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The Labor Movement in Great Britain

TO understand the labor movement aright it is necessary to know of what it is composed. There are in this country several distinctively working class organizations, all of them exercising an influence after their kind on working class life and thought. The wage-earners are estimated to number 14,000,000, of whom one man in four and one woman in ten are members of a trade union. The total membership is, roughly, 2,500,000, and the reserve funds amount to £3,500,000. Several of the miners' unions have a parliamentary fund, and they have at present five representatives in the House of Commons.

The Miners' Federation of Great Britain is at present balloting its members on a proposal to contribute one shilling a year towards a labor representation fund, and W. B. Pickard, M. P., the president, stated in his presidential address, that if this be carried, the miners will nominate seventy candidates next election. The engineers, the shipwrights, the steel and ironworkers, the gasworkers and other unions have also parliamentary funds. (It may perhaps be necessary to remind some of your readers that the whole of the cost of an election, together with the maintenance of a member when elected, has to be borne from private resources, since the nation neither pays the cost of the election nor provides a salary for members of Parliament). The co-operative movement has a membership of close upon 1,500,000, a yearly turnover in distribution of more than £20,000,000 sterling, and is in addition doing a very large productive business. Parliamentary representation is a stock subject of discussion at its annual congress and several of its leading members were accepted as Liberal candidates at last election, although none of them were successful in getting returned. In Scotland the movement is actively iden-

tified with the labor representation committee, of which more anon.

I pass over the Friends' Society movement, great and powerful though it be, for the reason that it is in no sense, nor ever likely to become, political.

Socialism is represented by three organizations—the Fabian Society, mainly educational, and as such of great service to the movement; the Social Democratic Federation, mainly a London organization, and the Independent Labor party. In its early days the S. D. F. attracted to its ranks the best minds in the movement, but somehow it could not retain them. In these days it was neither distinctly political nor definitely revolutionary, but a cross between the two which was a continual cause of internal friction. For years it was to trade unionism what De Leonism was in America in 1896.

In 1893 the I. L. P. was formed, in the main, by leading trade unionists who were socialists but who for one reason or another would not identify themselves with the existing organization, and from then until now it has borne the brunt of the fighting, whether as regards parliamentary or municipal contests. Its example and influence has so molded the work of the S. D. F. that the differences between the methods of the two organizations are no longer so pronounced as they were a few years ago.

From the outstart of its career the I. L. P. has recognized the great potential force with which the trade union and co-operative movements are charged and has sought for a common ground of action among those who hold so much in common, whilst carrying on an unceasing socialist campaign by means of the platform and the press, embracing the smallest villages in the central parts of England, as well as the big centers of population all over the country, and whilst holding itself above suspicion in its political independence, the I. L. P. has yet sought to secure political allies for independent action in the trade union and co-operative movements.

So much by way of necessary introduction that your readers may the better understand what follows.

I use the term labor movement advisedly. Like the late Caesar de Pape, labor seems to me more comprehensive than socialist. I may best explain my point of view by saying that socialism is a body of doctrine upon which and out of which the labor movement grows and is built up. My purpose, however, in this article is to describe the present position of the political labor movement in Great Britain. Like all working-class movements it has gradually evolved itself. Twenty-five years ago an attempt was made to organize a Labor Representation League and a few of its members succeeded in being returned to Par-

liament. Once there, however, they settled down into comfortable commonplace party followers. The movement was purely political in those days, and had for its aim the extension of the franchise.

Various spasmodic attempts to create a labor party followed, but no marked success was attained. In 1887 the trades union congress tried its hand at a labor party and for a few years the outcome of the attempt struggled along, but finally died of inanition. It had as its basis a platform partly economic, partly political; the political, however, largely predominated.

This state of affairs continued down to 1893, when the Independent Labor party as a national organization was definitely formed. At a conference held to form a national organization that year over 120 representatives from trades unions, socialist societies and other movements in favor of labor representation attended, and it was unanimously agreed, first, that the program should be distinctly socialistic, and second, that the political side of the movement should be conducted on absolutely independent lines. Those who affirm, as some do, that the Independent Labor party thus created has only gradually evolved into a socialist organization are either ignorant of the facts or not above misrepresenting them. I quote here the declaration carried at this first conference:

“That the object of the Independent Labor party shall be to secure the collective ownership of all the means of production, distribution and exchange.”

From that declaration it has never varied, and the whole of its propaganda has been conducted on definitely socialist lines.

The formation of the Independent Labor party marks a very distinct stage in the evolution of the Socialist Labor party. It was not, however, until 1899 that the trades union congress formally and authoritatively endorsed the position of the Independent Labor party by carrying a resolution in favor of what practically amounts to a federation of all existing socialist, trade union and other working class organizations willing to co-operate in securing the return of labor members to the House of Commons. The trades union movement with us, as seems to be pretty much the case still in America, was for years in the hands of men who did not believe in a separate labor party, at least not in practice. They endeavored to keep the trade union movement clear of politics by taking sides with one or other of the existing orthodox political parties and denouncing those who sought to form a real labor party. Bit by bit, however, the rank and file came to realize the absurdity of this position with the result outlined above.

It may be of interest to your readers to describe the actual working basis upon which trade unionists, socialists and co-

operators are finding common ground of action in politics. To begin with, these three movements are, more or less, agreed on the necessity for having direct representation in Parliament. That being so, the question arose how each could aid the others in the matter. It was felt that without all-round co-operation there was not much chance of success for any. It was further recognized that if any section sought to bind the other sections to accept any dogma of its own, the result would be continued chaos. After much conferring it was finally determined that when an organization affiliated to the labor representation committee, which is composed of representatives from socialist bodies, trade unions and the co-operative movement, decided upon putting up a candidate for election to Parliament, the organization nominating the candidate should select him, be financially responsible for the conduct of the election, and decide upon his program, or platform, whilst the candidate himself would be pledged if returned to the House of Commons to assist in forming a separate labor group in the House, having its own whips, deciding upon its own policy, prepared to co-operate with any party which for the time being is promoting legislation in the interests of labor or to oppose any party going in the opposite direction. This may not seem a very heroic policy, and yet it is all that is needed to secure the development of a definite socialist group, not only in Parliament but on all local governing bodies. Such a group in the House of Commons, no matter how heterogeneous its elements, would find itself drawn closer and closer together as time went on by being continually compelled to co-operate, either in promoting certain definite objects of legislation or in opposing such when put forward by a reactionary government. Not only so, but its socialism must become increasingly definite with the years.

Those of us who believe that there is no other solution to the labor problem save that which socialism offers know that just as our propaganda work has its effect so will the men who are selected by trades unions as labor candidates be more and more imbued with the socialist ideal. If, however, an attempt was made at this moment to lay down a hard and fast principle that only socialists were to be eligible as candidates to the new labor group the result would be to bar out a very large number of able, conscientious men and also to prevent that cohesion without which practically no progress at all is possible.

Your readers will do well to bear in mind that the methods of election in this country are so altogether different from those which prevail in America that we have no means of testing nationally what is the strength of any particular movement. The only way in which an approximate idea can be obtained is to run a number of candidates for constituencies in different parts of the country, and then take the results in those constit-

uencies as an indication of the state of feeling prevailing over all. The House of Commons is composed of 670 members, and the country is divided up into say 650 separate constituencies, a few of which return two members, but the greater bulk only one.

At the last election, then, eighteen candidates submitted themselves for election, either directly under the auspices of the labor representation committee or under conditions similar to those laid down by the committee. It should be borne in mind that the circumstances under which they fought were not favorable to success. For four or five years trade has been exceptionally good, work plentiful, wages high. Under such conditions social and labor problems are apt to be forgotten, and by none more than by the working class itself. In addition the war fever was very high at the time and every one of the candidates was either pronouncedly pro-Boer or at least opposed to the war. The result of the election was that three of the candidates were successful, and the total vote recorded for the eighteen was 76,906 out of a grand total of 206,920 cast in the divisions for which the candidates were put forward. I do not claim for a moment that all these were socialist voters, but it cannot be denied that they were all convinced of the necessity for a separate labor party in Parliament and most of them must have had sufficient intelligence to know that that group could not fail to be dominated by socialist thought and influence. In one case the I. L. P. candidate was only forty-two votes behind his successful opponent, and in several others a change of a few hundred voters from one side to the other would have given our man the victory. Of the eighteen candidates thirteen were members of the Independent Labor party, two of the Social Democratic Federation—all of these ran as avowed socialists—two were trade unionists and one the nominee of the trade unionists although not himself a worker. But for the fact that the election was sprung upon the country unexpectedly and was fought upon an old register, the results for us would have been much better.

Taken as a whole there is good reason for being satisfied with the result of the experiment in uniting the forces of labor. There are two labor representation committees—one for Scotland and another for England—and the trade unions affiliated with them have a combined membership of over 500,000. Several of the large unions outside the committee have, as already stated, labor representation funds, and the adhesion of these is only a question of time. There is more political solidarity throughout the working class movement here than has been witnessed since the days of the Chartists, and it is growing daily. The period of trade depression upon which we have entered and which threatens to be severe and prolonged, will

tell powerfully in our favor. Our stand against the war will also bring us support, as it has already done, and altogether there is good reason for hoping that by the exercise of some tact and patience the next general election, which may come soon, will find the Labor party in a position of such strength as will insure the return of a decent group of representatives to the next Parliament. Twelve members of the present Parliament are drawn from the working class. Of these three are from Ireland. How far co-operation on a militant policy can be secured remains to be put to the test. Were they to make a definite and pronounced stand upon labor questions the effect upon working class opinion would be very great. More than that I do not care to say at present. One always likes to hope for the best.

Meanwhile the socialist propoganda is in full swing. Since the general election there has been a distinct revival of activity. The Independent Labor party is organizing a big campaign for this year and is raising a special guarantee fund of £1,000 for this purpose alone. I desire it to be clearly understood that whilst we have been working, and intend continuing to do so, for political union at election times, we are not neglecting nor abating one jot of our definite socialist work. The principles of socialism are permeating all ranks and classes. The criminal war the country is waging in South Africa at the behest and in the interests of a gang of high financiers is awakening thoughtful people to the menace which uncontrolled capitalism carries in its train. Already £100,000,000 have been spent upon the war and 80,000 lives lost or wasted, and as an outcome it looks at the moment of writing as if South Africa was lost to the British beyond the possibility of recall. Our growth towards socialism will be slower than with you—a fact due to differences in temperament and circumstance, but its coming is none the less irresistibly certain.

J. Kier Hardie, M. P.,
Editor of The Labor Leader.

Socialism in Italy



THE methods of propaganda, agitation and organization employed by Italian socialists vary according to the wide and profound differences in the physical, economic and social conditions of the Italian population. Italy unites by the ties of a national conscience two countries, different in customs, civilization and race. Compared to the North, the South of Italy presents a veritable *social atavism*, reflecting in the majority of its ideas a sentiment worthy of the civilization of past centuries. I do not wish to dwell on the anthropological and psychological differences which are marked and aggravated by the climate and by the lowest possible level of subsistence. Limiting myself to the subject of organization in keeping with modern progress, I can say with Niceforo* that "among the Aryans of the North, the individuals are easily organized into bodies and held by discipline; but among the dark-skinned Mediterranean population, such work is impossible. For there the individual, swayed by his restless and emotional *ego*, will not and cannot be assimilated by large bodies. We can, therefore, understand how this Southern population, passionate, individualistic in the highest degree, excited by the light and heat of the sun, unfit for adaptation to collective organization, could become great when forced to submit to the despotism of the Greek and Latin rulers who stifled the will of the individual. But under a democratic government they are incapable of that united action to which despotism compelled them."

In view of this we can understand why the organization of a class-conscious party, so flourishing in northern and middle Italy, is so difficult in the South, where the industry is almost sporadic; why the activity of socialists in the South is mainly concentrated on the effort to eradicate the effects of those two social phenomena, the *Maffia* and the *Camorra*, which are among the consequences and survivals of feudal despotism. The whole public life is saturated with them; elections, municipal administrations, the attitude of representatives in the Chamber, etc. The result, complicated by economic misery, is distressing in the extreme. This state of barbarism hinders all improvement of economic conditions in those regions. In consequence no elevation of the intellectual and moral level of the laboring classes, no effective propaganda or education is possible. This accounts for the vigorous efforts of the socialists to expose the

*A. Niceferro, *Italiani del Nord e Italiani del Sud*. Torino, Bocca, 1901.

tricks and the immorality of the bourgeoisie. The latter maintains its power in the municipalities by exploiting the *Camorra*, the *Maffia* and the submissive spirit of the wretched masses. The socialist campaign, opened by the party press, often finds its conclusion in court with the condemnation of the socialists. Although the proofs collected by the latter are numerous and conclusive, still the judges manage to evade them by legal tricks. Of three cases tested by the socialists—Taka versus Senator Paterno, De Felice versus Senator Codronchi, and "Propaganda" (the organ of the Neapolitan socialists) versus Deputy Cassale—only the latter ended in the condemnation of the chief of the *Camorra*. The other two cases brought sentences to the socialists, in spite of the fact that *the judges had to admit the truth of the indictments and the perpetration of the crimes!*

However, the socialists are not discouraged by these partial reverses. Nor do they entirely abandon all attempts to organize class-conscious bodies. In the South and in Sicily political groups of socialists are quite numerous and in Naples a recent strike was even carried to victory.*

But who can speak of a class struggle and hope to be understood by the laborers of Apulia, thousands of whom are subsisting on nothing but the boiled roots of trees, and demanding work at 20 centesimi (4 cents) per day? Who will speak of class-consciousness to the industrial laborers of Palermo who, duped by the employers' council, strike and make violent demonstrations in order to embarrass the government and prevail on the Chamber of Deputies to vote premiums for the construction of merchant vessels, premiums that are pocketed by the industrials at the expense of the Italian consumers? We do not exaggerate by affirming that socialists carry on their propaganda in the South at the imminent risk of their daily bread, often of their liberty and sometimes of their life.

On the other hand, in northern and middle Italy, where the social spirit is better developed by the side of an industrial evolution and where economic conditions are on a higher level, the movements of the socialists are different and many-sided. The political groups form the local centers of the nervous system of the socialist party. On the first of September, 1900, there were 546 locals with 19,194 members, and at present there are 783 locals with 29,497 members paying dues. Popular universities that give evening classes and scientific and sociological lectures to the laborers are now established in nearly every large town as a result of socialist propaganda. The distribution of free meals to poor pupils, now introduced by several munici-

* The longshoremen of Naples, in connection with the strikers in Marseilles, France, refused to discharge the vessels coming from the latter port. In Genoa the same course was adopted.

palities, is likewise due to socialist activity. To-day, even conservatives advocate this measure. In industrial centers socialists form unions for the purpose of keeping up wages, and labor exchanges (*camere del lavoro*) with a view to giving unity to the actions of workingmen's organizations and for assistance in strikes. In Milan, a "Maison du Peuple" will soon be opened.

Most interesting is the work of organizing the rural population. Along the whole immense coast between the Po and the Rubicon—the two famous rivers, one known for its grandeur, the other through its historical role—between the Appennines and the Adriatic, socialist propaganda has taken root in the form of agricultural laborers' organizations that differ in character according to the various conditions of the farmers.

The farm laborers of the province of Mantua have organized a league of amelioration (*Leghe di Miglioramento*) with a membership of 17,000, that will reach from 30,000 to 40,000 in a few months. Their purpose is to obtain higher wages from the land owners. To-day men receive at best 1 fr. (20 cents) per day in winter time and 1.70 fr. (34 cents) in summer time. Women work ten to twelve hours a day for 60 to 70 centesimi (12 to 14 cents), standing in boggy fields under the scorching rays of an August sun or in the chilly rain of an April morning.

Furthermore, twenty-five co-operatives for consumers are distributing groceries to the rural population of that region. The results of this movement, that forms a topic for discussion even in the capitalist press, are already very appreciable from an economic, political and social standpoint. Under the pressure of the laborers' demands the landowners were forced to improve the tillage of the soil and to increase its productivity by the help of machinery, chemical fertilizers, etc. Plundering of fields, gambling and drunkenness have almost disappeared among the laborers. The spirit of association has surprisingly developed in them; in certain localities to such a degree that the proceeds of labor are at the end of the week equally and equitably divided among young men and old, among strong and weak. Even their political consciousness has evolved; for when the employers argue their inability to increase the wages of the laborers, the latter reply: "Well, unite like we do and resist the demand of the government for taxes! Refuse your assistance and your vote to the demand for funds to support an army that crushes us!"

In the province of Reggio Emilio where small proprietors and tenant farmers are more numerous, sixteen consumers' co-operative societies were formed. There is also a co-operative for the purchase of agricultural implements, fertilizers, etc., and for the sale of the products.

In the provinces of Forli and Ravenna in Romagna, where

the tenant system is the only form of contract in use, brotherhoods (*Fratellanze*) of several thousand members were formed. Their purpose is to obtain from the employers a revision of the contract system and its modification in a sense that will benefit the laborers.

In Montferrato (Piedmont), where small vineyard owners are very frequent, co-operatives of consumers and buyers were organized, and associations regulating the handling of grapes and sale of wine with a view to abolishing the exploitation of the producer by the middleman and the wholesale dealer.

To protect the lives, to improve the physical condition of the farm laborers by raising their wages and increasing the yield of the soil, to educate their intellects, to awaken the spirit of solidarity and to make them conscious of their rights as a class—these are the ends to which socialist activity among the rural population must be directed.

I now come to the political work that has been accomplished in the country and in the parliament by the twenty-eight socialist deputies. It is no exaggeration to say that since the sad days of May 1898 there is not a fight against the forces of reaction, not a contest in the parliament, but was led by the group of socialists that form the extreme left, assisted by republicans and radicals. Even the solution of the late cabinet crisis in an almost democratic sense is due to the energy of the socialist deputies. After the spirited campaign of obstruction maintained by the extreme left for the purpose of defeating the attacks of the reaction, we finally arrived at the Saracco ministry, on which devolved the duty of removing the sad debris of the reactionary period. But like all such transitional governments, this cabinet was ever balancing itself, without bringing any actual results, between the pretentious demands of the still reactionary majority of employers and the alertness of the extreme left that was always ready to obstruct a backward movement. At last the government found itself in a trap when the strike of the longshoremen in Genoa broke out a day after the prefect had ordered the closing of the Labor Exchange. After a splendid fight, the extreme left, always led by the socialists, brought about the downfall of the cabinet that had permitted the closing of the Labor Exchange in violation of the laborers' right of association. Better still is the complete rout of the reactionary center and the extreme right who upbraided the government for its lack of energy in suppressing the strike. After eight years of continual parliamentary crises, a sufficiently clear vote of the Chamber was obtained and the king forced to call the liberals into power, restricting them somewhat by some member of the right. Even pending the solution of the crisis, the extreme left remained active. The liberals, Zanardelli and Giolitti, unable to dispense with the help of the extreme left,

invited the radicals to enter the cabinet. But these demanded as the first indispensable condition the curtailing of military expenses. Now the king had made it a condition *sine qua non* that the military budget should remain inviolate and that the old ministers of war and marine should be retained. Therefore the radicals declined to accept the invitation. Thus the country had an opportunity to learn that the real obstacle to a more rational policy in harmony with the economic needs and resources of the land is the military budget on which the king and the adherents of militarism, still strong in Parliament, obstinately insist, even to the point of renewing the triple alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary. From now on, however, the socialist party will inaugurate a campaign for anti-militarism. For the military moloch is the veritable enemy of all financial and economic progress and improvement in Italy. Just at the present time economic life begins to awake and to grow in the North, but the military budget crushes it in the bud. In order to understand this it is sufficient to examine the following table showing how the increase in the budgets of the five great European powers from 1876 to 1900 was spent. The numbers indicate millions :

	Expenses.		Increase.	Disbursement of the Increase.		
	In 1876	In 1900		Debt.	Military Expenses.	Public Service
Italy	1280	1665	385	172	137	76
England.....	2015	3118	1103	0	337	766
France.....	2639	2684	1045	0	305	740
Germany.....	2400	5073	2673	450	505	1718
Austria } Hungary }	1617	2891	1274	212	182	980

It follows from these figures that Italy has done precisely the reverse of what civilized countries are doing, viz.: it has increased the military expenses and reduced the expenses for public services that really contribute to progress and civilization.

Still another battle was fought by the socialists in parliament for the reduction of the price of bread and grain which is higher in Italy than in any other European country, thanks to the import duty of 7.50 fr. (\$1.50) per 100 pounds. This fee to agrarian protectionism has brought to the state a revenue of four hundred and ninety millions in fourteen years and stinted the stomachs of the consumers in order to present the landed proprietors with three billions. But not one hectare of land planted in grain has been added, and the yield per hectare has remained the same. The Italian farmer consumes only 92 grams of albumen per day, while according to Voit the minimum should be 118; assimilates only 67 grams when the mini-

num should be 105. In the United States the laborer consumes 100 to 220 grams of albumen per day.

This has not hindered the majority of the Chamber from defeating the bill of the socialists to abolish the duty on grain, although certain conservative agrarians admitted that this protectionism is "theoretically doomed." The socialists in turn will not be prevented from renewing their campaign more vigorously than ever, confident of victory next year.

Other measures advocated by the socialists in speech and in writing through their fifty-two weeklies and their daily "Avanti" are:

A bill regulating the length of the working day for women and children and providing for their protection.

A divorce law.

Bills for the application of the law instituting *prud'hommes* and for providing insurance against accidents to those farm laborers and seamen who are at present excluded from such benefits.

It will also not be long before the fight against the priests will be taken up. The latter are the deadliest enemies of socialist propaganda in the country districts. We had even in this country a rising school of Christian socialists, who assumed the aspect and character of socialists in mingling with the laborers in their recreations. But the last encyclica of the Pope has torn the mask from their faces. They sought refuge under the wings of *Santa Madre Chiesa* (Holy Mother Church) and when challenged by socialists to debate they were forced to avow their conservative and anti-socialistic spirit, just as the Jesuits and the employers were before them. Their church takes its revenge by excommunicating the "Giustizia" (Justice) of that apostle of Italian socialism, Camillo Prampolini.

But the era of *autos da fe'* is passed, and to the superannuated phrase of "*ad majorem Dei gloriam*" we reply by the cry: "Hurrah for socialism! Hurrah for the International Union of workers!"

Alessandro Schiavi.

Rome, March 24, 1901.

(Translated by E. Untermann.)

Socialism in Canada



HE Canadian Socialist movement is in a similar position to that of the child learning to walk. The movement has been born, it has passed through the crawling stage, it has taken a few steps and had a few tumblers, and in the swift evolution of events it will soon be beyond the walking and into the running stage.

From a historical standpoint it would be difficult to name a commencing point. Canada was originally taken from the Indians by the French, and after the defeat of the French by the English the country was used as a retreat for the ultra-loyal persons who preferred to live under the government of King George rather than under the presidency of George Washington. For half a century after the American revolution this class misgoverned Canada and "divided up" the new country amongst the members of their families. In 1837, the radical pioneers of Upper and Lower Canada rebelled against the autocratic manner in which they were governed, and although the rebellion was unsuccessful in overturning the government, it succeeded in establishing more democratic political conditions. Many of the descendants of the rebels of 1837 are taking an active part in socialist propaganda in 1901, the grandfather of the writer being one who had the honor of serving three months in jail as a rebel.

In early days the privately-owned tollroads were the only means of inland transportation, but the public ownership idea grew apace and when in 1867 the various provinces federated into the Dominion of Canada, the postoffice and most of the roadways had been nationalized. Since that time progress has been made in many directions. Municipalities have established water, power and lighting plants, public libraries, etc., and the municipal initiative and referendum has been introduced. Provinces have established public schools and state universities and the federal government owns and operates the canal system of the country together with the Intercolonial railroad running from Montreal, Quebec, to Halifax, Nova Scotia. It also recently built a government telegraph line 800 miles long in British Columbia, over which messages can be sent for one-tenth the charges made on private lines; and it is expected that within a year the government will nationalize the entire telegraph system of the country, a clause in the existing charters giving the government power to do this upon ninety days' notice.

Although no socialist has yet been elected to parliament or

legislature in Canada, the public ownership principle has found several advocates amongst progressive men in the old capitalistic parties, some of whom have accepted the name socialist in parliamentary debates. Canadian socialists are alert, however, in pointing out the great distinction between "government" and "public" ownership and in reiterating the socialist demand for the complete public ownership of all the means of production and distribution as the only cure for the evils of the competitive system.

The first organized socialist movement in Canada was inspired by Bellamy's "Looking Backward," and several "Nationalist" Clubs were formed. Previous to this the Knights of Labor political movement had done considerable educational work amongst the partisans in the cities and towns, and a few years later the Patrons of Industry did similar work for the farmers by organizing them for political and educational purposes. The "Canada Labor Courier," St. Thomas; "Palladium," Hamilton; "Labor Reformer," and "Canada Farmers' Sun," Toronto, amongst other papers did good educational work, and in the natural course of events died from the lack of support. Other minor movements which have come and gone are the Anti-Poverty Society, Producers' Exchange, Henry George Club, Social Reform League, and the Canadian Co-operative Commonwealth, the latter of which for a short time published "The Searchlight" at London.

Following the Nationalist Club and the old Canadian Socialist League in Toronto, sections of the Socialist Labor Party were organized in Toronto and London about 1894, and later on three sections were organized in Montreal, Quebec, and one each in Halifax, N. S., Winnipeg, Man., Vancouver, B. C., and Hamilton, Brantford and Ottawa in Ontario. Of these four are still in existence, and the "Cause of Labor," a monthly pamphlet published at Halifax, N. S., is the national organ, the "Commonwealth," Montreal, Quebec, and "Better Times," Brantford, not now being published. The Canadian sections of the S. L. P. have followed the DeLeonites of the United States in their attitude of refusing to allow officers of trades unions to join their ranks, and this action, together with their severe criticism of all who cannot see eye to eye with them, has made the growth of their organization almost an impossibility. F. J. Darch, London, Ont., is their national secretary.

Socialism in Canada is more generally represented by the Canadian Socialist League, of which seventeen branches have been formed in various parts of the Dominion, and which is now establishing a fund for placing a paid organizer and lecturer in the field and for publishing propaganda literature. A national organization is also being perfected, this having been purposely delayed until a score of leagues have been formed, when a refer-

endum vote could be taken. These leagues have always worked in harmony with trades unions in recommending members to join the union of their trade, if one exists. They are also fortunate in having the co-operation of the radical element of the Canadian clergy, the churches in this country wielding a great influence and being more in touch with the socialist movement than in other countries. Until a national organization is perfected C. S. L. No. 2, Toronto, is acting as the central body, the organizing secretary being G. Weston Wrigley, 293 King West, Toronto.

Canadian Socialist Leagues have been formed in the following places: Montreal, Que.; Toronto, West Toronto, London, Malton, Poplar, Mount Forest, Galt, St. Thomas, and Hamilton, Paris, Ont.; Pt. Moody, Ferguson, Sapparton and Victoria, B. C., and Tantallon and Banff, N. W. T. Leagues are being organized in many other places and unaffiliated socialist bodies have been formed as follows: United Socialist Party, Vancouver and Nanaimo, B. C.; Socialist Educational Club, Nelson, B. C.; People's Union, Brantford, Ont., and Social Science Club, Ottawa, Ont. Labor parties have also been formed in Winnipeg, Man.; Rossland, Nelson, Nanaimo and Vancouver, B. C., but the body in the last-named place at a recent election fused with one of the capitalistic parties. The future of the organized movement looks very bright, and with the placing of a paid organizer in the field by the C. S. L. a solidified movement should be in existence within a year.

In 1897 two socialists were nominated for the Ontario legislature in London, Ont., H. B. Ashplant polling 126 votes and C. H. Gould 57 votes, the former representing the S. L. P. and the latter the Co-operative Commonwealth. In 1900 the S. L. P. nominated R. Rhoadhouse for the London seat in the Dominion Parliament and 214 votes were polled. In Vancouver, B. C., the United Socialists nominated Will MacClain for the Legislature in June, 1900, and he polled 684 votes, twenty-seven of the twenty-eight members elected polling a smaller vote. In 1900, socialists aided labor candidates in several places, polling 3,441 votes for A. W. Puttee, M. P., in Winnipeg, Man.; 2,564 for Chris Foley in Rossland, B. C.; 1,660 for Hugh Stevenson in West Toronto, and 179 for Dr. H. G. Hargrave in Center Toronto, the latter being a straight socialist on a labor ticket in a strongly partizan constituency.

In Toronto in 1899 S. L. P. candidates for aldermen in four wards polled 706 votes. In 1900 five candidates polled 1,453, and in 1901 the mayoralty candidate polled 221 votes. In Hamilton two S. L. P. aldermanic candidates polled 283 and 342 votes in 1899 and 1900 respectively and in 1901 the vote was 441 for the whole city. In 1899 and 1900 tickets were nominated by the S. L. P. in London, but only figures for the may-

orality candidate are at hand, being 656 and 2,402 respectively, in the latter case the trades unions having endorsed the candidate, an alderman being elected by the joint vote. In 1901 R. N. Price, St. Thomas, of Canadian Socialist League, No. 16, was elected alderman in St. Thomas, his vote being 975; and in Brantford, C. M. Durward was elected alderman on the socialist platform of the People's Union, the S. L. P. having polled 250 votes in that city in 1899. It is safe to say that socialist candidates will be nominated more frequently in the future, although restrictive legislation is already being drafted to curb our progress in this direction.

"Citizen and Country," published weekly at Toronto, is Canada's leading exponent of socialism. It is edited by George Wrigley, who has been a central figure in every radical movement during the past twenty years. The paper was originally a social reform journal, but is now recognized as the national advocate of trades unionism and socialism. Several labor papers, "The Voice," Winnipeg, Man.; "Industrial World," Rossland, B. C.; "Independent," Vancouver, B. C.; "Industrial Banner," London, and "The Toiler," Toronto, also devote considerable space to socialistic questions, the labor movement throughout Canada being very friendly to socialistic propaganda. Many thousands of Bellamy's "Parable of the Water Tank" have been circulated by the Canadian Socialist League in all parts of the Dominion, and two lecture tours each by Comrades Herbert N. Casson, Eugene V. Debs and George E. Bigelow have also aided very materially in the propaganda work.

Few persons have aided our movement more than Comrade T. J. McBride, Melbourne, Australia, formerly of Toronto and Winnipeg. Comrade Phillips Thompson is our pioneer writer and lecturer and has been ably assisted by Comrade G. G. Purdey, Dr. H. G. Hargrave and W. J. Clokey, Toronto. Amongst the active pioneer workers throughout the Dominion the following comrades may be mentioned: A. F. Landry, Amherst, N. S.; C. McKay, Montreal, Que.; J. M. Macoun, Ottawa, W. A. Ratcliffe, Port Hope, H. P. Bonny, Hamilton, J. D. Mullholland, Brantford, T. A. Forman, Woodstock, R. N. Price, St. Thomas, H. B. Ashplant, J. T. Marks and J. C. Spence, London, Ont.; J. T. Mortimer, Winnipeg, Man.; W. R. Abbott, Maple Creek, Assa; Thomas Farrar, Lethbridge, Alta, R. P. Pettypiece, Ferguson, J. M. Cameron, Point Moody, and O. Lee Charlton, Victoria, B. C.

Various co-operative enterprises have been launched and our Canadian comrades have had their share of experiences in this direction. Labor exchanges and co-operative stores have been established in many places, but only in Lethbridge and Calgary, Albt., and Rossland, B. C., are co-operative enterprises in ex-

istence at present. In Brantford, Ont., a co-operative coal company has met with success. The Hamona Co-operative Farm Colony at Tantallon, Assa, has survived several years' existence, while the lumbering colony at Ruskin, B. C., disbanded a year ago.

From every standpoint the outlook for socialism in Canada looks promising. As in other countries, business is centralizing rapidly and the iron heel of private monopoly is forcing every class to study the industrial evolution. The Eastern provinces have been the slowest to move; Ontario is rapidly learning the socialist lesson and Western Canada is honey-combed with our doctrines. With this outlook we have every reason to send a message of encouragement to our comrades throughout the world.

Toronto, April, 1901.

G. Weston Wrigley.



Trade Union Movement



THE growth of organized labor during the past year, in point of new unions formed and members gained, is very gratifying to those who are enlisted in the cause; and it appears from the evidence at hand that in proportion as they organized, agitated, went on strike and boycotted were the conditions of the workers improved. Abstract theories, comprehensive philosophy and reasons without number have been given to show why working people should unite; but I believe none are as eloquent and convincing as the following plain facts and figures of what has been accomplished which I have condensed from official reports:

Miners formed 498 new unions and gained 67,086 members during the year. The increase of wages secured will approximate \$20,000,000 annually. The raise ranges from 10 to 20 per cent, and benefits workers in Alabama, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Kansas and Missouri, where strikes were waged successfully, and in other states through joint conferences. Minor concessions were also obtained.

Oil well workers gained 23 new unions and 531 members. Increase of wages average 50 cents for twelve hours.

Brickmakers made net gain of 7 unions and 600 members. Won three strikes, two pending and one lost. Secured eight-hour day, recognition of the union, and 5 per cent more wages.

Potters made net gain of 8 unions and 957 members. Won one strike, secured recognition of union, uniform scale and 15 per cent increase of wages.

Glass bottle blowers gained 200 members and 7 per cent more wages. Work eight and one-half hours per day.

Bakers report net gain of 51 unions and 1,997 members. Won three strikes, 10 per cent more wages, recognition of union, and reduced labor time one hour.

Butchers made net gain of 38 unions, 2,900 members, 10 per cent increase of wages and reduced working time two to four hours.

Tobacco workers report net gain of 9 unions and 2,149 members.

Cigarmakers report net gain of 27 unions and 6,717 members. Won 92 strikes, compromised 10, lost 20. Over one-half of persons engaged in strikes secured additional benefits, and of the 12,153 strikers one-half were non-union.

Tailors show net increase of 44 unions and 3,000 members. Won 21 strikes, compromised two and lost three, gaining in wages \$100,000 a year and \$25,000 without strikes.

Garment workers report net gain of 39 unions and 2,500 members. Hours of labor were reduced, wages advanced and other matters adjusted in several places by arbitration.

Ladies' garment workers organized 9 new unions, won two strikes and lost four, and state wages were raised 25 to 30 per cent and 18 shops unionized.

Hatters won a strike and compromised one. Unionized two factories and obtained higher wages.

Shoemakers report a net gain of 22 unions and 2,963 members. Won three strikes, compromised one and lost one. Secured better prices and conditions for many members.

Saddlers had net gain of 22 unions and 900 members. Won 10 strikes and lost one, wages advanced 40 per cent, and hours of labor reduced.

Spinners organized 3 new unions and increased membership by 616. Two strikes were won and 10 per cent wages gained.

Lace curtain operatives gained 10 new members and reduced hours of labor and raised wages 15 per cent without strike.

Elastic web weavers held their own in organization and won two strikes, benefiting all the members of the union.

Upholsterers had net gain of five unions and 207 members. Won eight strikes, compromised four and lost two. Approximate gain of wages, 25 per cent. Also secured advantages without strikes.

Granite cutters increased membership by 1,500. Enforced the eight-hour day throughout the country, raised wages 16 2-3 per cent and secured general recognition of the organization.

Painters report net gain of 154 unions and 13,000 members (largely through amalgamation). Won 14 strikes, compromised two and lost two. Raised wages and reduced hours of labor.

Lathers start national union with 59 locals, nearly all of which got more pay and shorter hours.

Amalgamated carpenters secured 5 unions and 809 members. Won 10 strikes, compromised one and lost one, gaining eight-hour day, Saturday half-holiday and 2½ per cent increase in wages.

Woodworkers had net increase of 51 unions and 5,400 members. Won 16 strikes, lost two and three pending, the increase of wages averaging 15 per cent. Enforced eight-hour day for 2,000 men in Chicago.

Wood carvers gained one union and 277 members. Won 10 strikes, lost two and compromised three, securing 10 per cent raise in wages and reduction of working time average five hours a week.

Coopers had net gain of 26 unions and 1,148 members. Won 15 strikes, compromised three, lost seven. Raised wages 20 per cent and cut hours in ten cities.

Trunkmakers gained 4 unions, 85 members and 5 per cent wages.

Broom-makers made net gain of 11 unions and 350 members. Six strikes won and raised wages 15 per cent.

Carriagemakers had net gain of 10 unions and 125 members. Won four strikes, lost two and reduced working time one hour a day.

Horseshoers had net gain of 11 unions and 500 members. Won four strikes, lost four and enforced nine-hour day.

Boilermakers report net gain of 44 unions and 2,212 members. Won 49 strikes, compromised three and lost four; gaining 5 to 10 per cent wages, shorter hours and better conditions generally.

Iron molders had net gain of 72 unions. Won eight strikes, compromised one, lost 15, eight pending. Increased wages.

Machinists had net gain of 91 unions and 13,000 members. Won 24 strikes, compromised nine, lost five, enforced shorter workday and raised wages.

Steamfitters gained 9 unions, compromised one strike and lost two.

Patternmakers gained 5 unions and 306 members and better wages. Won four strikes, lost two, compromised one.

Stovemounters gained 4 unions, 300 members and 5 per cent in wages. Lost one strike, compromised one, won four.

Tinplate workers gained 2 unions, 300 members and shorter workday.

Metal mechanics announce increase of 19 unions and 2,000 members net.

Metal polishers made net gain of 36 unions and 2,000 members. Compromised two strikes, lost one, won 14, raised wages and reduced working time.

Jewelry workers lost a strike, raised wages 10 per cent and reduced hours.

Watch case engravers report 8 new unions and 100 members. Won three strikes, 15 per cent more wages and abolished piece-work.

Bookbinders gained 10 unions, 1,209 members, 20 per cent wages and cut off an hour a day from working time. Won three strikes and lost two.

Papermakers report net increase of 3 unions and 500 members.

Printers had net gain of 67 unions and 1,500 members. Won seven strikes, lost 11. Slight increase in wages.

Plate printers secured 25 new members and won a strike.

Musicians report net gain of 30 unions and 2,100 members.

Printing pressmen had net gain of 27 unions and 2,190 members. Won 15 strikes and compromised five.

Theatre employes gained 7 unions and won three strikes. Secured raise in wages 25 to 125 per cent.

Engineers made net gain of 19 unions and 1,272 unions. Won five strikes, five pending, and increased wages.

Coal-hoisting engineers increased 19 unions, 400 members, advanced wages, reduced hours and won a strike.

Firemen gained 37 unions, 2,100 members, raised wages, reduced hours. Won three strikes, compromised one, lost one.

Railway trackmen had net gain of 50 unions and 1,350 members. Reduced working time on 10,000 miles of railway and raised wages by \$200,000 a year.

Street railway employes show net gain of 35 unions and 1,000 members. Won six strikes, lost three. Reduced hours and raised wages in many cities.

Team drivers had net increase of 88 unions and 4,100 members. Won 12 strikes, compromised two, lost three.

Longshoremen gained 79 unions and 6,000 members. Increased wages 10 per cent, reduced hours 5 per cent. Won nine strikes, compromised two, lost one.

Retail clerks report net gain of 175 unions and 10,000 members. Two strikes won, hours of labor reduced.

Barbers made net gain of 68 unions and 3,152 members. Reduced labor hours generally and advanced wages.

Waiters and bartenders report net gain of 73 unions and 5,007 members. Won 14 strikes and bettered conditions.

While the foregoing summary proves that something has been gained in the matter of shortening hours of labor and raising wages by and through organizing unions and meeting the capitalist class with the strike and boycott, practically nothing has been won through political effort. It is true that in the various state capitals and at Washington committees have been kept busy, at an enormous expense, in lobbying for legislation, but their efforts have uniformly met with failure.

The legislative committee of the A. F. of L. reports that the eight-hour law as it stands can be violated at will, and that the amendment to make it operative was pigeon-holed in the Senate. The prison labor bill met the same fate. All the power and influence of the Federation was centered on these two measures, but election was over when the "hold-up" session met, and labor, having been used again by the politicians, received its usual treatment.

In the states in which legislatures met the same complaints are heard. In Massachusetts, although Representatives Carey and MacCartney, Social Democrats, fought valiantly to secure the enactment of laws to enforce the eight-hour day on government work, to raise the age limit of child labor, to introduce the referendum and similar concessions, the Republican and Democratic brethren were too much for them. In New York

most of the labor bills were turned down; in Nebraska twelve out of fourteen were defeated; in North Carolina and Georgia child labor and other bills were defeated; in Montana, despite the fact that Senator Clark promised to support certain labor measures, his henchmen were against them when the test came; in Washington and other states the laboring people's demands were also spurned.

In some instances, to quiet the clamors of trade union committees, bills are rushed through the hopper, their authors and the leaders of the legislature understanding clearly that they are loosely drawn or are unconstitutional; but they serve their purpose as electioneering baits, and after campaigns the courts throw them out. During the past year many meritorious laws—such as the measures compelling contractors on public work to pay prevailing (or trade union) rates of wages, providing for eight-hour workday on municipal and state work, to require that the printers' union label be placed on public printing, giving mechanics a lien on work performed and similar acts—have been declared unconstitutional in the various states. It has come to be regarded as almost a foregone conclusion that whenever a test case is made of a labor law, so-called, those most vitally interested, the working people, are the ones who are disappointed when the decision is handed down.

The one bright spot in the political horizon of labor is the growth of the socialist movement as expressed by the Social Democratic party. This new force is composed largely of trade unionists and thinking working people who can readily see that the reason labor secures no favorable legislation is because it would jeopardize the interests of the class in power, and that no matter how persistently labor may plead for palliatives it will be given nothing but the traditional stone to feed upon.

When Lincoln issued his famous call to the people for volunteers to save the nation, 100,000 men responded. History is repeating itself in a way, for a year ago the Rochester and Indianapolis socialist conventions also issued a call for volunteers to save the working class from being plunged deeper into wage-slavery, and once more 100,000 brave and honest souls responded with the glad refrain: "We are coming!"

Let the trade unionists who have struggled against hostile legislators and courts and militia and police, who have waged strikes and boycotts against fierce opposition, take heart and new courage. An army of class-conscious men is marshaling to gain final emancipation from all forms of slavery. As the union is a class-conscious body that opposes the capitalist class on the industrial field, let the members of the unions and their friends and sympathizers become thoroughly consistent and join the political movement of their class—the Social Dem-

ocratic party—and march forward to the co-operative commonwealth. That goal reached, labor will not need or desire the palliative crumbs of politicians, but will receive the full product of socialized effort—all the wealth it produces—and one thing more, **ECONOMIC FREEDOM!**



Socialism in the Middle West



MISSOURI, Kansas, Nebraska and Iowa are four states which best typify the growth of the socialist movement in the Middle West. Some idea of the status of this movement may be obtained from the following comparison: In 1840, there were 7,059 votes cast throughout the United States for James G. Birney, candidate of the Liberty party for president, and this was the political nucleus of the movement which twenty years later resulted in the abolition of slavery. In 1900, Missouri alone cast 7,475 votes for socialism, 416 more than were cast in 1840 for Birney in the nation. During the past ten years Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and Iowa have been the chess-board for great political moves in the final struggles between the capitalist class interest represented by the Republican party and the middle class interest represented by the Democratic and People's parties. The result has been the disappearance of one and the disintegration of the other of the two last named, and what is most significant, the sweeping away of much of the middle-class ideas of economics which have confused the public mind. During the ten years' conflict referred to the socialist movement has been slowly evolving in these states, through what might properly be called a generative period, reaching its fruition in 1900, when it came forth as a new-born political child with the proportions and strength portending a giant. Apart from the political death-throes of capitalism and its resultant suffering, there are influences which have directly contributed to the growth of the socialist movement in the Middle West that may be traced back as far as 1878. In this year, as a result of the widespread excitement over the great railroad strikes and Mollie Maguire trouble, there was started in St. Louis a daily socialist paper, *Volkstimme des Westens*, which had quite a large circulation and came near bringing about the election of a congressman on a socialist platform. "St. Louis Tageblatt" was a daily German socialist paper started in 1888 and continuing in circulation until 1897. In 1888 came Bellamy's "Looking Backward," producing a profound impression, especially in Kansas, followed in 1890 by the formation, mainly through the Kansas Farmers' Alliance, of the People's party. The People's party, while not a socialist party, nevertheless carried on a propaganda with stump and platform speakers, a numerous press and campaign pamphlets like "Ten Men of Money Island" and "Seven Financial Conspiracies," which gave a great stimulus to the study of eco-

nomics and indirectly made thousands of socialists among the farmers and the working class generally in the Middle West.

In 1890 was also established the Labor Exchanges on De Barnardi's plan, quite a number of which still exist in the Middle West, and on account of their co-operative methods have had a socialistic influence. The year 1893 marks a milestone in the socialist movement in the Middle West. In this year, with the "panic" as an appropriate capitalist background, the publication of "Labor" was begun by the Socialist Newspaper Union at St. Louis, and furnished simultaneously with separate local headlines to thirty-five cities, containing sections of the Socialist Labor party.

Among these besides St. Louis were Lincoln, Neb., Omaha, Neb., Kansas City, Mo., and Council Bluffs, Ia. The publication of "Labor" in 1893 also meant the Americanizing of the movement in the Middle West. In this year Albert E. Sanderson, one of the managing publishers of "Labor," was nominated as the first socialist candidate for mayor of St. Louis, polling 1,631 votes. "Labor" continued in circulation until April, 1897, when it was discontinued owing to local publishers' complications and internal differences in the S. L. P. about policy. The Pullman strike of 1894, Coxey's Army and the trial and imprisonment of Debs contributed to fan the flame of popular but unconscious resentment against the capitalist system and gave increasing virility to the socialist movement.

In August 1895 the "Appeal to Reason" was established at Girard, Kan., by J. A. Wayland, and it has been a powerful factor in making converts to socialism and nourishing the movement in this section. "Coin's Financial School," published in 1895, with its sale of a million copies, principally in the Middle West, had a far-reaching influence upon the development of socialism. While not a socialist work, it presented the supposedly dark science of economics in an attractive manner never before achieved by any writer, causing thousands of its readers to go the full gamut of political economy to the extent of finally repudiating the very doctrines advocated by the book and openly avowing socialism.

The People's party reached the climax of its strength in 1896, when (excepting a small remnant) it was absorbed by the Democratic party. In this year also, owing to unfortunate internal dissensions, the vote of the Socialist Labor party in St. Louis decreased to 596, as from 1,631 in 1893. The announcement by Eugene V. Debs of his conversion to socialism in January 1897, the formation of the Social Democracy in June and the holding of a Labor and Reform Conference at St. Louis in August of that year, mark the period when the labor unions and socialist organizations began to converge, giving a great impetus to the agitation for socialism in the trade unions. This

found an expression in the following year in the socialistic resolution adopted by the American Federation of Labor in annual convention at Kansas City in December and which revealed a surprising showing of socialist delegates to that body. The influence of these events on the socialist movement of the Middle West was undoubtedly important.

During 1898 the "Arbiter Zeitung," a weekly German socialist paper, was started in St. Louis. It is still in circulation and is doing creditable work for the movement. In November 1898 the socialist vote in Missouri was 2,700, which showed gratifying evidence of the socialist propaganda among the trade unions. In June 1900 the Social Democratic party convened at St. Louis in the first socialist state convention ever held in Missouri, with delegates present from St. Louis, Liberal, Kansas City, Poplar Bluff, Union and Washington. They indorsed the nomination of Debs and Harriman and also nominated a complete state ticket, including Caleb Lipscomb, of Liberal, Mo., for governor. As Comrade Lipscomb had a few years previous been the candidate of the socialists of Kansas for governor of that state, he enjoys the distinction of running successively for governor of two different states. National and state tickets were also put in nomination in this year by the socialists in Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska.

The "middle of the road" People's party also had a ticket in the field in each of these states excepting Kansas, and recent developments show that the rank and file of this party are determined to join the socialist forces. The following table shows the socialist vote and the "middle of the road" vote in the states comprising the Middle West:

	S. D. P.	S. L. P.	People's (Middle Road)	Total
Missouri	6,181	1,394	4,244	11,719
Kansas	1,606	1,606
Nebraska	828	1,104	1,927
Iowa	2,742	259	618	3,614
	<u>11,351</u>	<u>1,553</u>	<u>5,961</u>	<u>18,865</u>
S. L. P.	<u>1,553</u>			
Straight Socialist Vote.....	12,904			

In December 1900 the national committee of the People's (middle road) party held a meeting at St. Louis to decide upon the future course of their party, and as a result of these deliberations they have submitted a referendum to their members, proposing an indorsement (with reactionary qualifications) of the "co-operative commonwealth." In the meantime quite a number of their party papers have openly espoused socialism and socialist party action, while the rank and file are joining the socialist branches throughout the Middle West and re-enforcing the movement with new and capable workers. On January 1, 1901, the Social Democratic party of St. Louis began the

publication of "Missouri Socialist," a weekly English paper. In the recent municipal elections in Missouri the local organizations of the party have published weekly papers during the campaign at Kansas City (where the party owns a printing plant), and at Sedalia, the issue at that point being known as the "Liberator."

A year ago the number of American-born comrades in the movement in St. Louis was almost insignificant. To-day, they constitute a numerous and effective addition to the movement, whose foundation was laid by the German element. During the presidential campaign of 1900 the Social Democratic party of St. Louis raised and expended \$700 for literature, speakers, public meetings, etc. Immediately following the campaign they raised over \$50 for the Massachusetts movement, and during the recent municipal election they raised and disbursed a campaign fund of nearly \$200 besides the separate fund for the maintenance of the English organ.

The Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, consisting of 200 delegates, representing 30,000 organized wage-earners, has the reputation of being a socialist body. A fair-sized minority of these delegates are class-conscious socialists and if they largely influence and at times control that body, it is because of their pre-eminent ability and integrity and their disinterested and recognized devotion to the labor movement. The socialist movement in the Middle West to-day includes at least 1,000,000 unattached socialists, most of whom cling to the half-way and "step-at-a-time" measures advocated by capitalist politicians who endeavor to ride into office and emolument on the crest of the socialist wave. On the other hand, there is a marked increase in the number of socialists who demand action along uncompromising party lines, this being due to suffering and impatience under capitalist development and growing lack of confidence in middle-class political measures. In addition to this, the conviction is now rapidly gaining ground among trade unionists that while the trade unions are essential to maintain and enlarge advantages gained on the industrial field, the capitalist system is inherent with economic error and injustice, the conditions of which are constantly aggravating, and which can only be rectified through political action.

Leon Greenbaum.

A Latter-Day Brook Farm



WAY up in the Adirondacks, two thousand feet above sea level and twenty miles from the nearest railway station, lies "Summer Brook Farm," overlooking a panorama of Alpine grandeur. To the east is Mount Hurricane, with undulating slopes and pine-clad ridges; to the west stretch away great valleys, beneath the shadow of mountain ranges topped by "Marcy" and "White Face." "Summer Brook" is made up of cottage and chalet built of picturesque spruce logs, and the visitor, entering the vine-bedecked porchway of the cottage, finds himself in a room whose vast proportions and rude rafters recall some baronial hall of mediaeval times. The great open fireplace, facing the door, bears the inscription "Ad Majorem Gloriam Amicitiae." Above its mantel is a portrait of William Morris, the poet-artist, and one of Walter Crane's socialist designs, picturing the workers as they march in triumphal procession bearing aloft banners dedicated to "Liberty, equality, fraternity." There is a piano, and some rustic tables and chairs, and on one side a stairway, covered by clustering ferns, leads to the apartment above. Facing the west and occupying almost the whole wall is an immense window, commanding a superb stretch of hill and dale as far as the eye can reach.

"Summer Brook" was built some six years ago by its present owner, Prestonia Mann, who has consecrated it in large measure to the service of the socialist cause. Prestonia Mann, a kinswoman of Horace Mann, came of abolitionist stock; the reformer's blood is in her veins. She inclines to Fabianism, rather than Marxism, and was for some years the editor of "The American Fabian." Early in her life she fell deeply under the glamor of "Brook Farm," and she determined that she would at least make an attempt to perpetuate, in concrete form, the ideals that found expression in that fraternal group of high-souled New England thinkers, whose community life during a few short years, though it was proclaimed a failure by the prosaic, has yet kindled a beacon whose light has shone around the world. An exact imitation of the earlier project was neither possible nor desirable, for the founder of "Summer Brook" has studied the evolution of society too well to believe that great social changes can be achieved by isolated experiments. But it was perfectly practicable to establish a summer community which should express a socialist's ideal of fellowship and beauty, and this was the form that her experiment took.

As the summers come and go, there meet in this earthly paradise among the mountains groups of kindred spirits—men and women whose lives are attuned to high ideals, whose efforts are pledged to the betterment of society. They gather fresh inspiration for the winter's work from mutual intercourse and from communion with nature's beauty. Here in the twilight, as the crimson glory of the sunset fades and the mist gathers on the dim mountains, the "sisters" and "brothers" come together in the great hall and discuss the serious problems of life, of labor, of love. Some "brother" will give an informal lecture on a subject that is nearest to his heart. Or some "sister"—perhaps the hostess herself—will take her place at the piano, and strains from the splendid operas of Wagner, or the sombre sonatas of Beethoven, re-echo through the hall and drift out over the valleys.

The community that gathers here from year to year has always been an interesting one, and has included the names of many well-known social reformers (mostly of Fabian thought), including Henry Demarest Lloyd, the modern knight of chivalry who entered the lists against bloated privilege and monopoly; Charlotte Perkins Stetson, poetess and socialist, pointing the way to a nobler day for womanhood and all humanity; Professor Frank Parsons, author of many books on the theory and practice of collectivism; W. D. P. Bliss, editor of the "Encyclopedia of Social Reform"; John Martin, the Fabian lecturer and writer. Two survivors of the "Brook Farm" community have carried its old spirit into this later prototype. They are Mrs. Macdaniel, the sister of the late Charles A. Dana, and John Thomas Codman, author of "Brook Farm; Historical and Personal Memories." There are many other interesting types to be found here, including authors, artists and professors. There is the young and ardent Jewist socialist from the East Side of New York, who lives amid scenes of factional strife and wrangling, yet remains firm in the faith that his idea of truth will triumph finally. His bible is Marx, and he talks learnedly and understandingly of industrial evolution, of "surplus value," and the "class struggle." There is the young English Fabian, fresh from contact with a Sidney Webb or a Bernard Shaw, and ablaze with his idealism. In the fall evenings he will stretch himself beside the crackling logs in the fireplace and read aloud by the hour together from "Sigurd the Vol-sung" or the "Earthly Paradise." There is the young girl whose heart has blossomed, to the greatest of all loves—the love for her kind. She is writing her first articles, preparing her first lectures; she longs to enter the arena of public life to plead the cause of the poor and oppressed.

The whole atmosphere around "Summer Brook" is intellectual and artistic. At the neighboring inn may be found men

of letters and learning. On the adjoining farm is the summer school of the late Professor Thomas Davidson, with its lecture hall and cluster of cottages among the trees. Professor Davidson, who since his death has been acclaimed by the London "Spectator" "one of the dozen most learned men on this planet," carried on his studies and wrote most of his books in this summer home. A strong individualist in his thought and teaching, his settlement naturally presented a strong contrast to "Summer Brook," and there used to be frequent intellectual clashes between his center of learning and the socialist group. On one memorable occasion his mountain lecture hall was the scene of a spirited debate between Prestonia Mann and the individualist philosophers.

George Ripley said of the "Brook Farm" experiment that his hope was "to insure a more natural union between intellectual and manual labor than now exists; to combine the thinker and the worker, as far as possible, in the same individual; to guarantee the highest mental freedom, by providing all with labor adapted to their tastes and talents, and securing to them the fruits of their industry; to do away with the necessity of menial services by opening the benefits of education and the profits (fruits) of labor to all; and thus to prepare a society of liberal, intelligent and cultivated persons whose relations with each other would permit a more wholesome and simple life than can be led amidst the pressure of our competitive institutions." The same words may be used to describe the deeper meaning of this modern community in the Adirondacks. Co-operation, fraternity, equality, are the underlying principles. One of the rules of the settlement is that every member shall do at least two hours' manual labor daily for the common good. "Sisters" and "brothers" take their part cheerfully in the menial and out-door work of the community, which becomes pleasure, instead of drudgery, because it rests on many shoulders and is achieved by associated labor. "Washing day" is a most cheerful, not to say jolly, function, and is participated in by all. The professor finds that his brain is sharpened, not dulled, by a morning's work in the potato patch or the woodshed. The rendering of Chopin and Liszt is not found to suffer from the musician's useful labor in the kitchen or the hayfield. Every night, at the evening meal, the "Labor Book" is passed around, and each individual is called upon to inscribe conscientiously therein the service he has performed during the day. Meals are taken on a piazza overlooking the mountain panorama, and in place of "grace before meat" the hostess is accustomed to read a brief selection from some ethical teacher or inspiring prophet of the new life, whether it be Bellamy (a special favorite), Ruskin, or Morris.

Leading from the great hall of "Summer Brook" is a pas-

sage-way which is dedicated in a special sense to socialism. Its walls are a mosaic of designs, portraits and printed matter. Here we may see the portraits of Washington and Lincoln side by side with those of Carlyle, Thoreau, Walter Crane, George Ripley and Margaret Fuller. There are stirring mottoes and quotations from Ruskin, Emerson, Howells, Tolstoi, Mazzini, Sir Thomas More, Plato, as well as great numbers of clippings from socialistic papers and pamphlets. Two selections are worth quoting here, for they express so well the soul of "Summer Brook" philosophy. The first is from Ruskin: "It is only by labor that thought can be made healthy, only by thought that labor can be made happy, and the two cannot be separated with impunity." The second is from Morris: "What I want to do is to put definitely before you a cause for which to strive. That cause is the democracy of art, the ennobling of daily and common work, which will one day put hope and pleasure in the place of fear and pain as the forces which move men to labor and keep the world a-going."

Two marriages have been celebrated in this mountain haunt. In 1896 a young Scotch barrister and socialist took his bride here, and the union was solemnized in the great hall beside the great window. The night was stormy; the thunder rumbled through the mountain fastnesses; the lightning flashed over the valleys. It was like some splendid drama; it was the very embodiment of the spirit of poetry and romance. Last September the hostess herself was married beside the same window, and she and her husband were escorted to the gateway through a fairy pageant of gay lanterns and sped on their bridal journey.

"Summer Brook" is a place fit for kings, and its very atmosphere brings inspiration to the lover of beauty. To those who are able to look back over pleasant days spent there, there is a glamor like that of a dream which makes one feel that the experience was unreal, so far is it removed from the sordid city life to which so many of us are condemned. Its indescribable beauty, its exquisite simplicity, its fraternal fellowship, carry with them the fundamental principles which shall finally find expression in the redeemed social life of the future.

On a knoll apart from the cottage is a sun-dial, and upon it is hewn in rough characters the legend: "The shadows pass." With what meaning are these simple words fraught! Aye, as one stands in that place, overwhelmed by the proportions of the towering hills, dazzled by the loveliness of a scene such as man's eye seldom rests upon, it is not hard to believe that the black shadows of strife and injustice are passing, and that humanity will step out at last into the sunlight of truth, of justice, of peace.

New York, February, 1900.

Leonard D. Abbott.

RELEASE

There's a crash of anguish breaking,
 There's a hush both deep and long,
 There's an echoing cry of triumph
 As they crush out shame and wrong.

Swirling, flinging through the darkness
 Stretch a million gleaming hands;
 They are swift and sure in judgment,—
 Hark! they're breaking iron bands.

From the gulfs where blackness shudders
 Cry on cry is ringing out—
 Cries of hope long centuries sunken,
 Deep within the depths of doubt.

'Twill take long, you say, to break them—
 All these fetters—every chain?
 Know you then, we're growing stronger,
 Strong in body, heart and brain,

Till with all our strength united,
 In some future sun-lit day,
 We will free each man in justice,
 Till the last bond fall away.

There's no time to wait or question
 "Is this best?" or "Is this right?"—
All is best which leads to freedom—
 And all freedom ends in light.

And you'll know at last, O proud one,
 That your brother standing there
 Has more love and God-sent beauty
 Than *you* ever thought to share.

Ah! you're dazzled by the glory
 Since you thought a sordid life
 Lay beneath the wreck and ruin
 Of the centuries' blood and strife.

'Tis not so—tho' inner radiance,
 First faint glimmering through the night
 Flung itself upon the darkness—
 Sprang to meet the outer light.

Freedom! freedom! freedom—silent,
 With resistless mighty force
 Is forever sweeping onward
 From the one exhaustless source.

Rose Alice Cleveland.

The Trade Union Movement in France



THE Annual of Trade Unions for 1900* just published by the Labor Bureau of the Department of Commerce and Industry gives decisive figures for the progress of the trade union movement in France. It is certain that the development of labor unions is a characteristic fact of social evolution in France in these last years. Not only does the union become more and more the representative organ of organized labor in the economic field, but it is also recognized as such by the law. In order to account for this it suffices to review the road traveled by us, without considering as yet the "Annual" for 1900.

From the legal point of view the progress is immense. The Chapelier law of June 17, 1791, absolutely forbade the formation of trade unions: "The abolition of all kinds of corporations composed of citizens of the same calling or profession being one of the fundamental principles of the French Constitution, it is forbidden to revive them under any pretext or form whatever."

This suppression of guilds by the French revolution had a double cause. First, historical; the abuses engendered by the egoism of the masters and the unscrupulous trafficking in privileges on the part of the royal power. Second, an economic cause; industrial development was breaking through the narrow confines of ancient rules, for it needed absolute freedom for its unlimited expansion, and the new economic regime was still too little defined to make the least attempt at organization possible.

But this absolute prohibition to organize professionally applied in reality only to the laborers. As a matter of fact, the masters continued to unite, so that in 1848 the "Group of Sainte-Chappelle" in Paris comprised eleven local employers' unions. And in 1857 the "National Commercial and Industrial Union" was founded, a famous and powerful organization of manufacturers and merchants.

On the other hand, the strictest measures were adopted against laborers till 1860. Legislation was harshly unjust against them; while lenient for employers, it was oppressive for laborers. The persecutions by the police and the judges were unremitting for all laborers who showed the least inclination to form groups. Under Louis Philippe, public opinion was agitated by great strikes and attention called to the legal con-

* *L'Annuaire des Syndicats Professionnels pour 1900.*

dition of the laboring class. The revolution of 1848 brought the right of suffrage, but not the right of association. During the first half of the second empire, from 1851 to 1860, new strikes occurred; the "Liberal Empire" made its first step in the direction of liberty. The law of May 25, 1864, established the freedom of coalition, but it denied the right to meet and associate. The first stage was nevertheless passed. Temporary coalition must of necessity produce permanent coalition sooner or later.

In order to fight the industrial bourgeoisie that became troublesome the Liberal Empire began to favor the laborers. Since 1848, the latter had become a growing political power, and it was wiser to manage them diplomatically than to persecute them. The vigorous economic development, furthermore, filled the laboring class with a new vitality and intensified its desire of association. In short, the central power showed itself tolerant, and we may say that from this moment dates the trade union movement in France.

The development of labor unions under the Liberal Empire was facilitated, apart from the political and economic causes just mentioned, by other equally important factors. In the first place, the old system of "compagnonnage" (companionship) was far from being extinct and furnished to the unions the first framework for their organization. The mutual benefit societies that had been formed in great numbers during the century also became the first embryos of unions. But above all the labor delegations to the international expositions of London in 1862 and of Paris in 1867 gave the strongest impulse to the labor movement. The laborers who had come to London and Paris felt more strongly than ever the necessity of forming trade unions, and the result of their meetings was the creation of numerous trade associations. And lastly, the formation of the "International Workingmen's Association" in London, 1864, was a further factor stimulating the growth of the labor movement. Especially the Paris section of the International was singularly effective in the formation of labor unions. As a result sixty-seven unions were running smoothly in the beginning of 1870, when the empire began to totter, when the Franco-German war was threatening and the Commune in Paris impending.

The events of 1870-71 led to the dissolution of all labor associations. The suppression of the Paris Commune naturally did not encourage their revival. The laborers viewed the central power with pronounced distrust, and the active and energetic militant members had disappeared into a forced or voluntary exile. However, during 1872-73, when business began to revive, the trade union movement again made its first timid

appearance. The labor delegations to the exposition of Lyons in 1872, of Vienna in 1873 and of Philadelphia in 1876, greatly encouraged this awakening. Public opinion was strongly affected by the reports which these delegations published. Employers, unattached laborers and politicians daily recognized more and more the growing influence of trade unions. In 1876 the first labor congress was held in Paris; another took place at Lyons in 1878; a third at Marseilles in 1879, and many others followed during the next years. Unions appeared in great numbers without interference. The law of March 21, 1884, sanctioned this new state of affairs and brought the freedom of professional association to the world of labor: "The unions or professional associations, even of more than twenty members of the same calling, of similar trades or of related vocations. . . . may be freely constituted without the authorization of the government." (Art. 2.)

Thus, after long and painful struggles, the laborers were allowed to unite on the field of their economic interests. Still, at first, the trade union movement did not develop as rapidly as might have been expected. The working class, long persecuted by the central power, mistrusted the law and refused to take advantage of it. Moreover, no habit of association had been acquired, and where the laborers did not openly oppose the law, they manifested indifference toward it. Besides, the slow industrial development of France was not favorable to organization of the proletariat and it could not be torn by force from its hostility or indifference. And finally, political dissensions divided the laborers against one another. The socialist factions (Guesdists, Blanquists, Broussists, Allemanists, etc.) carried their rivalries and fights into the unions and completely paralyzed the usefulness of the latter. In consequence, the development of the trade union movement was extremely slow from 1884 to 1890-92.

But from 1892 to 1900 the growth of this movement has been very rapid. By degrees the laborers adjusted themselves to the law of 1884 and accepted its rules. The habit of association evolved gradually. The industrial development of the last years exerted its wholesome influence on the labor movement. And finally the latter separated from the political movement and developed independently.

The years 1899 and 1900 were especially marked for the great advance of the trade unions. Industrial prosperity was general and business made itself strongly felt everywhere. The preparations for the Universal Exposition gave a still more vital impulse to the economic development in France. Great strikes broke out in all parts of the land, as the laborers demanded their share of the general prosperity in the form of

increased wages. Numerous unions were formed after these strikes. To this economic was added a political reason: The presence of a socialist minister in the cabinet, M. Millerand, strongly encouraged the creation of trade unions. The whole series of legislative measures which he introduced assisted this tendency still more.

The most significant of these measures from the standpoint of the trade unions is the law of September 17, 1900, decreeing the formation of Labor Councils. Article 5 declares: "As electors shall act in every section...the legally constituted trade unions." This practically forces the trade unions on the laborers, makes them indispensable to those who wish to participate in the management of Labor Councils. It is the first step toward the obligatory union.

Such is the historical and legal evolution of the French trade union movement; prohibited at first, then permitted, the union gradually tends to become obligatory.

The "Annual of Trade Unions for 1900" marks in the first place the stages from 1884 to December 31, 1899. The development is growing:

1884.....	68 unions.
1885.....	221 "
1886.....	280 "
1887.....	501 "
1888.....	725 "
1889.....	821 "
1890.....	1,006 "
1891.....	1,250 "
1892.....	1,589 "
1893.....	1,928 "
1894.....	2,178 "
1895.....	2,163 "
1896.....	2,243 "
1897.....	2,324 "
1898.....	2,361 "
1899.....	2,685 "

The progress in the number of trade union members is equally constant:

1890.....	139,692 members.
1891.....	205,152 "
1892.....	288,770 "
1893.....	402,125 "
1894.....	403,440 "
1895.....	419,781 "
1896.....	422,777 "

1897.....	437,793	members.
1898.....	419,761	“
1899.....	492,647	“

On the 31st of December, 1899, then, we had in France 2,685 unions, with a total membership of 492,647, equal to one-eighth of the laboring class which numbers about four millions of workers.

In comparing the trade union movement to that of the employers, we find that on December 31, 1899, there were 2,157 employers' unions with 158,300 members.

We have pointed out the progress of trade unions during the last years, especially in 1899, and indicated the causes. A simple comparison of the figures brings out this pronounced success still more clearly: while in 1898 the number of trade unions had only increased by thirty-seven, the increase in 1899 was 324; while in 1898 the number of members showed a loss of 18,032, there was a gain of 78,886 in 1899.

“Mixed” unions, comprising employers and laborers, are few in number. There were 175 in 1898 with 34,236 members; in 1899 only 170 were left with 28,519 members.

The “Annual” indicates the number of trade unions and their membership, arranged according to provincial departments. If, figures in hand, we try to determine which department has the most unions and members, we arrive at the following results:

The departments having the greatest number of unions are: Seine, 494; Rhone, 157; Mouth of Rhone, 129; North, 109; Gironde, 92; Loire, 86; Lower Loire, 75; Naine and Loire, 66; Herault, 63; Allier, 61; Lower Seine, 60, etc.

The greatest number of union laborers are in the following departments: Seine, 196,150; Pas de Calais, 39,743; North, 31,377; Saone and Loire, 26,287; Loire, 17,538; Rhone, 17,333; Mouth of Rhone, 13,610; Gironde, 11,583; Lower Seine, 8,605; Allier, 6,531, etc.

We can likewise consider the distribution of unions and union laborers by trades. The grouping of the trades under investigation is the same as that adopted in the Trades' Census of 1896.

The following trades comprise the greatest number of unions: The wood industry, 311 unions with 21,469 members; earth and stone construction, 253 unions with 20,429 members; iron, steel and metal industry, 226 unions with 23,510 members; publishing industry, 173 unions with 12,754 members; leather and hide industry, 166 unions with 18,792 members; textile industry proper, 161 unions with 33,970 members; promiscuous trades, 160 unions with 34,302 members; clothing industry, 126 unions with 8,801 members; stone cutting and

polishing, 95 unions with 7,728 members; metallurgy, 82 unions with 14,015 members, etc.

The following trades employ the greatest number of union laborers: Transportation, 93,490 members; mining industries, 40,796; various branches of commerce, 34,302; textile industries, 33,970; iron, steel and metal industries, 23,510; wood industries, 21,469; earth and stone construction, 20,429; leather and hide industries, 18,792; state and communal industries, 14,235; clothing industry, 8,801, etc.

A new feature of the "Annual" for 1900 is the appearance for the first time of statistics concerning female union laborers. These statistics are, however, very incomplete, for they give only rather general figures. We simply learn that 30,975 out of 42,984 union women are laborers.

These statistics are also arranged by departments. We find that the following departments comprise over 1,000 union women: Seine, 10,940; Mouth of Rhone, 1,695; North, 1,601; Saone and Loire, 1,495; Lower Seine, 1,221; Isere, 1,209; Indre, 1,197.

There are two categories of union women, not mentioned, by the way, in the "Annual." One of them includes women belonging to the same union as the men of their trade; these unions are also "mixed," comprising men and women. The other category includes solely women's unions for the reason that a certain trade employs only women or that the women organize separately.

The greatest number of union women are in the tobacco and match industries and among the house servants. In the tobacco industry there are about twenty-seven unions composed wholly or in part of women; in the match industry, six unions. The house servants in Paris have two unions, one containing 3,930, the other 1,001 members.

Next on the list of trades employing union women are: The plume and artificial flower industry, public instruction, stenography, typesetting, seamstresses, laundry business, massage, cashier business, etc.

The lack of development in the female labor movement is easily explained. The economic condition of women is inferior to that of men, their wages are low and they have no power of cohesion. They will rather compete with men than to combine with them for the purpose of obtaining higher wages for equal work. Moreover, many women work at home and all association is forbidden to them. Finally and psychologically, the female laborer is not yet fully conscious of her rights and of the necessity of self-defense.

The "Annual" for 1900 furthermore gives statistics of the federations of unions and of the labor exchanges (*bourses de travail*) on December 31, 1899.

The statistics of the federations of unions are not clear. The figure of seventy-three unions comprising 1,199 federated unions makes no distinction between local, provincial and national unions, nor between trade and industrial unions.

There are few local or provincial unions of diverse trades. The labor exchanges assume their functions. There is only one great national federation of unions and amalgamated unions of different trades: The "Confederation Generale du Travail" (General Federation of Labor), founded in 1895 at Limoges. There was formerly a "Federation Nationale des Syndicats Ouvriers de France" (National Federation of French Labor Unions), founded in 1886 at the labor congress of Lyons; but it was killed by the rivalries of the socialist factions.

The labor exchanges are at high tide of growth. In 1898 there were 55 of them comprising 1,136 unions with 159,284 members; in 1899, we find 65, with 1,350 unions and 239,449 members. In the single year 1899, then, we had an increase of 10 new labor exchanges with 214 unions and 80,165 members.

The labor exchanges are centralized under a "Federation des Bourses du Travail de France et des Colonies" (Federation of Labor Exchanges in France and the Colonies), which is the next in size to the "General Federation of Labor"; it comprises 43 labor exchanges representing 747 unions.

As for federations of trade or industrial unions collecting under one central body all trades employed in the production of a certain article, they are few in number. We find only about 41 of them, while 250 trades are unionized. National federations of trades are very scarce; the most important of them are the Federation of Millers, the Federation of Hat-makers, the Federation of Mechanics, etc. National federations of industries are more frequent; we mention the Federation of Building Corporations, the Federation of Workers in the Publishing Business, the Federation of Metal Workers, the National Union of Railroad Employes, the Federation of Miners, etc.

It is very difficult for official statistics to summarize the activity of trade unions and its results. The "Annual" cannot tell us how much the level of wages was raised or how much the industrial profit fell under the pressure of the activity of trade unions. It is also unable to ascertain to what degree the regulation of the labor market has been effected. Nor can it indicate the influence of trade unions on the process of production—development of technique, regulation of production, etc. These effects of trade unions can only be ascertained by monograph and special investigation. For this purpose the "Office du Travail" (Department of Labor) is engaged in pub-

lishing a voluminous work on the "Associations Professionnelles Ouvriers" (Professional Labor Associations), the second volume of which is just out.

The "Annual" gives, however, an exact account of institutions established in 1899 by labor unions. Six hundred and fifty-three unions founded employment bureaus; 598 of them have professional libraries; 298 have funds for mutual assistance; 108 have funds for assistance in case of sympathetic and other strikes, etc.; 370 have funds for the assistance of unemployed; 396 have organized traveling funds; 274 have professional courses, schools and conferences; 42 have funds for the assistance of disabled workers; 10 have professional meetings and labor expositions, and 49 publish bulletins, journals or annuals.

If we occupy an absolutely objective standpoint, it is evident that neither the number of labor unions nor the number of their members, nor the results realized by them, are in any way exceptional. In order to judge correctly the labor union movement in France, we must take up a wholly relative position and consider the obstacles that had to be overcome as well as the unfavorable soil in which it had to develop.

The trade unions are now well under way in France. The public power safeguards their free development, and a law was introduced by the government bestowing on them a legal character. We must conclude that the working class will avail itself of all the facilities now offered for association and that the French proletariat will again occupy the prominent place in the history of organization that many other labor movements have gained over us.

Paris, April 10, 1901.

Hubert Lagardelle,
Editor of "*Le Mouvement Socialiste*."

(Translated by E. Untermann.)



Socialist Propaganda Among Women in Germany

IHE first efforts to form organizations of female laborers in Germany did not emanate from socialists. Neither were the first groups of this kind composed entirely of women of the laboring class. The initiative for their formation was taken by women of the bourgeoisie who were engaged in work for the emancipation of women. Persons of both sexes belonging to the middle class were admitted into those clubs as honorary members. Elevation of the intellectual level of laboring women was their main object. Thus the first club of this kind, founded in 1869 by Mrs. Otto Peters, in Berlin, called itself "Society for further education and intellectual stimulation of women of the laboring class" (*Verein zur Fortbildung und geistigen Anregung der Arbeiterfrauen*).

The majority of these clubs soon disappeared from lack of attendance. They were shunned by women of the laboring class for pretending to better the condition of the latter without taking notice of their material wants, or rather because no better plan for the improvement of their material condition was offered than culture of the brain and amelioration of the heart.

New societies of laboring women arose out of the co-operation of women of the laboring class and the bourgeoisie, attempting to cater at the same time to the material and moral interests of their members. The management of these societies soon passed out of the hands of bourgeois women into those of laboring women. In these societies and in others that were founded and directed by laboring women, economic questions took the foremost place. The same evolution that brought the management of the *labor movement of women* into the hands of women of the laboring class directed this formerly purely intellectual movement into the economic fight for higher wages and better conditions of life and labor.

The women of the laboring class separated from the bourgeois women and followed their own independent course. In 1896 they refused to take part in the International Congress of Women in Berlin that had been called by women of the bourgeoisie.

In the same measure in which the movement of female laborers emancipated itself from the influence of the bourgeois women, it approached the movement of the male workers, the socialist movement. And the police who endeavored to ob-

struct the working-class movement by incessant persecutions, while giving free scope to the bourgeois women, contributed to the best of their ability to this tendency. From these causes the movement of the women workers to-day has become an integral part of the socialist movement, within the limits and forms permitted by law. Militant female workers of Germany took part in 1889 in the International Socialist Congress of Paris, where, at their suggestion, the women's question became the subject of special discussions. At their request the urgency of an active propaganda among women was emphasized. Since then laboring women have been represented by delegates of their sex in all international socialist congresses and in all the congresses of the German Social Democratic Party.

Socialist propaganda among women must essentially remain in touch with the movement of working women, for this movement fulfills the highest demands of such a propaganda.

We do not pretend that laboring women are the only women among whom the German socialists wish to carry on their propaganda. They address themselves to all women, because they hold that the women of all classes would become socialists if they recognized the true interests of their sex. "In the family," said Engels, "man is the bourgeois and woman represents the proletariat." From this point of view the socialist party is a women's party, as it is the party of all proletarians. Socialist propaganda embraces all the women of all classes.

It would be necessary to analyze Bebel's book, "Woman in the Past, Present and Future" chapter by chapter in order to show what this propaganda signifies in its full meaning; in order to show that the "Woman's Problem" in all its different aspects finds its solution in socialism. Suffice it to repeat here the fundamental truth that the dependence and slavery of women have their roots in the economic dependence on men, and that this dependence and slavery will not cease until the economic dependence will be abolished. At the time of primitive communism, woman was independent and her own mistress. Individual appropriation of the land and establishment of the regime of private property marked the beginning of woman's servitude. This state of things was sanctioned by Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan law. It was established under different forms among the Greeks and Romans, in the middle ages as in our day. An indissoluble tie links the servitude of women to the system of private property. The efforts of women of the higher classes to emancipate themselves within the plane of the present economic system are doomed to certain failure. A few superficial reforms may give them a temporary illusion of victory, but the roots of woman's social slavery reach down deep into the system of private property, and only by sapping

the base of this system can the evil be eradicated and the slavery ended. Socialism alone, by abolishing social classes, will abolish the class character of the sexes, will permit the free unfolding of woman's faculties and, through this freedom, make her the equal of man.

Independently of theoretical arguments of this order that have become classic among German socialists since the publication of Bebel's book, the propagandists in their arguments can bring different facts to bear on women. In the first place, the socialists alone have embodied in their programs of immediate measures the demand for the political and social equality of women. Besides, the socialist representatives in the parliament have always, and very often alone against all the other parties, defended the movement of women for emancipation and even such endeavors as are only in the interest of women of higher classes. Finally, within the party itself, women enjoy complete equality with men, for they are chosen as delegates, members of commissions and members of the executive committee of the party. Under Social Democracy the female citizen has the same rights as the male citizen. Therefore the Social Democracy of to-day offers the surest pledges of woman's position in the social republic of the future.

Although the socialist party appeals to all the women, it is no less true that it directs its principal efforts to the enlightenment and organization of laboring women. Socialists are well aware that strong ties bind women to their particular class. They are well aware that the women of the middle and higher classes, however strong the reason that should make them socialists, will in the majority of cases be prevented by class prejudice from understanding the evidence before them. The women of the laboring class, on the contrary, are by birth and environment predisposed to understand and feel the truths of socialist arguments.

The main object of socialist propaganda among women is to point out to them that their proper place in this fight is not by the side of bourgeois "woman movement" but of the socialist laborers. Women must comprehend that the women of the bourgeoisie fight for equality with the men of their own class only. But when the general interest of that class comes into question, then they instinctively join the men of their class in defence of their common class interests. The emancipated bourgeois women make common cause with their bourgeois opponents whenever the interests of the bourgeoisie come into conflict with those of the proletariat. The bourgeois adherents of emancipation are unable to understand that the enfranchisement of women is impossible in the bourgeois society; that the interests of their sex conflict with their class interests, and that

their sex interests are identical with those of the proletariat. Only the victory of the latter will make women the equals of men. The bourgeois friends of emancipation are bourgeois before they are in favor of emancipation. They respect the bourgeois order of society so deeply that it never occurred to them to protest against any of the frequent suppressions of laboring women's societies or meetings. The bourgeois female suffragist is in favor of the bourgeois system at the expense of the proletarian women. The latter would violate their duty if they were to make common cause with the bourgeois.

They must make common cause with the socialist laborers. While the interests of bourgeois women are opposed to those of the men of their own class, the men and the women of the proletariat have common interests. As far as wages are concerned, the female laborer, like her male fellow-worker, can only be released from the capitalist yoke by socialism. Furthermore, as stated before, socialism alone will free the female laborers as women. And finally, while waiting for the hour of female and proletarian freedom, the true interests of male and female laborers under capitalism are the same.

Too often conflicts arise between them, when female laborers, in competition with men, take the places of the latter for lower wages. Too often laboring men demand measures forbidding women to take the bread out of the men's mouths and lower the price of manual labor. Sometimes, even laws are demanded prohibiting all industrial employment for women, just as men formerly would destroy the machines that threw them out of work. These men do not understand that industrial evolution cannot be arrested by arbitrary acts of violence. Such acts always betray ignorance of economic laws. The attitude of enlightened laborers has always been different. They did not smash the machines; for they understood that the machines would cease to deprive them of employment if the hours of labor were reduced in the same measure in which labor, thanks to machinery, became more productive. And they organized for the purpose of reducing the hours of labor. Likewise, seeing that female employment is a necessity arising out of the present system of production, they simply demand that women's wages shall be lower than men's only when their labor is less productive. They ask that women's wages be raised.

These intelligent laborers furthermore invite women to unite with them for the purpose of obtaining a raise in wages and a general reduction of working hours, in order that every laborer, male and female, may obtain work. The trade union men will help women to obtain higher wages and shorter hours. And laboring women will always find advice, help and protection in the unions. The unions, while protecting the material

interests of the laboring women, will at the same time give them instruction and that strong training of character which is the result of fighting for a common purpose. What bourgeois women's clubs will never be able to give laboring women, the union does offer. Self-interest, class interest and sex interest demand that laboring women should join trade unions. Laboring women must become members of trade unions and socialists.

Thus propaganda leads us to emphasize organization as the essential factor. Under the present state of German legislation trade unions are the most effective and often the only possible form of organization for women. In several of the most important states of the empire women are not allowed to become members of political parties. As soon as the police decides that a certain women's club or a club admitting women as members is political, its dissolution is decreed. It is, therefore, out of the question to organize women politically. What is to be done? They must be organized in non-political bodies that will give them, in the absence of other advantages, at least a certain cohesion.

This cohesion is obtained in societies of different character. One of these, the "Kranken und Sterbe Kassen" (Sick and Death Funds) were for a time the principal rallying centers. The organization published a paper, "Die Staatsbürgerin" (The Female Citizen). This paper was confiscated. Societies for the Education of Women (Frauen Bildungs Vereine) took its place and serve the same purpose to this day; but their existence is very precarious, for they are at the mercy of police commissioners. When the laws of exception against socialists were abolished in 1890, the majority of trade unions changed their constitutions in such a manner that women could become members. Inside of these unions all efforts were directed to the education of women. Apart from their economic function, the trade unions serve as centers of organization for socialist women, as a means of education for those who are not yet socialists and who only join these unions because they find in them protection of their material interests. The union itself does not meddle with politics, but the organ of the union, which is delivered to all members, may discuss politics. In social meetings of the union politics must not be discussed, but the union may hold public meetings in which male and female members may take part in the discussion of political questions. And as members of trade unions women live in a socialistic atmosphere, and if they are not yet socialists they have numerous chances of becoming so.

How shall the propaganda among unorganized women be carried on? How should direct socialist propaganda be managed?

After the Paris Congress of 1889, commissions were formed for the propaganda among women. But these were suppressed in 1895 as political bodies. Thereupon a system of trustees (*Vertrauens Leute*) was created. These trustees were elected at public meetings and charged with all questions relating to the propaganda among women. This system is in force at the present time. Women trustees call propaganda meetings, arrange for the distribution of pamphlets and leaflets, and organize the propaganda among women of their own town or district. A trustee for all Germany serves as mediator for them and lends unity to their efforts. Their principal assistants are female speakers, who address the propaganda meetings, and the women authors of pamphlets and leaflets for propaganda purposes. Nearly all of these trustees, speakers and authors are laboring women or wives of workingmen. The trade unions also employ mostly women for propaganda work among female laborers. Independently of the influence exerted on them by the trustees, the women engaged in propaganda work keep in touch through a weekly "*Die Gleichheit*" (Equality), an "organ for the protection of the rights of laboring women."

Officially, the propaganda among women is resting solely on the female trustees and the press organ. Officially, no socialist organization of women exists. But behind these trustees, bound by no other tie but confidence, are other devoted women who remain in obscurity. And on arriving in any town, these women find, in the absence of an organization, a spirit of harmony and good will that makes up for the lack of organization. In places where no political organization of women exists, the women comrades have joined non-political organizations, educational clubs and unions. And even then such organizations become, without violating the law, the centers of propaganda for socialist elements, by pure force of intercourse. Thus the work of propaganda and organization goes on in spite of the law and in the face of the most powerful antagonism, by the sole agency of conviction and will.

Edgard Milhaud,

In "Le Mouvement Socialist."

(Translated by E. Untermann.)

A Letter From Japan

[The following letter, although not intended for publication, contains so much interesting news that we give it to our readers.—EDITH.]

Unitarian Association, Shiba, Tokyo, Japan,
Mr. A. M. Simons: March 2, 1901.

Dear Comrade—Your two kind letters, one dated December 13 and the other January 28, reached me duly, and two copies of your magazine with the first one. I must thank you indeed for them all. To my great regret, however, I am hardly able to comply with your request just for the present. The fact is that when I received your first letter I set to work at once and wrote an article on the prospect of socialism, but was obliged to leave it unfinished owing to some pressing matters that I had to attend to. I hoped then I could soon manage to complete the article and send it to you, but by bad luck I was taken ill and have still been feeling unwell. The trouble with me seems to be a sort of nervous prostration, and yet I believe I shall get over it before long, when I shall gladly finish up the article and send it off. But I feel deeply sorry that you will not get it so soon as you wish, that is before the middle of the present month. You shall, however, have my essay sooner or later.

It so happens that this very day we are going to hold the first public meeting of our socialist association. We are praying for its grand success, though there is no doubt about it. The interest of our people on socialism has been greatly awakened these days, especially among our laboring people on one hand and young students' circle on the other, as much as we can draw an earnest and enthusiastic audience and fill our hall that holds two thousand. You may be interested to hear something about the speakers of this evening. I was one of the speakers, but my present condition of health does not allow me to take part in the meeting. What a pity! It is gratifying to say that we have a number of fine and well-trained public orators among our leaders of socialism in Japan. The first speaker to-night is Mr. Kiyoshi Kawakami, editor of one of our city dailies, a strong, independent and decidedly socialistic paper, circulated far and wide. Mr. Kawakami is a scholar as well as a popular writer. He is going to speak to-night on the subject, "The Essence of Socialism—the Fundamental Princi-

ples." The next speaker is Professor Iso Abe, president of our association, whose subject of address is "Socialism and the Existing Social System." The third speaker is Mr. Naoe Kinoshita, the editor of another strong journal of the city. He speaks on the subject, "How to Realize the Socialistic Ideals and Plans." Next is Mr. Shigeyoshi Sugiyama, a graduate of Hartford Theological Seminary and an advocate of Social Christianity, who is to speak on "Socialism and Municipal Problems." And the last speaker is the editor of the "Labor World" and foremost leader of the labor union movement in our country, Mr. Sen Katayama, who speaks on the subject, "The Outlook of Socialism in Europe and in America." These addresses are going to be published in book form afterwards and to be distributed among our people to enlighten their minds on the subject. I shall perhaps write you again further about the meeting after I attend it to-night.

Your International Socialist Review is a grand thing, and that is the very thing I have long been hoping to see published. I read the two copies you so kindly sent me—read them with a great pleasure, delight, and was greatly encouraged. You will please continue to send the magazine. Yours fraternally,

Tomoyoshi Murai.



The Charity Girl

By Caroline H. Pemberton, Author of "Stephen the Black," "Your Little Brother James," Etc

CHAPTER V.



HE next day, when Julian told the story of his adventures at the ball and repeated somewhat drolly the tragic plaint of Miss Gertrude Vaughn, Denning said, with evident concern:

"That was really too bad—too bad! You should have come to me at once—I would have helped her out sooner, had I known—although my hands were dreadfully full during the early part of the evening."

"I saw you in a new role," said Julian, laughing; "the Don Quixote of the ball room, and as romantic a knight errant as myself! It would not do, though, for us to exchange worlds."

Denning looked down modestly. "I do what I can; I like to see young things enjoy themselves. The trouble with the little Vaughn girl is that she has never been introduced properly. The Vaughns were a good old family in their day, but the sister—well, no one knows the family she married into at all. Of course, the doctor is known professionally—but this is not Philadelphia."

"Isn't it possible for Mrs. Starling to shine a little—by her own light?"

"She is beautiful, and she gives charming musicales, I am told. It will do you no harm to go there." Denning's tone was indulgent; his smile gleamed with kindness, albeit he had spoken of social lines more definitely than he cared to; the subject was painful—to be very explicit, was a vulgarity. Within certain prescribed limits, he strove always to be the chivalrous knight which the secret tenderness of his heart had evolved as an ideal of manly excellence. It was a queer little world for a knight to roam in—about as romantic as a Swiss toy village with painted green shavings for trees, and red and white blocks for houses—but such as it was Denning made the most of it and compressed his knightly spirit into the narrow situation without misgiving, with such old-fashioned simplicity and such entire absence of any desire to create an effect, that no one suspected him of anything more than a very commonplace kindness of heart.

A week later he urged Julian to attend a large reception on the opening night of an art exhibition, and as there was a

promise of good music and pictures, Julian donned broadcloth and fine linen again with docility.

He began to speculate with sudden interest on the probability of meeting Mrs. Starling during the evening.

He did not meet her until the evening was nearly over. His legs had now become weary with tramping through the galleries, and his head dizzy from looking simultaneously at rows of oil paintings and the faces of a constantly moving crowd of people. The effort produced sensations similar to those experienced in falling from the top of a very high church steeple.

Landing suddenly upon his feet after turning a sharp corner—as if he had really completed a successful somersault—Julian beheld the object of his search seated upon a low divan. Her upturned face was seriously regarding two fair-haired youths who were standing over her in an attitude of adoration. Julian put himself in the line of vision with her eyes and waited for a glance of recognition. It was bestowed with such a lighting up of welcome that he did not hesitate to station himself shoulder to shoulder with the adoring youths, whose dissatisfaction became instantly apparent.

Conversation being blocked by the anxiety of the first-comers to monopolize it, Julian stood by Marian's side in grave contemplation, until she demanded the reason of his silence.

"I have been wondering if I shall ever hear you sing," he answered, with such simple directness that she felt compelled to give him her undivided attention for three minutes. The brief interview resulted in Marian's agreeing to sing for him, provided he should call on an evening specified, which he promised to do. He left the reception soon afterwards, and went home to lay his dizzy head on a pillow whereon he tossed sleeplessly until morning.

Julian remembered soon afterward his promise to search for the younger brothers of Martha McPherson. He set about it rather listlessly at first, confining his efforts to mailing a series of inquiries to the institutions which he believed might have received them.

After two weeks of search he succeeded in tracing the elder boy as far as a reformatory; but here his history became a blank, for he had been given away to a farmer in Delaware, and both the boy and the farmer had disappeared. Letters sent to the address of the farmer had been returned with the inscription, "Name unknown." The other child—the beatific and beautiful "Tahmmy"—he learned had contracted, while in an Orphans' Home, a contagious disease of the eyes; this had caused him to be transferred to the poorhouse where, after becoming totally blind, he had died of inanition six months later.

Julian knew, not only by report but by personal inspection, that this particular "Orphans' Home" was always overcrowded.

He had every reason to believe that its inmates were half-starved, yet every year a steady stream of "rescued" children poured—benevolently—from the "Cruelty Society's" office into this den of wretched, sore-eyed starvings.

The little Princes of the Tower were smothered quickly. Why, O ye managers, why was it necessary to put out little "Tahmy's" eyes with slow, exquisite torture? Julian was in misery as he regarded these victims of philanthropy. His vocation seemed to have turned into a demon's opportunity. In fact, the charity of a Christian public could hardly be said to have exhibited a much higher sense of responsibility toward these children than their drunken mother had formerly evolved. If left to herself, might she not have done as well? Might she not have risen to the benign tenderness of flinging one child into the mill-grind of a reformatory and the other over the blank wall of a city poorhouse—even though she groped her way without the moral stimulus of adding two more children to the thousands rescued to adorn the pages of an Annual Report? These reflections made Julian very sick at heart. And as for Martha—ah, poor Martha!

He was glad she was far away in the home of a Mennonite widow, who was now instructing her in the duties of motherhood and the mysteries of the multiplication table at a cost to the Association of two dollars per week. He could postpone the painful news that one brother was lost and the other dead until it was time to visit her. In the meantime, Martha, without knowing it, was relieved of the burden of self support, and was given time for moral and mental growth, the arrangement being the result of a vigorous wrestling match between Julian and his conscientious managers, who had not yet lived down a deeply rooted conviction that their first duty to the public was to get something for nothing; the second being to invest a large balance in mortgages at the end of every year. Julian argued that society owed Martha for those early years of toil on a truck farm during which she had borne all the burdens of life. He figured it out in dollars and cents, showing a large balance in Martha's favor.

"Society," he explained with cunning plausibility, "had robbed her of her childhood and had then mortgaged her future to cover the cost of her board and lodging while she was yet a child. Her present helpless condition expressed the terms of the mortgage—with the interest added."

This was convincing, because many of the managers knew a great deal more about mortgages than they did about homeless children—though this does not imply that their knowledge of financial operations was extensive. They felt a renewed confidence in their young secretary who could thus reduce the moral problems of the world to terms comprehensible to a

commercial intelligence, and they repeated his remarks to their husbands, who nodded approval with the dull stare that they always bestowed on philanthropic schemes which they felt bound—for some inexplicable reason—to support.

Julian made his plans to call on Marian Starling at the appointed time. As he drew near the house, the light of a street lamp revealed a physician's sign on the window sill. He looked at the initials which he was aware were those of Marian's husband. Her delicate personality did not harmonize in his mind with the idea of a husband—even in the abstract. There was about her a subtle air of detachment which seemed to assert that she belonged exclusively to herself.

He was shown into an apartment at the head of the first flight of stairs, where he found Marian seated by an open piano. Gertrude was also in the room, reading a novel by the light of a rose-shaded lamp. She accosted him, but quickly disappeared, throwing a peculiar glance over her shoulder at her sister to express commiseration for martyrs who are to be subjected to the terrors of boredom; but it awakened no shadow of response in her sister's face, which remained sweetly and hospitably eloquent.

Julian was aware of the presence of flowers in odd corners, of rare pictures looking down from the walls, of rich rugs under his feet, and of books and portfolios of music lying open and accessible. His eyes fastened immediately on the white-robed figure of Marian advancing to meet him—surely a tender, beautiful incarnation of womanhood, if not a holy priestess at the shrine of music!

Marian greeted him in a low voice, as if shy of revealing the world of expression that lay in her fuller tones. They stood together by the piano before which Julian begged her to be re-seated. He asked her to go on with the song she had been practicing.

There was no reason why Marian should have blushed deeply when she began to sing before this unsophisticated young man. It was not because she feared his criticism or distrusted her control over her highly cultivated voice. She had sung at public concerts without embarrassment. Perhaps she became conscious that she was addressing a nature that might recognize her gift of song as a personal revelation. All her life she had felt that her song had fallen on deaf ears—it was as if she had been offering flowers to the blind, and incense to the insensible—but now it seemed that she was speaking face to face and eye to eye in a language that was understood. All this she explained to Julian afterward. Never before had the exquisite and touching quality of her voice carried such meaning; as it mounted from lower note to higher it seemed to gather up all the pathos of life.

"Behold the sorrows of the universe!" it said. "Behold, my secret sorrow—and yours!" it cried to Julian. The lament was not in the words; neither was it wrought by the composer into the phrases of his music; it was the message of the voice itself. As Julian listened, all that he had felt and suffered in his chosen work rushed back to him; humanity's passionate cry clutched his heart as if he were indeed a "man of sorrows and acquainted with grief."

But when Marian ceased singing and turned her eyes upon him with a rather wistful smile, not as if she sought applause, but rather as if she wanted to escape from the emotions she had raised within herself, the sorrows of the world—the irony of civilization's boastfully recorded charities—its unnumbered cruelties—faded away like a dream. He held his breath, and as he followed with his eyes the hand she laid upon the bosom of her gown—she was plucking it in an embarrassment that was new to her—he was mindful only of the supreme claims of the individual to escape the universal destiny.

"Music is the speech of the unhappy," Marian said, suddenly pushing herself from the piano. "The joyousness in it is only the joy we have missed."

"Few of us know what we have missed," said Julian; but he knew that he was merely repeating something he had read, and he blushed for the truism.

"Happy are they who never find out!" she answered, looking into his eyes. She asked if he could play an accompaniment. He offered to try, and they began a serenade together. It was as if they had started on a flight through the upper harmonies, and could look down upon strife and sin below, the echoes of which reached their ears without disturbing their enjoyment.

"It is hateful to sing to one's own accompaniment," Marian sighed softly.

"It is hateful to play alone," said Julian, thinking of the cheaply hired piano that stood in his lonely bed chamber. Later in the evening it was disclosed that Julian had studied the violin and flute, though sadly out of practice on either, and Marian knew several lovely trios.

Another engagement was made for another musical evening; and when Julian stepped out into the night he felt with a wave of thankfulness that he had at last returned to a world of art and beauty after a long period of suspended animation underground. He would be glad to return to his work on the morrow, but the discovery that it was unwholesome to remain always buried alive in one's task was surely significant and prophetic of great results.

CHAPTER VI.

The weeks flew by; Julian was now living in two worlds, with-

out consciousness of a dual personality. In truth he was not much given to self-analysis. He was accustomed to say that he hoped he had a soul, but so far, it had never manifested itself in the way psychologists delight to describe. He did not know that it might not rise into consciousness some day like an old-fashioned, punctilious ghost, whose time for appearing and disappearing had been set between the tolling of the bell and the crowing of the cock; but neither of these signals had as yet been sounded in his experience. Or it might be, he said, that a soul like a healthy organ in a healthy body could give no hint of its existence until affected by some unhappy malady, and by this hypothesis it were better to leave well enough alone.

The champions of moral progress are not often of a subjective cast of mind. When one imagines that one is made use of as a regenerating force, self-love is imperiled; there is little time for self-culture, and the sweet graces that win popularity are too often left to take care of themselves. Whatever charm of personality existed in Julian he had done all in his power to destroy by overwork and anxiety.

But now his youthfulness blossomed suddenly into an artist's intense enjoyment. Into his starved musician's soul came the joy of sharing things of beauty with a lover of beauty as reverent as himself.

Many evenings were spent in Marian's parlor by the side of the open piano, and often in the unobtrusive presence of an old music teacher who played a piano accompaniment whenever Julian chose to experiment on the flute or violin. These attempts were sometimes provocative of laughter from Marian; but her tuneful nature—even in its merriest moments—never laughed at, but always with her comrades, and thus added archly to the general harmony. But often they drew from her eyes a quick look of wonder and appreciation, while the grey-haired master gave a nod of approval to many a passage which Julian executed with fire and delicacy.

Life seemed to be arranging itself on a basis of scales, chromatic chords and discords, out of which Julian found himself evolving delicious harmonies. A fatiguing, running accompaniment of heavy work, including much painful scrutiny of pitiful life tragedies, affected him as would a series of complicated arpeggios requiring flying leaps of action, such as Chopin builds for his exquisite and most difficult nocturnes; to his artistic soul this seemed a masterful groundwork, above which now soared the new and lovely melodies of his life—like the song of birds in the tree tops of a dense forest.

Never, however, did he go to Marian's house unbidden, except on one occasion when he was not admitted, although her voice floated distinctly down the stairway to his ear. His visits were arranged to avoid interference with her other engage-

ments, of which he knew she had many. Thus he avoided an awkward meeting of strangers, and Marian was able to give him her undivided attention for whole evenings. On Sunday he met her often on the street, sometimes walking with a tall, dark man whose deep-set, fierce-looking eyes were fixed upon her face. Julian supposed him to be her husband until he met Dr. Starling soon afterward in his own house. Their intercourse was formal and infrequent. He often heard the doctor's footsteps about the house, and occasionally his voice addressing patients in tones that were depressingly cold and measured. Marian told him that the doctor had no comprehension of music and was rather annoyed by it than otherwise. So the parlor door was generally closed when the music lovers played their trios.

The tall dark man sank into ignominy when Marian explained that he was a morbid creature who could find nothing in the world worth living for, and was bored to the point of extinction even when she exerted herself heroically to interest him. It was her kindly ambition to bring him to a sense of obligation to the world around him, but so far her efforts had been unsuccessful. But one day she startled Julian by alluding to the bored stranger as her "evil genius," to which Julian replied playfully that he had supposed her role to be that of an admonitory angel; it was confusing to picture supernatural beings holding such involved relationships! One should eliminate the other.

"Have you never pitied Mephistopheles?" asked Marian looking away from him with a dreamy expression. "Suppose an angel had descended to help that wretched, sin-satiated creature?"

"To fight him, you mean," said Julian, laughing, but glancing behind her somewhat uneasily, as if half expecting to discover a shadowy form at the back of her chair.

"He is not there," she said, smiling; "but if he were, this would put him to flight."

She struck the opening chords of the celebrated largo of Handel's, and Julian picking up his violin to accompany her, dismissed his uncomfortable fancies. At any rate, the evil genius could not play a note of Handel's; he would not live alone in boredom if music were within his reach.

In Julian's other world, it might be said that the shadows were not quite as black as they had been. Emergencies were not as much the order of the day as formerly; misfortunes were to be expected, but it was certainly the part of wisdom to introduce a little philosophy into one's contemplation of them. The woes of humanity which Julian carried so close to his heart had become a somewhat more adjustable burden; the load could

now be shifted about, and there were times when it could be shoved altogether out of sight.

It was odd that among his assistants, Elizabeth should stand forth as the most helpful. More and more Julian began to depend upon her for the performance of difficult tasks. If a runaway boy were to be apprehended, Elizabeth was found to be the one who could be counted upon to return with the boy held fast by the hand. If there were crying children to be soothed, Elizabeth, detached from her writing and sent upstairs, produced a dove-like peace in three minutes. When it was a question of eliciting confidences, it was Elizabeth's ear that received the pitiful tale or the long-hidden, childish ambition to break down barriers and achieve the impossible. And yet one could not discern what was the Russian maid's secret of power. So silent—so self-repressed was she—a quick glance of her eyes was often her only response when she arose to execute Julian's commands. Her stock of sympathy could not be described as abundant; or possibly her ability to express it was weak. In dealing with children she may have found channels of expression unknown to other adult mortals; but when Julian followed her, as he did once through curiosity, he found the same inexpressive Elizabeth; the children were crowding fearlessly against her, but her only form of communication with them seemed to be a series of abrupt questions and answers, such as shy, strange children address to each other when they first meet.

Julian found it often convenient to require heavier tasks of Elizabeth than he would have deemed prudent to ask of any other assistant. She never rebelled, and he thought it probable that she suffered less through her sympathies than the others. She was not given to headaches, she was innocent of hysterics, and she appeared to be indifferent to the length of a day's service. It was only when summer had set in, that Julian noticed with some remorse that her color was fading and her young face looking thin and tired.

It was the season for holidays, but on broaching the subject, he discovered that Elizabeth's only plan was to visit a farmer's wife with whom she had once lived in a state of partial servitude, and whom she personally disliked. Julian then appealed to his mother, and drew such a pathetic picture of Elizabeth's friendlessness, that the good lady wrote back promptly inviting Elizabeth to spend two weeks with her. This was a charitable offer, and Julian exerted himself to bring about its acceptance. Finding the young Russian disposed to demur, he asserted the authority of a guardian and asked her to prepare a letter of acceptance. He made some corrections; the letter was mailed, and a few days later Elizabeth was put on the train that was to carry her to Julian's quiet country home in the interior of New York state.

❁ SOCIALISM ABROAD ❁

Professor E. Untermann

RUSSIA.

In order to understand the deep significance of the widespread manifestations that shake the foundations of absolutism in Russia, it is necessary to know that the longing for more freedom in accord with economic, scientific, literary and artistic progress pervades all strata of society. The young tsar was the star whose light was expected to penetrate the gloom of darkest Russia. But on January 17, 1895, Nicholas II. crushed the fond hopes of his people by declaring: "Let all know that I devote all my strength to the good of my people, but that I shall uphold the principle of autocracy as firmly and unflinchingly as did my ever lamented father."

Ever since, the revolutionary sentiment has been growing. Most active in its propagation were the young students of both sexes. Enthusiastic, courageous and resourceful, they spread the agitation among workingmen, secretly and in constant danger of losing their lives. Through their initiative and by their assistance, the Working Class Emancipation Leagues of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev and the Russian Social Democratic Party were formed. Strengthened by these organizations, the workingmen were enabled to test their strength in several strikes and force the government to acknowledge their demand for a law limiting the hours of labor. At the same time, the sympathy with this movement grew among all classes.

On the 5th of March, the anniversary of the emancipation of the serfs, the male and female students of Petersburg made a revolutionary demonstration. The police and the Ural Cossacks, who had been kept in readiness for the occasion, attacked them and drove them to the police station. Many students were killed and about sixty severely wounded. Women were beaten down with nagalkas (cossacks' whips), trampled upon, dragged along the streets by their hair and kicked to death. The multitude, who had come to view the procession, sided with the students and defended them against the cossacks. Workingmen, artists, literary men and even officers tried to keep the cossacks back. The latter finally succeeded in arresting about 300 students. Some of these were sentenced to be hung, others were forced to serve as common soldiers in the ranks of southern regiments. Of these, about 20 refused to take the military oath. It was rumored that they would be sent to Siberia, but later reports do not confirm this and their fate is unknown. One student was shot because he struck an officer who had insulted him.

No wonder that the students, in several orderly and well-conducted meetings, passed resolutions demanding protection by properly constituted courts of justice against the insolence of the police. No wonder that another still more violent demonstration took place on March 17. The atrocities committed by the cossacks on this second occasion defy all description.

Society stood aghast. With praiseworthy unanimity, the students of all other universities in the empire followed the example of their Petersburg comrades, and in a short time, 30,000 students refrained from attending lectures. Several professors sided with them and were promptly discharged and arrested. Others had to close their departments from lack of attendance. On being officially ordered to continue his lectures, one professor said: "All right, but where am I to lecture, in jail or at the university?"

Forty-five of the most prominent Russian writers signed a document protesting against these outrages, and unable to obtain redress at home, appealed to the sympathies of the world. But the tsar defies the world and arrests many of the men and women who champion the cause of humanity.

Even in the army and navy revolutionary echoes answered the challenge of feudal despotism. A tsar cannot stop the law of evolution. By inoculating the army with such revolutionary elements as Russian students are, Nicholas unconsciously becomes one of those forces that, aiming at evil, must produce good.

It must be remembered that he has indulged in the practice of forcing rebellious students into the ranks since July, 1899. During this time thousands were subjected to this degradation. In the military district of Kiev alone, over 2,000 students from different universities are serving their term as privates. The good seed is bearing fruit. Nor were the demonstrations and protests confined to Russia alone. In Belgium, England and Italy, the students passed resolutions of sympathy and entered a protest against the barbarous treatment of their Russian brethren.

FRANCE

A while ago there seemed to be a well-founded hope for complete unity of the socialist forces in France. To-day, the different parties are farther apart than ever. A few powerful personalities can make it possible to gather around them a host of followers and keep in discord those who should be fighting shoulder to shoulder. Though the interests of all these men, the leaders included, are absolutely identical, still they prefer to split on questions of theory and tactics, and march on separate roads. As in actual warfare, so on the political battlefield marching separately may be advantageous, but only for the purpose of striking together.

However, in the third congress of French socialists to be held during the last days of May in Lyons, the Guesdists will not be represented. "Neither in Lyons nor anywhere else" is the slogan issued by their organ, "Le Socialiste." None of the other parties participating in the congress shows the least inclination to merge its identity into a great party comprizing them all. The Allemanists, the Blanquists, the Broussists and the Independents, each and all prefer to maintain their own pet organization. In view of the many and difficult problems requiring immediate solution in France, one feels tempted to exclaim: "Socialists unite! You have nothing to lose but a few leaders!"

Jaures declares in the "Petite Republique" his intention of introducing at the Lyons congress a motion that a socialist shall be permitted to enter a capitalistic cabinet only with the consent of two-thirds of the party delegates.

Meantime the struggle against capitalism still continues with varying fortune. The strike in Marseilles seems to be ending in a fizzle,

If we can believe the information given by the capitalist press, and little, if any, actual benefit will result from it to the toilers.

In Montceau-les-Mines, the "yellow" scabs—poor deluded army of unemployed—are taking the places of their class-conscious fellow-workers, protected by troops. The soldiers are replaced by new companies from time to time, in order to prevent their being influenced by the strikers, who appeal to them not to shoot the men of their own class. Bouveri, the socialist mayor of Montceau-les-Mines, writes in "Le Mouvement Socialiste":

"We are tired of being oppressed, bullied and cheated. We want the liberty of our conscience. We demand only our share of sunshine. In order to obtain it, we shall stop at nothing. . . . We count on the French proletariat for the triumph of our just endeavors."

SWITZERLAND.

The dependence of Swiss industry on foreign imports, the absence of large industrial centers, the mingling of agricultural with industrial laborers and the influx of foreign laborers, who are not naturalized and cannot vote, confront socialist propaganda in Switzerland with difficulties not met in any other country.

Agricultural laborers are, as a rule, not as well informed, less independent and more conservative than city laborers. The difficulty of organizing them is increased by their distribution over a wide extent of territory. And the number of foreigners, amounting to 15 per cent of the entire population, gives rise to national jealousy increased by the fear of competition.

Under these circumstances, the absence of at least one great source of dissension among socialists of other countries is very opportune—theoretical discussions.

"The Swiss laborer," writes Otto Lang in "Le Mouvement Socialiste," "takes no interest in the discussion of theoretical questions. The conviction that the socialists have practical problems of the utmost urgency to solve, gives harmony to their movement. They realize that the union of exploiters necessitates a union of the exploited. Therefore, they are tolerant in points of theory."

The socialist movement in Switzerland did not acquire any political influence until 1880. At present the strongest political organization, the Swiss Union of Grutli, numbers about 11,500 members in 324 sections, while the number of socialist votes amounts to about 100,000, equal to 13 per cent of the total vote.

The strongest labor union is the Federation of Swiss laborers, comprising about 200,000 members, while the number of skilled workers organized in trade-unions is about 40,000, equal to 20 per cent of the laborers employed in trades.

With the progress of economic evolution, the socialist movement in Switzerland is gaining ground steadily.

Such incidents as that related in the following item, which is not clipped from the capitalist press, tend to hasten the process:

During the last two months a strike was fought out at Azwil (Canton St. Gallen) between 120 metal workers and the owners of the machine factory, Benninger & Co. Although no disturbance had taken place, the president and all the members of the strike committee were suddenly arrested. The "Arbeiter Stimme" (Voice of the Workers) reports the mayor of Azwil as saying to a member of the committee: "If the leaders of the strikers will go to Benninger and announce that work will be resumed, they will get a note from him requesting the

sheriff to release the prisoners." America is not the only place in the world, where the officials, elected by the workingmen, assist the capitalistic masters. There is no liberty for workers in a capitalistic republic!

SPAIN.

In the interest of truth, we are compelled to state that the recent disturbances in Spain are not, as generally represented, of socialist origin. True, the source of the trouble is found in the economic field. It is the unprecedented economic development—of the religious orders. By dint of superior business talent, acquired by the study of the saintly Ignatius Loyola, these orders enter into competition with the middle class industrials and actually push them to the wall. And lo, the God-fearing bourgeois friend of the church suddenly becomes a priest-hater.

This sentiment found vent in the boyish demonstrations of some hot-headed middle class students, who regarded the recent marriage of the Princess of Asturia to Don Carlos de Bourbon as a further strengthening of the clerical position. The rowdy element, always ready for pranks of this kind, joined them. Stones were thrown at some Jesuits, windows broken in some convents, police and soldiers indulged in a free fight with the mob and killed a few innocent persons, as usually, and—the cause was given for demonstrations of a similar character all over the land.

The socialists have no interest in this farce. There is nothing in it either for them or the cause of the proletariat. As individuals and as a party, they don't care how much their common enemies lacerate one another. They can only work on patiently and wait for the enlightening influence of economic evolution. In a country so backward in industrial development as Spain, socialist influence unhappily misses one of its strongest allies, the educating force of economic pressure.

"A more rapid advance on the road of progress will be made," says Pablo Iglesias in "*Le Mouvement Socialiste*," "when the bourgeoisie will more clearly understand its own interest and when the proletariat, more powerful and numerous than at present, will exert its influence on public affairs."

The socialist press, hitherto represented by a few weeklies and periodicals of a somewhat vague and utopian character, lately received a valuable addition in the form of a monthly, "*La Nueva Era*" (The New Era), designed to fight the battle of the proletariat on scientific lines. Among its contributors is Bebel, the noted German socialist. A. Garcia Quejido, 31 Gobernador, bajo, Madrid, is the editor.

DENMARK.

The Danish government is no longer "in it." During the last five years the conservative party has been losing ground rapidly. In 1895, the number of conservatives was reduced from 32 to 24 of 114 seats in the Folkething; in 1896 this number further decreased to 16; and at the recent elections they only secured 8 seats, and these by very narrow margins. No more than 5 of the newly elected candidates will support the government.

The number of socialist votes has increased by 11,100 during the last three years. Beginning with 268 votes in 1872, the socialists in-

creased their vote to 8,408 in 1887. Three years later, in 1890, they obtained 17,232 votes in ten election districts; in 1892, they received 20,094 votes in 15 districts; in 1895, 24,508 in 17 districts; in 1898, 31,872 in 23 districts; and in 1901, 42,972 in 30 districts.

Most surprising is the growth of socialism in the provinces. In districts that placed a socialist candidate into the field for the first time, over 1,000 socialist votes were cast.

The number of moderates decreased from 36,587 in 1898 to 23,606. Although only half as strong as the socialist vote, this number, thanks to the iniquitous Danish election laws, secured 15 seats for the moderates, while the socialists with all their strength only place 14 candidates.

The rest of the seats went to the radicals.

The elections for the Folkething brought a complete defeat to the government. The returns are as follows: 73 reformers, 15 moderates, 14 socialists, 6 conservatives and 2 independents.

AUSTRALIA.

The Socialist Labor Party of Australia recently took part in the general elections for the first time. The party is only two years old and was formed by the separation of the socialistic elements from the Labor Party.

In the program of the new party we find the following demands:

Universal and equal suffrage; the initiative and the referendum; abolition of the standing army and institution of a militia; refusal to the eight-hour day; direct employment of laborers by municipalities; pass the marine budget, until the navy will belong to Australia instead of England.

Nothing is known as yet about the outcome of the elections.



THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes

New York and Chicago daily papers and technical journals are discussing a new revolutionary device which makes it possible for any person who can operate a typewriter to send a telegram. By the skillful manipulation of electrical currents a typewriter keyboard located 400 miles from the receiving point has been so arranged that it recorded words which were spelled out by an operator. Frank D. Pearue is the inventor of this marvelous device, which will probably revolutionize telegraphy in the near future. Until two years ago Pearue was superintendent of construction for the Iowa Telephone Company, and made his home in Davenport, Iowa, but recently he has spent most of his time in Chicago and Syracuse, N. Y., where his models are manufactured. He has protected all his rights by patents, and demonstrations given in Chicago and Omaha prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Pearue printing telegraph will supplant the old-fashioned system. "I expect to perfect my machine and make it possible to use it in connection with the Mergenthaler type-setting machine," said the inventor. "In a short time it will be possible to send a message from New York to Chicago and put it into type without the assistance of an operator at the receiving end or a typewriter. My invention will revolutionize the transmission of news." Four distinct parts make up the apparatus, which does the sending and printing of messages. The sender is a keyboard which has electric wires connected with each key and is similar in appearance to the keyboard of any writing machine. At the receiving end are a selector and intermediate switch, and the portion of the typewriter which does the printing. One remarkable feature of the new system of telegraphy is that it can be used on either telephone or telegraph wires, and that the wires may be used for other purposes while messages are being transmitted. The operation of the Pearue machine in no way interferes with telephonic communications which are being sent over the same line, and is possible while the line is being used by a Morse machine. There is a variation in the strength of the currents which are transmitted by touching different keys. The selector and switch, which are situated at the receiving station, are so effected by these currents that electrical connection is made with the letter which corresponds to the key which was struck by the operator, and the words are printed automatically. The great telegraph companies of the United States have allowed Pearue the use of their lines and are said to be negotiating for the use of the new device. These facts are worthy of the careful thought of telegraph operators and printers and others who imagine that the world stands still.

Contrary to general expectations, the miners did not go on strike, though there are some ominous rumblings in Pennsylvania, Indiana and other states. The anthracite men demanded recognition of their union and joint conference with the operators, but the latter refused

to yield. It is now stated that J. P. Morgan assured the representatives of the miners that if the organization could demonstrate that it can control its members, and prevent them from inaugurating local strikes, the union would be recognized at the beginning of the new year. It may be stated here, on very excellent authority, that Mitchell and his friends took several other important matters into account in agreeing to a temporary truce, one of which was the fact that the hard coal men have been too recently organized to clearly understand the discipline and sacrifice that is required in a long national struggle, which could have been expected if a strike had been ordered. Another fact is that complete harmony does not exist in the national union. The Lewis-Dolan faction is opposed to Mitchell, who is charged with being too radical, and it is significant that at the Columbus conference with the bituminous operators the latter cheered Lewis, while Mitchell was treated with the utmost formality. Further facts will probably develop in the near future that may demonstrate the wisdom of the course adopted.

Labor continues to fare badly at the hands of the courts. The eight-hour laws relating to public work in Ohio and Washington, the enactment of which cost the unions of those states no mean sums of money as well as plenty of hard work, have been badly disfigured. In the latter state the Supreme Court declared with great profundity, that the eight-hour law merely applies to day laborers, and not to those who are employed under contract by the week, month or year. As workers are seldom if ever employed by contractors for one day at a time, it will be readily seen that chicanery has practically killed the law. In Ohio a circuit court curtly threw out a case in which a contracting firm had been sued for employing laborers more than eight hours a day, the law stipulating that \$50 must be paid for each day that the law was violated. The court did not deign to give any other reason for its action than to state that "the law is unconstitutional," and that decisions in similar cases in Nebraska and New York covered the case brought up from Cleveland.

Municipal elections held in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri and one or two other states show steady increase in the Socialist, excepting the old Socialist Labor (or De Leon) party, which has almost completely disappeared.—Both the Chicago and Springfield factions of the Social Democratic party, as well as a number of independent state and local Socialist organizations have voted almost unanimously to hold a joint convention and formally and finally amalgamate. Negotiations are now being carried on to definitely arrange the date for the convention, which will probably be held in Indianapolis.—A number of national organizers are now in the field forming local branches, and arrangements are being made to divide the country into circuits and send out more organizers.

Building craftsmen have been very successful in Pittsburg, Buffalo, Cleveland, St. Louis and other large cities in gaining concessions in the matter of higher wages, shorter workday and other improved conditions. Iron workers and blast furnace laborers have also gained slight advances. On May 20 the machinists will make a national move to enforce the nine-hour day. They expect to have trouble in a number of cities, and request all unorganized machinists to join the union, as well as the aid of sympathizers to strengthen their lines, in order that their fight may be a successful one.—Longshoremen accepted slight reduction at lower lake ports, and engineers are still on strike at this writing.

City council of New Haven, Conn., passed a resolution requiring that only union labor be employed on municipal work. Corporation council knocked out the resolution, claiming that it was unconstitutional, interfering with the "freedom of contract," etc. He concluded by saying: "This very question, whether a city has a right in making contracts to discriminate in favor of union men, has been decided by a number of courts, and in every case the court has decided against such a right."

Another step has been taken in the game of court injunctions that capital is playing against labor. In Waterbury, Conn., the unionists were carrying on an aggressive and effective boycott against a scab bakery. The boss went into court and not only secured an injunction, but also attached the savings in a bank belonging to two members of the brewers' union in a suit for \$2,000 damages, and good lawyers opine that he can get a pretty good piece of their money.

New York cigarmakers, the national union and the A. F. of L. have combined in sending out a joint circular calling attention to the fact that 5,000 craftsmen are locked out in the former city, and that the newly-organized cigar trust is absorbing and building factories all over the country and making war on trade unions. All unionists and sympathizers are urged to purchase only cigars the boxes of which bear the blue union label.

May Day will be celebrated by holding parades and meetings in many cities. In New York the trade unions and Social Democrats have united for an imposing demonstration in favor of the eight-hour day. In Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Cleveland and other places the same elements will join in making demands for better conditions for those who toil.

Despite the settlement of the Chicago building trades' strike and lockout with the understanding that the council should pass out of existence, a reorganization is taking place, all but one or two conservative organizations taking part. It's another case where the so-called leaders were unable to hold the rank and file in line.

New York Legislature turned down two labor bills in one day, breaking the record in showing contempt for unions. One was to compel street railways to place vestibules on cars, and the other to prevent courts from issuing injunctions in times of strikes.

Labor Commissioner Carroll D. Wright is quoted as saying that the employers' liability laws of the various states are practically worthless as a means of protection to injured employes. Now, will you be good, and careful?

Railway trainmen and boot and shoe workers have absorbed many local unions in Canada recently and added thousands of members to their rolls.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

Professor George D. Herron

Towards the gifts of Mr. Carnegie to the public, the socialist can have but one attitude. While refusing to pass any judgment upon the giver's motives or individual character, he cannot but regard capitalistic gifts of libraries and semi-public institutions as an unqualified curse to society. They thoroughly blind the eyes of the people as to the real human issue—the issue now dividing the world into a capitalistic or exploiting class on the one side, and a producing and exploited class on the other side. It is easy to get glory by giving away what does not belong to one; easy to get glory by ostentatiously presenting to society a fraction of that which has been wrested from it by sheer economic might and cunning. So easy is glory thus obtained that a metropolitan clergyman has just hailed Mr. Carnegie as a new Messiah. But the reception of such gifts by the class that establishes our moral and intellectual standards is a disclosure of the utter prostitution of the teachers and morals of civilization. Only a society thoroughly grounded in immorality and inhumanity—a base and prostituted society, without faith, or religion, or ethics—could fail to discern and analyze the sources and character of its munificent gifts. It is a society that kisses the hands of those who successfully exploit and destroy it; a society that hails as public benefactions, institutions that live by eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the people; a society that mistakes successful parasitism for genius and philanthropy. With such imposture and social ignorance the socialist can make no terms. From such hands the socialist can receive no gifts, no favors, no concession, no compromises; for in so doing he simply puts into the hands of his capitalistic destroyer a torch with which to burn down the socialist house.

This makes perfectly clear the ethical or spiritual integrity of the class-conscious position. Nothing can obviate the horrible truth that one class is producing the things upon which the world lives, and that another class is luxuriously living off the producing class. The class that produces in no real sense lives; while the class that consumes produces hideous misery, waste and disorder. Yet this parasitical and devouring class makes the laws, the religions, the morals, the education, of the class upon which it lives and which it devours. To try to identify the interests of these two classes; to try to bridge the

chasm which lies between them and which ought to lie between them; to try to mend an exploiting and sponging civilization by wresting or accepting concessions or privileges from it; anything resembling a concealment or misapprehension of this class distinction is a betrayal of the people and of the socialist cause. Any attempt at social reform or progress by any other than a thorough-going class-conscious socialist movement is to again build upon the old lie upon which civilization now rests. Evade this lie at the heart of civilization as we will; garnish it, sanctify it, institutionalize it as we may, the lie remains; and no religion, no culture, no state, no custom, no god, has power to make a lie moral, or safe, or sane. Yet it is a plain and evident truth that existing institutions and their scribes are deluded with the notion that they can build truth and righteousness upon a lie. They will fail, as they ought to fail, and their every seeming success is but a tragedy and a fundamental immorality.

If the socialist would keep his hands clean and his eyes clear, he must accept no favors from capitalistic teachers, or churchmen, or philanthropists, or politicians. He need sit in judgment upon no individual's character; but he needs to discern very clearly and constantly the nature of the capitalistic system, and the fatality of receiving any favors or compromises at its hands. A great teacher once said to a ruling-class inquirer, who came to him by night because he was ashamed and afraid to be found seeking the truth in the open day, that he could not be saved from his false living by mending his ways; he could only be saved by ending his then existing quality of living and beginning an entirely new quality of life. In fine, Nicodemus must be born again; he must undergo a complete revolution. Most aptly and urgently can the figure of the new birth be applied to civilization. Its ways cannot be mended; they can only be ended. Civilization cannot be reformed by public libraries from Mr. Carnegie, nor by municipal water-works and milk-wagons; it must undergo complete revolution; it must be born again. There must be a wholly new quality of civilization before a free, sound and truthful ethic can even take root. To preach the socialist revolution is the sacred duty of the hour. To consent to nothing less is the present test of noble faith. Revolution with the socialist must be a religion, a moral splendor, a holy and regenerating task. No other preparation for a true morality, a natural and indigenous religion, is possible.



BOOK REVIEWS



Industrial and Pecuniary Employments. Prof. Thorstein Veblen, University of Chicago. [Paper read at the thirteenth annual meeting of the American Economic Association, Detroit, December 29, 1900.]

Whether considered as a scientific criticism of current economic thought, a biting satire on classical political economy or as an exposition of socialist philosophy this pamphlet must be admitted to be a masterpiece. Beginning with the statement that "The economists of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were believers in a Providential order, an order of nature," he points out that their main task was to bring the facts of economic life under these natural laws. Society was assumed to be an organism engaged in the production of goods and the energy so expended was supposed to be exactly equivalent to the resulting product. This same equivalence was supposed to hold good in each economic process although such a supposition "remains a dogmatic postulate whose validity cannot be demonstrated in any terms that will not reduce the whole proposition to an aimless fatuity." "Under the resulting natural-economic law of equivalence and equity, it is held that the several participants or factors in the economic process severally get the equivalent of the productive force which they expend. They severally get as much as they produce; and conversely, in the normal case they severally produce as much as they get." However, as this position becomes more and more difficult to maintain, productiveness is translated into "serviceability" and it is held that whoever performs any essential "service" in existing society is engaged in production. But there begins to appear a series of occupations which tax even this ingenious phraseology and so Prof. Veblen gravely suggests that it would be well to introduce a new classification into classical economics and make a new division into "pecuniary" and "industrial" employments. At present, he says, "acquisition is treated as a sub-head under production, and effort directed to acquisition is construed in terms of production. . . . Pecuniary activities are handled as incidental features of the process of social production and consumption, as details incident to the methods whereby the social interests are served, instead of being dealt with as the controlling factor about which the modern economic process turns." The great task of the political economists has been to somehow justify the existence of these "pecuniary employments" and find them a place in some scheme of production. "But the fact has come to be gradually more and more patent that there are constantly, normally present in modern economic life an important range of activities and classes of persons, who work for an income, but of whom it cannot be said that they, either proximately or remotely, apply themselves to the production of goods. . . . Such pecuniary employments . . . are nearly all, and nearly throughout, conditioned by the institution of property or ownership." When we come to attempt to justify the existence of this

class by their serviceability to the productive process as a whole we find that "the cause of the dependence of industry upon business in a given case is to be sought in the fact that other rival ventures have the backing of shrewd business management, rather than in any help which business management in the aggregate affords to the aggregate industry of the community." These latter are principally engaged in giving the character of "vendibility" to the goods produced by the industrial workers.

"What the Marxists have named the 'Materialistic Conception of History' is assented to with less and less qualification by those who make the growth of culture their subject of inquiry. This materialistic conception says that institutions are shaped by economic conditions." Now bringing this to bear upon the present organization of society it is seen that "in our time, in many branches of industry, the specialization has been carried so far that large bodies of the working population have but an incidental contact with the business side of the enterprise, while a minority have little if any other concern with the enterprise than its pecuniary management."

"The two classes of occupations differ in that the men in the pecuniary occupations work within the lines and under the guidance of the great institution of ownership, with its ramification of custom, prerogative and legal rights; whereas those in the industrial occupations are, in their work, relatively free from the constraint of this conventional norm of truth and validity." As a horrible result of this condition of things the men in the industrial pursuits, not having much to do with the ownership of property grow to have a disrespect for the institution as such. A result of this is that "the most insidious and most alarming malady, as well as the most perplexing and unprecedented that threatens the modern social and political structure is what is vaguely called socialism. The point of danger to the social structure and at the same time the substantial core of the socialistic disaffection, is a growing disloyalty to the institution of property, aided and abetted as it is by a similarly growing lack of deference and affection for other conventional features of social structure. The classes affected by socialistic vagaries are not consistently averse to a competent organization and control of society, particularly not in the economic respect, but they are averse to organization and control on conventional lines. The sense of solidarity does not seem to be either defective or in abeyance, but the ground of solidarity is new and unexpected. . . . To the socialists property or ownership does not seem inevitable or inherent in the nature of things. . . . Among these men, who by the circumstances of their daily life are brought to do their serious and habitual thinking in other than pecuniary terms, it looks as if the ownership preconception were becoming obsolescent through disuse. . . . The industrial classes are learning to think in terms of material cause and effect, to the neglect of prescription and conventional grounds of validity."

These scattered extracts can give but a faint idea of the charm and ability of the work. It takes all the pet phrases of the classical economists of the colleges and uses them to make their teaching ridiculous. How any of the professors who listened to this talk could go back to their classes and continue their work with sober faces is hard to comprehend.

A Visit to a Gnanl. Edward Carpenter. Alice B. Stockham Co. 134 pp. \$1.00.

Of all the books treating of the new psychic thought in its relation to occult phenomena, this is perhaps most satisfactory for the average

reader, and especially the socialist reader. There is a sanity and a reasonableness about it that appeals to the reader whether he believes in the phenomena described or not, and it must be admitted that much that is found in Oriental lands requires either further investigation of Western science or else a recasting of some of the principles of that science.

Edward Carpenter: Poet and Prophet. Ernest H. Crosby. Published by "The Conservator," Philadelphia. Paper 50 pp.

This is at once a biographical essay (with portrait), a summary of Carpenter's Works and philosophy and a series of observation on various subjects by the author. In covering so much there must be something neglected, but as a whole the work is well done. In this age of reviews, summaries and condensations this little work cannot but be of value to those who have not the time to read all of Carpenter's works. There is much keen analysis of present conditions, and striking criticisms of present abuses but little that is definite and constructive. But since there are many who are now doing the constructive work this can but do good, and will reach and be read by many who will be caught by the charm of its literary style and thus be led to read further.

Peru Before the Conquest. G. B. Benham. International Publishing Co., San Francisco. Paper 94 pp.

It has long been known that the government of Peru had solved the problem of poverty and through a paternal despotism was able to provide the necessaries of life for all its members as well as great luxury for the few and at the same time accomplish works of engineering that are still the wonder of those accustomed to modern works of that kind. But all information regarding this organization of society has been hitherto concealed in expensive volumes beyond the reach of the average worker. Hence this little volume is a welcome addition to the literature of socialism as showing that misery and suffering are wholly unnecessary. On the other hand the author is very careful to point out that, aside from the fact of industry being organized, there is no resemblance whatever between the empire of the Incas and the co-operative commonwealth into which capitalism is growing.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Our June number will contain an extensive review of Prof. Jacques Loeb's Comparative Physiology of the Brain and Comparative Psychology, one of the most epoch making works that has appeared in many years, which recasts a whole science and brings it into accord with socialist philosophy.

The Procession of Planets, Franklin H. Heald, Los Angeles, Cal., Paper 93pp., \$1.00.

The Politics of the Nazarene, O. D. Jones, J. A. Wayland, Girard, Kan. Paper 288 pp., 50 cents.

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

The leading article in "The International Monthly" is a study of "The Russian People," by J. Novicow. It is an exhaustive survey of the psychological forces at work in the Russian Empire and contains much of interest to the student of national psychology and will help to a better understanding of social problems.

Perhaps the most interesting article to the social student in the April number of "The World's Work" is William R. Lighton's discussion of "Our Prairies and the Orient." He points out that in the central portion of the United States there is a gigantic farm "of more than one million square miles, capable of producing everything from cotton to wheat, capable of yielding an abundance to feed and clothe all the swarming millions of the earth." A large part of this, and that the most fertile portion, must be irrigated, but we are growing to look upon this as an advantage rather than a drawback. The great need of some general power to organize the system of irrigation and build great reservoirs at the head-waters of the rivers that will at once solve the double problem of irrigation and floods is pointed out. Then the writer goes into capitalistic ecstasies over the opportunity that "expansion" will offer to export these products to the Orient and even points out in some thinly veiled phrases that the American farmer, like the American wage-worker, can be exploited to the point where he can undersell the Chinese. The portion on irrigation gains additional interest from another article in the same number on the remarkable solar engine now running at Pasadena, Calif. Unlike former attempts to utilize the heat of the sun no attempt is made to utilize the heat directly, but it is simply focussed by a great system of mirrors upon a peculiarly constructed steam boiler, which runs an ordinary steam engine. This engine is used to pump water and "it lifts fourteen hundred gallons a minute. * * * Once started the machine runs all day without any attention whatever; it oils itself. The supply of water for the boiler is regulated automatically, as is also the steam pressure, and there can be no explosion." Other articles of interest are a very thorough discussion of "The American Trade Invasion of England" and a series of articles on the leading men concerned with the formation of the great steel trust.

Prof. Leon C. Prince has an article in the last number of the *Arena* on "The Passing of the Declaration," in which he tells the readers of that journal some very wholesome truths. He points out what socialists have always known—that class rule in America was equally "imperial" and absolute with that of any monarchy or empire on earth—although he does not himself recognize the fact of class rule, he sees that "The main trouble with the Anglo-Saxon is that he constantly professes to act on higher principles than those that govern the policy of other nations." It is about time that some socialists began to realize with Prof. Prince that "In discarding the Declaration of Independence we shall lose nothing of political or moral value. We shall merely drop a few glittering phrases of French sophistry and exploded sham borrowed from the agitators and pamphleteers of the Revolutionary period, and which never have been and never can become a serious part of any system of political truth." What the writer does not see, however, is that this foolery has served a valuable purpose to capitalism in hoodwinking the masses and that the abolition of this hypocrisy is much more likely to lead to the downfall of capitalism and all tyranny than to the extension of imperialism. Other features are an extremely interesting article on "Farming in the

Twentieth Century" (which would have been much more valuable had its final paragraphs been guided by scientific examination instead of imagination) and a very good review of the life and work of Ernest Howard Crosby, with an excellent portrait. There is also a review of "Socialism in Europe and America," which is principally remarkable for the number of errors and misstatements the editor has been able to crowd into a few pages.





EDITORIAL



AN IMPENDING DANGER TO SOCIALISM

Our columns are filled this month with stories of the marvelous extent and growth of the great international socialist movement. It is a story of which no other age and no other movement has ever shown the equal. It is a recital that should fill every socialist with pride and encouragement. And while America cannot show the solidly trained battalions of voters of Germany, the remarkable co-operative and trade-union organization of Belgium and Denmark, or the extensive and varied literature of France and Italy, yet it is the American socialist above all others who has the best right to rejoice on this May Day, when all over the world the hosts of labor are passing in review and lining up for the last desperate struggle for human liberty that is to finally wipe away the last remnant of human slavery from this old planet.

The reason for this optimistic view may not appear at first sight. Our vote is small, insignificant our enemies say, although those who know the possibilities of germs, whether of thought, seed or deed, will hesitate about calling anything so pregnant with life and growth of small account. Our organizations are rent with internal dissensions and while there is now every reason to believe that this condition will soon be at an end it is not from any of these reasons that the greatest cause for socialist thanksgiving is to be found.

Socialism is the child of capitalism, the developed and ripened fruit of the competitive system and impossible of realization until that system shall have run its course and reached its culmination. Now it is becoming a commonplace to call attention to the fact that in America more than anywhere else that system is ripe to rotteness—is nigh unto death with the fierce birth-pangs of a new era. Yet few even among the socialists realize how true are the words they so often speak, any more than they realize the magnitude of the numbers that mark the size of modern capitalistic combinations. American capitalism is rushing on to its climax and its disappearance at a pace so swift and terrific that the mind is simply dazed that seeks to comprehend it, like the mind of one who gazes on some mighty catastrophe of geologic ages.

Three months ago the competitive system seemed still entrenched behind almost impregnable barriers. Not even the most sanguine among the socialists or most far-seeing among capitalists dreamed of

the revolution that was so soon to take place. The Chicago Economist (the organ of the stock-brokers and great capitalists of this city) in its issue of January fifth, headed its leading editorial "The Monopoly Scare Waning," and assured its readers who were beginning to be worried at the little cloud of concentration just then arising upon the horizon, that "competition between corporations is as natural as competition between individuals." A list of new and competing corporations was given and it was gravely stated that "industrial consolidation had reached its height." Only a little less than three months later, in its issue of March 30th, the leading editorial in this same publication is headed "The Trusts Triumph" and the whole competitive position is surrendered with the statement that "The whole tendency of commerce is in the direction of combination of individuals and corporations engaged in the same business, and this tendency is like a law of nature which it is useless and foolish to resist." Verily the walls of the capitalistic Jericho have fallen before the trumpet blasts of the socialist philosophy without striking a blow and it only remains for us to enter in and possess the promised land in the name of all the producers of wealth.

The "Billion Dollar Steel Trust" is but a stepping stone in the headlong process of expropriation of small producers and formation of a plutocratic autocracy that has been going on in these few months. Eighty thousand miles of railway have been brought into practically complete consolidation, which means that their controllers hold dominion over the whole two hundred thousand miles of railroad with their thirteen billion capitalization that goes to make up the inland communication of the United States. The Steel Trust is gobbling up new industries at a rate considerably in excess of one hundred million dollars worth per week. Insurance companies with three and a half billions of policies and nine hundred millions of assets on hand are taking up as mere side investments the national debts of a dozen European nations. They struggle with the recent banking trust of over \$550,000,000 for the privilege of financing the governments of other lands and play with rulers as they play with stock values. These latter are so completely in the control of these gigantic combinations that the element of chance has been abolished from stock "gambling" and speculation has ceased to be a matter of uncertainty. Invading the markets of the world they fill the exploiters of England and the continent of Europe with terror, and finally drunk with the very abundance of their riches they seem to be rushing on toward a financial panic that will shake modern civilization to its deepest foundation stones.

But they will not yield without a struggle. All along the line the outposts of capitalism are capitulating to the logic of events and admitting that that logic has won the argument for socialism. But here in the very hour of the victory of the producers, the exploiters seek to make one last effort to thwart the progress of the ages and

cheat the laborers of the fruits of their toil. Governments are still in the control of capitalism and unless the workers wake to a sense of their interests they will find those governments used to install a sham socialism under the guise of ownership of industry by a plutocratic state while exploitation and wage-slavery will go on as before. Just how thoroughly the truths of socialist logic are now accepted by those who have most to lose by their acceptance, and just how they expect to twist them to their own purpose is shown by the following, which constitutes the first article and leading editorial in the April number of the *Bankers' Magazine*—the foremost organ of Wall street financiers and of the newly formed banking trust.

"The history of the progress of the human race abounds in instances of the power of government to influence the methods of trade and the power of organized industry to influence the form of government. There has always been a struggle between the forces that rule and the masses who are ruled. * * * The business men of the middle ages obtained scope for their energies in the midst of the oppression of the feudal system by organizing for themselves municipal governments suited to the pursuits of the governed. As paternal and proprietary governments have given way to such as are more or less representative and derived from the people, the idea has been to shape laws so as to encourage industry and the accumulation of property. But there is still, even under governments purely republican, a remnant of the old antagonism between the ruler and the ruled.

* * * When individual competition is uncontrolled the action of trade and productive industry on government is comparatively feeble, as the conflicting interests are so numerous and contradictory that they tend to neutralize one another. The growth of corporations and combinations tends to strengthen the forces which seek to control the machinery of government and the laws in behalf of special interests.

"In the United States the purely representative character of the ruling powers lends itself easily to the control of the influence of organized industry and commerce, and in no country has the organization of the forces of production proceeded so far with the promise of still greater concentration. Theoretically, the ballot controls everything; but the spirit of political organization which has grown up outside of legislative enactment now goes far to control the ballot. Industrial and commercial organization, when it desires to control the government, either federal or state, finds a political organization ready for its uses. The productive forces are the purse-bearers. They furnish the means by which alone governments can be made effective. They also furnish the means by which the political organization which produces the government is created and becomes effective. The business man, whether alone or in combination with other business men, seeks to shape politics and government in a way conducive to his own prosperity. When business men were single units, each working out his own success, regardless of others in desperate competition, the men who controlled the political organizations were supreme. But as the business of the country has learned the secret of combination, it is gradually subverting the power of the politician and rendering him subservient to its purposes. More and more the legislatures and executive powers of government are compelled to listen to the demands of organized business interests. That they are not entirely controlled by these interests is due to the fact that business organization has not reached its full perfection. The recent consolidation of the iron

and steel industries is an indication of the concentration of power that is possible. Every form of business is capable of similar consolidation, and if other industries imitate the example of that concerned with iron and steel, it is easy to see that eventually the government of a country, when the productive forces are all mustered and drilled under the control of a few leaders, must become the mere tool of those forces. There are many indications, in the control of legislatures, that such is the tendency at the present time in the United States. Whether the result of this tendency is desirable or otherwise, is another question.

"The dream of socialism has been to have the action of government so directed that it would shape the population into a great industrial army, in which each individual should be provided with the means of occupation and subsistence. The natural growth of business combinations will produce a similar result. If carried out to its logical conclusion every citizen will become the employe or dependent of some one of the great combinations, directed by a head who in his power of financial control will be the autocratic ruler of every individual of his following. If all these great combinations of particular lines of industry are again made the subject of a still greater combination including in its scope all industries and trades, the men or set of men who are at the head of this aggregation will be the real rulers of the nation. Every professional man as well as all who pursue every other mode of livelihood will be affiliated by the strongest ties to one or the other of the consolidated industries. Every legislator and every executive officer will belong to the same head. Forms of government may not be changed, but they will be employed under the direction of the real rulers. Of course, it is easy to see that individual independence, as now understood, is different from what it would be under such a novel state of things, but no doubt it would still be individual independence. Probably under a government directed by a great combination of industrial and productive powers, the degree of individual independence which each citizen sacrifices for the good of the whole would be no greater, and perhaps not so great, as the independence which each citizen now sacrifices in obedience to existing law and custom. The direction of the industrial and producing forces would enlarge independence in some directions while it might restrict it in others. Wisely conducted, every citizen might, according to his merit and ability, attain higher prizes in life than is possible at the present time. Perhaps in this direction may lie some approximate realization of the dreams indulged in in Bellamy's 'Looking Backward,' without the dangers from political corruption that would seem to be inevitable if Bellamy's scheme could have been attempted."

Let no socialist misunderstand this position. It is the announcement of the determination of plutocracy to defraud socialism, the legitimate child of capitalism and brotherhood of its inheritance, by substituting in the confusion of the transition period a bastard son of capitalism and monopolistic greed called State Socialism. The organized trusts of America having first gained complete control of all the forces of government would then transfer the titles of the instruments of production and distribution from the capitalists as individuals and corporations to the capitalists as a government.

Whether this scheme will succeed or not depends upon the action of the workers. If they are sufficiently intelligent, drilled and solidified to perform the mission which social evolution has created for

them, they can come forward as an independent class-conscious political party and themselves seize upon the powers of government and use them for the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth. Will they do this? Or will they spend their energies in childlike quarrels over pride of organization and desire of leadership? No one but the socialists can now prevent the early coming of socialism in the United States, and anyone calling himself a socialist at this time can most help the coming of socialism by assisting in the organization of the socialists of this country for political action, and he is equally criminal whether he stands outside all organizations in pharasaical self-sufficiency or being in an organization dares to place any obstacle in the road of the most perfect consolidation possible of socialist forces.



PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

LATEST BOOKS ON SOCIALISM

Vandervelde's Collectivism.

One of the greatest needs of American Socialists has long been a book that should, at once, give a thorough, scientific explanation of socialism in all its phases so as to make a reliable text-book for socialists, and still be so simple in its language and elementary in its treatment of the subject that it could be put into the hands of new inquirers.

This want is now supplied in the book recently published by Professor Emile Vandervelde, of Belgium, entitled "Le Collectivisme et l'Evolution Industrielle." Some idea of the value placed upon this work by European socialists is shown by the fact that within a few weeks from its first issue it was being translated into German, Russian and Italian. It is also worth noting that, although the author is a Belgian, the book is issued by one of the foremost socialist publishing houses at Paris.

A short summary of the contents of the work will give a clear idea of its value: The first part deals with the subject of capitalist concentration and the disappearance of the "peasant proprietors," "artisans" and "small retailers." This is discussed with a wealth of illustration and argument nowhere else to be found. "The Progress of Capitalist Property" is then traced through the successive stages of corporations, monopolies and trusts. The attempts of capitalist writers to explain away this process of evolution are then taken up and thoroughly answered.

The second part of the work deals with "The Socialization of the Means of Production and Exchange," and is by far the most exhaustive study of the transition from capitalism to socialism that has yet appeared. The final chapter discusses the objections to socialism in a thoroughly satisfactory manner. Of the book as a whole, it is not too much to say that

it is destined to become the standard text-book of International Socialism and the greatest propaganda work yet issued.

We are glad to announce for publication, about May 15, a translation of this work by Charles H. Kerr, who has endeavored, while reproducing the author's ideas as completely as possible, to make every sentence easy for any attentive reader to understand. The book will make about 250 pages of a size convenient for the pocket, and will be published in cloth at 50 cents, and in paper at 25 cents.

Liebkecht's Life of Marx.

When the history of the Socialist movement is written, one of its most interesting chapters will be the period when Marx, Engels, Liebkecht and other active Socialists from the continent of Europe were exiles in England, carrying on from there a tireless campaign with pen and press which by and by, with the march of economic forces, brought them back in triumph to their native countries. Shortly before his death Liebkecht, urged by many friends, published a delightful volume of his personal recollections of Marx, dealing mainly with the period just mentioned.

It is not too much to say that no volume of tales ever published would be of as intense interest to the Socialist reader as these that Liebkecht has so charmingly told of this trying time. There is humor that will drive away the most pronounced melancholy, and a pathos that wrings the heart. No matter what the reader may think of the doctrines held by the characters described he cannot but be intensely interested in the book as a series of short stories, and it is safe to say that its literary charm will attract many who would never glance at a work on economics. To the Socialist reader the charm will be manifold greater, for he will be constantly conscious of new light on his philosophy and new facts concerning the origin of Socialist doctrines and the beginning of the Socialist movement.

The translation by Professor E. Untermann makes a neat little volume of about 200 pages, with a portrait of Marx as a frontispiece. Cloth, pocket size, 50 cents postpaid.

The Republic of Plato.

For centuries before the formulation of the doctrines of scientific socialism its ideals had been pictured by Utopians. The first and greatest of these was Plato, and his "Republic" has been the source from which all subsequent writers have drawn for more or less of their ideas. This work has up to the present time been the exclusive property of the leisure class, having been printed only in the original Greek or in English editions that were too expensive for workingmen to buy. We are therefore glad to announce that about May 15 we shall issue Book I. of the "Republic of Plato" in an entirely new English version by Alexander Kerr, professor of Greek in the University of Wisconsin.

The first book does not develop Plato's thought of an ideal commonwealth, but clears the ground by a discussion of ethics, and it is interesting to note that one of the characters in this dialogue nearly 2,300 years old suggests the Socialist theory that "good" conduct is conduct that harmonizes with the interests of the ruling class. The book will contain about sixty-four pages, printed on extra book paper, and the price will be 15 cents postpaid.

Socialist Songs with Music.

This is the first collection of the kind offered to American socialists, and has been warmly welcomed by the socialist press. It contains an original translation of the Internationale, the great socialist song of Europe, all of William Morris' greatest songs, and a variety of familiar tunes with socialist words. The book is already in use at the Socialist Temple, Chicago, and adds greatly to the interest of the meetings. It contains 36 large pages, and is printed on extra paper with stiff cover. The price for a single copy is 20 cents postpaid. While the first edition lasts, orders from socialist locals will be filled at \$1.00 a dozen, postpaid.

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