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## The Socialist Party and the Working Class.

**O**PENING address delivered by Eugene V. Debs, candidate for President of the Socialist Party, Indianapolis, Ind., Sept. 1, 1901.

*Mr. Chairman, Citizens and Comrades:*

There has never been a free people, a civilized nation, a real republic on this earth. Human society always consisted of masters and slaves, and the slaves have always been and are today, the foundation stones of the social fabric.

Wage-labor is but a name; wage-slavery is a fact.

The twenty-five millions of wage-workers in the United States are twenty-five millions of twentieth century slaves.

This is the plain meaning of what is known as

### THE LABOR MARKET.

And the labor market follows the capitalist flag.

The most barbarous fact in all christendom is the labor market. The mere term sufficiently expresses the animalism of commercial civilization.

They who buy and they who sell in the labor market are alike dehumanized by the inhuman traffic in the brains and blood and bones of human beings.

The labor market is the foundation of so-called civilized society. Without these shambles, without this commerce in human life, this sacrifice of manhood and womanhood, this barter of babes, this sale of souls, the capitalist civilizations of all lands and all climes would crumble to ruin and perish from the earth.

Twenty-five millions of wage-slaves are bought and sold daily at prevailing prices in the American Labor Market.

This is the

### PARAMOUNT ISSUE

in the present national campaign.

Let me say at the very threshold of this discussion that the workers have but the one issue in this campaign, the overthrow of the capitalist system and the emancipation of the working class from wage-slavery.

The capitalists may have the tariff, finance, imperialism and other dust-covered and moth-eaten issues entirely to themselves.

The rattle of these relics no longer deceives workingmen whose heads are on their own shoulders.

They know by experience and observation that the gold standard, free silver, fiat money, protective tariff, free trade, imperialism and anti-imperialism all mean capitalist rule and wage-slavery.

Their eyes are open and they can see; their brains are in operation and they can think.

The very moment a workingman begins to do his own thinking he understands the paramount issue, parts company with the capitalist politician and falls in line with his own class on the political battlefield.

The political solidarity of the working class means the death of despotism, the birth of freedom, the sunrise of civilization.

Having said this much by way of introduction I will now enter upon the actualities of my theme.

#### THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

We are entering tonight upon a momentous campaign. The struggle for political supremacy is not between political parties merely, as appears upon the surface, but at bottom it is a life and death struggle between two hostile economic classes, the one the capitalist and the other the working class.

The capitalist class is represented by the Republican, Democratic, Populist and Prohibition parties, all of which stand for private ownership of the means of production and the triumph of any one of which will mean continued wage-slavery to the working class.

As the Populist and Prohibition sections of the capitalist party represent minority elements which propose to reform the capitalist system without disturbing wage-slavery, a vain and impossible task, they will be omitted from this discussion with all the credit due the rank and file for their good intentions.

The Republican and Democratic parties, or, to be more exact, the Republican-Democratic party, represents the capitalist class in the class struggle. They are the political wings of the capitalist system and such differences as arise between them relate to spoils and not to principles.

With either of these parties in power one thing is always certain and that is that the capitalist class are in the saddle and the working class under the saddle.

Under the administration of both these parties the means of production are private property, production is carried forward

for capitalist profit purely, markets are glutted and industry paralyzed, workingmen become tramps and criminals while injunctions, soldiers and riot guns are brought into action to preserve "law and order" in the chaotic carnival of capitalistic anarchy.

Deny it as may the cunning capitalists who are clear-sighted enough to perceive it, or ignore it as may the torpid workers who are too blind and unthinking to see it, the struggle in which we are engaged today is a class struggle, and as the toiling millions come to see and understand it and rally to the political standard of their class, they will drive all capitalist parties of whatever name into the same party, and the class struggle will then be so clearly revealed that the hosts of labor will find their true place in the conflict and strike the united and decisive blow that will destroy slavery and achieve their full and final emancipation.

In this struggle the workingmen and women and children are represented by the Socialist party and it is my privilege to address you in the name of that revolutionary and uncompromising party of the working class.

#### ATTITUDE OF THE WORKERS.

What shall be the attitude of the workers of the United States in the present campaign? What part shall they take in it? What party and what principles shall they support by their ballots? And why?

These are questions the importance of which are not sufficiently recognized by workingmen or they would not be the prey of parasites and the servile tools of scheming politicians who use them only at election time to renew their master's lease of power and perpetuate their own ignorance, poverty and shame.

In answering these questions I propose to be as frank and candid as plain-meaning words will allow, for I have but one object in this discussion and that object is not office, but the truth, and I shall state it as I see it if I have to stand alone.

But I shall not stand alone, for the party that has my allegiance and may have my life, the Socialist party, the party of the working class, the party of emancipation is made up of men and women who know their rights and scorn to compromise with their oppressors; who want no votes that can be bought and no support under any false pretenses whatsoever.

The Socialist party stands squarely upon its proletarian principles and relies wholly upon the forces of industrial progress and the education of the working class.

The Socialist party buys no votes and promises no offices. Not a farthing is spent for whisky or cigars. Every penny in the campaign fund is the voluntary offering of workers and their sympathizers and every penny is used for education.

What other parties can say the same?

Ignorance alone stands in the way of socialist success. The capitalist parties understand this and use their resources to prevent the workers from seeing the light.

Intellectual darkness is essential to industrial slavery.

Capitalist parties stand for Slavery and Night.

The Socialist party is the herald of Freedom and Light.

Capitalist parties cunningly contrive to divide the workers upon dead issues.

The Socialist party is uniting them upon the living issue:

Death to Wage Slavery!

When industrial slavery is as dead as the issues of the Siamese capitalist parties the Socialist party will have fulfilled its mission and enriched history.

And now to our questions:

First, every workingman and woman owe it to themselves, their class and their country to take an active and intelligent interest in political affairs.

#### THE BALLOT.

The ballot of united labor expresses the people's will and the people's will is the supreme law of a free nation.

The ballot means that labor is no longer dumb, that at last it has a voice, that it may be heard and if united must be heeded.

Centuries of struggle and sacrifice were required to wrest this symbol of freedom from the mailed clutch of tyranny and place it in the hand of labor as the shield and lance of attack and defense.

The abuse and not the use of it is responsible for its evil.

The divided vote of labor is the abuse of the ballot and the penalty is slavery and death.

The united vote of those who toil and have not will vanquish those who have and toil not and solve forever the problem of democracy.

#### THE HISTORIC STRUGGLE OF CLASSES.

Since the race was young there have been class struggles. In every state of society, ancient and modern, labor has been exploited, degraded and in subjection.

Civilization has done little for labor except to modify the forms of its exploitation.

Labor has always been the mudsill of the social fabric—is so now and will be until the class struggle ends in class extinction and free society.

Society has always been and is now built upon exploitation—the exploitation of a class—the working class, whether slaves, serfs, or wage-laborers, and the exploited working class have always been, instinctively or consciously, in revolt against their oppressors.

Through all the centuries the enslaved toilers have moved slowly but surely toward their final freedom.

The call of the Socialist party is to the exploited class, the workers in all useful trades and professions, all honest occupations, from the most menial service to the highest skill, to rally beneath their own standard and put an end to the last of the barbarous class struggles by conquering the capitalist government, taking possession of the means of production and making them common property of all, abolishing wage-slavery and establishing the co-operative commonwealth.

The first step in this direction is to sever all relations with

#### CAPITALIST PARTIES.

They are precisely alike and I challenge their most discriminating partisans to tell them apart in relation to labor.

The Republican and Democratic parties are alike capitalist parties—differing only in being committed to different sets of capitalist interests—they have the same principles under varying colors, are equally corrupt and are one in their subservience to capital and their hostility to labor.

The ignorant workingman who supports either of these parties forgets his own fetters and is the unconscious author of his own misery. He can and must be made to see and think and act with his fellows in supporting the party of his class and this work of education is the crowning virtue of the socialist movement.

#### THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Let us briefly consider the Republican party from the worker's standpoint. It is capitalist to the core. It has not and can not have the slightest interest in labor except to exploit it.

Why should a workingman support the Republican party?

Why should a millionaire support the Socialist party?

For precisely the same reason that all the millionaires are opposed to the Socialist party, all the workers should be opposed to the Republican party. It is a capitalist party, is loyal to capitalist interests and entitled to the support of capitalist voters on election day.

All it has for workingmen is its "glorious past" and a "glad hand" when it wants their votes.

The Republican party is now and has been for several years, in complete control of government.

What has it done for labor? What has it not done for capital?

Not one of the crying abuses of capital has been curbed under Republican rule.

Not one of the petitions of labor has been granted.

The eight-hour and anti-injunction bills, upon which organized labor is a unit, were again ruthlessly slain by the last congress in obedience to the capitalist masters.

David M. Parry has greater influence at Washington than all the millions of organized workers.

Read the national platform of the Republican party and see if there is in all its bombast a crumb of comfort for labor. The convention that adopted it was a capitalist convention and the only thought it had of labor was how to abstract its vote without waking it up.

In the only reference it made to labor it had to speak easy so as to avoid offense to the capitalists who own it and furnish the bootle to keep it in power.

The labor platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties are interchangeable and non-redeemable. They both favor "justice to capital and justice to labor." This hoary old platitude is worse than meaningless. It is false and misleading and so intended. Justice to labor means that labor shall have what it produces. This leaves nothing for capital.

Justice to labor means the end of capital.

The old parties intend nothing of the kind. It is false pretense and false promise. It has served well in the past. Will it continue to catch the votes of unthinking and deluded workers?

What workingmen had part in the Republican national convention or were honored by it?

The grand coliseum swarmed with trust magnates, corporation barons, money lords, stock gamblers, professional politicians, lawyers, lobbyists and other plutocratic tools and mercenaries, but there was no room for the horny-handed and horny-headed sons of toil. They built it, but were not in it.

Compare that convention with the convention of the Socialist party, composed almost wholly of working men and women and controlled wholly in the interest of their class.

But a party is still better known by its chosen representatives than by its platform declarations.

Who are the nominees of the Republican party for the highest offices in the gift of the nation and what is their relation to the working class?

First of all, Theodore Roosevelt and Charles W. Fairbanks, candidates for President and Vice President, respectively, deny the class struggle and this almost infallibly fixes their status as friends of capital and enemies of labor. They insist that they can serve both; but the fact is obvious that only one can be served and that one at the expense of the other. Mr. Roosevelt's whole political career proves it.

The capitalists made no mistake in nominating Mr. Roosevelt. They know him well and he has served them well. They know that his instincts, associations, tastes and desires are with them, that he is in fact one of them and that he has nothing in common with the working class.

The only evidence of the contrary is his membership in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen which seems to have come to him coincident with his ambition to succeed himself in the presidential chair. He is a full fledged member of the union, has the grip, signs and pass words, but it is not reported that he is attending meetings, doing picket duty, supporting strikes and boycotts and performing such other duties as his union obligation imposes.

When Ex-President Grover Cleveland violated the constitution and outraged justice by seizing the state of Illinois by the throat and handcuffing her civil administration at the behest of the crime-sustained trusts and corporations, Theodore Roosevelt was among his most ardent admirers and enthusiastic supporters. He wrote in hearty commendation of the atrocious act, pronounced it most exalted patriotism and said he would have done the same thing himself had he been president.

And so he would and so he will!

How impressive to see the Rough Rider embrace the Smooth Statesman! Oyster Bay and Buzzard's Bay! "Two souls with but a single thought, two hearts that beat as one."

There is also the highest authority for the statement charging Mr. Roosevelt with declaring about the same time he was lauding Cleveland that if he was in command he would have such as Altgeld, Debs and other traitors lined up against a dead wall and shot into corpses. The brutal remark was not for publication but found its way into print and Mr. Roosevelt, after he became a candidate, attempted to make denial, but the distinguished editor who heard him say it pinned him fast, and the slight doubt that remained was dispelled by the words themselves which sound like Roosevelt and bear the impress of his war-like visage.

Following the Pullman strike in 1894 there was an indignant and emphatic popular protest against "government by injunction," which has not yet by any means subsided.

Organized labor was, and is, a unit against this insidious form of judicial usurpation as a means of abrogating constitutional restraints of despotic power.

Mr. Roosevelt with his usual zeal to serve the ruling class and keep their protesting slaves in subjection, vaulted into the arena and launched his vitriolic tirade upon the mob that dared oppose the divine decree of a corporation judge.

"Men who object to what they style 'government by injunction,'" said he, "are, as regards the essential principles of government, in hearty sympathy with their remote skinclad ancestors, who lived in caves, fought one another with stone-headed axes and ate the mammoth and woolly rhinoceros. They are dangerous whenever there is the least danger of their making the principles of this ages-buried past living factors in our pres-

ent life. They are not in sympathy with men of good minds and good civic morality."

In direct terms and plain words Mr. Roosevelt denounces all those who oppose "Government by Injunction" as cannibals, barbarians and anarchists, and this violent and sweeping stigma embraces the whole organized movement of labor, every man, woman and child that wears the badge of union labor in the United States.

It is not strange in the light of these facts that the national congress, under President Roosevelt's administration, suppresses anti-injunction and eight-hour bills and all other measures favored by labor and resisted by capital.

No stronger or more convincing proof is required of Mr. Roosevelt's allegiance to capital and opposition to labor, nor of the class struggle and class rule which he so vehemently denies; and the workingman who in the face of these words and acts, can still support Mr. Roosevelt must feel himself flattered in being publicly proclaimed a barbarian, and sheer gratitude, doubtless, impels him to crown his benefactor with the highest honors of the land.

If the working class are barbarians, according to Mr. Roosevelt, this may account for his esteeming himself as having the very qualities necessary to make himself Chief of the Tribe.

But it must be noted that Mr. Roosevelt denounced organized labor as savages long before he was a candidate for president. After he became a candidate he joined the tribe and is today, himself, according to his own dictum, a barbarian and the enemy of civic morality.

The labor union to which President Roosevelt belongs and which he is solemnly obligated to support, is unanimously opposed to "Government by Injunction." President Roosevelt knew it when he joined it and he also knew that those who oppose injunction rule have the instincts of cannibals and are a menace to morality, but his proud nature succumbed to political ambition, and his ethical ideas vanished as he struck the trail that led to the tribe and, after a most dramatic scene and impressive ceremony, was decorated with the honorary badge of international barbarism.

How Theodore Roosevelt, the trade-unionist, can support the presidential candidate who denounced him as an immoral and dangerous barbarian he may decide at his leisure, and so may all other men in the United States who are branded with the same vulgar stigma, and their ballots will determine if they have the manhood to resent insult and rebuke its author, or if they have been fitly characterized and deserve the humiliation and contempt.

The appointment of Judge Taft to a cabinet position is corroborative evidence, if any be required, of President Roosevelt's fervent faith in Government by Injunction. Judge Taft first



came into national notoriety when, some years ago, sitting with Judge Ricks, who was later tried for malfeasance, he issued the celebrated injunction during the Toledo, Ann Arbor and North Michigan railroad strike that paralyzed the Brotherhoods of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen and won for him the gratitude and esteem of every corporation in the land. He was hauled to Toledo, the headquarters of the railroad, in a special car, pulled by a special engine, on special time, and after hastily consulting the railroad magnates and receiving instructions, he let go the judicial lightning that shivered the unions to splinters and ended the strike in total defeat. Judge Taft is a special favorite with the trust barons and his elevation to the cabinet was ratified with joy at the court of St. Plute.

Still again did President Roosevelt drive home his arch-enmity to labor and his implacable hostility to the trade-union movement when he made Paul Morton, the notorious union hater and union wrecker, his secretary of the navy. That appointment was an open insult to every trade unionist in the country and they who lack the self-respect to resent it at the polls may wear the badge, but they are lacking wholly in the spirit and principles of union labor.

Go ask the brotherhood men who were driven from the C. B. & Q. and the striking union machinists on the Santa Fe to give you the pedigree of Mr. Morton and you will learn that his hate for union men is coupled only by his love for the scabs who take their places.

Such a man and such another as Sherman Bell the military ferret of the Colorado mine owners are the ideal patriots and personal chums of Mr. Roosevelt and by honoring these he dishonors himself and should be repudiated by the ballot of every working man in the nation.

Mr. Fairbanks, the Republican candidate for Vice President, is a corporation attorney of the first class and a plutocrat in good and regular standing. He is in every respect a fit and proper representative of his party and every millionaire in the land may safely support him.

#### THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

In referring to the Democratic party in this discussion we may save time by simply saying that since it was born again at the St. Louis convention it is near enough like its Republican ally to pass for a twin brother.

The former party of the "common people" is no longer under the boycott of plutocracy since it has adopted the Wall street label and renounced its middle class heresies.

The radical and progressive element of the former Democracy have been evicted and must seek other quarters. They were an unmitigated nuisance in the conservative counsels of the old

party. They were for the "common people" and the trusts have no use for such a party.

Where but to the Socialist party can these progressive people turn? They are now without a party and the only genuine Democratic party in the field is the Socialist party and every true Democrat should thank Wall street for driving him out of a party that is democratic in name only and into one that is democratic in fact.

The St. Louis convention was a trust jubilee. The Wall street reorganizers made short work of the free silver element. From first to last it was a capitalistic convocation. Labor was totally ignored. As an incident, two thousand choice chairs were reserved for the Business Men's League of St. Louis, an organization hostile to organized labor, but not a chair was tendered to those whose labor had built the convention hall, had clothed, transported, fed and wined the delegates and whose votes are counted on as if they were so many dumb driven cattle, to pull the ticket through in November.

As another incident, when Lieutenant Richmond Hobson dramatically declared that President Cleveland had been the only president who had ever been patriotic enough to use the federal troops to crush union labor, the trust agents, lobbyists, tools and claquers screamed with delight and the convention shook with applause.

The platform is precisely the same as the Republican platform in relation to labor. It says nothing and means the same. A plank was proposed condemning the outrages in Colorado under Republican administration, but upon order from the Parryites it was promptly thrown aside.

The editor of "American Industries," organ of the Manufacturers' Association, commented at length in the issue of July 15th, on the triumph of capital and the defeat of labor at both Republican and Democratic national conventions. Among other things he said: "The two labor lobbies, partly similar in make-up, were, to put it bluntly, thrown out bodily in both places." And that is the simple fact and is known of all men who read the papers. The capitalist organs exult because labor, to use their own brutal expression, was kicked bodily out of both the Republican and Democratic national conventions.

What more than this is needed to open the eyes of workingmen to the fact that neither of these parties is their party and that they are as strangely out of place in them as Rockefeller and Vanderbilt would be in the Socialist party?

And how many more times are they to be "kicked out bodily" before they stay out and join the party of their class in which labor is not only honored but is supreme, a party that is clean, that has conscience and convictions, a party that will one day

sweep the old parties from the field like chaff and issue the Proclamation of Labor's Emancipation?

Judge Alton B. Parker corresponds precisely to the Democratic platform. It was made to order for him. His famous telegram in the expiring hour removed the last wrinkle and left it a perfect fit.

Thomas W. Lawson, the Boston millionaire, charges that Senator Patrick McCarren who brought out Judge Parker for the nomination is on the pay roll of the Standard Oil company as political master mechanic at twenty thousand dollars a year, and that Parker is the chosen tool of Standard Oil. Mr. Lawson offers Senator McCarren one hundred thousand dollars if he will disprove the charge.

William Jennings Bryan denounced Judge Parker as a tool of Wall street before he was nominated and declared that no self-respecting Democrat could vote for him, and after his nomination he charged that it had been dictated by the trusts and secured by "crooked and indefensible methods." Mr. Bryan also said that labor had been betrayed in the convention and need look for nothing from the Democratic party. He made many other damaging charges against his party and its candidates, but when the supreme test came he was not equal to it, and instead of denouncing the betrayers of the "common people" and repudiating their made-to-order Wall street program, he compromised with the pirates that scuttled his ship and promised with his lips the support his heart refused and his conscience condemned.

The Democratic nominee for President was one of the Supreme judges of the State of New York who declared the eight-hour law unconstitutional and this is an index of his political character.

In his address accepting the nomination he makes but a single allusion to labor and in this he takes occasion to say that labor is charged with having recently used dynamite in destroying property and that the perpetrators should be subjected to "the most rigorous punishment known to the law." This cruel intimation amounts to conviction in advance of trial and indicates clearly the trend of his capitalistically trained judicial mind. He made no such reference to capital, nor to those ermined rascals who use judicial dynamite in blowing up the constitution while labor is looted and starved by capitalistic freebooters who trample all law in the mire and leer and mock at their despoiled and helpless victims.

It is hardly necessary to make more than passing reference to Henry G. Davis, Democratic candidate for Vice President. He is a coal baron, railroad owned and, of course, an enemy to union labor. He has amassed a great fortune exploiting his wage-slaves and has always strenuously resisted every attempt to organize them for the betterment of their condition. Mr. Davis

is a staunch believer in the virtue of the injunction as applied to union labor. As a young man he was in charge of a slave plantation and his conviction is that wage-slaves should be kept free from the contaminating influence of the labor agitator and render cheerful obedience to their master.

Mr. Davis is as well qualified to serve his party as is Senator Fairbanks to serve the Republican party and wage-workers should have no trouble in making their choice between this precious pair of plutocrats, and certainly no intelligent workingman will hesitate an instant to discard them both and cast his vote for Ben Hanford, their working class competitor, who is as loyally devoted to labor as Fairbanks and Davis are to capital.

#### THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

In what has been said of other parties I have tried to show why they should not be supported by the common people, least of all by workingmen, and I think I have shown clearly enough that such workers as do support them are guilty, consciously or unconsciously, of treason to their class. They are voting into power the enemies of labor and are morally responsible for the crimes thus perpetrated upon their fellow-workers and sooner or later they will have to suffer the consequences of their miserable acts.

The Socialist party is not, and does not pretend to be, a capitalist party. It does not ask, nor does it expect the votes of the capitalist class. Such capitalists as do support it do so seeing the approaching doom of the capitalist system and with a full understanding that the Socialist party is not a capitalist party, nor a middle class party, but a revolutionary working class party, whose historic mission is to conquer capitalism on the political battle-field, take control of government and through the public powers take possession of the means of wealth production, abolish wage-slavery and emancipate all workers and all humanity.

The people are as capable of achieving their industrial freedom as they were to secure their political liberty and both are necessary to a free nation.

The capitalist system is no longer adapted to the needs of modern society. It is outgrown and fetters the forces of progress. Industrial and commercial competition are largely of the past. The handwriting blazes on the wall. Centralization and combination are the modern forces in industrial and commercial life. Competition is breaking down, and co-operation is supplanting it.

The hand tools of early times are used no more. Mammoth machines have taken their places. A few thousand capitalists own them and many millions of workingmen use them.

All the wealth the vast army of labor produces above its subsistence is taken by the machine owning capitalists, who also

own the land and the mills, the factories, railroads and mines, the forests and fields and all other means of production and transportation.

Hence wealth and poverty, millionaires and beggars, castles and caves, luxury and squalor, painted parasites on the boulevard and painted poverty among the red lights.

Hence strikes, boycotts, riots, murder, suicide, insanity, prostitution on a fearful and increasing scale.

The capitalist parties can do nothing. They are a part, an iniquitous part of the foul and decaying system.

There is no remedy for the ravages of death.

Capitalism is dying and its extremities are already decomposing. The blotches upon the surface show that the blood no longer circulates. The time is near when the cadaver will have to be removed and the atmosphere purified.

In contrast with the Republican and Democratic conventions, where politicians were the puppets of plutocracy, the convention of the Socialist party consisted of working men and women fresh from their labors, strong, clean, wholesome, self-reliant, ready to do and dare for the cause of labor, the cause of humanity.

Proud indeed am I to have been chosen by such a body of men and women to bear aloft the proletarian standard in this campaign, and heartily do I endorse the clear and cogent platform of the party which appeals with increasing force and eloquence to the whole working class of the country.

To my associate upon the national ticket I give my hand with all my heart. Ben Hanford typifies the working class and fitly represents the historic mission and revolutionary character of the Socialist party.

#### CLOSING WORDS.

These are stirring days for living men. The day of crisis is drawing near and socialists are exerting all their power to prepare the people for it.

The old order of society can survive but little longer. Socialism is next in order. The swelling minority sounds warning of the impending change. Soon that minority will be the majority and then will come the co-operative commonwealth.

Every workingman should rally to the standard of his class and hasten the full-orbed day of freedom.

Every progressive democrat must find his way in our direction and if he will but free himself from prejudice and study the principles of socialism he will soon be a sturdy supporter of our party.

Every sympathizer with labor, every friend of justice, every lover of humanity should support the Socialist party as the only party that is organized to abolish industrial slavery, the prolific source of the giant evils that afflict the people.

Who with a heart in his breast can look upon Colorado with-

out keenly feeling the cruelties and crimes of capitalism! Repression will not help her. Brutality will only brutalize her. Private ownership and wage-slavery are the curse of Colorado. Only socialism will save Colorado and the nation.

The overthrow of capitalism is the object of the Socialist party. It will not fuse with any other party and it would rather die than compromise.

The Socialist party comprehends the magnitude of its task and has the patience of preliminary defeat and the faith of ultimate victory.

The working class must be emancipated by the working class.

Woman must be given her true place in society by the working class.

Child labor must be abolished by the working class.

Society must be reconstructed by the working class.

The working class must be employed by the working class.

The fruits of labor must be enjoyed by the working class.

War, bloody war, must be ended by the working class.

These are the principles and objects of the Socialist party and we fearlessly proclaim them to our fellowmen.

We know our cause is just and that it must prevail.

With faith and hope and courage we hold our heads erect and with dauntless spirit marshal the working class for the march from Capitalism to Socialism, from Slavery to Freedom, from Barbarism to Civilization.

## The Rise of Labor in America.

**L**ABOR has ever moved onward and upward. There may have been times when the advance was so slow as to be imperceptible with our standards of measurement. Many times contemporary observers proclaimed a retrogression. But these seeming retreats were but rearrangements of the forces. When sufficient time had elapsed to permit of a view of the new formation it was always seen to occupy a higher point than the previous one.

The chapter which treats of the American division of the army of toil offers no exception to this story of general progress. The condition of the great masses of the producers of wealth to-day leaves much of which to complain. Yet considered as a whole, from the time when the British flag waved over a few colonists on the Atlantic coast to when in the grasp of American capitalists the young stars and stripes were borne as the emblem of plutocratic tyranny to the western shores of the Pacific, the progress has been so great as to be almost inconceivable. The Socialist should be the first to recognize this fact. It is he who is ever telling of the coming triumph of labor, who never wearies of predicting the better things that lie before. It would augur poor for the realization of his prophecies if the past showed that the face of labor was turned the other way. A retreating army is poor material with which to conquer a co-operative commonwealth. It is largely because the army of toil has ever been marching forward that we are assured of coming victory.

When the economic development of the American colonies reached the point where the ruling classes of the colonies required political independence from England as a necessity for further evolution, there were four classes of manual laborers in this country,—slaves, convict servants, redemptioners and wage-workers. The latter were least important of all in the industrial economy. Even the condition of the slave was much worse then that when almost a century later the master was freed from caring for him, save when his labor returned a profit. There was practically no check on the brutality of the owner. The slave had no more rights than the cattle or horses with whom he was listed as a part of his master's possessions. Convict servants were ranked one step above the slaves, although it is hard to see in what their superiority consisted save in the limited term of their servitude. They were convicted felons, political or otherwise who had been sent to America to relieve the British taxpayer of the expense of their imprisonment. It is difficult to obtain any accurate figures as to their numbers but it is probable that nearly a hundred

thousand all together were dumped upon America's shores during the colonial period.

Next in the upward scale of servitude came the redemptioner or indentured servant. These were men, women and children who desired to escape from the hideous conditions which the factory system was introducing into England, but who did not have the money to pay their passage to America. In order to procure this passage money they sold themselves into temporary slavery to the master of the ship or some immigration agent in America.

"On reaching port the owner or master, whose servants they then became, sold them for their passage to the highest bidder, or for what he could get. When a ship laden with one to three hundred such persons arrived, we will say at Philadelphia, the immigrants, arranged in a long line, were marched at once to a magistrate and forced to take an oath of allegiance to the king or, later, to the United States, and then marched back to the ship to be sold. If a purchaser was not forthcoming and they remained on shipboard until the month had passed, they were frequently sold to speculators who drove them, chained together, sometimes through the country, from farm to farm in search of a purchaser.

"The contract signed, the newcomer became in the eyes of the law a slave, and in both the civil and criminal code was classed with negro slaves and Indians. None could marry without consent of the master or mistress under penalty of an addition of one year's service to the time set forth in the indenture. They were worked hard, were dressed in the cast-off clothes of their owners, and might be flogged as often as the master or mistress thought necessary. If they ran away, at least two days might be added to their time of service for each day they were absent. Father, mother and children could be sold to different buyers."

It will be evident to anyone that the competition of these classes would not permit the wage-worker to rise much above the condition of these black and white chattel slaves. Hence we are not surprised to learn that:

"He worked from sunrise to sunset, earned less wages in winter than in summer, was paid at irregular intervals, and if not paid at all had no lien on the product of his labor. If he was so unfortunate as to fall into debt, though it were for but a sixpence or a penny, he might at the will of his creditor be torn from his family and cast into jail, there to remain until the debt and the prison charges were paid or he died of hunger and disease."

The Revolution brought no improvement to any of these classes. Indeed its close found them in an even more pitiable condition than its beginning. The debtor's prisons were filled to repletion, and this fact alone prevented more imprisonments. Under these conditions there began a mighty migration of the workers toward the West, a march away from civilization back to savage freedom that lasted for more than a century, and stopped only when East met West on the shores of the Pacific. This in itself speaks eloquently of the conditions of the American laborer,—that he welcomed the privations of the pioneer and fled back through ages of

(1) "The Acquisition of the Political, Social and Industrial Rights of Man in America," J. B. McMaster, pp. 34-35.

(2) *Ibid.*



social progress, to reach the primeval savagery of the frontier. But after all he was moving the wrong way. The freedom which he sought could only be secured by passing *through* capitalism, not by fleeing *from* it. In securing freedom from social restraint he became a slave to physical environment. To be sure the latter was less galling to the spirit since ages of evolution had taught him to look upon nature with something of love and to rejoice in each victory gained. Even here also, the savagery of gunpowder, rifle and ax is a countless centuries-long stride beyond the savagery of knotted club and chipped stone. Yet the life of the pioneer was hard—bitter hard. The poorly chinked log cabin, open often on one side, with chimney made of crossed sticks daubed with mud, while a long ways ahead of the open fire in a cave of our earliest ancestors, was still far from a perfect shelter against the blasts of a northern winter. Buckskin and homespun were certainly superior to shoddy hand-me-downs, but few modern workers would care to exchange their present bill of fare for the steady diet of Indian corn and wild game that made up the pioneer's dietary.

#### COMING OF THE FACTORY SYSTEM.

With the War of 1812 there came the beginning of a great industrial change that was to be fraught with tremendous importance to the working class of America. This war, with the embargo that preceded it, and taken in connection with the contemporary Napoleonic wars in Europe, shut the United States off from the commercial life of the rest of the world and this isolation acted like a hot-house upon the industrial germs that were just beginning to sprout in American soil. New manufacturing sprang up on every side. Industry began to leave the household and enter the factory. The tool was laid aside for the machine. The craftsman became the wage-worker. It was to take another half century and another war—this time an internal conflict between competing system of exploitation—to fully establish the factory system in America. But by 1820 its first phases were evident and its first effects began to be seen among the workers.

The new machines made possible the utilization of the labor-power embodied in the persons of women and children, and soon all the horrors of the factory system, which Engels in his "Conditions of the Working Class" and Marx in "Capital," with hundreds of other writers have described for us, were being repeated in America. We hear of women and children being beaten, of almshouses robbed to furnish human flesh for the factory cannibal, of mere babes dragged from their playgrounds to be sacrificed to the Moloch of capitalism; until the Southern owners of negro chattel slaves cried shame at the Northern owners of wage-slaves.

But the factory demands the gathering of workers in great industrial armies and physical contiguity and common economic interests are the first steps to social solidarity and human brotherhood. So it was that these horrible sufferings of American labor proved to be but the birth pangs of the great labor movement. The first germs of organization that can really be looked upon as related to the modern trade union are found during the first ten years of the nineteenth century. The organizations which are sometimes said to have existed prior to that date seem to have been rather guilds than unions and indeed many of the guild characteristics lived on well up to the time of the Civil War. But by 1830 there was in progress in the states of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey at least, something well worth the name of a "labor movement."

Three phases of this movement are particularly worthy of attention. In the first place it included a clearly developed trade union movement, embracing such trades as the type-setters, hatters, tailors, ship-wrights and calkers, carpenters and ropemakers.<sup>1</sup> These sought through the usual methods of strike and boycott to secure better prices for the labor power of their members. The second phase is one which is never found absent from the labor movements of the nineteenth century. There was a continual cry for some form of co-operative activity. This phase found expression in the organization of numerous co-operative enterprises, and finally, with the coming of Robert Owen to America and the introduction of other forces which we shall discuss later, burst forth in a large number of communistic colonies, that for a half century were to become the *ignis fatuus* to lead a host of workers into a morass of failure and despair. This side of the matter has been so thoroughly covered by Nordoff, Hinds, Ely and Hilquit that it need not trouble us farther.

The third feature which attracts our attention is also one which in a more or less distinct form is never absent from any true labor movement. This was the political phase. In New York city and Philadelphia the political activity of the laborers became of considerable importance; so much so, indeed, that they succeeded in electing one Ebenezer Ford to the New York state assembly. This party also had candidates in various cities and took part in several minor elections. The principal features of their platform were demands for a mechanic's lien law, abolition of imprisonment for debt, taxation of church property, opposition to inheritance of wealth, Sunday mails, freedom of public lands, equal rights for women, homestead law, and abolition of the existing militia system. A large number of these demands were granted,

(1) See on this stage of the labor movement McMaster's "History of the People of the United States," Vol. V, pp. 82-108, and "The Acquisition of the Political, Social and Industrial Rights of Man in America," pp. 54-61 and 89-110; Ely's "Labor Movement in America," pp. 34-60; McNeill's "The Labor Movement," pp. 66-123; Simonds' "Story of Labor in All Ages," pp. 436-444.

doubtless in no small degree because of the work of these first labor agitators, although our histories are significantly silent on this point.

Another phase still is worthy of attention and that is that the first signs of a labor press appeared during this period. "The Workingmen's Advocate" was published for several years in New York city. "The Spirit of the Age" appeared in Rochester, and Philadelphia and Charleston, S. C., were among the other cities in which papers championing the cause of labor were published. A perusal of these first straggling members of what has now become a mighty army fills one with considerable admiration for the movement of which they were a part. They compare very favorably with the average "pure and simple" publication of the present time, and lest that be taken as a left handed compliment, I hasten to say that in all but trade matters they were even superior to these latter day organs of trade unionism.

But this was a movement "born out of due time" and it fell a victim to a multitude of foes both from within and without. The "humanistic" movement with its transcendental moonshine was just sweeping over New England and it hastened to attach its miasmatic sentimentalism to the infant labor movement. In this it was helped rather than hindered by the influence of Owen, whose vagaries were of just the kind to fit in with those of the Emersonian school of New England, notwithstanding their apparent and superficial antagonism. In view of these and the further facts about to be cited it should be seen that to call this movement a part of an "Owenite period" in American history involves a total misunderstanding of American life and social history.

On the political side the movement was sidetracked into a mass of vagaries, whose very names of "Loco-Foco," "Anti-Masonic" and "Know Nothing" are eloquent of the confusion and muddledom from which they sprang. Industrially the movement was also short-lived. The opening of the Erie canal, the building of railroads, and especially the marvelously rapid settlement of the great Middle West so disarranged industrial conditions and transposed class lines as to destroy those characters of social stability in industrial cleavage which are essential to a strong permanent labor movement.

But an examination of the condition of the workers at the beginning of the century and at the opening of the Civil War, together with a study of the measures for which these pioneers in labor's cause stood will go far to show that a great forward stride had been made and that this was in no small degree due to the blows struck by those who sought to free themselves. Manhood suffrage was almost unknown at the beginning of this period, almost universal at the close. Imprisonment for debt

was universal at the beginning, abolished at the close. The foundations of our public school system, our homestead law, and most of the legislation for the protection of the working class date from this period.

#### THE CIVIL WAR AND THE MODERN MOVEMENT.

This period has been so often described that it can be passed over with a rather short discussion. This is more especially true since it will be quite fully covered in the articles on "Industrial Concentration in America," which are now running through the REVIEW.

The close of the Civil War saw almost no trace of the labor movement that had flourished thirty years before. Indeed it had almost completely disappeared from even the memories of the workers of '65, and the whole task was begun anew. But the war had left a new industrial organization behind it, with much larger business units than had ever existed before. Men brought together by thousands in the shops, mines and factories, and on the railroads, soon began to organize in unions. Most of the strong "international" unions of today had their origin in the ten years following the war. Then came the Knights of Labor with its rocket-like upward shoot and corresponding drop; the fierce eight-hour struggle of the "80's;" the first bloody grapple with a government completely capitalized, in Pittsburg in '77; the tinkering with Populism; the rise of the labor fakir, accompanying the capture of the labor movement by the Republicans, with the cry of "protection and high wages;" the appearance of the A. F. of L., its growth and present strength and weakness; the grand rallying of the railroad workers in the A. R. U., and their magnificent, desperate, deadly battle at Pullman; and finally and most important of all the steady growth of an intelligent class conscious rebelliousness and its expression in the Socialist party. These are but a few of the events that have been crowded into the past thirty years and whoever examines them closely will see certain definite lines of evolution appearing, and those lines lead onward and upward. Through the awful turmoil of Pittsburg and Pullman, and Homestead, and Coeur d'Alene, and Hazleton, and Colorado we trace a thin red line of growing class intelligence.

Concentrated ownership and operation teach the lesson of compulsory co-operative labor, and drill the workers into industrial armies. Corporate management points out the fact of depersonalization of industry and shows the uselessness of a mere possessor separated from management and organization. Consolidated trustified capital proves the permanency of the wage-labor caste while capitalism remains, by cutting off all hope of escape across the class line between master and man. The trade union movement teaches the possibility of working class action, not only

apart from but hostile to the master class. Strikes, lock-outs and boycotts intensify the class antagonism until it develops into a conscious intelligent class struggle. The bold use of government by the capitalists to protect their interests, to further commerce, and crush resisting workers, points the way to political action by the laborers in defense of their interests. The ever present barrier of private ownership blocking all efforts of the workers to reach the source of wealth and the means of wealth production teach them at last to demand the abolition of that barrier and the transference of the title deeds to life to the collective control of all who live and help to make life possible.

Thus it is that the laborers of America grow conscious of the interests, powers and mission of their class. In the beginning the labor movement is like some great natural force, capable of infinite good or harm as chance may decide or a higher power direct. Its tremendous blind energies like those of fire or wind or water are used by others, to work their purpose, often to the destruction, always to the enslavement of the workers. They fight battles, build industries, support society but always in blind ignorance of reason or results. But finally the spirit of class rebellion arises. At first it too is blind, and the struggles of the labor giant as he tosses his monstrous limbs about work only evil, or if good results it is because his strength has been used by others not because he used it. But gradually his efforts gain more intelligence. The strike and boycott and trade union supplant the mad use of club and torch and powder. Then new methods still come with growing intelligence. The whole great mass of workers learns to think and act as an army, not a mob. It utilizes all the teachings of modern science to stock its armory and give skill to its hands. It ransacks history and pores deep into the mysteries of present society to learn of its mission and the methods to accomplish it.

When this stage has been reached, when labor becomes CLASS CONSCIOUS, there is no resisting its advance. Its tremendous elemental strength is still with it, but to the resistless power of its numberless host it has added a conscious directing power. It is as if steam had found a brain amid the watery vapors, as if the cyclone had developed a nervous system or the law of gravitation had taught itself to think. Before such an incarnation of irresistible elemental force, intelligently, consciously directed, such puny barriers as traditional, man-made legal fetters will be but as bonds of straw upon an earthquake, as chaff before the hurricane.

A. M. SIMONS.

## Assassination of Von Plehve.

APPEAL OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

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**T**O YOU, citizens of the civilized world, who enjoy primal liberties and individual and social rights, we, Russian revolutionary socialists, address this appeal which is at the same time an explanation.

Russia has no revolutionary bourgeoisie like that which elsewhere, leaning upon the working masses, whose class interests it was soon to betray, has broken the yoke of absolutism and conquered the rights of the Man and the Citizen.

It is we then, strugglers grouped round the flag of International revolutionary socialism and marching in advance of the awakening masses of laborers, whom the political destinies of our country have transformed into spokesmen of the political and social demands of all modern Russia.

Yes, citizens, the bloody act of justice which has just been accomplished by the Organization for Combat (Boievaia Orgoni-satsia) of our party and of which the Central Committee does not hesitate to take upon itself the full and complete responsibility in the face of history and the conscience of the civilized nations, this act is neither an isolated fact nor the action of an individual.

It is deliberately and after ripe reflection that the party has seen itself obliged to put an end to the nefarious policy of the actual autocrat of all the Russias, the minister of the interior, Viatcheslaf von Plehwe, as it has already crushed or attempted to crush the instruments of the same policy: his last predecessor, Sipiaguine; the executioner of peasants, Prince Obolensky; the murderer of working men, Bogdanovitch, and other local tyrants or insulters of political prisoners or exiles.

In this our party is only taking up the tradition of the energetic struggle carried on by *The Will of the People* (Narodnaia Volia) in which a quarter of a century ago Marx and Engels saw the vanguard of the world-wide social revolution.

The execution of the public man in whom were incarnated all the abominations and all the horrors of czarism has called forth from the public opinion of the civilized world, in spite of all its habitual and conventional reticence, a cry of relief coming from a conscience at last emancipated.

It would therefore be useless to point morals on the political and ethical significance of this act.

Viatcheslaf von Plehwe has been executed:

1. Because it is he who, twenty years ago, caused our bro-

thers of *The Will of the People* to be entombed in the stone walls of the fortress of Peter and Paul and of Schusselbourg and directed such persecutions against them, contrary to the laws even of the Muscovite Empire, that many of them died there, victims of their privations and of the insanity excited by these infernal conditions, while the few survivors continued still to drag out a horrible life.

2. Because it is he who, once more omnipotent tyrant of Russia, had renewed in an aggravated form the policy of unspeakable reprisals against the intellectuals, the laborers, the peasants, against every one who lives, thinks and suffers in Russia. It is he who, during the two years of his irresponsible ministry to the melancholy Sultan of the North, has destroyed on the scaffold or has buried alive in the tomb of our bastiles, Balmachef, Leckert, Guerchoudi, Froumkine and many other valiant champions of right and liberty; it is he who pierced with the bullets of his soldiers a hundred workingmen's breasts at Oufa, who flooded with the blood of proletarians the pavements of our industrial centres of the South; it is he who raised to the level of a regular institution in our political prisons the worst outrages and mutilation of those detained there, even to the violation of women, and the cutting off by sabres of the arms of prisoners against the knees of their executioners; it is he who at the time of the agrarian movement of 1902 caused the flogging of throngs of peasants, the violation of their wives and daughters by drunken Cossacks, and who fixed collective responsibility for offenses upon entire villages, a thing unheard of since the times of Oriental despotism and barbarous tribes.

3. Because it is he who, wishing to oppose the ever rising flood of the revolution, forced himself to stir up enmities between different nationalities of the Empire, to oppose them to each other and all of them to "Holy Russia," orthodox and loyal; it is he who pushed to extremities the Russification of Finland, crushing the Constitution of the loyal and peaceful country; it is he who bitterly pursued the Poles, the Armenians, the Jews, organizing against these last, at Kichinef and at Gomel, a veritable Saint Bartholomew, where the poor Russian helots, crazed by brandy and instructed by the police, hurled themselves upon old men, women and children, as wretched as themselves, inflicting tortures surpassing the imagination of a Saadi.

4. Because it is he who attempted to envelop in a single network of international police the civilized countries of Europe, attempting to entail upon them the outworn regime of czarism, venturing to spread everywhere in Italy, France and Germany traps for the Russian revolutionists who had escaped the talons of the Muscovite eagle.

5. Because, finally, it is he who always pursuing his policy of

diversion, bent all his influence upon the czar to provoke the war with Japan, and thus plunged the unhappy country into one of the most sinister adventures that history has ever known, coldly sacrificing to the appetites of his friends the filibusters, Bezobrasof, Alexeief & Co., the lives of a hundred thousand young men, and billions of rubles extracted from the famishing existence and the superhuman labor of the entire nation.

And it is for these crimes against the nation and the country, against civilization and humanity that Viatcheslaf von Plehwe was condemned to death and executed by the Organization of Combat.

And now we address this appeal to the citizens of the entire world, and we say to them: Upon you falls the task of propagating in free countries true conceptions of the meaning of the duel now in progress between the autocracy and modern Russia. This duel will end only with the disappearance of one of the adversaries, which will be czarism, vanquished by the Revolution, by the Russian nation at last free.

Do not lend ear to the interested calumnies of the partisans of czarism, who wish to transform us into barbarians, enemies of civilization, it is to break the barbarous mold of despotism, it is to liberate a great nation from the czarist yoke, to give it access to modern civilization, to unite the country with representative institutions, that we revolutionary socialists are struggling at this moment, not only for our flag, but for the liberals and democratic demands of all modern Russia.

The necessary vigor of our means of combat should not conceal the truth from any one; we are foremost in verbally reproving, as has been done by our heroic predecessors of *The Will of the People*, the tactics of terrorism in free countries, but in Russia where despotism excludes all open political conflict and knows only arbitrary power, where there is no recourse against the irresponsibility of absolute power in all degrees of the omnipotent bureaucracy, we shall be obliged to oppose to the violence of tyranny the force of revolutionary justice.

Let it not be forgotten, moreover, that apart from the special activity of The Organization of Combat, all the efforts of our party are, and always will be, devoted to the propaganda of socialism among the laborers and peasants and to the revolutionary organization of the masses in full communion of ideas with them conformably to our revolutionary socialist programme.

We hope then that, in this historic struggle for liberty you, citizens of the civilized world, will be at heart with the champions of right and justice. (Signed)

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
Of the Russian Revolutionary Socialist Party.

(See Foreign Department for comment on above article.—Ed.)



## The Socialist Vote of the World.

**T**HE national secretary of the Socialist party recently issued a statement of the total Socialist vote of the world by countries and years, taken from the June number of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. These figures have been reproduced in almost every Socialist paper in the United States, showing that they "filled a long felt want." Although they were compiled with the greatest possible care, including a consultation of the files of hundreds of Socialist papers and official party documents, and considerable correspondence with the European comrades, several errors were still unavoidable. It so happens that Dr. Robert Michels, of Germany, was engaged upon a similar compilation at the same time and the results of his work appeared in the *Neue Zeit* for July 16, 1904. A comparison of his results with those obtained by me in the article published in the June REVIEW (which was originally prepared for the *Encyclopedia Americana*) shows several errors in both articles. Further information having also been obtained from some other sources I have now corrected the entire table in the light of all information now at hand and give herewith what is certainly the most complete compilation of the Socialist vote of the world ever brought together. There are doubtless still errors; indeed it is certain that in some cases the figures are only approximately correct, and some of these have been indicated by a question mark. Furthermore, it must always be remembered that statistics of votes, and especially Socialist votes, may mean a wholly different thing in different countries. The right of suffrage, the method of party alignment and organization, party tactics, the character of the government, all have great influence on the number of votes cast, and in almost every instance these restrictions contribute to lower the Socialist vote as recorded. So diverse are the requirements for suffrage in the various countries that these figures are of very little value for comparison between countries. However they are the most prominent standard of our progress and since all the restrictions work against the Socialists it is certain that such a table does not exaggerate our strength.

GERMANY.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Repra.
1867	30,000	8	1884	549,990	24
1871	101,000	2	1887	763,128	11
1874	351,952	9	1890	1,427,298	35
1877	493,288	12	1893	1,876,738	44
1878	437,158	9	1898	2,113,073	57
1881	311,961	12	1903	3,008,000	81

FRANCE.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1887	47,000	19	1898	790,000	50
1889	120,000	9	1900	880,000	48
1893	440,000	49			

UNITED STATES.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1888	2,068	—	1897	55,550	—
1892	21,512	—	1898	82,204	—
1894	30,120	—	1900	98,424	—
1895	34,869	—	1902	225,903	—
1896	36,275	—			

GREAT BRITAIN.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1895	55,000	—	1900	100,000	—

HOLLAND.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1880	17	—	1897	13,500	3
1885	1,464	—	1901	39,000	7

SWITZERLAND.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1884	3,591	—	1896	40,000	1
1887	2,100	—	1899	56,000	4
1890	14,431	1	1902	100,000	6
1893	30,000	1			

AUSTRIA.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1897	750,000	—	1901	780,000	10

SWEDEN.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1890	488	—	1893	1,221	—
1892	723	—	1902	48,000	—

SPAIN.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1891	5,000	—	1899	23,000	—
1893	7,000	—	1901	25,400	—
1896	14,000	—	1903	29,000	—
1898	20,000	—			

ITALY.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1882	49,154	1	1895	79,434	15
1886	22,061	2	1897	137,852	16
1890	50,210	3	1900	215,841	33
1892	27,000	7			

BELGIUM.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1894	320,000	32	1902	467,000	34
1900	344,944	33	1904	302,771	*28

\*In this year only one-half the deputies were elected, so this is not a true test of the Socialist strength.

DENMARK.		SERVIA.			
	Vote.	Reprs.	Vote.	Reprs.	
1872	268	—	1895	50,000	—
1876	1,076	—	1903	60,000(?)	—
1881	1,689	—	CANADA.		
1884	6,806	2	Vote.	Reprs.	
1887	8,408	—	1903	8,025	—
1890	17,232	—	ARGENTINA.		
1892	20,094	4	Vote.	Reprs.	
1895	31,872	8	1903	5,000(?)	—
1901	42,972	14	IRELAND.		
1903	55,479	16	Vote.	Reprs.	
NORWAY.		1902		1,063	—
	Vote.	Reprs.	BULGARIA.		
1900	7,440	—	Vote.	Reprs.	
1903	24,779	—	1900	10,000	—

In order to give a better idea of the steady growth of the total vote these same statistics have been rearranged to show the total Socialist vote of the world for each year during which there has been an election in any country, in which the Socialists participated.

TOTAL VOTE OF THE WORLD BY YEARS.

1867	30,000	1891	1,799,060
1871	101,000	1892	1,798,391
1872	101,268	1893	2,585,898
1874	352,220	1894	2,914,506
1876	353,028	1895	3,033,718
1877	494,364	1896	3,056,873
1878	438,234	1897	3,896,602
1881	373,850	1898	4,515,591
1882	423,004	1899	4,534,591
1884	666,150	1900	4,874,740
1885	667,614	1901	4,912,740
1887	931,454	1902	5,253,054
1889	1,109,891	1903	6,285,374
1890	1,794,060		

This table was obtained by adding to the total vote of each year the increase (or subtracting the decrease) which had taken place in the Socialist vote of all those countries holding elections during that year. The decrease in the years 1878 and 1881 was due to the falling off of the German vote during the "Laws of Exception." The increase since then represents a steady yet rapid advance such as no other cause, philosophy, doctrine, or social movement of any kind can parallel.

A. M. SIMONS.

## The Socialization of Humanity.\*

**M**ARX and Engels stand forth in their true importance, whenever we come across a talented writer of our own time who has drunk deeply from the sources of modern science and who, unconscious of the socialist philosophy, attempts to find a new orientation out of the labyrinth in which the capitalist ideas have left him. It seems only a little step from radical bourgeois science to the historical materialism of the revolutionary proletariat, and yet traditional ideas envelop the mind of such a thinker in a fog, from which only the intervention of the socialist philosophy can bring relief.

This is the position of Charles Kendall Franklin who in his *Socialization of Humanity* offers what he calls a system of monistic philosophy by which the human race is supposed to educate itself into a higher form of social organization, without the dangerous expedient of class struggles. The author is well aware of the existence of classes and their antagonistic interests, but the emancipating force of capitalist society, according to him, will be a new religion, based on scientific moral and social senses, not the historical action of a class-conscious proletariat.

The book is so remarkable and offers such an excellent opportunity to set forth the different points of view of the socialist philosophy and of that school of thinkers who ignore the function of class struggles that I think it worth while to devote considerable space to its discussion.

To the socialist, schooled in the historical method of Marx, it is evident that a mind not guided by historical materialism and operating simply with the intellectual stock in trade and vocabulary of the bourgeois scientist will involve itself in many contradictions. And this book is full of them. Under these circumstances, materialistic monism is naturally deprived of its just dues, not only in the discussion of social evolution, but also in that of natural evolution.

In the perusal of this book, the scientific Socialist is constantly reminded of the superiority of the dialectic method over that of the old-line logician who sees either nothing but the special, or nothing but the general, but who forgets to remember the relation of the special and general to each other and to the rest of the world. And again and again we feel the truth of Joseph Dietzgen's criticism that traditional philosophy is to blame for the tendency towards drawing unnecessarily deep and radical distinctions between nature and man, matter and mind, society and the individual.

\*The Socialization of Humanity, by Charles Kendall Franklin. Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 481 pp., \$2.00.

A few quotations from Franklin will illustrate how his work suffers from the shortcomings of capitalistic philosophy and logic. On page 13, e. g., we read that "life and mind are developed in spite of nature, not with its assistance," and in the very next sentence we are informed that "it is the nature of matter and energy to develop life and mind and human society, as it is for them to manifest themselves in any other way. Everything we see is natural."

On page 23, the author says that "the great difference between organic and inorganic reproduction is that inorganic reproduction is always by abiogenesis, spontaneous generation, and takes place whenever the constituents of an inorganic substance are present under the proper conditions . . . yet even in inorganic compounds we see the incipient form of that reproduction which in organic compounds is called sexual reproduction." My criticism is that there is no such fundamental difference between organic and inorganic reproduction, between sexual generation and spontaneous generation. What is commonly called spontaneous generation is in reality a generation by physical and chemical means as much as is sexual generation. The latter is simply a specialized form of generation. The author says so himself in another place, on page 70, where we learn that "as the dead bodies were the constituents of new organisms it is probable that the constituents immediately entered into the new compounds, which is not death, but spontaneous generation. . . ." In other words, death is spontaneous generation, or spontaneous generation is death, or death is but another form of life, which is practically admitting that there is no "spontaneous" generation, but simply a succession of reactions which lead to the disintegration of one organism and the constitution of another. Hence sexual generation is but a specialized form of universal generation.

Naturally, the author's conception of immortality is affected by his logic. Immortality, according to him, implies "a permanently adjusted relation between organism and environment; or an environment that never changes and a permanently adjusted organism to it." He overlooks a third possibility, viz., that there is possible an evolutionary adjustment to an ever changing environment which the human mind must learn to control so that it will always be perfectly abreast of all changes.

In speaking of mind and its origin, the author falls into the language of those who think only of the human mind as it is now and who either cannot understand that the human mind is but a specialized form of mind or, if they understand that, forget to apply this understanding in their practical reasoning. When he says that "life and mind are inseparable," he means at best only the human mind, for he contends on page 97 that "the erroneous notion that mind is back of the universe comes from an imperfect

concept of what mind really is, and a belief that any and all order is the result of mind, when it is only economic order that is so." He forgets that even death is a form of life, as he admitted in another place, and he objects to Herbert Spencer's definition of life as "continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations," maintaining that this definition "fits the phenomenon when it is highly developed, but not so well at its commencement" (page 33). However, I agree with Spencer. There is life in an inorganic chemical compound, in a crystal, in a plant, in any animal, and all of them are continually adjusting themselves to environment. And since "life and mind are inseparable," according to our author, the adjustment of all matter to its environment is mind and develops mind. The human mind as we know it is but the present day form of adjustment in a special organism. The question as to which was first, matter or mind, can simply be answered by declaring that the one cannot be without the other, that one exists as long as the other, that they are both eternal, and that their origin is co-eternal.

In defining a "sense," on page 38, it is natural that the author cannot give any other definition under these circumstances than that of "a result of the way a physical, external energy, light, heat, pressure, and so forth, registers itself in an animal organism." I am compelled, by the dialectic method, to regard "sense" as the result of external reactions in any form of matter, whether in an animal, plant, or mineral organism. The author, however, denies that inorganic matter can register any impressions. "For example," he says on page 41, "if I touch a pebble on my desk, it none the less touches me; but the difference is that there are registered in my nervous system an infinite number of previous experiences in touching similar objects which perceive the new experience and classify and register it; whereas in the case of the pebble, while it experiences a change in the condition of its substance at each experience of touching, yet it has not the power to register them, hence never acquires sensibility. This is true of all inanimate bodies." I object to the term inanimate bodies and maintain that any form of matter has its own degree of sensibility, its own ability to register impressions, its own degree of mind. The touch of a man's finger is not heavy enough to register an indenture on the surface of a pebble, because the pebble is the harder of the two. But if the finger is warm and the pebble cold, the pebble will register a change in temperature, while the finger will register a change in temperature and an impression on the skin. On the other hand, if hot water drops on the pebble long enough, the pebble will register not only a change in temperature, but also a hollow in its surface. And if the pebble is subjected to great changes of temperature, it will undergo (register) great changes in its structure. If exposed to a very

high temperature, for instance in a volcano, a stone will turn into pumice stone, after registering changes that transform its silicates into lava and its hard and heavy material into a light and brittle substance. In fact, the human mind would not exist, had not all matter from time immemorial registered impressions through all its transformations from gas, through crystals, to vegetable and animal organisms. All forms of matter, therefore, have their senses, their mind, and our mind is but a specialized form and registers its impressions by different means and in a different degree than other forms of matter.

From the author's narrow interpretation of mind also arises the inadequacy of his discussion of vibrations of the nervous system. "Scientists do not admit," he says on page 44, "that the internal vibrations registered in the nervous system of animals are identical with the external vibrations in the environment causing them; yet they must be identical, or else we would have unlike knowing like for the first time in all nature. Nor do they attempt to explain how vibrations in the environment can cause ideas that are invariably aroused by them and yet are not composed of identical vibrations." . . . And on page 46 he says:

"Only like can know like. Just as a vibrating tuning-fork causes all other tuning-forks in its field that are like it to vibrate in unison with it, so do all external energies cause their residual representations in the nervous tissues of an animal to vibrate in unison with them, such a synchronism being knowledge itself." And on page 77: "Ideas are identical with the energies producing them." It is not quite clear what the author means by *identical* and by *know*. Of course, an atom of carbon can never feel (react) exactly like an atom of oxygen, or vice versa. Therefore the one can never *fully* know the other, and in this sense I am willing to admit that only like can know like. But it is not true, that unlike things cannot know one another at all, and it is not necessary that the reactions in nervous tissue should be absolutely identical with the vibrations in the environment, in order to be known as belonging to a definite factor in that environment. The reaction caused by an atom of carbon on an atom of oxygen is always the same in the same environment, and by this reaction carbon *knows* oxygen and oxygen *knows* carbon. A tuning fork does not only vibrate with the same note of another tuning fork of the same composition, but also with all the vibrations of other tuning forks to which the substance of which they are composed is susceptible. In the one case, it vibrates harmoniously, in the other case inharmoniously. The fact that we do not hear some of these vibrations, or cannot register them with our instruments, proves only our limitations, but not the absence of any vibrations. And by the reactions caused by various vibrations, one tuning fork *knows* another and discriminates between

the various vibrations. Of course, the knowing and discriminating of the tuning fork is different from that of the human mind, but only in degree, and the same general principle applies to both of them. The means by which the human mind discriminates and becomes *conscious* of its discrimination are more specialized and complicated than those of the tuning fork, but the tuning fork is as conscious in its way as the human mind is in another.

The difference between the consciousness of a crystal and of a human brain is one of more or less control over environment, but it is not a difference between consciousness and unconsciousness. Neither is the difference between the consciousness or so-called unconsciousness of any individual human brain one of feeling and not feeling, of reacting and ceasing to react. It is only a difference in the form of the reaction. We have acquired the faculty of being conscious only in a certain way, under a certain environment, but we have not acquired the faculty of adapting our brain activity to any environment. Our faculty of adaptation has become limited through natural selection, and unless we succeed in acquiring a greater and quicker adaptability, certain changes in our environment are fatal to the consciousness to which we are accustomed. Within the limits of the highest and lowest consciousness of the same brain, there are innumerable degrees of consciousness. Outside of those limits, an interruption of our consciousness takes place, because our brain apparatus then becomes subject to impressions which interrupt its normal functions and decompose its tissues. But the reactions are there, and the brain registers them, even to the point of dissolution.

The vibrations caused by a storm in the air are not identical with those caused by this air on the surface of the sea. But the same vibrations of the air will always produce the same vibrations in the same water. The vibrations of a rod in the hand of a teacher are not identical with the vibrations caused by that rod on the back of a boy, and these are not identical with the vibrations caused in the brain of the boy, of the teacher, and in the substance of the rod. Yet under the same conditions the teacher will always know that he is wielding the rod, the boy will know that the rod is hitting him, and the rod will experience the same changes in its substance. Each will register its vibrations in its own way. According to the violence of the vibration, each will carry away distinct memories of them. The teacher will be more or less exhausted and elated by a feeling of duty well performed. The boy will have more or less perceptible marks on his back and a more or less disturbed attitude of mind, which will remain registered in the cumulative store house called memory. And the rod may carry away lasting memories in the shape of a bend or break. But all of them will remember the



event in a certain way, and it will modify their further development in a certain way.

On page 16, the author says: "Mind is the reaction of the environment upon a sensitive form of matter competent to receive it." This would be a good definition, provided we understand that ALL matter is more or less sensitive and competent to receive reactions. But if we believe with the author that through the human mind alone "all energy is for the first time in nature expended according to design, purpose," we bar ourselves from a monistic understanding of the world process. For it is not true that only the human mind can conceive of a purpose. Purpose presupposes a will. What we call purpose or will and design is only a certain form of following stimuli. Whether he have this or that purpose is not a question of free will—and the author admits it—but of evolutionary forces embodied in us. Any two atoms follow stimuli of the environment as well as our brain does, and the chemical affinities, in forcing certain combinations of chemicals and preventing others, follow their "purpose" quite as "freely," comparatively, as do two lovers rushing into one another's arms. The author himself suddenly surprises us on page 348 by coinciding with our view and contradicting his previous statement, declaring that "the primitive form of the will is chemical affinity." And yet he contends that only the human brain can have a design, a will, all for the purpose of drawing a deep distinction between two reactions which are not fundamentally, but only relatively, different.

As in the case of the mind, so in the case of purpose it is simply a question of degree. Purpose, or design, is any reaction of any individual on its environment. The first impulse for this reaction may apparently be originated in the individual itself, it may seem to be "spontaneous," but it is well to remember that spontaneousness is only another word for a result produced by the accumulation and preservation in a "latent" state of evolutionary matter which at a certain moment and in a favorable environment manifests itself in a certain way. If this is understood, then the outbreak of a volcano, or the so-called sudden appearance of a new plant species, are seen to be as much the outcome of a purposeful will in the inorganic, as the reactions on the organic mind of Napoleon I which result in his planning the campaign against Russia. We must either admit that there is no ulterior purpose behind any reaction, whether in organic human minds or in inorganic rocks, or if we persist in reading purposes into reactions, we must grant that there is a purpose behind every reaction, and that the human purpose differs from the inorganic purpose only in degree.

The fact that our purposes may run counter to the purposes, of the so-called unconscious reactions only demonstrates that one

reaction can cross the purpose of another, that one reaction can control another, and finally leads us to work toward the ideal of making all reactions subservient to the purposes of the human brain, or subordinating the purpose of every other reaction to human purposes, an ideal which the author very eloquently paints in another place and with different words, and one in which I fully agree with him. But I object to the narrow definition of mind as "all nervous phenomena seen throughout the animal kingdom" (page 15). These nervous phenomena are a special form of mind reaction but not the only mind.

The same attempt at making fundamentally radical distinctions between the expenditure of energy in human matter and other matter also appears in the author's statement on page 18 that "the energies of nature ended in neutralization and exhaustion, resulting in a fixed order," while in living beings, according to him, energy is "often expended in co-operation and none of it is lost." In the first place, the words *ended* and *fixed* order sound queer to the evolutionist, so much more when we read on page 21 that "the most universal phenomenon in nature is change. Everything is in constant flux, a continuing process," which is true and is the only "fixed order" in the universe. In the second place, no energies are lost in nature, whether it be human nature or rock nature. There may be exhaustion or neutralization of a certain form of energy in a certain environment, but not because that form of energy is lost, only because it has been transformed into some other energy and may in time reappear. Neither is it correct to speak of the "blind battling of natural energies in which all energy expends itself along the line of least resistance," as distinguished from the orderly expenditure of energy in society. The fact that energy is expended along the line of least resistance shows that it is not expended blindly. Energy expended through human activity, whether individual or social, is compelled to follow the same general lines as that in "blind" nature. Or, if we are to use the term blindly, meaning imperfectly, then we must realize that human energy is expended quite as blindly as any other, and we shall see that the author admits it himself in another place.

Although with the development of the human brain, human energy seeks to exert a dominating influence over all other energies, still human brain energy is very far from being supreme over all other energies, and is, therefore, compelled to submit in its own expenditure to the "blind" forces around it. The author's book is an illustration of how human intelligence is groping "blindly" to correlate the reactions caused by its environment. Really, we are all of us expending our energies in accord with our natural, social, and individual evolution, which is not expending them blindly, but just as far as we can see. In this

sense, two atoms of hydrogen and one atom of oxygen are no more blind in forming water, than a mole is in digging its tunnel through the upper strata of the soil, or Columbus in discovering America.

A similar criticism also applies to the author's statement on page 12 that "there is not much co-operation among men, less among animals, practically none whatever in physical, inorganic nature. Nature is the most extravagant organization imaginable, the most wasteful." All this has been dinned into our ears again and again, in the same breath with the statement that nature expends its energies along the line of least resistance. But such statements are but proofs of the incompleteness of our evolution. We, an infinitesimally small part of nature, are finding fault with nature for not doing things the way we think they should be done. And in so doing, we are simply following certain stimuli which are the result of the evolution of nature and which point to our ascendancy over certain other parts of nature. But in our further evolution we shall find that there is no waste, and what seems like waste to us now was necessary and economical for its own time and place. As for co-operation, all nature is constantly co-operating, all forms of life are but links in the universal division of labor. A study of biology would soon convince the author that there is quite a wide-spread co-operation among animals and plants, and as for universal co-operation, it is sufficient to quote Darwin's drastic illustration of clover, bumble bees, field mice, cats, and old maids.

If the author should object to this criticism on the ground that he had reference to "conscious" and premeditated co-operation, I ask him to explain the difference in consciousness shown by the co-operation of ants, of bees, of wolves hunting together, of monkeys helping one another to ford a stream, of buffaloes crowding around their cows and calves for defense, and of human beings building a bridge. And if he can show me that there is more than a difference in degree due to a longer evolution and a consequent transformation of the morphological structure and internal and external environment, I shall be deeply grateful to him. But I do not see how he can offer any better explanation of the difference in consciousness than that given by him on page 20, where he says that "in the theory of evolution, the selective operation of external (I add and internal) conditions on chemical compounds, plants, animals, and social forms, whereby variations that are advantageous in a certain environment in the struggle for existence become perpetuated in nature, the species, or the race, is natural selection." The human mind is the product of natural selection, the same as every other form of matter or form of expenditure of energy.

The author describes very well how human brain conscious-

ness is produced. "In the course of time," he says on page 49. "the pictures of nature, vibrated into the brain tissues, through the senses, following the law of repetition and the law of natural selection, become a miniature nature, a mirror of real nature, so that the highest organization of matter—man—may have within himself a knowledge of all nature which is both beneficial and hurtful to him, to be used by him as a guide in real nature." I have little to criticize in this description, except the term *law* and the reference to man's knowledge of *all* nature. The human brain cannot encompass all nature, because it is only a part of nature and the part can never know the whole. But it can know enough of the whole to become its controlling factor. And the more it knows about itself the better it will be able to control its environment, the better it will be able to choose what vibrations shall react on itself.

The machinery of the human soul consists of the sum total of all the organs and tissues of the body, and its reactions on internal and external stimuli constitute the life of the soul. It is no more wonderful that one part of the brain should be conscious of the stimuli received by another part of itself, than that it should be conscious of stimuli received from other parts of its body or from the environment outside of its body. As the author very aptly remarks: "The registered impressions in the form of the ego watch the internal energies making some new impression and the new impression is as much ourselves as is our ego, and we recognize it as such, although heretofore not being able to explain the phenomenon. . . . Self-consciousness is nothing more than registered impressions of one's vitality receiving another impression of one's vitality." But the same can be said of the consciousness of every particle of matter. If we say that a stone is not conscious of its environment and cannot reason, we cannot mean anything else than that it has not the same consciousness as the human brain and cannot correlate reactions to the same extent that we can. But it can register reactions and correlate them to an extent corresponding with its physical constitution and environment. There is nothing else to explain, unless we look for something transcendental in the human brain, something which cannot be explained in terms of materialist monism. Every logical advocate of materialist monism will deny that there is anything in the universe which this monism cannot explain more satisfactorily than any metaphysics.

I cannot here discuss all the doubtful statements made by the author, and must be content to pass on to the following, on page 107: "The human race for untold ages overran the earth as animals incapable of social organization," which stands in marked contrast to the following one on page 116: "Happily for the human race, man's primitive ancestor was not simply an intel-

lectual being, but one singularly fitted for social organization as our civilization attests." And these two statements, again, will be hard to reconcile with the following on page 110: "Man today is essentially a social being, and was so long before he had evolved into the highest primate, but society did not begin until *Pithecanthropus erectus* began placing external energies in service to himself; then it was that he began placing his fellow man in service also; and from this sheer individualism grew indirectly man's social forms of today."

In the first place, man was not man until he became man. Animals that overran the earth before the highest primate developed was not man, neither was this primate himself man. Whatever may be said of the social qualities of those animals and of that primate, in the environment of their period, will offer very doubtful clues for the estimate of the social qualities of primitive man. It is illogical in the extreme to speak of a human race not composed of men and supposed to have been social long before *Pithecanthropus erectus*, and yet at the same time incapable of social organization. Furthermore, *Pithecanthropus erectus* was not the first organic being that placed external energies into its service or co-operated with its fellows. Every organism is placing external energies into its service, because, being a part of the whole universe, it cannot exist without the interaction of the rest of the universe. And social organization of some form appears in inorganic and organic forms of a very low order, for instance among crystals and corals. In fact it is a survival of dualistic reasoning to attempt to fix the historical beginning of anything in the world. A true monistic philosophy knows that things develop gradually and almost imperceptibly, and that it is impossible for any human intellect to determine, for instance, the exact historical moment when any new species springs into being. The only correct and scientific statement which we can make in regard to the social organization of the primates and earliest man is that we know nothing definite about them. We know very little even of the social habits of the primates now existing. Much less can we attempt to make any such definite statements as those of our author about the social life of primeval primates. But if we confine ourselves to historical man, we find that even the most primitive types are social, in many respects more so than modern man, and we shall labor in vain to discover any trace of "sheer individualism" anywhere in the world, except in the narrow imagination of the "individualists."

But of course, it is quite in order to point out that social organization and the consequent development of what the author calls social and moral senses is older than human society. Only it then devolves on us to exactly define what we mean by moral and social senses. But we look in vain for a consistent conception

of these senses in the author's book. He links morality closely to religion, and yet he has more than one passage to prove that morality and religion have never had any such historical connection as his conception would presuppose. Neither is he consistent in his conception of morality. In one place he speaks of it as an evolutionary product, brought about by natural selection, and in another place we read: "Nature outside of human life is immoral" (page 119). Or, again, "Morality is nowhere found outside of human life. Primitive man knew nothing of it." Yet he ignores the function of class struggles in developing moral and social senses, and contents himself with declaring that "the only hope of the race is in scientific moral and social senses."

What are scientific moral and social senses, and how are they produced? According to Spencer, a moral man is one who is perfectly adapted to his environment. But since man is a product of nature, all other products of nature must be moral, provided they are perfectly adapted to their environment. In this sense, a perfectly adapted rose, or a perfectly adapted lion, are as moral as a perfectly adapted man. The author's attempt to assign to man alone moral senses is, therefore, unscientific.

The Spencerian formula, however, is ambiguous. If interpreted by reactionary professors, it means that the working class in order to be moral, must adapt itself to its position in the capitalist system and obey its masters. In the revolutionary interpretation, on the other hand, it means that the working class must become aware of the changes in the economic basis of society, recognize its historical mission, and control the political power for the organization of a social environment in which all men will be workers and in which all humanity will be perfectly adapted to its environment and therefore perfectly moral. In other words, humanity cannot become conscious of its mission in cosmic evolution as the directing and controlling factor, until the working class has become conscious of its historical mission in social evolution and fulfilled it. So that the Spencerian formula, at the present historical period, is expressed by the socialist formula: Through class-consciousness to race consciousness.

But here the peculiar environment of our author asserts itself. Instead of looking to the historical action of classes for a solution, he looks for a new religion which will accomplish the realization of his ideal regardless of class lines, by social regeneration and universal salvation. So he says on page 416: "The great dynamic to accomplish social perfection on earth is religion," and on page 394: "Whether or not the reformer proselytes, or the conservative persecutes, it matters not, the natural action, inter-action and reaction of the factors of nature, physical, organic and social, will inevitably end in a perfect social organism just as the factors of organic nature have produced the animal

organism as we see it today." He does not see that the proselyting of the reformer and the persecuting of the conservative are as inevitable reactions on certain stimuli of definite environments as any other reaction in the universe. Even his universal religion, supposing that it should be the dynamic force which would logically and dialectically follow from present social evolution, could not exert its influence without the action of human minds on others, without proselyting and persecuting. But since we live in a class environment today, and human minds must reflect the stimuli of the environment in which they live, the historical development of class struggles is inevitable and they are the dynamic force in present social evolution. Whoever shuts his eyes to this truth lacks scientific understanding. If religion is to be the dynamic force in the coming social reorganization, and if scientific moral and social senses are to guide humanity, it can at present be only the religion of the class struggle, the moral sense which hates wage slavery, the social sense which links the members of one class together against the members of another class for the defense of their own class interests. Nothing else can logically develop out of the present social environment. The universal social and moral senses, the universal religion, of which the author speaks, will not be the dynamic force of the social revolution, but the product of the environment which the victorious proletariat will be compelled from historical necessities to create after the termination of class struggles.

While in the foregoing statements, the author overestimates the importance of the economic and material environment, he underestimates it in the following statement on page 3: "The quality of life of a given person, ourselves for instance, depends upon his theory of things far more than the accidents of every day life. The economic basis of society is determined by man's theory of things." But man's theory of things is as much an "accident of every day life" as the economic basis of society. And in another place the author informs us that the present system did not grow by the conscious design of the capitalist class, that social organizations grow as do all evolutionary products of the world, "along the line of least resistance," and that "in the history of the race those tribes which expend their energies in the most economic manner possible survived in the struggle for existence and perpetuated their kind. The same is true of nations" (page 113). And again, on page 456, we read that the capitalist system "grew up unconsciously and exists today because of the struggle for existence between nation and nation capitalism expends human energy more economically than any other form of industry yet devised by the race."

But he quickly forgets the line of least resistance and the most economic expenditure of energies on page 116: "The de-

velopment we see today in civilization is not the result of one season's love, nor one year's peace; but instead of countless centuries of conflict, indefinite essays of ebbing and flowing humanity, pushing this way, pulling that way, ceaseless migrations from the south to the north, from east to west, persistent intermingling of blood and ideas, the spending of centuries in following some *ignis fatuus* of the mind, never being in a hurry to do what is right and never doing anything sensible because it is sensible, stagnating as a dammed-up stream, then bursting as a flood in revolution, even making the vagaries of the insane fundamental philosophy—what an infinite waste of human energy!" And on page 460 we read: "The present capitalist class either dissipates the vast wealth entrusted to it by society on private follies, vices and luxury, or it uses it to keep up vast nobilities, plutocracies and idle classes, resulting in the poverty of the people through useless and wicked wars and preparations for wars, including the world's pernicious military systems of endless armies and ever increasing navies." . . . In short, we see between the lines that even the expenditure of energy along the line of least resistance and with the greatest economy possible at a certain historical period may still look like infinite waste to the minds of later periods, and therefore it would have been well for the author to state these truths in a language better adapted to evolutionary thought.

Vacillating between economic determinism and idealist rationalism, the author cannot come to any other conclusion than that "To millions of thinkers a social revolution, similar to the French Revolution, seems inevitable. It will not come. The orientation of the race will be effected by peace instead of war; by education, not by force; by ballots, not by bullets. The change to be made is not so radical after all. It is not a change in institutions so much as a change in the kind of facts that are to produce religion." There is very little in this statement that is true to monistic materialism, very little that is scientific. It is a mere speculative prediction. The change to be made cannot come without education, to that I agree. But education itself may result in force, in spite of our peaceful intentions, because the capitalist class may oppose our peaceful education by military despotism. They are doing so already. And all the facts at present point to a violent class struggle in all parts of the capitalist world. The only fact that will produce a new religion which will be life itself, is a change in the economic and political institutions by the class struggle of the modern proletariat. And the only monistic philosophy worth knowing for the race at present is the socialist philosophy.

In spite of its contradictions and inconsistencies, the book leaves an impression which is decidedly antagonistic to conserva-



tive modes of reasoning. It will not fail to elicit vigorous protests from the camps of the dualistic and metaphysical thinkers, provided they do not try to kill it by silence.

The author has gone deeply into the things which are vital to the human race, and read many authors with understanding and evident benefit to himself. But his reading did not lead him to that source of light which would have enabled him to correlate the ideas of the various authors under one common conception wide enough to include and explain them all. This source is the literature on historical materialism created by the modern socialist movement. If he had grasped the meaning of the socialist philosophy and coupled this understanding with his great earnestness, his lofty conception of human relationships, and the sincere warmth which pervades his book from cover to cover, he would have created a work of epoch-making value. As it is, he will not accomplish as much as he might have done, for the reactionary thinkers will consider his book too revolutionary, and the revolutionary movement of the modern proletariat will not be able to use his book freely on account of its shortcomings. Still, we cannot help extending the hand of welcome to the author. Among the thinkers of the revolutionary proletariat alone will he find appreciation and a thorough understanding of the means by which that ideal may be and must be realized in which he believes as well as we do.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

## The International Congress.

SO far as we are able to learn from the dispatches so far sent the resolution on colonial politics submitted by Hyndman and demanding the self-government of India was adopted, as were also resolutions against the Colorado outrage. The main debate of the congress took place on the 19th and 20th on the question of tactics. The resolution which was finally adopted seems to have been identical with the one adopted at the Dresden congress of the German Social Democracy and which was submitted to the International Congress by the *Parti Socialiste de France* and which is published in this number. This resolution was supported by Bebel and various other delegates while the opposition was led by Jaures. The final vote taken by countries, as are all votes in the International Congress, showed twenty-five for and five votes against. The votes for were those of Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Spain, America, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Poland and Russia. The vote against was composed of some of the British Colonies, the Independent Labor Party of England, the Jauresists of France, and Norway. Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland and Argentina refused to vote.

Resolutions were also adopted on the question of the May Day celebration and instructing the socialists to take advantage of the trust movement to urge the socialization of industry.

### RESOLUTION ON TACTICS.

The Congress approves of the socialist parliamentary group exercising its right to occupy the positions of vice-president and secretary, by presenting its own candidates, but it refuses to submit to obligations of difference toward the Court, or to brook any condition whatever not imposed by the constitutional statute.

The Congress condemns most energetically the revisionist attempts, in the direction of changing our tried and victorious tactics based on the class struggle, and of replacing the conquest of the public powers through the supreme struggle with the bourgeoisie by a policy of concession to the established order.

The consequence of such revisionist tactics would be to change us from a party seeking the swiftest possible transformation of bourgeois society into socialist society—from a party consequently revolutionary in the best sense of the word—into a party contenting itself with the reform of bourgeois society.

Therefore the Congress, convinced, contrary to the present revisionist tendencies, that class antagonisms, far from diminishing, are intensifying, declares:

1. That the party disclaims any responsibility whatever for

the political and economic conditions based on capitalist production, and consequently could not approve any methods tending to maintain the ruling class in power;

2. That the social democracy could accept no share in the government within the capitalist society, as was definitely declared by the Kautsky resolution adopted by the international congress of Paris in 1900.

The Congress moreover condemns any attempt made to veil the ever growing class antagonism, for the purpose of facilitating an understanding with the bourgeois parties.

The Congress looks to the socialist parliamentary group to avail itself of its increased power—increased both by the greater number of its members and by the substantial growth of the body of electors behind it—to persevere in its propaganda toward the final goal of socialism, and, conformably to our program, to defend most resolutely the interests of the working class, the extension and consolidation of its political liberties, to demand equality of rights for all; to continue, with more energy than ever, the struggle against militarism, against the colonial and imperialistic policy, against all manner of injustice, slavery and exploitation, and, finally, to set itself energetically to improve social legislation and to make it possible for the working class to accomplish its political, its civilizing, mission.

(Socialist Party of France.)

#### WORKINGMEN'S INSURANCE.

The following resolutions were submitted to the Congress for action:

Whereas, the laborers, under the capitalist society, receive a wage scarcely sufficient to cover the most pressing necessities of life during the time they are working, while they are destined to poverty and misery when once they are prevented from utilizing their labor power, whether by illness, accident, impaired health, old age or lock-outs, or in the case of women, when they are prevented from working by pregnancy or maternity; and

Whereas, every man has the right to live and society has an evident interest in conserving his labor power, it is necessary to establish institutions designed to obviate the misery of the laborers and to prevent the loss of labor power caused by it.

The laborers of all countries ought, therefore, to demand insurance laws by means of which they may obtain the right to receive sufficient assistance during the time when it is impossible for them to avail themselves of their own labor power by reason of illness, accident, failing health, old age, pregnancy, maternity or lock-outs.

The laborers should demand that the institutions for their insurance be put under the control of the insured themselves, and

that the same conditions be accorded for the laborers of the country and for foreigners of all nations.

(German Social Democracy.)

#### GENERAL STRIKE.

Whereas, it results from the impartial examination of the economic and political events which in these last years have brought the proletariat of the several countries into conflict with different forms of capitalist exploitation;

That the different nationalities, in their respective socialist organizations, have been led to use the weapon of the general strike as being the most effective measure to attain the triumph of the working class demands, or to provide for the defense of their public liberties.

Whereas, these examples indicate how in all acute crises the instinctive sense of the working class turns naturally toward the general strike, as apparently one of the most powerful and realizable means in its reach;

The Revolutionary Socialist Labor party calls upon the international Congress at Amsterdam to stimulate in all the nations represented at the Congress the study of the rational and methodical organization of the international general strike, which, without being the sole means of revolution, constitutes a weapon of emancipation which no conscious socialist has the right to despise or to disparage.

It is enough to ask ourselves frankly this question: Is the general strike capable of becoming an effective weapon in the hands of the laborers?

We answer resolutely, Yes!

By a division of the French Socialist Party.

#### COLONIAL POLITICS.

The International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam declares that social democrats are obliged to take a definite attitude regarding colonial policies for the following reasons:

1. Historical development has given to several countries colonies, economically bound by close ties to their mother country, politically unaccustomed to self-government, so that it would be impossible to leave them to themselves, if only from the point of view of international relations.

2. Modern capitalism is pushing civilized countries on to continuous expansion, both to open new outlets for their products and to find fields for the easy increase of their capital. This policy of conquest, often joined with crimes and pillage, having no other aim than to quench the capitalists' insatiable thirst for gold, and forcing ever growing expenditures for the increase of militarism, must be opposed implacably. It is this which leads

nations along the road of protectionism and of chauvinism, constituting a perpetual means of international conflicts, and above all, aggravating the crushing burden on the proletariat, and retarding its emancipation.

3. The new wants which will make themselves felt after the victory of the working class and from the time of its economic emancipation, will make necessary, even under the socialist system of the future, the possession of colonies. Modern countries can no longer dispense with countries furnishing certain raw materials and tropical products indispensable to the industry and the needs of humanity, until such time as these can be produced by the exchange of the products of home industry and commerce.

The Social Democratic party, which has economic development and the class struggle as the foundations of its political action, and which, in conformity with its principle, its aim and its tendencies, severely condemns all exploitation and oppression of individuals, classes and nations, accepts the following rules to define its colonial policy :

Capitalism being an inevitable stage of economic evolution which the colonies also must traverse, it will be necessary to make room for the development of industrial capitalism, even by sacrificing, if necessary, the old forms of property (communal or feudal).

But at the same time, the Social Democracy should struggle with all its strength against the degenerating influence of this capitalist development upon the colonial proletariat, and so much the more because it may be foreseen that the latter will not be capable of struggling for itself.

With a view to improving the condition of the laborers, as well as to prevent all the profits being taken away from the colonies, thus impoverishing them, the operation by the State of suitable industries will be useful or necessary, in conjunction with the operation of others by private parties. This will serve alike to hasten the process of capitalist development and to improve the social status of the native laborer.

It will then be the duty of the Social Democracy to favor the organization of the modern proletariat in all countries where it shall arise, to increase its strength of resistance in its struggle against capitalism, and, by raising its wages, to avert for the old capitalist countries the dangers of the murderous competition of the cheap labor of these primitive peoples.

To lift up the natives with a view to democratic self-government should be the supreme aim of our colonial policy, the details of which will be elaborated in a national programme for each particular colonial group.

In view of these considerations the Amsterdam Congress holds that it is the duty of the socialist parties of all countries :

1. To oppose by all means in their power the policy of capitalist conquest.
2. To formulate in a programme the rules to be followed in their colonial policy, based on the principles enunciated in this resolution.

Holland Socialist Party.

COLONIAL RESOLUTION.

Resolved, that this Congress, made up of delegates from the laborers of the whole civilized world:

After listening to representatives of England and of India, pointing out how the British government, by pillaging and draining continually more and more the resources of the people, deliberately causes extreme poverty, and inflicts the scourge of famines and privations, on an ever greater scale, upon more than 200,000,000 inhabitants of the English possessions in India—appeals to the laborers of Great Britain that they insist upon their government's abandoning the present execrable and disgraceful system, and establishing self-government, in the best form practicable, by the Hindus themselves (under English sovereignty).

By Hyndman of England.

## Letters of a Pork Packer's Stenographer.

LETTER NO. III.

Chicago, Ill., May —, 190.

My Dear Katherine:

Mr. King has gone down to Savannah to straighten out a sweet-pickled-spoiled-meat-scandal, and so I am helping first in one department, and then in another, wherever a stenographer is ill, or work is heavy; and, while it brings one down to very fine trim, and excellent speed, it is nerve racking, to say the least.

At present I am temporarily installed in the Legal Department, otherwise known among the employes (because of the depravity of their methods) as the "Skin Department." There is also a Hide Department, but we never confuse the two, as their functions are quite dissimilar. In the Hide Department Men skin HOGS, and in the Legal Department, Hogs skin MEN.

I have been here only a few days, and the things I could write on the Legal Department would fill a book. I believe I have learned more on the ways and means of corporation success in this, than I have learned in all the other departments where I have worked.

The Legal Department naturally includes also the Accident Department. In the case of the slightest accident that may happen to an employe, it is the duty of this division to immediately take affidavits from all those present, who witnessed, and who did *not* witness, the accident. They all swear, in order to hold their jobs, to whatever is requested of them; that the machinery was in perfect repair, whether it was or not, and that the accident was due to the man's own personal carelessness.

I had occasion to write the "statement" of a deaf and dumb man—a "bumper," they called him—who had never laid eyes on the paper until he was called in to sign and swear to it. It is the customary way. The statements are outlined, and the men are always ready to affirm all that is stated therein.

There is always the foreman of the department, who is on the side his salary comes from, and the corporation doctor, ditto; besides the injured man himself, who is usually so badly in need of money that he would sign away his hope in Heaven for ten or twenty dollars in hard cash. Very often the son of the injured man is given a place on the plant, and his daughter a place in the sausage factory, in order to obtain a release on a clear case of liability. The doctor is friendly, and the attorneys kind, unless the claimant shows a disposition to demand justice. And he is given every conceivable method, except a written one, to

understand that as long as the Graham plant runs, he will continue in the service of his masters, no matter how disabled he may be. And many of them sign purely on their faith in the security of their future jobs. This, of course, is merely a ruse on the part of the Legal Department, and at the first excuse the disabled man is "laid off."

Last month over four hundred accidents occurred on the Graham plant, and only two of the men injured have brought suit. And I heard the attorneys say it would be a very easy matter to either bluff or force these men to drop them.

It seems that none of the other packers in the combine will give one of them, who is a poultry "picker" and is in urgent need of money, a job. The father of the other man is a retail butcher, to whom the combine has raised its prices, and made strictly c. o. d. terms, and to whom they will, if necessary, absolutely refuse to sell meat. So you see they are not worried over their inability to get these young men into line.

"The Workingmen of America," said Doctor Hughes, in the Sunday paper, "are an extravagant and improvident class." Of course! They should have *saved* their money when they retained all four of their limbs! One of them received \$9.00 a week, and only had four children! I wonder why he didn't lay up a few thousand against a "rainy day!"

Yesterday a despairing workman, who had been injured through the falling of one of the freight elevators, muttered something about a "damage" suit when the attorneys offered him \$20.00 as compensation for the loss of his foot. They smiled pityingly upon him and said, "Don't you know, my man, that your case will never come up?" Then they turned their backs upon him, and seemed lost in other matters. And this morning the same workman came in *anxious* to sign the release for the sum that he yesterday scorned.

They tell me there is in Kansas City a judge who has never rendered a decision against a corporation. Think of it—a judge over men, elected by the workingman—and throwing all his influence as well as his decisions for the benefit of the Rich! But of such are the courts.

We received a letter from our ——— Texas house yesterday, enclosing a "bad debt" for collection, along with a statement of the year's sales, aggregating \$2,800,325.89, of which this debt of \$102.35 represented the total loss on accounts upon their books. So you see that any money Father Graham *risks* in this business is a very small percentage of one per cent.

When Graham & Company invest one dollar (which covers the price paid to the stockman for cattle, rents, taxes, interest—6 per cent to the banker—labor on the plant and in the offices, the expenses of selling and collecting) they add 50 or 60 per



cent as profits, and charge the retail butcher \$1.60 for meat costing them one dollar. The dealer, of course, pays the freight—probably 10 cents—which makes his meat cost him \$1.70. He then adds 50 per cent of his investment (or 85 cents) in selling to the consumer (which must cover shrinkage, rent, assistants, losses—which usually amount to about 15 per cent—and *profits*). The consumer pays then \$2.55 for meat that actually *costs* (all profit deducted) only about 60 or 65 cents.

These observations cause one to wonder why the "Legal" rate of interest permitted to banks, should not be applied to interest (or profits made) upon all money invested in business enterprises as well. Surely 50 per cent is robbery! The customer is not getting the worth of his money, nor the employe the value of his labor!

But I know not if it be any the less stealing to take a man's vest than it is to take his whole suit. If 50 per cent profits are robbery, what are 5 per cent profits?

Of course, I know the man owns the whole suit, but since this is a stealing game, he would rather we took only his vest. He CAN get along without it, but the weather is cold and he needs the coat and trousers. But Papa Graham, and Sylvia, and Sylvia's count will never be content until they kill the Goose that Lays the Golden Egg.

One of the girls left yesterday to get married. She was thirty-two years old, and had worked for the company twelve years. She confessed to us very frankly that she had made up her mind to accept the first man who could offer her a home, and when that man happened to be all she had previously despised, she fixed her thoughts on the joys of a steady income, and decided to marry the business.

All the girls, I am sure, would like to marry. And a great many men also, but there are few of them who earn salaries large enough to support a wife, and so the girls sigh alone, and the young men go to the dogs.

Women do marry—a smaller percentage every year—and generally for a home. And there are occasionally those who put their "Trust in Providence" and start in on \$12.00 a week; but they soon learn that Providence does NOT provide, and that existence based upon the things one can live without, is not the best foundation upon which to build a happy home. And now and then there is still a happy, comfortable love match, like the love stories of fifty years ago, but the majority are the thousands of Marys waiting for the thousands of Teddies—and the increase in salary that never comes.

So you see, I am no different from the rest. But I have seen too many of the "trusting" kind come to grief to care to bring children into the world, to fight the dreadful battle of life,

at this uncertain stage of civilization. And I think the man who goes about spouting a "Multiply and replenish the earth" doctrine, as long as men are not certain that their children will have plenty to eat and wear, good health, and an education—a chance for happiness—is a fool! He would better spend his efforts in bringing about a society that would be fit to bring little children up in.

I see by the papers that Old John Graham is trying to lay the blame upon the workingman for the present high prices on beef. Coal, he also says, is 10 cents per bull higher than it was a year ago. This would, you can easily see, make a vast difference in the cost of a 1,000 pound animal. But his principal howl is about the greedy, greedy workingman, who is getting from 5 per cent to 10 per cent more in wages than he was a year ago. But he forgets to tell the papers of the innumerable methods employed to increase the output of the individual workman, until, in most cases, wages have decreased in proportion to the number of cattle they are compelled to handle now compared to the number they prepared two years ago.

Every day some new way is devised to eliminate some portion of the salary account in the various departments in the offices. They tell me that book-keepers rarely receive more than \$50.00 per month—about one-half what they were able to demand fifteen years ago. One of the inspectors came around through all the offices last week and discharged from three to five in every department, merely adding a little extra work to the burdens of the "fortunates" who were retained.

Gradually the Accounting, the Credit and Branch House Departments are being removed from Kansas City and established here in Chicago. W———— & Company have already laid off almost their entire force in certain departments in Kansas City, which can be managed just as well from the Chicago offices. And it is being whispered about that Graham & Company will soon incorporate similar proceedings.

All the incapable, the useless and outworn, are being daily discarded by Packingtown, under the new and invincible system of combination—all save, Sylvia, and John Graham, and Pierpont—and the other equally useless factors, who are reaping the benefits of the latest scientific step, which is evolving in the Industrial World to-day.

Mr. Robinson (attorney-in-chief) has just come in accompanied by a gang of workmen who were present at an accident where one of "our stickers" was killed. This makes the third man killed on the plant to-day. There will be affidavits galore, so no more for to-day. Will tell you more of the department in my next letter.

Write often to your

Loving

MARY L. MARCY.

# EDITORIAL

## Forward.

Last month it was still the Socialist "opportunity." There was still much question in our mind as to whether the class conscious laborers of America were capable of rising to the heights demanded by the tremendous opportunity that lay before them. There was so evident an attempt on the part of the capitalists to have a "safe and sane" campaign which should prevent any expression of the discontent, which exists on every hand, that we feared even the Socialists might not be able to shake off the prevailing lethargy. But the weeks that have passed since then have brought an ever growing story of new and renewed activity. From every corner of the country comes reports that that locality is moving toward Socialism faster than any other part of the United States; each organizer that comes in is certain that his field is more thoroughly ripe for the harvest than any other; each union man reports that his union is coming towards Socialism the fastest of all. Each one, comparing present evolution with the past, fancies he is comparing his immediate surroundings with other contemporary ones.

It is certain that this year the Socialist vote will be limited only by the number of working class voters that Socialists are able to reach. The old party politicians all admit that their heelers everywhere report an increased interest in Socialism. The workers are ready to read and listen. It is our business to supply the literature and the speakers. It is time for sacrifice of time, energy and money on the part of every man and woman who call themselves a Socialist. Do not let any subscription blank or call for funds or personal help go by without giving of your utmost.

From all over the country come reports that show that Socialists are rising to the occasion. The national office is the seat of an activity so many fold greater than that of any previous campaign as to practically admit of no comparison. The leaflets, posters, pamphlets, etc., are being poured out in much greater quantities and of much better quality than in any previous year.

Both presidential candidates are engaged in an active personal campaign. Comrade Debs opened the campaign at Indianapolis September 1 with the speech published elsewhere in this issue. From there he goes to Louisville and Cincinnati, and then to Erie, Pa., for Labor Day. On the 6th he is to address an immense meeting in New York city, after which he moves

through the South into Tennessee, Alabama, Arkansas and Texas, up to Kansas City and west to the Pacific coast. He returns to Chicago on the 17th, where he and Hanford address the only meeting at which both candidates will be present. Preparations are being made to make this the largest political meeting ever held in Chicago. Comrades Wentworth, Spargo, Brown, Work, Carey, Wilkins, Bigelow, McKee, Towner and Goebel are all working under the national organization in various parts of the country.

In addition to this many of the states are carrying on campaigns only a little less extensive than that of the national. Illinois has three men in the field and expects to put several more as election draws near. Many of the other states have one or more organizers regularly employed and some have a number of speakers aside from those furnished from the national office who are working most of the time. The national office reports thirty speakers having been placed by it for Labor Day. The efforts of the Citizens' Alliance in preventing the celebration of Labor Day have been somewhat effective in small towns, but where celebrations are held there is a strong tendency to call for Socialist speakers.

The epidemic of strikes which seems to be on throughout the country is bound to afford a great opportunity for Socialist propaganda and consequent increase in the Socialist vote. In the stock yards strike, especially, there has been a most remarkable growth in Socialist sentiment. Hundreds of thousands of pieces of literature have been distributed and several street meetings are held each day, with audiences only limited by the strength of the speaker's voice. The officers of the union and thousands of the men have declared their intention of voting the Socialist ticket this year. The recent deportations in Colorado, the building strike in New York, and the struggle of the cotton operatives in Fall River are all being taken advantage of in the same way and with a similar result.

The capitalist papers are beginning to be frightened at the growth of Socialist sentiment. Three of the great dailies of Chicago devote a column or more to the rapid growth of Socialism in the United States in their issues of August 28. Old party politicians admit that their workers throughout the country agree in reporting that the only party that is increasing everywhere is the Socialist Party.

It would seem that at last the workers of America were awakened. We are not of those who are predicting "Socialism in 1908," but we do believe that the vote on next November will be so large as to focus the attention of the working class on Socialism, and that during the next four years this nation will go to school to Socialism.

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The next number of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW will be one of those numbers that every Socialist will want to see and preserve. In the first place we expect to have a full report of the proceedings of the International Congress so far as it is not covered by the present number. This will include a summary of the views of the various Socialist papers on the work on the Congress and a discussion of its

work. But the principal thing that will make it of value will be the estimate which will be presented of the strength of the Socialist movement in the United States at the present time. Over three hundred letters like the one given below have been sent out to various comrades located in all parts of the country. The persons addressed include all state secretaries, numerous organizers, editors of party papers and the secretaries of local branches. The replies will be carefully compiled and placed in such a manner as to give a most complete survey of the entire situation. Following is the letter sent:

"Dear Comrade: In order that the Socialists may have as accurate information as possible concerning the present political situation the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is asking for the following information from a number of comrades who are in a position to be especially informed concerning the situation in their locality. The answers will be placed at the disposal of the Nationals Office the S. P. as soon as compiled and will be published in the October issue of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Their value depends entirely upon their completeness and accuracy. The inquiries have been carefully distributed so as to cover the entire country. Will you not see that no vacancy in the returns is caused by your neglect? In answering the questions conservatism is better than boasting, and the truth better than either. Do not write from your hopes but from your knowledge. Remembering these things, will you please give in as condensed form as possible a statement of the outlook in your locality, compared with four years ago, in the following respects:

"1. Agitation. (a) Speaking. (b) Literature.

"2. Party organization.

"3. Probable vote. (Give political division for which you estimate.)

"4. What officials is there a probability of electing?

"All replies *should* be in by September 20th, and *must* be in by the 25th."

# THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

At least one jurisdiction controversy has been settled. After several months of negotiating and favorable referendum votes in both organizations, the International Association of Machinists and the Allied Metal Mechanics have settled their differences and the latter body has been absorbed by the machinists. The I. A. of M. will now have a combined membership of over 100,000 men and will be one of the largest nationals in the A. F. of L. There was never any good reason for separate organization among the metal mechanics, and there are several other nationals that ought to be merged or federated with the machinists. Thanks to the activity of employers' combines, the workers in many of the trades are beginning to appreciate the senseless policy of maintaining distinct organizations for the purpose of hugging the delusion of "autonomy" and independence, and thus giving comfort to the master class by engaging in suicidal jurisdiction wrangles. The rank and file are inquiring why their unions and jobs should be endangered by the quarrels of their leaders in the foolhardy attempt to maintain a system that was no doubt effective before machinery became as highly developed and capital as thoroughly concentrated as at present. They are beginning to recognize that "industrialism"—wherein the workers of an entire industry are centralized in one powerful body—is the proper method of organization in this day of close combination of capital, and that the Socialists, who are accused of being industrialists, are not so very wrong after all. The old jurisdictional controversies between the brewers and engineers and firemen, the carpenters and woodworkers and other bodies are still pending. As usual, they will come up in the San Francisco convention of the A. F. of L. and be discussed and be referred to committees and arbitrators for another year. The only thing that will put horse sense into the swollen heads of some of the "leaders" is a good pounding from the organized capitalists. And that is coming rapidly enough.

Hardly a trade union exists that has not felt the iron boot during the past couple of months, and while the officials appear to be, and probably are, docile and weak, the rank and file, who, in the final analysis, are compelled to bear the whole burden of unfavorable conditions, are beginning to get a pretty clear understanding of the whole situation. It will be recalled that shortly after the Boston A. F. of L. convention, last November, President Gompers loftily declared, in a communication to a western paper, the splendid manner in which the Socialist element was flattened out in historic old Faneuil Hall did much to "withdraw the sting of antagonism" from the Parryites and other enemies of labor. The ink was hardly dry on the paper that contained this presumptuous and happy prediction when the "stinger" of the capitalists began to do business in the same old way—in fact, after the wicked Socialists had been knocked about for daring to express views that were hostile to the fossilized opinions of the so-called "pure and simple" officials and the class interests of the capitalists the plutes began to work their "stinger" overtime. The master

class did not seem to care a rap whether the conservative brethren served notice that unions are not socialistic, and that, therefore, those who owned the least land and capital and jobs were in no danger of being disturbed by those who questioned their right of being the industrial and political monarchs of the nation. Attacks upon the trade unions became more pronounced than ever, and reductions of wages and working forces, strikes and lockouts, boycotts and blacklists, military and judicial oppression and an open-shop agitation that has swept all over the country has thrown the industrial system into a chaotic condition never before experienced in this country. The miners were the first called upon to work for less money, and despite their threats to order a general suspension they were compelled to accept a cut of 5½ percent. But this is not all; the operators in some of the competitive districts, notwithstanding all their talk about workmen violating agreements, are establishing preferentials to suit themselves, and the 5½ per cent reduction has been doubled and almost trebled in some instances. There are also attempts being made to enforce the open-shop scheme in Illinois, Alabama, Colorado and Pennsylvania, and upward of a hundred thousand men were compelled to strike against the unbearable conditions that the operators sought to impose. Then came the demand of the vessel owners that the longshoremen accept a cut and they hearkened unto the command and allowed their wages to be slashed 7 per cent, and at that work is very unsteady. The captains and mates felt the sting in a manner that destroyed their organization and the open shop now exists as far as they are concerned, their strike having been lost. The textile workers, although having accepted a cut of 10 per cent last fall just at the time when the conservative officials reassured the country that they would have nothing to do with Socialism, were notified of still another reduction of 12½ per cent, and in sheer desperation went out on strike at Fall River, preferring to live upon charity or starve outside of the mills rather than in the shambles. The marble workers in Vermont were forced to resist some new innovations introduced by Senator Proctor, "the workingman's friend," that would do credit to the most adept labor skinner, and the strike was ordered all over the country on jobs of Proctor, who is pretty much of a monopolist. The iron and steel workers were assured that they could subsist upon lower wages, and the trust magnates slashed into their full dinner pails from 25 to 70 per cent. Besides the reduction, the men are resisting the open shop in the mills of Carnegie, the Homestead hero and candidate for president of the National Civic Federation. In New York the building trades were singled out for their annual smashing, just as though the bosses never heard about the sting of antagonism having been withdrawn, and nearly fifty thousand men were thrown upon the street. The iron ore miners up the lakes and their already low wage were given a further trimming, and the papermakers were also up against a hard fight for reduction of wages and open shop. The great strike of butchers in Chicago and other parts of the country against wage cutting needs no explanation; the struggles of the machinists on the Santa Fe railway and in Chicago and other cities, the strikes of the woodworkers, the general strike of the garment workers in a number of places, the intensified struggle in Colorado, and scores of local battles that have been and are raging in many industrial centers all tend to confirm the view that the capitalists of the nation care nothing about the assurance of certain "labor leaders" to the effect that "the sting of antagonism" between the classes has been withdrawn. The capitalists are not such simpletons that they do not understand their class interests and will not take advantage of every opportunity to fleece their workers, no matter whether they are Republicans, Democrats or Socialists. Fully a million organized workers have been made to feel the lash of capitalism since the Boston convention, and it remains to be seen whether the strike of this million will not be echoed at the ballot-box next November without regards to the fears of our conservative brethren that the capitalists might be

displeased with a warning of what they can expect as a result of their oppressive methods. A million votes for Debs and Hanford will cause the unbridled plutocracy, which forces down wages with one hand and pounds up prices with the other, to pause and think twice before heaping additional burdens upon labor's back. The capitalistic fear that the million would expand into two million would be quite natural, and for that reason every vote for the Socialist party counts not only politically but is of great influence industrially.

The open shop is becoming more and more an issue each day, not only on the industrial field, but politically as well. There is hardly a city or town in the country in which there is not a strike or lockout and this question is paramount. Enormous amounts of money are being spent on both sides and every advantage is seized by capitalists and workers to gain victory. Lately the employers have dragged the question into the courts. The Appellate Court of Illinois has rendered an opinion that the closed shop is unlawful and immoral. This was quickly followed by a similar decision in Milwaukee and later in Brooklyn, N. Y. President Roosevelt is responsible for dragging the question into politics, for which he is already being denounced by the Democratic "workingman's friends," who overlook the fact that in his speech of acceptance Judge Parker declared for the open shop clothed in the usual platitudes about every citizen having the right to work where and when he pleases, etc. The Texas state convention of the Democratic party also went on record in favor of the open shop in similar terms, and it is quite likely that the capitalist politicians in both old parties will juggle with this question as they do with everything in which labor is interested. Every citizen has the right to work where he pleases, when he pleases and for what he pleases when the boss agrees, but not before. That is a great "right," no doubt, and the politicians deserve much credit for making the wonderful discovery.

That Debs and Hanford, the standard-bearers of the Socialist party, will poll a tremendous vote this year is undoubted and admitted by even some of the most partisan leaders in the old parties. To mention every instance that supports this view would require a good many pages of this magazine, and so I can only generalize by declaring that the trade union and Socialist press reflect the situation pretty thoroughly and show that there is great activity everywhere and new converts are coming in at a surprising rate. Many independent papers are supporting the Socialist ticket and new publications are springing up almost every day. In quite a good many industrial centers the boys are taking straw votes as a means of judging the sentiment, and in every case that has come under my observation the Socialist party is making splendid progress. In the unions especially has there been a great revolution of thought during the past few months, and I know of organizations in which it was impossible to speak of Socialism or distribute a leaflet without being subjected to considerable criticism less than six months ago, and today they listen to speeches and grab for literature in a manner that proves that the men are awakening. Of course, the vicious open shop agitation that has spread throughout the length and breadth of the United States, the fierce struggles in Colorado, Chicago, New York and many other places, and the hostile court decisions and legislative enactments all played a part in arousing the labor giant. Then the two old parties and their candidates look so much alike this year that the most hide-bound partisan workingmen do not have the heart to defend them as they did formerly. There is absolutely no enthusiasm among the rank and file of Republican and Democratic voters, and, while it is doubtless true that some ginger will be manufactured by the office-seekers later on in the campaign, it is also true that the Socialists have had a pretty good start already and every day the outlook becomes still brighter. Right here it should be remarked that there is some danger that our movement is growing too rapidly and



that hard work must be done to educate the new converts to a clear understanding of the principles of Socialism. The greatest care must also be exercised in proposing and accepting members into the branches and locals, which can easily be swamped by confusionists and schemers if the bars are thrown down and everybody who is willing to pay dues is invited to join. Every effort should be made to spread Socialist literature, to encourage discussion, and to point out the fact that we are not bothering much as to whether we will sweep the country next November and establish the co-operative commonwealth by Christmas. The "soap-box" fellows ought to state it as emphatically as they can that the Socialist party is not hankering after sentimentalists who will vote with us this year and for some "good man" who leads one of the old parties next year. We want only those voters who know something about Socialism and who will stick and make sacrifices when called upon to do so. Undoubtedly the Socialist party will carry a good many of the smaller towns next November and elect men to fill important positions, and where these are not thoroughly grounded in the fundamental principles of the movement they can do a lot of damage that will react upon and hurt the cause. It is the part of wisdom, therefore, to exercise the utmost care in admitting new members, and to maintain control of the party organization. Let us take warning from the fate of the People's party, which was overwhelmed by a stampede, and, while our lines of organization are different and membership and tactics more homogeneous, still we must take no chances.

# SOCIALISM ABROAD

## Germany.

The recent report of the free unions of Germany, by which is meant those affiliated with the Social Democratic party, shows a most remarkable increase in membership and funds. In 1893, the income amounted to about \$200,000. In 1903 this amounted to \$4,000,000. Over \$3,000,000 are in their treasuries as reserves. The membership has increased over 154,000 during the past year. These figures cause the bourgeois press considerable trouble, especially in view of the fact that these sums are largely used for the dissemination of social democratic doctrines. The *Nationalzeitung* of Berlin declares that "bourgeois circles must certainly feel ashamed when they recognize this sacrificial spirit of the laborers and compare it with the absence of these qualities in their own ranks." "It is an open secret," this paper continues, "that the treasuries of the liberal parties show only a yawning emptiness."

About the same time that this report was issued the Christian unions, which simply mean anti-social democratic, held a congress at Essen. The *Grazer Volksblatt* points with pride to the fact that these unions now have 203,000 members. But a study of their proceedings as given by the *Rheinische Westphalische Zeitung* shows two tendencies very prominent, one of which grows directly out of the other. Complaint is made that the members paid little heed to the clerical would-be leaders, while there is constant reference to the possibility of co-operation with the Social Democrats, accompanied to be sure with fierce denunciation of some members. The *Arbeiter Zeitung* of Vienna tells of one speaker who said that it was only from the Social Democrats that any parliamentary action could be obtained, while another seemed to have caught the idea of why Social Democrats were so hated by their employers since, he said, "in the eyes of certain people every laborer is a Social Democrat, who demands five pfennigs more for wages per day." The *Arbeiter Zeitung* continues, "the history of the Christian unions show that a lot of facts is trying to break through all ideological fog. While the employers may occasionally throw compliments at the Christian unions and deny the fact of the class struggle we learn from the *Germania* of Berlin of the formation of a great national employers' association" whose central thought consists in opposing to the organization of the laborers, an antagonistic organization as strong as possible, and especially in opposition to the Social Democratic trade unions. These same forces are reaching out in an effort to stop the Social Democratic movement at every point.

*Vorwaerts* recently succeeded in getting advance proofs of a pamphlet entitled "The Abuse of the Reichstag Suffrage by the Social Democracy." This pamphlet is the opening shot in a campaign to take votes away from the Social Democrats. Its writer says "we might compare the German empire to a house. The essential parts with which a house

is erected are foundations, walls and roof. The corresponding essentials in the German empire are the Bundesrath, Reichstag und Kaiser. The Reichstag elections are steps to this house. The Social Democrats use these steps not simply to get into the house to do good to the inmates but are like robbers who sneak in to murder the inhabitants and rob them of their property. The battle against the Social Democracy is a battle for the constitution, and if the Social Democracy seeks to destroy the reign of the Kaiser and to overthrow the German constitution then it is our right and duty to stop this." *Vorwaerts* gave this leaflet at once a much wider circulation than the first edition had provided for and expressed the wish that it might be circulated as far as possible. The trouble was, however, that the intention of those who issued it was to circulate it secretly and not permit it to reach the hands of laborers, consequently we find the capitalist press raving. *Die Post* of Berlin advises its readers to secure and circulate the leaflet, while the *Deutsches Tageszeitung* advertises it for sale from their office and praises its position. The *All-deutsches Tagblatt* of Vienna declares that a similar movement is needed in that city. The attack on the Socialist continues in other directions. From the *Rheinisch Westphalische Zeitung* we learn that Rosa Luxemburg has just been condemned to three months' imprisonment for lese majeste. It appears that on the 7th of last June she spoke at a meeting and referred to a speech which the Kaiser had made to a deputation of laborers in Brussels.

Meanwhile the Socialists are going on preparing for a much more extensive and constructive movement than ever before. At the coming Socialist convention municipal action will be discussed for the first time. An elaborate municipal programme has been drawn up for submission, discussion and action of the convention. We shall publish whatever they do on this point for the information of our readers. The capitalist press are very much disturbed by this new move of the Socialists. The *Dresden'r Journal* declares that it indicates a new stage in the movement of Social Democracy. The *Kölnische Tageszeitung* calls upon the Liberals and the Catholics for greater activity along the lines of municipal social reform in order to forestall the Socialists.

It is generally agreed by the Socialist papers that the coming congress will concern itself almost entirely with organization questions since the questions of tactics are now considered as settled. One of the special points which will come out for consideration will be the relation of the party to the trade unions. There is a strong movement towards the entire separation of the management of the two organizations.

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## Russia.

*Vorwaerts* publishes some orders recently issued by the new admiral of the Black Sea fleet warning sailors against "evil people who have crept into the ranks and who are the worst enemies of the State." The orders contained this very comforting information: "The present legal order cannot be changed by any man. We, officers, are a wholly different people from you; we are a thousand times more skilful and cultured than you, yet we do not concern ourselves with these things. What then can you do in this regard, you sheepsheads?" This was followed up by the severe punishment of several persons who were suspected of having circulated Socialist literature. It is safe to say that this speech will be embodied in many a Russian Socialist booklet of the future and that once more the enemy has unconsciously helped us on.

The report which is published elsewhere in this issue on the assassination of von Plehve is issued by a division of the revolutionary movement in no way directly connected with the Russian Social Democracy, but gives the

reasons which have led many Socialists to support terrorism. In an early issue we shall have an article fully explaining the various divisions and forms of organization of the Russian Socialist movement.

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## France.

The congress of the *Parti Socialiste de France* was held at Lille from the 9th to the 11th of August. The report of the secretary showed a steady, rapid growth of the party, and it was generally considered that the internal troubles were over and that the party organization had now entered on to a permanent basis.

The question of the general strike and of international politics occupied most of the time and it was decided to ask the Amsterdam congress to adopt the resolution adopted by the German Social Democracy at their Dresden congress.

Since De Leon has caused to be circulated through his paper the statement that he was present at this congress and has left the impression that the party accepts the tactics of the S. L. P., it is worth while to note the resolution which they adopted on the trade union question which runs as follows:

“Considering that the organization and the struggle on the economic and political field are indispensable for the emancipation of the working class, that, in consequence, every working man conscious of his interests should join the organization of his trade and every trade unionist join the Socialist party;

“Considering, furthermore, that the labor organizations of France are approaching more and more towards the universal federation of labor,

“The *Parti Socialiste de France*, the only political organization of the proletariat, recalls to all its members the necessity of not alone joining the organization of their respective trades, but also taking an energetic part in their activity, and simultaneously it invites all organized laborers to join the revolutionary socialist union as soon as possible.”

# BOOK REVIEWS

**ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMICS.** *Richard T. Ely and George Ray Wicker. Macmillan & Company. Half leather. 388 pp. \$1.00.*

This is largely a rewriting with a few changes of Ely's "Outlines of Economics." The principal additions are the chapters on "Industrial History," which add considerably to the value of the work. For those who wish an elementary knowledge of economics as taught by the most advanced of the non-Socialist schools, this is probably the most satisfactory work to use. Its bibliographies are very complete and arranged by subjects as well as being summarized at the close. The English, like that of all Dr. Ely's work, is simple and easily read. The Socialist will, however, read the chapter on Socialism with something of disgust and he will begin to wonder how long it will be before Dr. Ely will realize that Socialism is not a scheme, and that its fundamental propositions of historic materialism and the class struggle cannot be ignored in discussing socialism.

**LES ETAPES DU SOCIALISME.** *Paul Louis. Bibliotheque-Charpentier, Eugene Fasquelle, Editeur. Paris.*

Just such a work as this is very much needed in English, yet a translation would not accomplish the result, since what the English reader demands is a treatment of the same subject from the point of view of the American and not the Frenchman. The various steps by which the Socialist philosophy has been attained are brought out through a series of essays on the various forerunners of Socialism. Each of the pre-Marxian writers are taken up in turn and their doctrines summarized in a very satisfactory manner. This is followed by discussion of the Communist Manifesto, the International and the modern French Socialist parties.

For any one who is studying the history of Socialism this volume presents in handy form what would otherwise require many weeks, if not months, or even years, of search through scores of almost unobtainable volumes.

**LE PEUPLE ROI.** *Essai de Sociologie universaliste. By Th. Darel. Paper, 176 pp. 3 fr. 50.*

This is a study in social psychology, proceeding largely from the positivist evolutionary point of view. The family, the nation, and then humanity represent the steps by which the collective mind has expanded. The isolated individual has no existence. Socialism is treated sympathetically, but the author still views it as a scheme. "Ignorant of the laws of evolution, humanity may advance through revolutions. . . . Today when we have entered upon the road of conscious evolution we have no right to appeal to brute force." The work is one of a great mass that partake of the evolutionary philosophy and are strongly influenced by Socialism, yet cannot be said to be a part of Socialist literature.

## PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

### Clearing the Co-operative Publishing House from Debt.

On pages 125 to 127 of last month's REVIEW a list was published of the contributions received up to July 31st for the purpose of putting the co-operative publishing house on a cash basis. The additional responses from stockholders during the month of August have been gratifying and encouraging, as will be seen from the following list:

Previously acknowledged .....	\$1,429.14
J. O. Duckett, California (additional).....	4.00
W. E. Boynton, Ohio .....	2.00
R. H. Chaplin, Illinois .....	2.00
H. B. Asbury, Kentucky (additional).....	5.00
Frank Kostack, Ohio .....	25.00
E. F. Everitt, California .....	5.00
W. S. Burnett, California .....	2.00
Fred. R. Barrett, Maine .....	1.00
T. J. Maxwell, Kansas .....	2.00
W., Illinois (additional) .....	75.00
V. Schieffer, California .....	2.00
J. J. Campbell, California .....	2.00
J. F. Sowash, Pennsylvania .....	5.00
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U. L. Secrist, Georgia .....	2.50
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Charles Redies, Texas .....	1.20
Samuel Heller, New York .....	25.00
J. F. Elkner, Kansas .....	1.00
John Gibson, Kansas .....	1.00
Allan A. Crockett, California .....	1.00
Robert Bandlow, Ohio .....	10.00
Charles H. Kerr, Illinois (additional).....	231.40
<b>Total to August 31, 1904.....</b>	<b>\$1,891.94</b>

It will thus be seen that a very appreciable start has been made toward putting the co-operative company on a cash basis. The contributions thus far made have enabled us to pay all bills that were past due, so that the only open accounts due by the company are a few small ones for paper purchased and printing and binding done in August. There remain a few short time notes to printers, binders and paper dealers aggregating \$1,064.70, all of which fall due before election day, November 8th. There also remain one note of \$800 and one of \$300 given to a bank and secured by the endorsement of a stockholder. These notes bear 7 per cent interest and can be taken up at any time and the interest stopped. When these are paid the only indebtedness of the company will be to its stockholders.

It is of the highest importance that enough contributions be received during September and October to enable us to pay the small notes as they fall due without renewing any part of them, and, if possible, to take up the larger notes also, since it is not likely that the impending financial and industrial crisis will be deferred very long after election.

The Secretary of an Illinois Local wrote us shortly before the time for going to press with this issue of the REVIEW that the Local would pledge \$10, provided this would be enough, with other contributions, to insure the continuance of the company, and suggested that other pledges be made on the same basis.

We desire to assure the comrades everywhere that the sums pledged, together with what can certainly be counted upon from others, are already sufficient to prevent any successful attempt to put the company out of business. These pledges, however, include one made by a stockholder more fortunate in the matter of capital than the rest, who promises to make any temporary advance that may be necessary to guard against any sudden disaster. While this pledge is of the utmost value in insuring the safety of the company, it is notwithstanding much to be preferred that we should never call upon the stockholder in question for his assistance, since it is important that the control of the co-operative company should be kept in the hands of the individual stockholders composing it, now numbering nearly one thousand. The special advantage of our plan of organization is that under it no one person will ever have it in his power to change the present policy of the company, which is to publish only such literature as will best serve the cause of international socialism. To carry out this plan of organization successfully, all money needed must be subscribed by the membership and no large sums must be owing to stockholders.

The offer made by the manager of the co-operative company that he will, out of the balance still due him, duplicate every contribution made by others, will hold good until December 31, 1904, by which time the contributions should reach a sufficient sum to pay off at least the entire debt to outsiders and, if possible, greatly reduce the debt to other stockholders.

Acknowledgments of further receipts will be made in the publishers' department of the REVIEW from month to month.

### Rebels of the New South.

It gives us great pleasure to announce for publication some time in October a novel, entitled "Rebels of the New South," by Comrade Walter Marion Raymond, of New Jersey. Comrade Raymond is not a novice or an amateur, but a practiced writer of established reputation. The novel will not be of interest merely to socialists. It is a powerful story full of human interest, full of action and with live people in it,—a story that would make a success with a capitalist publishing house, if the socialism could only be left out.

But the author can't leave the socialism out, because to leave it out would destroy the whole meaning of the story. And so he has brought it to our co-operative publishing house, and has voluntarily offered us

more favorable terms on it than we could possibly have expected, so that if any profit is made it will go to extend the circulation of other socialist literature.

"Rebels of the New South" is the best possible answer to the covert attacks made upon socialism by those who insinuate that the socialist standard of ethics is such as would destroy the home. The distinction between the hypocritical, conventional ethics of capitalism and the vital and genuine ethics of socialism is clearly brought out in "Rebels of the New South," not by preaching, for Walter Marion Raymond has mastered the trade of the novelist too well to allow himself to preach, but in the way he makes his characters act and develop.

Altogether it is a book that every socialist will delight in, and also a book that will have an ever-increasing number of non-socialist readers, who will, however, stand in grave danger of becoming socialists by the time they finish reading.

"Rebels of the New South" will be finely illustrated, will be well printed and handsomely bound in cloth, and will sell for a dollar a copy, postpaid. Better send the dollar now and be sure of receiving a copy of the book as soon as published.

#### Campaign Supplies.

Our Socialist Stickers are just the thing for Socialist Party Locals and individual socialists who have plenty of energy to put into propaganda but very little money. We mail a thousand assorted stickers for a dollar or two hundred for 25 cents (prices to stockholders lower still), and even two hundred of these will make socialism very conspicuous within a limited territory if posted judiciously and audaciously. Samples will be sent free of charge to any one requesting them.

Socialist party buttons are supplied by us in two styles, enamel and gold plate, at 25 cents each (to stockholders 20 cents each), and celluloid at 30 cents a dozen or \$2.00 a hundred (to stockholders 20 cents a dozen or \$1.50 a hundred). We sell only the button with the party emblem, not with the pictures of candidates. It may also be remarked incidentally that there are cheaper celluloid emblem buttons to be had elsewhere. Ours are large enough to make the words "Socialist Party" legible, and in ours the water between the continents in the globe design is of a tint bearing some faint resemblance to nature, not a brilliant apple green. We mention these details simply that those who send to us for buttons may not be disappointed at an apparent overcharge.

We can supply a few varieties of four-page propaganda leaflets at 8 cents a hundred or 60 cents a thousand by mail, or 30 cents a thousand by express at purchaser's expense. Samples will be mailed to any one asking for them. There is no discount to stockholders on the leaflets, since they are supplied at actual cost to everyone.

#### Platform Text Book.

By a special arrangement with C. Vincent, of Omaha, the compiler and publisher, we are enabled to offer a limited number of copies of the Platform Text Book, containing all the platforms of all the parties of the United States, from the adoption of the Constitution to 1904. It is a large book of 188 pages in small type, containing an immense amount of matter, and the price is 25 cents; to stockholders 20c, postpaid.

A booklet explaining how to become a stockholder will be mailed on request. Address

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY (Co-Operative).  
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