporation factories had an average of 78 wage-workers for each factory. Wage-workers, who work in large groups can come together easier and sooner than wage-workers who are scattered in small groups over wide areas. It follows logically that the wage-workers in the 51,000 large factories were better organized and got better terms than the wage-workers of the 162,000 small factories.

But aside from logical conclusion, cannot we find out from the census man on what terms the wage-worker is employed by the large and small factories.

The census man tells us nothing of the hours of labor and we are left entirely to logical inferences. Taking reason as our guide, what do we find? While the capital for every wage-worker in the middle class factories averaged \$1,300, the product for every wage-worker averaged \$2.395. In the corporation factories the capital averages \$2,720 and the product \$2.800. As is seen at a glance, notwithstanding the great disparity in improved means and methods of production, better machinery and larger plants and facilities which the corporation wage-worker had, the middle class wage-worker managed, with half as much capital,

to scramble along very near to the yearly output of the corporation wage-worker. How did he manage it? By longer hours; by greater intensity of labor.

The corporation factories forge ahead by way of improved methods of production. The middle class factories manage to keep up in their wake owing to sheer physical exertion of their wage-workers. The product of the corporation factories contains twice as much results of improved methods of production as the product of the middle class factories. The product of the middle class factories contains almost twice as much labor power, purely muscular and nervous exertion of the wage-worker, as the product of the corporation factories. For it stands to reason that since the wage-worker in the corporation factory has for himself twice as much capital as the wage-worker in the middle class factory, his productiveness must be enhanced to two, three and four times that of the middle class wage-worker. And if, in face of such great odds against it, the middle class managed to get out of its wage-worker an output of the value almost equal to the value of the output of the corporation wage-worker, the result must have been obtained by means of longer hours and greater intensity of labor.

Fortunately, on the question of wages we are not left to our logical inferences only.

In the year 1905, there were employed in the corporation factories 3,864,549 wage-workers. The total of wages which they received in that year was \$1,879,559,645 or the average of \$485 for every wage-worker. In the same year the middle class factories employed 1,597,252 wage-workers and paid them in wages \$727,182,432 or an average of \$455 for every wage worker. But this by no means represents the disparity in wages paid by the corporation and middle class factories. For among the unincorporated firms there were many large concerns, which ranked as to their class with the corporation factories. Let us therefore turn to page 19 of the bulletin where we find the establishments classified according to their size.

Out of 216,262 establishments, 71,162 had each a capital less than \$5,000. These 71,162 establishments employed 106,366 wage-workers and paid them \$40,941,804 in wages or an average of \$385 to every wage-worker. The next class of establishments, 72,806 in number, had each a capital not less than \$5,000 and not more than \$20,000. They employed 414,566 wage-workers and paid them \$188,200,652 in wages or an average of \$448 to every wage-worker. The third class of establishments had a capital between 20,000 and 100,000 each. It employed 1,027,721 wage-workers; paid them \$477,265,746 in wages, or an average of \$465 to every wage-worker. The fourth class with a

capital each between \$100,000 and \$1,000,000, employed 2,537,548 wage-workers, and paid them \$1,194,945,910 in wages or an average of \$471 to every wage-worker. The fifth class had a capital of \$1,000,000 and over, each. It employed 1,379,120 wage-workers; paid them \$710,096,420 in wages, or an average of \$515 to every wage-worker. The \$385 yearly average wages paid by the smallest factories increase gradually as the wage-worker gets away from the middle class conditions of employment and gets nearer to the large industries till they reach an average of \$515. The \$515 yearly average wages paid by the largest industrial establishments decrease gradually as the wage-workers descend to the middle class conditions of employment till they reach an average of \$385.

The lessons of the above figures are plain:

1. Though silent as to the ownership of the factories, the U. S. census shows that industrial concentration has gone in this country far beyond theoretical discussion. It is an accomplished fact.

2. The middle class of this country is no more. In economic magnitude and vigor, it is not in a position to compete. It must needs lead an existence parasitic on the great industries.

3. Having no opponents in the middle class, the great capitalist class is waxing bold and arrogant. It is compact and organized into a "system," that acts as a unit throughout the land. The workingmen must get together and adopt similar class-conscious tactics if they are to prevail in the great struggle that is coming. For the capitalist class is marshalling its forces for a gigantic trial of strength with the working class,—a great invasion of human rights and liberties.

H. L. SLOBODIN.

Esperanto.

THE universality of the world auxiliary language, Esperanto, makes a special appeal to socialism as the one means of intercommunication between all countries wherever socialism exists. It is a language alike for students and non-students, a language for diplomacy, commercialism, conventions and correspondence, a language for tourists and a language for those at home who desire through foreign journals to gain a knowledge of foreign affairs at first hand written on the spot and in the world language. Note "La Revuo," a literary magazine published at Paris wholly in Esperanto and see the articles written by literary people of all Countries. Observe that at the last International Convention, about twenty countries were represented, but the familiarity with one great language made the convention "seem like one brotherhood."

At least a dozen attempts have been made within the last century to establish a world language. Some never made any progress; others attained considerable prominence. That the time has come for the world to accept a universal auxiliary language is shown by the immense success that was given to Volapük, which notwithstanding its numerous faults, acquired a large following in all parts of the world.

Volapük was created by Herr Schleyer, a Roman Catholic priest, for scientific purposes, for travelers and merchants; — its name indicates its purpose, "the language of the universe." In Volapük each letter has only one sound and the word accent is placed upon the final syllable, it follows the Latin in the declension of its nouns and adjectives; it differs from Latin in having a definite and an indefinite article but does not recommend their use only in cases of necessity or of literal translation. The feminine of nouns is indicated by the prefix *ji*, as: *son*, son; *ji-son* daughter. Adjectives have the characteristic ending, *ik*, as: *gudik*, good. Verbs have a unique conjugation and are absolutely regular, the voice (active or passive) and the time are indicated by prefixes, while the personal pronouns are suffixed, and the mode of the verb by another suffix added after the pronoun.

Adverbs end in *ik* like adjectives when derived from adjectives and in *o* when derived from nouns. Scientific words, principally from the Latin, retain their general form, subject however to change by phonetic spelling, as, *telegraf*, *fotograf*. Proper names are phonetically spelled after national pronunciation, thus James Johnson would become *Consn Cems*, while a list of *pŕe-*

fixes and suffixes supply the abstract and the concrete idea. The difficulties of learning lie in the system that root-words borrowed from every source, and changed by phonetic spelling become so unrecognizable that the entire dictionary is required to be learned by heart. Comparative philology assists but a trifle, leaving the student to acquire the language by infinite patience as is required by the ant to build his ant-hill with one grain of sand at a time.

When Volapük reached a point where many nations took part, then it became necessary that a congress be called to adapt the new tongue to the different national needs. The congress of 1889 at Paris was the most important and the last one. Internal dissensions arose. Demands were made by the congress looking toward the simplification of the language, the excision of unnecessary parts, the adaptation of its uses to commercial purposes, etc. On the other hand Schleyer insisted upon infusing into the language more complexities and a German arrangement of the sentence, and he also insisted upon technical undesirabilities, like a literal translation without translating the idea. An Academy was formed charged "to develop the regularity of the language, the conservatism of its unity and the elaboration of its dictionary." At the Academy and at its work, Schleyer took great offense, claiming that his creation was his own property and that he should make such changes as he saw fit. With active antagonism amongst the leaders, propagandist work fell off, then the professors and instructors of Volapük, having knowledge of its faults and not being able to accept the propositions for reform either by the creator of the language or by the Academy turned their attention toward another language — Esperanto, and left Volapük to its fate. Today there are only 3 or 4 Volapük clubs in the world. The rise and fall of Volapük is instructive, — its success was due to the crying need of closer relationship between nations by a common language. Hence all partisans of an international language rallied to it in the hope that it would triumph as their ideal. The difficulty of learning it; the many defects of the idioms, the lack of method to remove difficulties; and the impracticabilities of it as a commercial language caused disaffection in the ranks of its admirers which was followed by discord and finally dissolution. From a historical viewpoint Volapük has had the merit of furnishing the first experimental proof of the possibility of an artificial language, written and spoken, but on the other hand, its final collapse has filled the public mind with a prejudice (wholly unjust) against any proposition relating to an international language.

The stumbling block upon which it went to pieces has proved a prize to its successors and showed where and how such diffi-

culties may be guarded against in the attainment of a much needed and much desired auxiliary language.

With some writers there seems to be a regret that the world language does not become a re-instituted Latin, in order that access may be had by all readers in the world language to the ancient classics in the original, in which case a proficiency may be obtained in the Latin classics, but what shall be done about the literary treasures of Greece? The world language cannot be of the past, with its set forms, it must be of today, of the living. The progress of time has caused a change in our habits, our customs, and our tongue. Most of the living languages are heavily weighted with localisms, idioms, and incongruities and these have become an increasing quantity with the increasing years. The Latin and the Greek languages form an excellent source for unalloyed pleasures to read and to enjoy, but for writing and speaking they have no place with the modern. If today Latin were introduced as a world language, think of the time necessary to acquire its essentials! Do students after several years of faithful work speak the language fluently? What of the children who study year after year, do they speak Latin, or even write it outside of a school exercise?

Even those who have left school find their Latin confined to phrases, scientific terms or the inscription on the family medicine bottle. Latin would be compelled to undergo many changes in declension and conjugation, in the marks of gender, in the reduction, simplification and uniformity of suffixes and in the application of phonetic spelling, in fact, it would be compelled to undergo such great changes as to become practically another language.

Dr. L. L. Zamenhof's creation, Esperanto, has become the logical successor of Volapük. Commencing his work while yet a student in gymnasium, Dr. Zamenhof interested his friends in its use; the next six years finds him devoting all of his spare time to perfecting its grammar. In 1887, as no publisher would undertake the publication of his pamphlet, he issued it at his own expense, signing himself — Dr. Esperanto.

The alphabet of Esperanto consists of 28 letters, five vowels and twenty-three consonants, omitting as unnecessary the English letters q, w, x and y. In order to make his system complete, of giving to one letter one sound, he has added other special letters as, c, g, h, j, s, each surmounted with a diacritical circumflex, representing the sound of the English h. The principal parts of speech are distinguished by the final letter, the noun, by the termination o; the adjective, by a; the adverb by e, and the verb (infinitive) by i; the plural of nouns, by j and some prepositions and adverbs by aŭ. The roots of all words are taken

mostly from the Latin which makes almost every word seem like an old friend to the English speaking people and those using the romance languages. In fact, all Esperanto root-words are existing today in many spoken languages, and those selected are the ones most used, common to all. In a sense, Dr. Zamenhof creates nothing but suffixes and prefixes and is a collector and adapter of existing words. This in no way detracts from the immense amount of work, skill and judgment necessary to collect and arrange a system which is to become equally useful in all parts of the world. Even more work and better judgment is necessary to create along simpler lines than along the complex, and if any one word describes the auxiliary language, Esperanto, it is simplicity.

The numerals have no specific termination, they are;—1, unu, 2, du,—3, tri,—4, kvar,—5, kvin,—6, ses,—7, sep,—8, ok,—9, naŭ,—10, dek.

The verbs are invariable in person and number,—

Indicative mood, present tense:

mi amas, I love.	ni amas, we love.
vi amas, thou lov'st.	vi amas, you love.
li amas, he loves.	ili amas, they love.

The past is expressed by is, and the future by os.

Nouns are usually in the nominative case whether they are the subject of a verb or the object of a preposition, the objective case is used after transitive verbs or to indicate motion. The arrangement of the words in the sentence usually follows the English construction and in many cases the literal translation from English into Esperanto will be found to be correct.

Dr. Zamenhof issued his Universal Vortaro or word collection of 2642 root-words upon which his entire system is constructed. Many of these root-words are in daily use or are readily understood by English speaking people, thus making the acquisition of the number no hardship upon a beginner. For years French has been considered the language of diplomacy, of society and of travel, but M. de'Beaufront assures us that there are 2265 forms to the French verbs alone! And General Faidherbe says—"The French verb is the great obstacle to our colonization." But think of the mass of people who have learned French! In short, while one is learning French verbs, he may acquire the whole of the international language, Esperanto. Still, French is always considered the easiest language to be learned, being classed as "effeminate" by some scholars.

The genius of Dr. Zamenhof is exhibited at its best in the collection of prefixes and suffixes, which added to the root-words form the greatness of the language, some of these terms may

stand alone and express a definite thought, or may by union give virility to the basal word. *Mal* does not necessarily mean anything in a bad sense, it is used to devote the direct opposite, as; saga, wise; malsaga, foolish. This prefix, by itself, saves learning another root-word, as in English, either adjective or adverb, verb or noun, an economy of nearly a half of a language. As all nouns end in *o* the termination *in* to express feminine gender is added as a suffix but before the substantive termination, as; viro, *et*, indicates the diminutive, as; monto, mountain; monteto, hill. man; virino, woman.

ist, indicates an occupation, as; dento, tooth; dentisto, a dentist. *re*, indicates a repetition as in English; vidi, to see; revidi, to see again.

ne, gives a negation but is not the opposite like *mal*, as; utila, useful; neutila, not useful; malutila, noxious.

There are 31 terminations, easily learned, which form the flexibility of the language, the addition of these terms is by a natural concretion, not violating any grammatical sense, but forming a basis of expansion, far exceeding English and possibly many other languages.

Mr. O'Connor in his dictionary mentions 35 forms and shades of meaning which may be given to the root-word *lern*' meaning to learn,

lerni—to learn,	lernadi—to study,
lerneti—to dabble in learning,	eklerni—to begin to learn,
ellerni—to learn thoroughly,	mallerni—to unlearn,
lernanto—a pupil,	lernejo—a school,
lernejestro—a school-teacher,	lerninda—worth learning,
lernema—studious,	lerne—learnedly,
etc.,	etc.

Esperanto uses the definite article extensively as in English, and, like Volapük, it reduces all scientific words to phonetic spelling.

The following example in Esperanto of the Lords' prayer shows by the arrangement of the words, and all the strength and forcefulness of the English version:—

Patro nia, kiu estas, en la chielo, sankta estu Via nomo, venu regheco Via, estu volo Via, kiel en la chielo, tiel ankaŭ sur la tero. Panon nian chiu tagan donu al ni hodiaŭ, kaj pardonu al ni shuldojn niajn, kiel ni ankaŭ pardonas al niaj shuldantoj; ne konduku nin en tenton; sed liberigu nin de la mal vera, char Via estas la regnado, la povo, kaj la gloro eterne. Amen.

Dr. Zamenhof took a different attitude toward a world language than that assumed by Schleyer. "He did not wish to be the creator, but only the initiator of the international language."

He recognized that one man could not alone create so vast an institution that it would be perfect in all parts of the world, so he offered his work to any academy which might be formed for its revision or supervision, that the members might direct its development as popular needs affected its growth.

Esperantists, however, felt a confidence in Dr. Zamenhof. Instead of organizing a committee of supervision, they preferred to make personal reports in open convention, subject to debate and final ratification by Dr. Zamenhof. Herein lies the power of Esperanto. As needs arise owing to the widespread range of Esperanto, diversities of demands from lingual peculiarities, the annual convention will meet and provide for them. Much was done at the Convention of Geneva in 1906; and more will be done during the Convention at Cambridge, England, in 1907.

To Signore Michaux of Boulogne is due the Esperantizing of international law terms; a medical dictionary in Esperanto is also completed. A scientific body at Paris is now engaged upon an embracement of scientific terms, rapidly all departments are furnishing their share toward the completion of a perfect international idiom.

In 1896, M. Louis de Beaufront threw his indefatigable labors into Esperanto and followed with a journal, "L'Esperantiste", published in 1898, devoted wholly to the interests and advancement of the international language and also to the establishment of the "Society for the Propagation of Esperanto." His grammar, dictionary, commentary are all well known.

Up to this time Esperanto had not invaded Paris, being frowned down upon by the officials, but in 1900 there was founded the first Esperanto group. This was the turning point in France. During the next two years the groups formed in various parts of France could be counted only in hundreds; and in 1902-1903 nineteen Esperanto classes were simultaneously being carried on in Paris, at the present time there are more than 2,000 students in the classes while nearly every town in France has its group. The language is used in the army and Navy of France, and a bill is now introduced to have it taught in the public schools.

England has nearly as many societies, groups and gatherings as France, but while not taking observance of it as a nation England has infused its value into commerce so that now Esperanto forms a part in the curriculum of commercial schools. In the struggle for the worlds' trade supremacy, England and France are making mighty efforts to gain the earliest advantage of the introduction of a world language and in all future international relationships, Esperanto will become an important factor.

“Simpla, fleksebla, belsona, vere internacia en siaj elementoj, la lingvo Esperanto prezentas al la mondo civilizita la soleveran sovon de lingvo internacia.”

WALTER HOWARD FOX, MD., D.D.J.
President of the Esperanto Club of Chicago.

New Movements Amongst the Jewish Proletariat.

VII.

THERE now remains one more point to be considered—the point of the proletarianization of the Jews: Do the Jews proletarianize or not? and if yes, are they then positive or negative proletarians. And this is after all the point at issue. Until now we have endeavored to refute the theory of the Zionist Socialist, first by pointing out the illogical conclusions from their own premises, and then by showing the erroneous conception of the doctrine upon which their conclusions are based. But this would not end the controversy. The Zionist Socialists might now turn the tables by inviting me to explain from my orthodox Marxian standpoint the reasons why Jews in Russia are not permitted to take part in the large industries, why they are not admitted into the large factories, why in America they seek employment mostly in the garment trades, etc. And in corroboration of their own position they might pour down a shower of statistical data collected by the “J. C. A.” (Jewish Colonization Association) and issued in two large, bulky volumes in the Russian language under the title “Materials about the Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia.” Whether they would do so or not, there is no doubt that this is the paramount question, and my treatise would be incomplete without at least an attempt to answer it. I shall, therefore, herewith deal with that subject.

But before proceeding to answer the question a few side remarks seem not out of place.

One point of the Marxian doctrine consists of the so-called *verelendung-theorie*—the theory of impoverishment, which means that with the growth of capitalism also grows the poverty and misery of the workingmen, as well as the dependence and insecurity of the middle classes. The opponents of Marx made this the target of their attacks. By disproving the theory of impoverishment they believe they can refute the whole of the Marxian system. It is not true, they maintain, that the number of the middle class is being reduced, or that the workingmen are getting poorer; on the contrary, the number of the middle men is constantly increasing; instead of middle class men being reduced to workingmen it very often happens that workingmen rise to the ranks of the middle class, and sometimes even to those of the

capitalist; while the workingmen generally live a good deal better nowadays than ever before. This assertion they support with a large number of statistical figures, their contention, in short, being that the middle classes do not proletarianize. In Russia a literary battle was raging for a quarter of a century on a similar point. The Marxists claimed that Russia is bound to pass all stages of Capitalism before it would be ready for Socialism, while the opponents vehemently denied it, claiming and "proving" that Russia's course would not at all be along the lines of capitalistic development, that its path rather lies via the "commune" or the "mir" towards Socialism, their contention having been, in substance: Russia develops neither capitalism nor a proletariat. This battle-cry has, of course, now subsided in view of the glaring facts. But now the Zionist Socialists have raised the same cry with regard to the Jews. The Jews, they say, can become neither capitalists nor proletarians, the curious thing about it all being that while the others have made the assertion, and some keep on making it, in refutation of Marxism, the Zionist Socialists, the new interpreters of Marx, make it in behalf and upon the authority of the doctrine of Marx. Extremes often meet.

I shall touch here upon this subject only in so far as to say that this assertion on the part of these people is due to a misunderstanding of the character of capitalism. "The shadow of the mountain they mistake for the mountain." They don't see that the small industries of to-day are not the petty industries of old, that the small and "independent" contractor of to-day is nothing more than the hired agent of a large capitalist, just as dependent on him as the workingman; that he is in a sense nothing else but a "workingman"—a workingman that has the chance to fleece other workmen.

The characteristic feature of capitalist production consists of the fact that the workman does not possess the tools wherewith to produce, that he stands in no relation with his employer except that he sells him as a free and "independent" man his labor-power for a stipulated sum for a certain time, or rather—an uncertain time; that the contract between him and his employer, being an agreement of two "equal" and free men, can be terminated at will by either of the parties. Whoever works under that system, if he be a driver of horses or a driver of men, works under the capitalistic system and is subject to all its consequences.

It is sufficient to consider this one point to be convinced that a so-called small undertaking of to-day is no more than a part of a large capitalistic concern, with two exploiters instead of one. In this country we can best observe it. We have here a great number of small establishments, especially in the clothing industries; but on a closer investigation we discover that such a "fac-

tory" is only a small part of a larger factory, that the "owner" thereof is nothing but an agent of a large capitalist, and though such an owner is very often better situated (and sometimes worse) than the man he employs, his economic position is in no wise better: He is just as dependent upon the large capitalist, and very often more so, as the workingman. To begin with, the "loft" where his "factory" is located belongs to the owner of the property, from whom it is hired at a monthly rental. The power used, steam or electricity, is supplied to him by another large capitalist, or the same, as the case may be. The machinery in most cases is either hired or at best taken on installment, the raw material he gets of the manufacturer he works for. Even the cash to pay wages is supplied by the same manufacturer, and it very often happens that such a "capitalist" disappears with the few dollars without bidding good-by to his employees. And no matter how base and low such action may be, it is surely not the result of too much prosperity. No man escapes with a couple of hundred dollars out of great pleasure.

It must furthermore be borne in mind that capitalism has called into life a number of new "auxiliary" industries which by their nature are small undertakings, such as the repair of machinery, the grinding of scissors and knives, the repair of bicycles, automobiles, etc. The same phenomenon is to be observed in fields other than manufacturing. The wholesale dealers in tobacco, sugar, oil, coal, flour, steel, coffee, patent medicines, and innumerable well advertised articles, are nothing more than agents, unpaid agents of the single concerns controlling the product of the respective articles. For the purpose of statistical showing and for the opponents of Marx, these "capitalists" are in possession of so many independent establishments; for the Zionist Socialists the workingmen employed in such factories belong to the "negative" proletariat; in truth, however, ten or twenty or a hundred of such "establishments" are but one large concern conducted and managed with the capital of one large, real and positive capitalist, and the workingmen therein are real and positive proletarians. Besides, the large cities of to-day, to a great extent the creation of capitalism, give opportunity for the employment of large numbers of workingmen, proletarians to all intents and purposes, who never in their lives came near a steam or electric machine, as the conductors and motormen on surface cars and railroads, dock laborers, etc. Capitalism has also created an intellectual proletariat, such as book-keepers, traveling salesmen, architects, drug clerks, newspaper reporters, etc. Whoever makes the assertion that all these millions of workingmen are not proletarians, that they can therefore take no part in the reconstruction of society, that those who happen to turn

the big wheels of the huge machines, are the only, the real, the true proletariat—whoever makes such an assertion has no understanding of the working of capitalism, has no conception of the Marxian doctrine and has no right to make any deductions from it whatsoever. Another point in this connection is the character of the very statistics the Zionist Socialists employ to prove their contention.

M. Oppenheimer, a critic of Marx, and also a critic of some of the critics of Marx, speaks of statistics as a very pliable mass which can be twisted and turned to either side one likes. With some dexterous dialectical jugglery, he says, one can prove with statistics anything he pleases. This is only half the truth, as my friend, L. B. Boudin in his excellent work on Marxism in the "Review" of last year very properly remarks. With such statistics one can prove nothing. Statistical figures, like facts, prove nothing by themselves. With them something can be proven, when they are brought in a certain relation in a logical sequence. It would, for instance, be easy to "prove" that 99 men who own no dollar to their name are, every one of them, the happy possessors of five million dollars. All we have to do in such case is to add to the 99 the multimillionaire Carnegie. We shall then have 100 people with, say five hundred millions, which divided per capita would make five millions per head. The figure is correct, but we have proven nothing. This in fact is the way we in America are repeatedly shown by our official statistics to be the happiest people on earth—to the many millions of poor devils several thousand millionaires are added and the capital "divided" per capita. The poor get the credit and the millionaires are left with the cash.

The Jews, more than any other people, are plagued with that sort of statistics; among the various sufferings and pain the Jews were compelled to undergo in their long history of martyrdom statistics are surely not the least. Friend and foe incessantly harrass them with it. From Pogroms they might be spared by the Duma, or by self-defence, or by the revolution, while from statistics the Almighty alone may help them. And what have they not proved against the Jews as well as in their behalf with statistics? "The Jewish people are becoming extinct;" the Jews are multiplying too fast;" "insanity is most prevalent amongst them;" "they yield a large number of great men;" "they are usurers;" "they don't like to work;" "they work too long hours;" "Jews predominate in all industries;" "Jews are not admitted to the factories;" "Jews control the capital of the world;" "Jews are beggars," and a thousand and one other things one contradicting the other, one negating the other.

We shall not here delve into the entangled and futile ques-

tion whether the Jews are a nation or not; whether they show symptoms of national existence or not. Such questions are usually decided on the battle field, as was the case in this country in the time of the Civil War. But whether a nation or not, one thing is quite certain: they are neither a social nor a political unit, and if social and political institutions have any influence upon nations or individuals, and no one ever doubted it, the French or the German Jews would then differ from the Polish or Lithuanian Jews in just as much as the social or political surroundings of France or Germany are different from those of Poland or Lithuania. To throw all the Jews of the different countries into one mass and make statistical deductions is obviously false and unscientific, and just as false and as unscientific it is to make a comparison between the Jews of highly cultivated Warsaw and the peasants of that province, or the Jews of cosmopolitan Odessa and the moujiks of the government of Kherson. But this is exactly what our statisticians do: They know of no other but religious distinction; the fact that the Jews mostly inhabit the large cities, which, with their culture and opportunities for education in spite of the government, with their industry and commerce, with their irregularity of employment, with their insecurity of a livelihood; with their opportunities to get rich, with their hustle and bustle, are productive of genius as well as insanity, of usury, idleness, over-work and unemployment, of riches and poverty, while, on the other hand, the majority of non-Jews in Russia consist of peasants who live in the villages, tilling the soil, which with its monotonous, dull, slumbering and drowsy life produce none of these things,—this fact they leave out of consideration, therefore they can “prove” anything they desire, or they prove nothing.

We are now prepared to approach the question of the proletarianization of the Jews. The Zionist Socialists proceed the same way as the above characterized statistics, with these differences. In the first place their very statistics are incomplete, as the “Materials about the Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia,” the source of their wisdom, expressly admits. Secondly, the “Materials,” as far as they can prove anything, speak loudly against them, and thirdly, they take the figures by themselves without considering all other circumstances, and figures by themselves prove nothing.

According to the “Materials” there really are a number of large factories where Jews find no employment. But there are circumstances explaining it which the “Materials” explicitly point out, and which the Zionist Socialists refuse to take cognizance of. And these are (1) the stubborn refusal of the Jews to work on Sabbath-day; (2) because of the exclusion of Jews from higher

education, the number of trained Jews in mechanical works is very much limited, which circumstance makes it necessary even for Jewish manufacturers to employ non-Jews and are therefore compelled to run their factories on a Sabbath. Thirdly and mainly, the large factories are mostly located in villages and townlets wherefrom Jews are excluded by the "Temporary laws" of 1882. This, once more, bears out our contention that it is the autocracy that is at the bottom of all the trouble. With the autocracy overthrown the chains that fetter the Jews are at once removed; with the "Temporary Laws" repealed, the doors of the higher educational establishments are opened, the barriers of the village removed and with it the barriers to the large factory.

But this is after all not the main point. Of far greater importance is the following: The Zionist Socialists would make us believe that to be employed in a large factory is a "consummation devoutly to be wished."

This view is the result of their misunderstanding of the Marxian position. They take it for granted that according to the "code Marx" it is a great virtue to be a "positive" proletarian. But there is no such thing. Marxism only declares that capitalistic production irresistibly *drives* the middle men to become proletarians; that it *compels* the workman to sell his labor power to the owner of the machine, that it drives him to it *against his will*, and that his exertions and efforts to escape his fate are of no avail. And the means capitalism employs to drive the workingman to the factory can best be studied from the factory laws in England since the dawn of capitalism. And not only civilized England, "barbarous" Russia, since the time of Peter the Great, knew the trick. There had been times in Russia, just as in England, when people were sent to the factories for all kinds of misdemeanors and crimes invented for that purpose. The manufacturers were given the right to acquire serfs by purchase and compel them to work in their factories, the Russian peasant was thus driven to the factory with the knout of the Cossacks, and with what willingness they stayed there can be gathered from the many failures of manufacturing establishments for lack of hands that followed the manifesto of 1861, the peasants having deserted by the tens of thousands as soon as they were freed. The wages were raised four-fold, but to no purpose, the Russian peasant would not stay.* Capitalism in Russia, of course, subsequently found ways and means to get the poor peasant to come begging for work, but this much is certain: out of his own volition he did not go there. And, indeed, it is sufficient to read any account

*). See about this: "Die Russische Fabrik" — by Tugan-Baranowsky, translated from the Russian.

about the condition of the workingmen in Russia to be convinced that the poor devil is not at all to be blamed for it.

The Jews, on the other hand, were never subject to villeinage, they never were serfs, and consequently were never forced into the factory, and of their own good will, or to please the "Marxian" theory of the Zionist Socialists about the positive proletariat they did not flock thereto. The Jews are thus lacking the historical basis of a working class, still less of a factory proletariat. This also is the reason why the existing system is so much in vogue amongst the Jews. This may sound paradoxical, but it is nevertheless the truth.

It is to be remembered that capitalism in Russia is of recent date, its real development having begun only since 1861, after the liberation of the serfs, and until that time only very few Jews pursued industrial employments. In fact, until very lately it was considered a disparagement to have a workingman in the family. It was only dire necessity, and after all the other sources of income had been closed to him that made the Jew take off the "cap of shame" and resolve to become a workingman. But then he had no time to learn any trade thoroughly, it was the necessity for *immediate* earnings that drove him to seek the shop. The division of labor in the garment and kindred industries helped him toward this end, and those industries therefore became the most attractive and desired occupations. To the coal mine, where his father never was, he could not and would not go; to the railroads, mostly belonging to the government, he could not and would not go. To this was added, as a consequence of the "Temporary Laws" of 1882, the emigration. Whoever recollects the beginnings of the Jewish emigration from Russia knows that almost every Jew who contemplated emigrating learned to operate a Singer sewing machine. What else could they do? What could people who lived their lives as small traders, agents or brokers—what could they do in a foreign land without capital—in a land whose language, laws, customs and habits were perfectly strange to them? To learn a "trade" was the only way, and the easiest and quickest thing to learn was the ways of the Singer machine. Thus a "Jewish" clothing industry arose in England and America. Is was not their predilection for the garment trade, nor their inability to become "positive" proletarians,—it was, first of all, the economic conditions, growing out of capitalistic production, which prevented a large number of Jews from procuring a livelihood at their old callings, coupled with the persecutions against them and the consequent emigration that drove them to the shop; it was again this very capitalistic mode of production, the division and sub-division of labor, that made

it possible for them to acquire the required skill in those trades in a short time.

This, it seems to me, is the true explanation of why the Jews are employed in certain trades.

Not much better does it stand with the capitalization of the Jews.

It is a most noteworthy fact, a fact which the Zionist Socialists would do well to remember, that the "National Industry" of Russia is to a great extent not owned by the Russian people. It is rather English, French, German and Belgian capitalists who own and control the greatest part of the industrial undertakings in Russia.* This changes the situation altogether. The learned statisticians are only aware of Jewish and non-Jewish capital. The Socialist Territorialist, following their footsteps, have drawn the inference that not only are Jewish workingmen prevented from proletarianizing, but even the Jewish capitalist cannot enjoy the full cup of blessed capitalism. Now that we know that the great capitalists of Russia are not the Russians, it becomes clear why the Jews are not counted among the great capitalists of the land, though there are some. It is no longer the Jewish capital alone that cannot grow, it is Jewish capital together with the Russian, Polish, etc., that are powerless against foreign capital. And then it may well be, and it undoubtedly is, that a good portion of the foreign capital is owned by Jews—foreign Jews. Capital nowadays works in the form of shareholding companies and no one can tell whether it is a Jew or Gentile who draws dividends from those shares. This may also be the reason why the provinces where the Jews are settled are less developed industrially. Foreign capital naturally seeks to exploit first of all the natural products of the country, like naphtha in the Caucasus (which by the way belongs to our "brethren" the Rothschilds); foreign capital threw itself upon the iron and steel industries, the building of railways, surface cars, coal mines, all industries from which Jews are excluded for the above mentioned reasons.

There hardly seems necessary any more reasons in refutation of the theory of the Socialist Territorialist. Still, a superficial glance at the statistics, from which the S. T. draw their wisdom will convince any one that, if anything, there is more reason to deplore the excessive growth of the Jewish proletariat.

Time and space will not allow me to consider here the large amount of statistical figures gathered in the "Materials about the Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia." I shall, herefore, only consider a few totals. In the six governments of Wilna,

*) See on this subject a most instructive essay of Karl Kautsky in the "Neue Zeit" No 21, 1906; also the above mentioned book by Tugan-Baranowsky.

Vitebsk, Grodno, Kovno, Minsk and Mohilev there were in 1897—1,651 factories, with a total of 41,589 workmen of whom 22,279 or 53.57 per cent were Jews.*

In the governments of Wholin, Kieff, Podolia, Poltava and Chernigoff the correspondents have counted 1,189 factories with a total of 83,280 workingmen, of which number 9,596 or 11.5 per cent were Jews. In the governments of Bessarabia Ecaterinoslau and Tayrid 396 factories were found with a total number of 33,341 employees, and 2,058 of these, or 6.2 per cent were Jews.

In the first six Provinces enumerated, as can be seen, more than half of the factory hands are Jews, while in the others the percentage is a good deal smaller. This, the "Materials" explain, is because in those Provinces most of the factories are located in the villages, where Jews are not allowed to settle, and also because the cane sugar and metal factories, where Jews cannot work for the given reasons, as Sabbath, etc., are mostly in those Provinces. Nor is this all. The "Materialists" omitted one of the most important reasons—the reason that the percentage of Jewish inhabitants in those Provinces is a good deal smaller. In the first six Provinces the percentage being 14 per cent, while in the others it is only about 9 per cent. The percentage of Jewish workingmen is thus almost doubled.

The proletarian character of the Jewish workingmen is best seen when they are divided by sex. Out of the 20,232 Jewish workingmen in the Provinces of Wilna, Vitebsk, Grodno, Kovno, Minsk and Mohilev, 5,492 were married women, 1,749 girls and 1,389 small boys, i. e., women were 27 per cent, girls 8.6, boys 6.8, altogether 41.14. "This proves," the "Materials" remark, "how the factory, little by little, wrecks up the patriarchal form of the Jewish family. There are places to-day where the factory whistle drives whole families out of their houses.**

Jews, thank Heaven, do proletarianize, the Socialist Territorialist may rest easy on that account. They will help construct the new order of society. If we consider all the foregoing we will see what an absurdity the whole "theory" of the Zionist Socialists, and especially the Marxian part of it, is.

No! The Socialist Territorialists will not be the redeemers of the Jewish people. Their help must come from elsewhere!

JACOB MILCH.

*) The "Materials" caution their readers not to rely too much upon their figures. There are two sets of statistics given: Those issued by the Government and the ones the J. C. A. gathered through its correspondents. These figures differ greatly. According to the Government's figures the six Provinces show a total of 2,949 factories with 51,659 workingmen. I use the figures of the correspondents because they also give the number of Jewish workingmen in those factories, which the Government statistics fail to do. The statistics go only as far as 1897.

***) "Materials", 2nd volume, page 217, the Russian Edition.

The Economic Interpretation of History and the Practical Socialist Movement.

IT IS not my purpose to enter into a discussion of the Economic Interpretation of History with the intention of endeavoring to establish its correctness, nor even to investigate the arguments *pro* and *con* which have been urged upon both sides of the question in recent years. I shall only call attention to the main thesis and to such discussion of it as has occurred in the United States so as to illustrate its effects on current political life and, in particular, on the constitution and objects of the socialist movement.

Let us first take the statement of the theory in its pure form as expressed in the Communist Manifesto for this still remains as the clearest and most unmistakable formulation of it.

"In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of production and exchange and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis on which is built up and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes."

This term "economic production and exchange" having been too narrowly interpreted so as to mean changes in the technique of economic production has been further defined as follows by Engels in one of his letters to the "Sozialistische Akademiker" in which he says:

"We understand by the economic relations which we regard as the determining basis of the history of society, the methods by which the members of a given society produce their means of support and exchange the products among each other, so far as the division of labor exists. The whole technique of production and transportation is thus included. Furthermore, the technique, according to our point of view determines the methods of exchange, the distribution of products, and hence after the dissolution of gentile society into classes the relation of personal control and subjection, and thus the existence of the state, of politics, of law, etc. . . . Although technique is mainly dependent on the condition of science, it is still more true that science depends on the condition and needs of technique. A technical want felt by society is more of an impetus to science than ten universities."

ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

This statement fell flat, I mean the general statement with regard to the influence upon institutions and governments of economic conditions, and the reference of all social development and the antagonisms involved in such development to a material and economic basis. The most fruitful of all the ideas propounded by the great man whose real greatness is only just coming to be understood, was far in advance of his time, and it is doubtful if it could have been comprehended even by the more intelligent of his contemporaries, to whom such a point of view was so outre, so beyond their preconceived notions and training, as to be almost grotesque. History and philosophy were both wrapped in a cloudy idealism, a sort of mystical belief in the permanence of certain fundamental ideas of truth, goodness and beauty, which like the cherubin with flaming swords marked the confines of the political Garden of Eden so that such a plain and, one may say, common sense idea would have been scouted as heretic and irreverent. Of course we know that Marx himself arrived at the conclusion as a philosophic result of his attitude to the Hegelian philosophy and more especially in pursuit of certain notions which the reading of Feuerbach had produced in him, as can be readily seen by an examination of the short notes which he made and which Engels has appended to his own criticism of that writer. The genius of Marx therefore raised out of the dry bones of the preposterous Hegelianism that living theory which is to-day dominant in the academic world and at the same time finds a rough practical interpretation and objectivity in the proletarian movement.

One reason for the neglect with which the theory was received is to be found in the method of writing history, which at the very best but aimed to show the triumph of certain ideas at certain periods, and treated of humanity as climbing stage by stage from one abstraction to another. It is precisely this point of view which you will hear expounded in the average protestant pulpit, even at the present day, when the minister wishes to illustrate the working of the Divine Will through the centuries. But then the theologians always have *carte blanche* to be at least fifty years behind the times. It is the boast of protestant liberalism that it is not more than fifty, just as it is the boast of catholicism that it is not less than nineteen hundred years in the rear.

Ten years after Marx had stated this theory in its rough shape Buckle started his ambitious attempt to construct a history of peoples based upon a material, but not an economic, conception of social growth, and, though he was by no means successful, the followers of Marx were grateful for even small mercies, and those who were in the socialist movement in the late eighties will remember that students were always recom-

mended to read Buckle in connection with Marx and Engels. For my own part, I could never see that we derived much benefit from it except perhaps that it taught us to look at a people as a whole and helped to draw our attention from the play of governments and the schemes and counter schemes of politicians. It certainly made a very welcome oasis in the dreary desert of constitutional history and the study of comparative jurisprudence as part of general historical training.

Later on in the seventies, however, an American, Lewis Morgan, published a work called "Ancient Society," founded in the first place on personal investigations of certain Iroquois Indian organizations, which treated history in a new manner and incidentally furnished much material in support of the doctrine of Marx and Engels. The socialists were the first to see the value of Morgan's contribution, and have pushed it wherever possible, in fact they always keep it on sale. Engels made a sort of abstract of the work which he published under the title "The Origin of the Family." It may be mentioned by the way that his treatment of the work in this fashion has lately been the subject of considerable adverse criticism in the British socialist press.

But no real controversy on this question really took place until the Social Democratic party of Germany took up the matter in 1890 and, forthwith, a fierce dispute took place which treated the younger generation to an entirely new view of history and morals. On the one side were social democrats, with the accent on the democrat, the representatives of the petty bourgeois element which had always formed such a conspicuous part of the movement, the element which first carried the red flag in the Paris revolt of 1848 and had proved its incompetency in the failure of the Paris Commune. On the other side were the socialists proper, the proletariat, that new class which has arisen by virtue of modern social conditions. The conflict proceeded on its academic side with much scattering of pamphlets and all the extravagance of language, and distortion of fact which mark a contest of this description, but step by step the sentimentalists were driven back, the Marxists winning all along the line. Other countries naturally became involved in the fight, for it is a natural antagonism, produced by economic conditions and must of necessity occur wherever the modern system penetrates. The result has been the accumulation of vast masses of historical material in support of the theory. The overhauling of records and historical phenomena, particularly with respect to primitive institutions, has been from the point of view of the scholar simply invaluable. It is very doubtful if the universities really recognize how much they owe to the discussion of academic socialism in this respect. To this accumulation most of the nations have made contribu-

tions, of most of which it may be said, however, as the old Scotch lady said of the minister's commentary, "the old Bible made the commentary a great deal clearer." These controversies have made themselves felt everywhere in the practical movement. The conflicting ideas result in struggles for the possession of the organization of socialist parties. The socialist movement everywhere has been agitated by controversy wherever the doctrine here discussed has come to be recognized and a definite application of it has been sought.

The discussion has spread to the United States where the theory of the economic interpretation has been almost enthusiastically adopted by a large number of the progressive university men, while the trend of economic events has prepared the popular mind as far as the popular mind ever bothers with abstractions, for its reception. Indeed, the recent history of this country has produced a condition of mind which renders the average citizen glad to hear a formulated statement of that which has for a long time been knocking at his own consciousness. He has an uneasy feeling that the country is not the country as he was taught to consider it, that the virtue appears to have gone out of its republican institutions, and that this political change has been simultaneous with a complete economic change. As an instance of this I may mention that I happened quite casually to speak of two economic interpretations in the course of conversation with a certain judge, who had been educated in the old school and was well stocked with all those phrases which, mystical and seductive as they are, have made of our politics a sort of *opera bouffe* with all the fun left out. His trained mind at once saw what was involved in the statement and his intelligence and practical experience caused him to understand the idea forthwith. This is only an instance, and I have met many, of the readiness with which the average American will accept the theory, and the eagerness even, which he shows in its adoption.

That this is so has been evidenced by the ever increasing numbers of articles in the leading reviews showing this bias, but it cannot be said that these articles have so far had any practical value. As a rule they show no scholarly grasp of the subject but a desire on the part of the authors to run after a new notion and to make the most of a sensation rather than a serious and earnest purpose to investigate phenomena in the light of this new theory. Such articles have dealt with isolated phenomena like the Spanish American War and their authors have fancied that they have accomplished something when they have shown that that war was conducted in the interests of the greater capitalism.

The best account of the theory published in English is that by Professor Seligman which put the matter in fair light and has

given students an opportunity to grasp the full significance of the idea. But this work is disfigured by a too evident desire of the writer to keep his skirts clear of the taint of socialism, and his endeavors to make two Marxes, one, the genius who propounded the theory of economic determinism, the other, the silly charlatan whose advocacy of socialism is proof of his inborn incompetence, lead him into funny little bogs of unreason and force him to the making of some most illogical and even ridiculous assertions.

But Professor Veblen in his recent work entitled, "The Theory of Business Enterprise" practically takes the theory as true, and in fact his whole view of the social and political relations rests upon and is inseparable from a recognition of the importance of the economic factor. Thus he says:

"Popular welfare is bound up with the conduct of business because industry is managed for business ends, and also because there prevails throughout modern communities a settled habit of rating the means of livelihood and the amenities of life in pecuniary terms. But apart from their effect in controlling the terms of livelihood from day to day, these principles are also in a great measure decisive in the larger affairs of life both for the individual in his civil relations and for the community at large in its political concerns. Modern (civilized) institutions rest in great part on business principles. This is the meaning, as applied to the modern situation, of the current phrases about the Economic Interpretation of History and the Materialistic Theory of History." Again, "Modern politics is business politics. . . . This is true both of domestic and foreign policy. Legislation, police-surveillance, the administration of justice, the military and diplomatic service, all are chiefly concerned with business relations, pecuniary interests, and they have little more than incidental bearing on other human interest." And again, with respect to the comparative values of ethical and economic considerations, the same writer declares, "It is not a question of what ought to be done but of what is the course laid out by business principles; the discretion rests with the business men; not with the moralists, and the business man's discretion is burdened by the exigencies of business enterprise. Even the business men cannot allow themselves to play fast and loose with business principles in response to a call from humanitarian motives."

So that we may consider the point of view of the economic doctrine sufficiently widely received and firmly enough established at the present to accept it at least as provisionally true for the purposes which we have in hand, or at all events not so utterly incongruous with probabilities as to render an analysis of present conditions, with this theory as a guide, preposterously unreason-

able. It may be mentioned, however, in passing that the natural result of the reception of the theory at the hands of both bourgeois and socialists has been a tendency to overestimate its scope, and by making the economic factor the sole factor of social development, to set up a doctrine of economic determinism which could only be tenable by distortion of terms, and certainly was far from the thought of the first propounders of the theory. We do not need to claim that the economic factor is the sole factor, it is sufficient to point out that it is probably the sole constant factor, though even this is perhaps an unnecessary straining of the limits of the doctrine.

To say that it is the dominant factor will be found sufficient for all practical purposes and avoids a tremendous amount of unnecessary argument.

Now, if we grant the terms of the theory as set forth we are involved in a practical matter and one which is of the gravest importance when we come to consider economic conditions, one moreover which cannot be overlooked as it furnishes the key to politics and shows the path of progress. There is but one factor which, in the United States, at all events, can have the effect of ranging men into hostile classes and of precipitating that intellectual, and possibly material, conflict upon the result of which depend the further development of the people of this country and its social and moral welfare. No other factor than the economic factor could range the people into opposing classes. We have practically political equality, and no conflict can possibly arise owing to the possession by one set of men of political privileges which are not enjoyed by another. In respect of moral or intellectual equality, the wise do not form political organizations against the wise, nor the good against the bad or vice versa. There is just one inequality on which men fasten their attention, and which by virtue of its existence has the power to draw men into conflicting classes, gives them class watchwords and class aims, and aligns them for a struggle in order to determine which of the contending classes shall possess the control of the economic power. Thus we find that the country which has granted the greatest amount of individual liberty to its citizens and is at the same time the most clear from the traditional class distinctions, is itself divided into classes which gather themselves round this economic phenomenon.

And that the country is divided into economic classes nobody will venture to deny. It stares at you from the headlines of the newspapers, it confronts you at every turn. Even the President himself, who is generally able to close his eyes to the unpleasant fact, feels called upon to notice it and in a recent speech has said, "No republic can permanently exist when it becomes a re-

public of classes, where the man feels not the interest of the whole people, but the interest of the particular class to which he belongs as being of prime importance. In antiquity republics failed as they did because they tended to become either a republic of the few who exploited the many, or a republic of the many who plundered the few, and in either case the end of the republic was never in doubt, just so in one case as in the other and no more so in one than in the other. We can keep this Republic true to the principles of those who founded it and of those who afterwards preserved it, we can keep it up a republic only by remembering that we must live up to the theory of its founders, to the theory of treating each man on his worth as a man, neither holding it for or against him that he occupies any particular station in life, so long as he does his duty fairly and well by his fellows and by the Nation as a whole." Thus the President voices his alarm at the growing feeling of alienation between various sections of the community, interprets the conditions in terms which are now obsolete appeals to traditions which we are already setting aside in our universities and which have long been practically ignored on the street and in the forum, and as a panacea for the growing discontent offers us a moral gospel based upon the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution, interpreted in terms of an individualism which has been exploded these many years. Place the statement of the President by the side of the plain dry words of Professor Veblen which I quoted and the contradiction is palpably obvious. But the President is perfectly right in one respect, the Republic cannot continue to exist in face of a class war, that is the Republic as he understands it, the Republic of a hundred years ago. As a matter of fact it is dead already for under the forms of the old republic there thrives a moneyed oligarchy under whose influence law is made and war or peace declared. An oligarchy is no less an oligarchy because it rests on universal suffrage any more than the Empire of Napoleon the Third was any the less an Empire because universal suffrage lay at its base, or than Kaiser Wilhelm is any less a War Lord because his subjects have at stated intervals the power of recording their vote. There are therefore economic classes in the United States, classes with conflicting interests. It is not possible to regard the people of the country as an entity, as an undivided whole which can progress simultaneously along moral paths, and of whom it may be truly said, the benefit of one is the benefit of all and the injury of one the calamity of the nation. As a matter of fact the benefits of one class in the community are obtained at the expense of another class or, perhaps, it would be better to say other classes in the community. The economic advantage of one element is

the economic deterioration of another element, and hence occurs an antagonism which has economic foundations, an antagonism which must find its expression.

It may be suggested that if this antagonism is recognized some means may be found which will reconcile the warring elements, and all sorts of expedients have been suggested. The Christians, for example, generally urge submission upon the element which feels the weight of the economic power, and resignation to worldly oppression for the sake of moral development. The Comtists on the other hand, have preached the humanizing of the rich and the recognition on the part of the economic strong of duties to Humanity. Neither of these moral schools have so far appeared to have accomplished much, for the simple reason that neither side to the controversy is its own master. They are both equally in the grip of economic force, just as thoroughly as were Mr. Shaw's characters in the grip of the "life force."

These antagonisms then existing, and having for their basis economic antagonisms, it should follow from our theory, if it is correct, that these divergences and antagonisms find a mirror in the political world. One of the advantages of the democratic system is that it affords a ready opportunity of roughly gauging the political tendencies at a given time by the votes which are cast in favor of certain principles. An examination of present day politics in the United States will show that these economic antagonisms are writing themselves into political history and that the alignment of political parties is according to their acquiescence in or opposition to the dominant economic power. Hence we find a party in power which is the direct exponent of the interests of the dominating economic power. This party undertakes the task of aggrandizing and securing the power of the economically superior, and by the enactment of strong tariff legislation and in other ways aids it in obtaining that greater share of the product which always falls to the lot of the already powerful and in fact signalizes their power.

On the other hand we find a class which feels that it is losing ground and which, with much the same sentimental notions with respect to the Republic as Mr. Roosevelt, still differs from him. For, whereas the President finds in the Republic of to-day, always provided that the *status quo* is not disturbed, the counterpart of the Republic of the founders, the opposition party cries loudly that a fundamental difference does exist, and that the only remedy is to be found in the restoration of the Republic of their forefathers. Hence they cry loudly for the democracy of Jefferson, which they fail to perceive is as obsolete as the mason-todon. They have not learnt that society is constantly changing, a part of the universal process, and that no static government can

be instituted which will defy the ravages of time and the operation of economic evolution. Their views are as jejune as those of the President, but much more mischievous, for whereas the present economic dominant power is in the very nature of things destined to develop into something other, and hence forms but a step in the social, industrial and intellectual development of the country, the victory of the opposing political party would simply mean a backward step and the undoing of much that has hitherto been done. But, as we have already remarked, societies do not travel backward, and hence the party which puts its faith in the individualistic doctrines of the Jeffersonian school is doomed. But that this party has an economic foundation for its existence is sufficiently obvious to those who read its programs and editorials. The predatory trusts, the thieving corporations, the greedy railroads, the monopolistic tendency of modern commercialism are the objects against which its wrath is most energetically hurled. It feels that the man, the individual, the very crux of this philosophy, is being crushed out of existence and it would snatch him from under the wheels of the economic juggernaut. But it may save itself the trouble. The individual man had practically died when the tool developed into the machine and the individual had, by virtue of that fact, become lost in society, just as the work which he put into a piece of fabric was lost in the general product of all the other individuals co-operating in its production in the factory.

It is obvious, however, that though the economic interests of the two classes described are antagonistic, their antagonism is not theoretically irreconcilable, for both of them rest upon the same economic foundations, and consequently hold the same political philosophy. Each party seeks to advance its economic interests within the confines of the present society, neither holds views which are antagonistic to the recognized concepts of social organization. It is true that the one party succeeds, economically, and the other does not; that the economic power of the other is on the decline. But they each appeal to the same legal and philosophic sanctions, each supports the doctrine of liberty of the individual to make contracts and to own property, each regards society, not as the unit, but as an aggregation of units, these units being individuals, who have parted with some of their rights for the advantages of social organization, but who retain undisputably those rights which have been described in the somewhat hyperbolic language of the Declaration, as the "Right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

But there is another economic class whose economic position renders it unable to accept this philosophy of law and government, and which, by virtue of its very existence is bound to chal-

lunge these concepts, that is to antagonize the concepts upon which all modern liberal states have framed their laws and administer their governments, and this class is itself a product of the very conditions against which it is compelled to protest. It has no interest in the theory which recognizes the power of the individual to make individual contracts. Its members are helpless when they come to make contracts as individuals. They are powerless, except as members of organized groups, into which they have been forced, not because of any wisdom or foresight on their part, but because their work has thrown them pell mell into factories and workshops where they have been compelled to associate. They have been obliged to develop a class consciousness and solidarity by reason of this association to which they are driven by the conditions under which they labor. Hence their attitude, latent, for the most part, it is true, but brought into consciousness when the matter is explained to them, is as regards the existing state, revolutionary. They seek to mirror that association which they have been compelled to form on the economic field in the government. They have no interests in the maintenance of property rights, which the law recognizes, because they have no property. They simply possess their labor force which they sell from day to day. The price which they obtain for that laborforce is not dependent on their strength or skill as individuals, generally speaking, but simply upon the power of their associations, upon the strength which they are able to bring to bear upon their employers by and through their organizations. The very nature of their work moreover is inimical to the individualistic idea. They labor not in their own strength, but by virtue of the strength of their associated fellows. Their product is not their own product but the product of associated effort. The rewards of their toil are not the rewards of individual effort, but the terms which their associated strength has managed to wring from the possessor of the machine without which they are not able to earn a living. The ownership of these by individuals, real or fictitious, in accordance with the laws of private property, upon which rests the present social structure, separates them from the ownership of themselves. They recognize in the legally established rights of private property, the force which deprives them of their own existence as individuals, for, when they sell their labor power they sell themselves.

Here we come to the antithesis in modern society, here is the essential antagonism which cannot be bridged. Either the dominant power must maintain its dominance and so doing perpetuate an industrial slavery, in which case society would tend to become stationary, and so perish, or it must be overthrown by the new power which has arisen in the objective phenomenon of

an associated proletariat. Of course between these two extreme possibilities lies the possibility of a host of compromises. Though it must be considered that no compromise is a settlement, for in such a case also we should arrive at a stationary condition of society which means death. The intellectual, social and political progress of the nation depends upon a continuance of the conflict. But every compromise implies a weakening of the fundamental doctrines upon which the present state rests, and constitutes for all the purposes of the student of history a step in a definitive revolution. Hence, as the philosophy underlying the present republic is a philosophy of individualism, so the philosophy underlying the revolutionary movement is one of association, a philosophy which has received the name socialism.

It must be noted here, however, that these two opposing philosophies regard the state from very different standpoints. The modern state was founded in the name of certain abstract ideals, and hence has come to be regarded as an ideal representative of society, a sort of impeccable, untouchable holy of holies. According to some writers indeed it carries almost a mystical character. This notion of the state is also explainable from an economic position, but there is here no opportunity of examining it from that standpoint. To the proletarians, however, the state merely represents an instrument, a developed social tool, which at present accomplishes the work of its proprietors, the economic masters, as it will accomplish the work of the revolutionists when they become economic masters in their turn. In their hands it loses all ideal qualities and becomes a simple register of force and a means for the employment of force by the party which has the control of it. This idea of the state rises from the position of economic inferiority which they occupy and in which they have realized to the full how the power of the State is employed against them, in defiance of all those abstract qualities of liberty and equity with which it has been endowed by its present possessors. In their associations these working people have had to institute governments on their own account, they have learned roughly the scope and limitations of such governments and measure all governments in terms of their experience, for when the force of economic evolution drove the proletariat to the formation of organizations it also drove him to make governments for those organizations.

So we have arrived at the economic reasons for the existence of the philosophy of socialism and the attitude which that philosophy adopts to the foundations of modern society and the state. But we have to push our inquiry still a step further. Behind the socialist philosophy stand the individual men of whose brains it is a product and who seek to realize the philosophic

concepts in actual facts, that is to impress them upon the law and politics of their time. These men form themselves into associations and the course taken by these associations in pursuance of their objects political, social, and ethical is termed the socialist movement.

Now it might be supposed that these people being so associated and having a common aim would be agreed at least upon the main lines of their advance. But, as a matter of fact this movement, wherever it has spread, has been divided into two sharply distinguished parties. And here again, we may employ our doctrine and arrive at an explanation of this phenomenon also by means of the economic formula.

Referring to the statement from the Communist Manifesto, again, we see that social progress has been the result of the conflict waged by an economically oppressed class against its oppressors. Hence socialism as the philosophy of the oppressed appeals to the idealistic and poetically minded people belonging to classes other than the proletariat. These classes enter the movement with their idealistic views and the bourgeois intellects. Now one way in which the antagonism existing to a given state of society is made evident is by picturing a condition of society which is the entire opposite of that which has provoked the antagonism. Thus to the feudal system we get contrasted pictures of a perfectly free state, in which the individual is unshackled by all the bonds of feudal superiority and caste, a state of anarchy, in short, using the term, not in its popular but in its philosophic sense. So the present conditions of society are denounced inferentially by the picturing of a state of society differing from the present in every essential particular, a state in which competition and individualism no longer exist, but are abolished, the details of which imaginary conditions of society vary according to the whim of the individual writer, from the poetic Arcadia which William Morris drew in his "News from Nowhere" to the shoddy picture of the vulgar bourgeois socialistic ideal of "Looking Backward." Forthwith our bourgeois friends proceed to realize their model State. They go into the wilderness, like Owen, there to found a new society or they merely form clubs and pass resolutions like the American Bellamyites. But with these vagaries the proletariat has nothing to do. And their propaganda like all purely idealistic propaganda proves abortive. Sometimes it proves to be even worse, especially when the advocates of utopias plan violent revolts against political systems, and under certain circumstances, get a proletariat following. Then the modern state puts forth the strong hand against such immature enterprises and death and destruction mark the path of the amiable dreamers who have taken the sword and proved their in-

capacity for anything but platform heroics. Such was the Commune of Paris, the leaders of which were well meaning idealistic bourgeois men of much feeling and some talent, but, for the most part hopelessly incapable and without the least appreciation of the real strength and meaning of the socialist philosophy. This class is, however, too small to have any effect upon the movement in its recent developments particularly as the proletarian element is becoming better educated and economic conditions are having an effect upon the mental structure of its members.

There is a still larger and more important class which is generally termed the petty bourgeoisie. This class is very nearly proletarian but not quite so. It consists to a great extent of small industries, clerks, unsuccessful members of the professions and incompetents of the middle classes, who, being unable to make their way, under existing conditions, in the society in which they have been reared have flocked into the ranks of the socialist army and constitute in a large number of instances the public exponents of the socialistic movement. The small traders and others whom we have mentioned in that category are to a large extent people who make their living by supplying the needs of the proletarians, keeping small stores, small saloons, and following other occupations which bring them into close touch with the proletarian class. In fact very many of them have been proletarians but for some reason or other have left the ranks of the wage earning classes and set up for themselves, very frequently making less money than the proletarians and being often in a much more precarious position, as their occupations are constantly threatened by the competition of the great firms which in their turn are part of the capitalist class against which the propaganda of the movement is directed. These two classes the idealists and the petty bourgeois formed the first adherents of the socialist movement, they and a number of workmen by no means typical of their class, peculiar people, in fact, just as peculiar as those members of the middle classes who take up with unconventional religions. As a matter of fact, socialism was with these people a sort of religion of a materialistic kind, their meetings were and as a matter of fact are to-day a sort of dogmatic clubs, where the balm of human ills is found in the recital of certain formulas, and the Co-operative Commonwealth represents the *summum bonum*, a sort of Kingdom of Heaven.

These people are enamored of a certain concrete thing which they call socialism. But they are shrewd bargainers and are ready to take anything that comes, hence they constitute what is called the opportunist wing of the socialist movement which under the leadership of Jaures in France, Bernstein in Germany, and Turati in Italy are trying to make terms with the capitalistic

state and to obtain specific reforms, none of which it will be seen go to the amelioration of the conditions of the working class as the working class, but tend to relieve the small bourgeois of certain burdens which he desires to throw off at the expense of the greater capitalist. This attack upon the greater capitalism enables the opportunist to still retain the socialist name, and gains for him a certain electoral support among the proletarians who are not informed on matters economic but are willing to throw in their lot with anything which smacks of socialism.

The war between these people and the conscious proletarians is to-day agitating every division of the socialist movement in every country. Every organization which contains these two elements resolves itself into two parties. The reason for the division is not always obvious but there it is and it has come to be recognized. So closely, in fact, do the qualities of the combatants, correspond with their several economic environments, that one may classify the vote on a given question in advance by knowing the economic character of the voters. The elements which gather round the exponents of the two opposing tendencies are always the same. Every program bears the marks of the controversy, every political utterance of the party at large in this country varies as one or other element is in the ascendancy.

It is easy to discover the economic basis of the proletarian class. It is the product of the machine industry and its mental characteristics are influenced by the environment in which it labors. Its work at the machine has given it a materialistic rather than idealistic trend. It has a peculiarly logical disposition produced as Professor Veblen points out by always working from cause to effect and being continually engaged in a co-ordinated process every step of which tends to a desired logical result, and which affords no play for the emotions or the imagination. This class by virtue of the necessities of the modern industry and the political system which they have produced and which places individuals on a footing of practical equality, receives an education, and the first generation of these educated proletarians is coming into the socialist ranks, and finding the petty bourgeois in possession forthwith opens a conflict with him for the control of the movement. The proletarian brings his peculiar mentality and his lack of patience with ideals, he does not project his imagination into dreams of the Co-operative Commonwealth. He sees that the capitalistic system is the enemy and he is prepared to give battle to the system and to employ against the capitalistic class the tool of society, the government, precisely as in earlier stages of his fight he has employed the strike and the boycott against the individual capitalist. He refuses any compromises unless they be of such a nature as directly affect his own personal welfare.

or that of his children, but as such compromises would go to the very root of the system and could not be acquiesced in by the class in possession, since they would materially affect the sources of its power, he is revolutionary in his politics. And this attitude too it will be observed is the direct product of his peculiar economic environment.

Thus by empirical investigation of the facts of political life we arrive at the conclusion that the economic interpretation is at least a rough guide to the explanation of those political differences upon which the vitality of public life depends and is even explanatory of the essential and vital differences which agitate the organizations of the socialist movement.

AUSTIN LEWIS.

EDITORIAL

The Chicago Elections.

In spite of the existence of the Daily Socialist and the active campaign which has been carried on, in spite of the steady increase in Socialist membership, literature and general activity the Socialist vote in Chicago fell off nearly fifty per cent at the recent election.

One of the regular amusements after each such election is figuring out "how it all happened". In this case it seems to be a recurrence of an old story, a strong radical fight. Dunne had been mayor for two years. He had been elected on the platform of immediate municipal ownership. During his term of office the traction question had been kept constantly before the voters. As a consequence a large proportion of the working-class electorate had been swept away in the general excitement over this question until its importance was ridiculously exaggerated.

When, therefore, there came what was apparently a final struggle on the question of municipal ownership many of those whose Socialism was but indefinite and confused were swept off their feet. They rallied to the support of what they supposed was the great enemy of the traction trust. The result showed that the election had all been framed up before the nomination of Dunne. Roger Sullivan, the Gas boss, with "Hinky Dink", "Bath House" John, "Smooth", Ed Cullerton, and a number of similar characters, who really control the Democratic machine, had sold out before election to the Republicans, and when the votes were counted it was proven that they had delivered their men for Busse. So it was that the radicals who deserted the Socialist ticket in order to "save Dunne" found that they had simply been sold for suckers.

The men who had nominated Dunne had used him simply to prevent the rise of a Socialist vote, and to the everlasting disgrace of the working-class voters of Chicago, the scheme succeeded. When the votes were counted it was found that all that Dunne had received was the votes of the honest, foolish radicals. The regular Demo-

cratic machine had gone for Busse, leaving these saviours of the city to hold the bag.

Busse is frankly and openly the candidate of plutocracy. He is pledged to turn over to his backers,—the Morgan, Field, Ryan, Belmont interest a group of the most valuable franchises ever disposed of in America.

So far as the Socialist movement is concerned there are certainly more Socialists in Chicago to-day than ever before in its history. There is twice as much, or more literature being circulated. The membership of the party is constantly growing, and there is everywhere a greater interest in Socialism.

The present set-back is only a part of the educational process through which the average radical seems to be compelled to pass before he reaches the point of becoming a Socialist. He will return once or twice to his old folly, but this time he would seem to have received a lesson which should teach him the futility of further dependence upon the old political parties, whatever may be their pretensions.

There is now a period of over eighteen months until the next election in Chicago. That period will give opportunity for the sort of steady organization and education that forms the only firm foundation for a socialist movement. That the opportunity will be seized by the Socialists of Chicago and that the next election will tell a different tale may be accepted as a certainty.

In fact, it would seem as if this election marked the high tide of what might be called the Hearst radicalism in the United States. It is not probable that a man more radical than Dunne will be found outside the Socialist Party. His honesty was unquestioned. With the fatal exception of his use of the police during the teamsters' strike he had managed to dodge most places where the capitalist influences would have forced him to take a class position.

Yet his defeat and that of his policy was complete, and the Democratic party is turned out of the city government which has been controlled by that party, with but few breaks, for almost a generation. The radical wing of the Democratic party is completely discredited and disrupted. Hearst's influence has been largely lost and it is hard to say in what direction those voters will turn who have been following him, if not to the Socialist Party.

The Socialists went through the campaign without in the least degree compromising their position or relaxing their class-conscious attitude. In fact, the party membership never increased more rapidly than during the campaign, and it is certain that this increase will continue for some months to come.

Under these conditions the Socialists of Chicago have little cause to complain. It is probable that in the years to come this campaign will be looked back upon with as great satisfaction as any

through which the party has ever passed, because it will mark the gaining of a new strength and clearness, and mark the turning point towards the upward growth that leads to victory.

* * *

Socialist Politicians.

With increased strength comes increased responsibilities and increased dangers. The Socialist party has now reached a point where it offers certain rewards of an immediate personal nature to those who do its work.

A result of this is the appearance of the politician in the Socialist ranks. This is not always a bad thing. Politicians, like political machines are not in themselves either hurtful or helpful. All depends upon the purposes for which the man and the machine are used and methods employed in their utilization.

As the Socialist Party grows strong enough to offer the prospect of political success it is certain to receive recruits who come only because of the hunger and thirst for the emoluments of office. Such men usually come directly from the old party machines. They come with a wealth of advice on how to win elections. They care very little for principles and all for political results. They turn the party into a great vote-gathering machine, instead of an educational and propagandist institution.

Against this type of politician the Socialists are generally fairly well armed. Here and there a local organization will be duped by some designing individual, but on the whole the ear-marks are so plain and the actions of such persons so at variance with all socialist traditions and politics that their activity soon ends.

Some of the more insignificant specimens of this type continue to develop little internal machines, to look for cheap "graft" and to seek to impose themselves upon the membership in various ways. Yet there is such a constant reaction against this sort of thing that such schemers soon find themselves completely outside the Socialist Party.

There is another class of politician peculiar to the Socialist Party, in whom there is so much of good that it is with regret that the very real evil that accompanies him must be pointed out. Such are the men, who are often, in many ways the most active in the party, who do the official work of committees, and maintain the party machinery.

In so far as this work is done, as it is in the majority of cases as a duty to be performed and with a full recognition of being an agent of the organization, it is a work that cannot be praised too highly.

But with the growth of the party there has begun to rise a class of men and women who love the little brief authority which official position permits them to usurp. In return for this sense of authority they are willing to perform most valuable and arduous work.

Having secured an official position, which probably no one else wanted, and for the acceptance of which by him the others were truly grateful, there comes a tendency to exaggerate the importance of the office. Instead of looking upon himself as the servant of the party he begins to feel and act like a ruler.

This attitude becomes especially evident where two or three or more such persons are serving together upon a committee. At once the committee begins to set itself up as above the organization that appointed it. So far has this gone that several times in the history of the Socialist Party and the organizations that preceded it, criticism of certain committees has come to be considered as a sort of lese majeste.

In the smaller towns this sort of a tendency generally centers in one man, whose "pernicious activity" in more than one instance has destroyed the whole socialist movement in the locality. Every organizer can recall places where the man who was pointed out as the "most active worker in town" was really killing the movement by his well meant officiousness.

In the great cities this same tendency is apt to develop an "inner ring" or clique, which is always most vehement in denying its own existence. Indeed it is probable that in many cases those who have established a "benevolent feudalism" over a local organization, like benevolent despots of all ages, think they are sacrificing themselves for the movement. They really imagine that the delegate body or the committee to which they belong is the center of the whole party and is composed of persons who are quite above the common clay. Instead of doing the will of the membership they seek to govern the rank and file. They talk about "representing the party" in a voice of authority to the membership of the party itself. The ultimate result of such work is to disgust the less militant and enthusiastic and drive them away from the party and to rouse the righteous indignation of the more beligerent to the point where an internal revolution occurs that relegates the would-be political bosses to the back-ground for a time.

An incidental result of the activity of this type of politician is the formation of factions within the party, who follow personal leaders rather than principles. Such things are a matter of course in the capitalist parties, but they are deadly to the Socialist movement.

One of the first consequences of the formation of such personal followings is that the socialist politician, who may have taken his

official position with no other motives than the feeling of duty to perform a necessary task, begins to set about constructing and repairing his political fences. He is jealous of any encroachment upon his preserves by any other department of the party, and personally "knocks" everything not under his especial supervision.

As the party grows in size the number and virulence of this type of politician will increase. In some ways it is the special type of the Socialist Party. The great difficulty in dealing with the problem is the mixture of good and bad which must be dealt with. Some of these men are the most active and valuable men in the Party and are frequently unconscious of the evils they are doing.

It is not a situation which can be met with some sweeping panacea. It does not accomplish much to "fire" one set of such politicians, only to make way for another.

The only remedy seems to be the somewhat prosaic one of education of the membership to the necessity of doing their own thinking, and also of performing their own share of the official work of the party.

It is no uncommon thing to find the central committee of a great local composed almost entirely of young and inexperienced members who have been sent down by the older members in order to give the new recruit a knowledge of "how the party does things," and also because the older members had grown somewhat tired of the round of mechanical duties.

It is the easiest thing in the world for one politician of the type just described to get control of such a Central Committee and mold it to his purposes.

The rank and file should insist that they are the party and propose to rule and should sharply "call down" the petty politician whenever he tries to usurp authority. All delegated bodies should be kept constantly informed of the fact that they are expected to do work and not to formulate policies or run the party membership.

Once that the existence of the danger of the Socialist politician is recognized the danger has passed.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

A legal battle of national importance was the Steve Adams trial at Wallace, Idaho, and yet it received little attention in the daily newspapers, the accounts usually being garbled or condensed to a few lines and shoved into some obscure corner to make room for detailed reports of the Thaw-Nesbit-White nastiness. Thanks, however, to the Socialist and labor newspapers, which do not pander to the depraved tastes of humanity, the workers obtained some information of the progress and final result of the Adams trial, which was regarded as merely the prelude of the forthcoming struggle in which Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone are defendants. The admission of an alleged confession wrung from Adams while in duress by the mine owners' chief thug, McParland, and the flippant attempt of the prosecution to pick out some other date upon which Taylor was supposed to have been murdered, after the defense had established an alibi, indicates to what lengths the persecutors of the miners will go in order to secure convictions and railroad innocent men to the gallows. In spite of the fact, too, that the prosecution's case had utterly collapsed and an acquittal was awaited on all sides the jury conveniently disagreed and now a second trial is announced for sometime in the fall, although there is a feeling that the state's attorneys will nolle the case and let themselves down easy. Nevertheless the fact stands out clear that class interests dominated the jury in the Adams case as thoroughly as in the first trial of President Shea, of the teamsters, in Chicago. The capitalist elements on both juries were as uncompromisingly class-conscious as any workers ever thought of being.

Contrary to expectations, the trial of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone was again postponed last month and will probably be in progress when the Review reaches its readers unless further delay is resorted to by the shifty prosecutors, who have been in a sorry state of mind ever since Adams deserted them as a chief witness. It is claimed that the mine owners' attorneys have no evidence to bolster up their case other than that which will be offered by Orchard, the degenerate who boasts of having killed twenty-six people, and his tutor, McParland. Both of these worthies are already discredited in the eyes of the people the country over, and it is difficult to understand how an honest jury could place the slightest credence in the stories of these two disreputable characters. It is not improbable that the mine owners, seeing the handwriting on the wall, will sneak a few of their benchmen into the jury box, and, if they are unable to obtain a conviction, secure a disagreement, as in the Adams trial.

Usually those who have a bad case fight for delay and the postponement of the evil day. Unquestionably the mine operators will have the loyal support of Gooding and the balance of the Idaho politicians in whatever scheme may be adopted, and if further delay is decided upon it will be regarded as good fortune. Up to the present time the politicians and Pinkertons have already held up the state of Idaho for \$103,000 in this celebrated case, and the longer the persecution can be continued the greater the graft upon which the barnacles can fatten. Just the same the action of Western mine owners and their Pinkertons and politicians is having its effects. Never before, at least not during the present generation, has there been such a tremendous outburst of indignation against the ruling class and such loyalty and solidarity manifested in the ranks of the workers to safeguard their rights. Of course, it is to be regretted that Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone are being martyred, are compelled to suffer as did other unfortunate men and women in the past, but, as "the blood of the martyr is the seed of the church," there is not the slightest doubt that the Western miners have become historic figures whose names will inspire the working class of this and coming generations to struggle for grander ideals constantly. Certain it is that the monster Capitalism is digging its own grave, just as the slave power and every other form of tyranny sealed its own doom by brutal, merciless oppression. On the other hand it is gratifying to note that during the progress of this drama many of the bickerings and jealousies among individuals and groups of workers have been almost forgotten in the spontaneous movement of protest and defense that is on all over the country, and by common consent all rivalries are submerged by this greater question. Not only are the workers becoming more firmly united upon the industrial field as a result of this object lesson, but they are also beginning to understand the necessity of political unity to give battle successfully to the common enemy. It requires no extraordinary foresight or the gift of prophecy to become convinced of the fact that the workers are rapidly progressing toward socialism in the hope of finding relief from capitalism and all its train of evils.

Another court case that has a national aspect will soon be called in Cleveland. The life of the present national eight-hour law is at stake. For years the government work contractors along the lakes have disdainfully ignored the eight-hour law. They coolly declared, that they did not believe that the law was enacted to be obeyed, but merely to be pointed to with pride during political campaigns and winked and smiled at the balance of the year. However, the grumbling of labor during the past few years and the recent threats to go into politics had the effect of throwing a scare into the office-holding patriots, and as a consequence orders were issued to the United States district attorneys to raid the plutocratic law-breakers—the sanctimonious gentlemen who are everlastingly sermonizing labor upon the necessity of being law-abiding. Eight contracting concerns were arrested and brought into court at Cleveland. It soon developed that they had combined to attack the constitutionality of the eight-hour law. Eight of the highest priced corporation law firms in the country have been employed and the eight-hour law is to be proceeded against from various angles in the campaign to wipe the measure from the statute books. The fact that Standard Oil attorneys, as well as those representing the various waterway combines, have been

called into the case indicates that the capitalist class of the whole nation will give the closest attention to this contest and that the effects will be most far-reaching and of vital importance to the working class. It will be a duel which will settle for all time the constitutionality of the eight-hour law or the work of years in securing the enactment of the measure will be wiped out by a stroke of the pen. Both sides admit that the case will finally go to the United States Supreme Court, and, judging from the actions of that body in the past, the outlook is not reassuring.

Joseph Leiter the American grand duke who operates mines at Zeigler, Ill., without regard to union conditions or state or local laws, has been found guilty. by a jury on the charge, of violating the state mining laws in employing a mine examiner who had not been authorized by the state mining board to act in that capacity. It was because of his plutocratic-anarchistic defiance of all laws and regulations that a terrible explosion which blew out the lives of half a hundred miners occurred at Zeigler about two years ago. No sooner had the catastrophe taken place when Leiter announced in the capitalist press that union miners were responsible for the deed, despite the fact that a high fence surrounds his property and that it is guarded by an army of deputies, cannon, searchlights and other implements of war. Needless to add that Leiter never gave out detailed information or proof of any kind to substantiate. Being a multi-millionaire and a monarchist in belief and practice, he imagined that his mere word was sufficient and to doubt it was high treason. Leiter is an excellent type of the Parry-Post aggregation of capitalists, who, under hypocritical guise of the so-called open shop movement, are attempting to destroy the trade unions. They are imbued by the same spirit and hold much the same views regarding the working class as do the grand dukes in Russia. Leiter intends to carry his cases to the highest courts in the land, it is announced. It will be worth while watching to see whether he lands in the penitentiary or goes to the gallows. Chances are that he will go scot free and continue his lawlessness. A mine operator can destroy as many lives as he pleases, while a mine worker may be incarcerated for months and be in danger of stretching hemp for daring so much as to organize a union for self-protection. This is a great country, indeed. The flag waves and the eagle screams for all—on the Fourth of July.

The strike of the shipbuilders along the lakes reveals a condition of affairs somewhat extraordinary. The American Shipbuilding Co., a trust that controls the industry on the lakes, has barely tolerated laboring people to work in its yards. Although they built and repaired ships, exercising the highest skill and performing the hardest kind of labor, they were not officially recognized as being at all human. The trust officials boasted that they operated the open shop system and organization among employes would not be tolerated. What was their surprise to find all their boilermakers, riveters, fitters and other skilled men in nearly all the yards walk out. The bosses were so amazed that they refused to make a statement of any kind to the newspapers, although daily importuned to do so. They refused to talk for the reason that the strike revealed the peculiar fact that the strikers at some of the yards had walked out to enforce demands which, if acceded to, would actually have meant a slight reduction in their wages. They hoped to gain not

only recognition of their organization, but arrangement of hours, wages and other conditions with the highest officials, and for all the yards and on uniform lines. The trust operated under that idealic skinning scheme that has become so popular with many combines of pitting one yard against another. The superintendents, anxious to win promotion or higher salaries, were the sole judges in all labor questions—that is, where the cost of production was always cheapened and never increased. Hence the “supes” were hostile to unions, whittled down wages here, lengthened hours there, played one gang of workers or a whole yard against supposed rivals, injected religious and racial prejudices, and resorted to every method imaginable to keep the workers divided so that they might be rushed and driven like dumb cattle. The shipbuilding trust must pay interest on its bonds and dividends on its watered stock and the money can be obtained in no other way than to take it out of the hides of the working class.

In nearly all strikes nowadays the workers bump into trusts or associations of employers who are organized to extend mutual assistance. The days when it was possible to play one employer against his compelitor are about gone, never to return, no matter what fool promises are held out by so-called trust-busters. Not alone in shipbuilding, but in marine and railroad transportation, in mining, in iron and steel and other manufacturing lines we find combinations confronting the workers that issue ultimatums, and, where it comes to a rupture, are supported by all organizations of capital directly interested. To make anything like a successful fight it is necessary for the workers to keep pace with economic development and organize along industrial lines as rapidly as possible without causing unnecessary friction and thus defeating the ends sought. Industrial organization has its dangers, however, and it would be foolish to worship that form any more than to continually prate about the alleged advantages of trade autonomy. Today the trust that is not too greatly overcapitalized can lock its doors, throw the keys out of the window, watch prices for its products advance to the prohibitive point, and the magnates can wine and dine upon the best that the land affords while the workers are being starved into submission. The capitalist doesn't bother to ask, “Are you an industrialist or a trade autonomist,” and, paradoxical though it may seem, it frequently occurs that the more workers oppose the capitalist the quicker a strike is broken by its own weight or numbers. The feeding question in these big movements has become the dominating problem. Strikers and their families must eat, have clothes, pay rent, etc. But suppose that two million workers went on strike at the ballot-box against the whole capitalist brood! There is no starvation or suffering to face in such a proceeding. It will have to come to that and it will when we have had enough object lessons. And the capitalists are doing their level best to supply them.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

GERMANY.

The decrease in the Socialist representation in the Reichstag has produced some interesting results. The bourgeoisie are now called upon to do something with their great majority, besides use it to fight the workers. But they have no positive definite program, and constantly they seem to have lost themselves in an endless round of profitless discussion. So far has this gone that there is a general recognition of what has been designated as the "intellectual bankruptcy of the Reichstag."

However Bebel succeeded in rousing the Reichstag to something like its old form a short time ago with a speech on the misuse of the government during the last election. He gave instance after instance of intimidation and governmental interference and showed that the "Anti-Socialist League" had almost been made a branch of the government.

The circulation of the Berlin Vorwärts shows a remarkable increase within the last few years. The following table gives the circulation since January 1906.

January 1, 1906.....	99,800	December 1, 1906.....	121,000
April 1, 1906.....	108,000	January 1, 1907.....	123,000
July 1, 1906.....	112,000	February 1, 1907.....	130,000
October 1, 1906.....	116,000	March 5, 1907.....	138,000

HUNGARY.

The national convention of the Hungarian Socialists met at Budapest on the 31st of March. The principal question before the convention was that of universal suffrage. The battle for this right has reached an acute point during the last year. The opposition has become solidified as the prospect of success for the proletariat grows closer. Hitherto the Socialists have supported such of the bourgeois parties as were pledged to universal suffrage. At the present time there is not one of these parties that is unreservedly pledged to give the right to vote to the workers. As a consequence the tactics of the socialists must be changed and this will be one of the principal subjects at the convention.

Another question that is of paramount importance in Hungary is the extreme misery of the farming proletariat. Over five million farm laborers exist upon an income of \$30 to \$40 a year, living upon

foul water and fouler bread. In spite of exceptional laws and the closest interpretation and brutal enforcement of the laws against organization a strike of these workers was brought about during the past year and some advantages gained.

The rapid extension of farming on a large scale is increasing this population and aggravating their condition. Emigration is impossible, owing to the great expense for transportation compared with their penniless condition.

Although the most ferocious legislation is in preparation to prevent further uprising of this class, yet it must be in vain since their revolt is a purely elementary one, caused by their desperate condition and would be unaffected by any repressive legislation.

Over 50,000 of these farm laborers are already organized, but the organization is many times more powerful than its numbers would indicate, as it is practically impossible for people in such a condition to support an organization, but they will all respond to the existing union's demands.

One of the principal tasks of the Socialist Party during the immediate future will be to extend and improve this organization so that it may be used for both political and economic purposes.

The Hungarian Socialist Party is an exclusively trade union organization. Only in its central body does it take on a political character.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ancient Society, by Lewis H. Morgan. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Cloth, 570 pp., \$1.50.

If almost any European scientist were asked to name the five greatest Americans, he would include Lewis H. Morgan in the list. Yet, the majority of Americans, even of the class which calls itself educated, have scarcely heard his name. Even those who follow the same line of study as that in which he was a master, are inclined to belittle his work and to speak of its being "supplanted by later research," or "having grave defects," or some similar ponderous, meaningless criticism.

Yet the fact is that Lewis H. Morgan laid the foundation of the comparative study of human institutions, particularly of the family, and that the principles which he uncovered have never been disproved. Nor have any of the multitude of works that have since appeared approached in any way the masterful treatment which he gave the subject, to say nothing of having supplanted him. This does not say that there has not been progress in this field, but that progress has been piecemeal, and most of the writers have been so consciously seeking to avoid that which gave Morgan his strength that they have vitiated their own work.

The reason for this attitude is apparent on a study of Morgan's work. As has been said by others, and especially by Engels, Morgan does for prehistoric society what Marx did for capitalism. He analyzes its basis and explains its dynamic forces in terms of the industrial base of society. To secure the material for this study he spent years among the Iroquois Indians, having been adopted by them into their tribal organization.

In his first chapter we find the division into historic periods that has now become classic, of savagery, barbarism and civilization, with their subdivisions, all based upon the methods of producing and distributing the necessities of life. The second chapter on "The Arts of Subsistence" traces the gradual evolution of the methods by which mankind has acquired control over the earth.

From this base he proceeds to a consideration of the "Growth of the Idea of Government," and once more lays down an epoch-making outline in showing the evolution from the first sex divisions on through gens, phratry, tribe and nation. Although this is based upon his researches among the Iroquois, yet he brings to the support of his position a wealth of facts from Grecian and Roman history.

Next comes "The Growth of the Idea of the Family," where this great human institution is traced through the various forms which property relations have given it in the progress of the race. Here

also he brings to the support of his position the fruits of wide research and investigation in widely separated fields.

The final division of the book treats of the "Growth of the Idea of Property," and especially its relation to forms of the family and methods of inheritance.

It is one of the things which must always redound to the credit of the socialists of America and the world that they have recognized the scientific value and significance of Morgan's great work. It will always remain one of the most striking illustrations of the triumph of class prejudices over love of truth that the so-called scientific world of America has constantly sought to belittle and suppress this work.

The present edition for the first time places the book within the reach of the average working class reader. It is well printed and bound and will prove a valuable addition to the library of any Socialist.

A History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to the final Restoration of Home Rule at the South in 1877. Vols. VI and VII, by James Ford Rhodes. The Macmillan Co., Cloth, \$2.50 a volume.

With these two volumes another great history of the United States is completed. Owing to the limited period which is covered, this work occupies a niche of its own. The two last volumes cover the period from the close of the Civil War to the removal of the troops from the South by Hayes. This was the period of "Reconstruction" when modern capitalism came first into the saddle and rode rough shod over its own institutions and laws.

We hear John A. Bingham threatening in the halls of Congress that if the justices of the supreme court do not prove subservient to "sweep away at once their appellate jurisdiction in all cases." Under the remorseless leadership of Thad Stevens, the Pennsylvania iron-master, Congress passed laws which wiped out fundamental provisions of the American government, and of one of which the author says, "No law so unjust in its policy, so direful in its results had passed the American Congress since the Kansas Nebraska Act of 1854."

The supreme court proved sufficiently subservient to avoid jurisdiction on the essential points. To quote, "The supreme court had acted with great prudence. Had the cases of Mississippi and Georgia been considered on their merits little doubt can exist, to argue from the decision of the Court in the Milligan case the preceding December, that a majority of the judges would have pronounced the Reconstruction Acts unconstitutional. Current gossip had it that such was the belief of five of the nine judges, and, had such a decision been rendered, the Constitution already strained would have been put to a severer tension. One thing is sure: the Republican majority in Congress and among the Northern people was determined to have its way and would no more be stopped by legal principles and technicalities than it had been by the President's vetoes."

Here is the doctrine of revolution in its baldest form, and shows how the rising bourgeoisie regarded its own institutions.

The story of the plundering of the South is told, as it has been told many times before. On the whole the author seems to have made a more thorough examination of authorities and to occupy a more impartial attitude than any of the many historians who have covered the same ground.

Then comes the story of the triumphant plunder of society North and South by the victorious capitalist class. Grant became but the tool of clever unscrupulous men who used the national government as Tweed and his henchmen were using the municipal government of New York. In view of the otherwise cautious and fair position of the writer one is surprised to find him advocating a restriction of the right of suffrage by a property and educational qualification as a means of checking such wholesale stealing as that of Tweed. He surely is not blind to that fact that both of these provisions have been tried and found hopelessly wanting, and that the cause of municipal and national corruption lies in a wholly different quarter.

The story of the Hayes-Tilden election comes within the compass of these two volumes, and forms their conclusion, as with the election of Hayes and the withdrawal of troops from the South the long struggle over slavery was practically closed.

Perhaps it is because the scenes are so close as to render the historical perspective difficult, if not impossible, but there is a distinct sense that the author has not been quite so successful as in the volume immediately preceding these two.

Perhaps the explanation lies rather in the fact that he seems to have no grasp of the class interests which were warring and ruling at this time, that he fails to grasp the real social significance of the Reconstruction period, as the time when the great capitalist, as contrasted with the petit bourgeoisie was coming into power.

Nevertheless the history as a whole remains by far the most satisfactory treatment of the great struggle between wage and chattel slavery (although there is no hint of the recognition of the existence of the former) yet written.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Karl Marx died in 1883. In the same year appeared an English translation of the first volume of "Capital," which had been published in the German language in 1867. The second volume, edited from Marx's manuscripts by Frederick Engels, appeared in German in 1885, and the third volume in 1894. Neither of these volumes has yet been published in the English language. The work of translating and publishing involved a heavy expenditure, which no capitalist publisher cared to undertake.

This work has at last been made possible by the help of Comrade Eugene Dietzgen of Wiesbaden, Germany, who has made it possible for Ernest Untermann to give the necessary time to the labor of translation, and by the growth of our co-operative publishing house, which has at last become large enough to take the heavy risk involved in printing so expensive a book.

We have already printed and bound 2,000 copies of Volume I, in a style decidedly superior to the English edition and better beyond comparison than the only other American edition. The typesetting on the second volume is complete with the exception of the index, and an advance order of 500 copies has already been received from Swan Sonnenschein & Co., the London publishers who originally issued the first volume. We have said little as yet in the way of soliciting advance orders for the second volume, because we did not wish to keep our friends waiting too long after ordering the book before receiving it. Now however we feel safe in promising copies for delivery in May, and we want an order for the second volume from every one who has the first. We have ourselves sold not less than 1200 copies of the English edition and 1400 of our own. In addition to this number there are probably several thousand who have at some time or other bought either the London or the New York edition of Volume I. Ours will for many years be the only edition in the English language of volume II and III, since our translation is copyrighted, and will be published in England as well as in the United States.

We shall probably issue Volume III about the end of 1907, since the translation is already nearly completed, but for the present we are soliciting orders only for the first two volumes. These sell for \$2.00 each, including postage to any address. On another page we shall explain how one can get them at still lower prices by taking advantage of our system of co-operation.

The bills for printing Volume II will soon have to be paid. They will amount to about a thousand dollars. We believe enough books can be sold within the next six weeks to pay these bills. All that is needed is that every intelligent socialist who believes it worth while to study Marx's "Capital" should send a cash order at once.

THE INTERNATIONAL LIBRARY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

The main work of our co-operative publishing house is to circulate at the lowest possible prices the greatest possible number of books that truly represent the clearest thinking of the International socialist movement. On the cover of this month's **Review** appears a list of the socialist books published by us to retail at 50 cents a volume. The International Library of Social Science, the first volume of which appeared only last year, is composed of larger volumes, about eight by five and a half inches in size, and averaging nearly 300 pages to the volume. They are uniformly bound in extra cloth, tastefully stamped, uniform in appearance with each other and with the later editions of the Standard Socialist Series. The retail price, including postage to any address, is ONE DOLLAR a volume. Thirteen out of the sixteen are now ready; Volumes 15 and 16 will be published during April, and Volume 13, which has been unavoidably delayed, will appear in May.

1. **The Changing Order.** By Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph. D. A study of democracy, tracing the inevitable rise of the proletariat, and the necessary effects of its coming rule in the fields of work and play, literature and art, education and religion.

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3. **The Universal Kinship.** By J. Howard Moore. This book explains the theory of evolution in so graphic a style that those unaccustomed to reading will follow the meaning readily, while the book is so charming that it is warmly praised by writers like Mark Twain, Jack London and Eugene V. Debs. Mr. Moore does not merely state the theory, he also applies its logical results, in a way that makes a tremendously effective argument for the new social order for which the proletariat is striving.

4. **Principles of Scientific Socialism.** By Charles H. Vail. One of the most satisfactory and serviceable statements of socialist principles for new beginners that has ever appeared. For those who wish in some detail a connected statement in popular language of what socialists want and how they propose to get it, there is scarcely any other book so good.

5. **Some of the Philosophical Essays on Socialism and Science, Religion, Ethics, Critique of Reason and the World at Large.** By Joseph Dietzgen, translated by M. Beer and Th. Rothstein. With a biographical sketch and some introductory remarks by Eugene Dietzgen, translated by Ernest Untermann. Edited by Eugene Dietzgen. This volume includes lectures on the religion and the ethics of socialism, also studies on the nature and the limits of our powers of knowing and understanding.

6. **Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History.** By Antonio Labriola, translated by Charles H. Kerr. This book is the most adequate statement that has ever been published of one of the fundamental principles of modern socialism.

7. **Love's Coming-of-Age.** By Edward Carpenter. A series of brilliant and original essays on the relations of the sexes and the way in which these relations are being modified by economic changes.

The book is fundamental and revolutionary, yet the author has a poet's insight into the inmost feelings of both men and women.

8. **Looking Forward.** A treatise on the status of woman and the origin and growth of the family and the state. By Philip Rapaport. This work, although written by a lawyer and dealing to some extent with legal institutions, is popular in its style, and does not demand of the reader a previous knowledge of socialist literature.

9. **The Positive Outcome of Philosophy.** By Joseph Dietzgen, translated by Ernest Untermann, with an introduction by Dr. Anton Pannehoek. Edited by Eugene Dietzgen and Joseph Dietzgen, Jr. This volume includes Dietzgen's three principal works, "The Nature of Human Brain Work," "Letters on Logic" and "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy." Joseph Dietzgen, a contemporary and co-worker of Karl Marx, has long been recognized by European Socialists as one of the greatest writers on the Socialist philosophy.

10. **Socialism and Philosophy.** By Antonio Labriola, author of "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History, translated from the Italian by Ernest Untermann. The style is simple, direct and forceful, while Labriola's thought is always keen and penetrating. The argument of the letters is a defense of the Marxian position against opportunism, sentimentalism and theories of "natural rights" and "eternal truths."

11. **The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals.** By M. H. Fitch. This work is a critical study of the evolution theory and its applications to social science and ethics. The author reviews the work of Darwin and Spencer, and shows how theology reappears under another form in many who think themselves evolutionists.

12. **Revolutionary Essays in Socialist Faith and Fancy.** By Peter E. Burrowes. Fifty-six short essays, starting from the hard facts of materialist science, and building from those facts a delightful fabric of fancy. Each essay is condensed and thought-provoking; the book is not one to be read at a single sitting, but to be taken up again and again at leisure moments.

13. **Marxian Economics.** By Ernest Untermann. This new work, the author of which has just translated the second and third volumes of "Capital," is not a summary of Marx's book, but a simple, clear statement of the Marxian theory, arranged in such order as to make it most readily understood.

14. **The Rise of the American Proletarian.** By Austin Lewis. An industrial history of the United States, showing how the producing class has in scarcely more than a generation been transformed from small proprietors into propertiless wage-workers.

15. **The Theoretical System of Karl Marx.** By Louis B. Boudin. This is the clearest discussion yet published of the issue between Marxism and revisionism, together with a constructive statement of the Marxian theory. It contains the substance of the articles published in the "Review" during 1905 and 1906, together with some additional matter.

16. **Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Anti-Duehring).** By Frederick Engels, translated by Austin Lewis. This is one of Engels' most important works, the one referred to in his introduction to "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," and this is the first English version ever published.

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Ancient Lowly

A History of the Ancient Working People from the Earliest Times to the Adoption of Christianity by Constantine. By C. Osborne Ward. Cloth, two volumes, 690 and 716 pages. Each, \$2.00. Either volume sold separately.

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Perhaps the most startling of his conclusions is that Christianity was originally a movement of organized labor. The persecution of the early Christians is shown to have arisen from the age-long class struggle between exploiters and exploited. And the most dangerous thing about the book from the capitalist view-point is that the author does not merely make assertions; he proves them.

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