

Why was Dives' request that his brothers be informed of their impending fate refused?

"They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them." (Luke xvi, 29.)

Moses and the prophets do not teach the doctrine of endless punishment, nor even that of a future existence, much less the mere possession of wealth, acquired perhaps by honest industry, is a crime which can be expiated only by sufferings of an endless hell.

Christ's Kingdom was a kingdom of vagrants and paupers. "A rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven." (Matthew xix, 23.)

"It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God." (24.)

While at the temple with his disciples what act did he commend?

That of the poor widow who threw two mites into the treasury. (Mark xii, 43; Luke xxi, 3.)

This widow's offering illustrates the characteristic generosity of the poor and the heartless greed of the church. This text has enabled a horde of indolent priests to prey upon widows and orphans; to filch the scanty earnings of the poor, and live as parasites upon the weak and sickly calves of humanity.

Did he practice the virtue of temperance?

"The Son of Man is come eating and drinking; and ye say, Behold a gluttonous man and a winebibber." (Luke vii, 34.)

What was the first miracle?

John: "There was a marriage in Cana of Galilee. * * * And both Jesus was called, and his disciples, to the marriage. And when they wanted wine, the mother of Jesus saith unto him, 'They have no wine.' * * * And there were set there six water pots of stone, * * * containing two or three firkins apiece. Jesus saith unto them, 'Fill the water pots with water.' And they filled them up to the brim." (ii, 1-7.) This water turned into wine.

Here is Christ supplying a party already "well drunk" with more than one hundred gallons of wine. As they were intoxicated when he performed the miracle, would it not have been better for them and better for the millions who have accepted him as a moral guide, if at the beginning of the feast he had turned the wine into water?

The morality taught by Jesus suffers in comparison with that taught by Mohammed. Mohammed prohibited the use of intoxicating drink, and the Mohammedans are a temperate people; Jesus sanctioned the use of intoxicating drink, and the Christian world abounds with drunkenness.

Referring to the miracle at Cana, Strauss says: "Not only, however, has the miracle been impeached in relation to possibility, but also urged both in ancient and modern times, that it was unworthy of Jesus that he should not only remain in the society of drunkards, but even further their intemperance by an exercise of his miraculous power." (Leben Jesu, p. 584.)

Did he oppose slavery?

He did not.

"Slavery was incorporated into the civil institutions of Moses; it was recognized accordingly by Christ and his apostles." (Rev. Dr. Nathan Lord, President of Dartmouth College.)

Rousseau says: "Christ preaches only servitude and dependence.
* * * True Christians are made to be slaves."

"At the time of the advent of Jesus Christ, slavery in its worst forms prevailed over the world. The Saviour found it around him in Judea; the apostles met with it in Asia, Greece and Italy. How did they treat it? Not by denunciation of slave-holding as necessarily sinful." (Prof. Hodge of Princeton.)

"I have no doubt if Jesus Christ were now on earth that he would, under certain circumstances, become a slaveholder." (Rev. Dr. Taylor of Yale.)

What did the apostles teach?

"Servants (slaves), be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the forward." (1 Peter ii, 18.)

Paul: "Let as many servants (slaves) as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor." (1 Timothy vi, 1.) "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling." (Ephesians vi, 5.)

The Rev. Dr. Wilbur Fisk, president of Wesleyan University, says: "The New Testament enjoins obedience upon the slave as an obligation due to a present rightful authority."

Did he favor marriage?

Matthew: He advocated celibacy, and even self-mutilation as preferable to marriage. (xix, 10-12.)

Following this teaching of their Master, Christians, many of them, have condemned marriage. A Christian pope, Siricius, branded it as "a pollution of the flesh." St. Jerome taught that the duty of the saint was to "cut down by the axe of Virginité the wood of Marriage." Pascal says: "Marriage is the lowest and most dangerous condition of the Christian."

G. W. Foote, of England, says: "Jesus appears to have despised the union of the sexes, therefore marriage, and therefore the home. He taught that in heaven, where all is perfect, there is neither marriage nor giving in marriage."

"Monks and nuns innumerable owe to this evil teaching their shriveled lives and withered hearts." (Mrs. Besant.)

What did he encourage women to do?

Luke: To leave their husbands and homes, and follow and associate with him and his roving apostles. "Mary, called Magdalene, out of whom went seven devils, and Joanna the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, which ministered unto him of their substance." (vii, 2, 3.)

What did he say respecting children?

"Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not."

But it was only the children of the Jews he welcomed, the afflicted child of a Gentile he spurned as a dog. When the woman of Canaan

desired him to heal her daughter, he brutally replied: "It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs." (Matthew xv, 26.) The soldiers who spit on Jesus in Pilate's hall did not do a meaner thing than Jesus did that day. And if he afterwards consented to cure the child it was not as an act of humanity to the sufferer, but as a reward for the mother's faith in him.

Concerning this brutal act of Jesus, Helen Gardener says: "Do you think that was kind? Do you think it was godlike? What would you think of a physician, if a woman came to him distressed and said, 'Doctor, come to my daughter; she is very ill. She has lost her reason, and she is all I have!' What would you think of a doctor who would not reply at all at first, and then, when she fell at his feet and worshipped him, answered that he did not spend his time doctoring dogs? Would you like him as a family physician? Do you think that, even if he were to cure the child then, he would have done a noble thing? Is it evidence of a perfect character to accompany a service with an insult? Do you think that a man who could offer such an indignity to a sorrowing mother has a perfect character, is an ideal God?"

He enjoined the observance of the commandment, "Honor thy father and thy mother." Did he respect it himself?

More striking examples of filial ingratitude are not to be found than are exhibited in the Gospel history of Jesus Christ. When visiting Jerusalem with his parents, he allows them to depart for home without him, thinking that he is with another part of the company; and when they return to search for him and find him, he manifests no concern for the trouble he has caused them; when during his ministry his mother and brothers are announced, he receives them with a sneer; at the marriage feast, when his mother kindly speaks to him, he brutally exclaims, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" Throughout the Four Gospels not one respectful word to that devoted mother is recorded. Even in his last hours, when the mental anguish of that mother must have equaled his own physical suffering, not one word of comfort or farewell greeting escaped from his lips; but the same studied disrespect that has characterized him all his life is exhibited here.

Did he not promote domestic strife?

"Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, Nay; but rather division; for from henceforth there shall be five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three. The father against the son, and the son against the father; the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother; the mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law." (Luke xii, 51-53.)

"Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came to send a sword, but not a peace. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against the mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law." (Matthew x, 34, 35.)

What did he require of his disciples?

"If any man come to me, and hate not his father and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." (Luke xiv, 26.)

It is scarcely possible in this age of enlightenment and unbelief to realize what sorrows and miseries these accursed teachings of Christ once caused. The eminent historian, Lecky, in his "History of European Morals," has attempted to describe some of their awful consequences. From his pages I quote the following:

"To break by his ingratitude the heart of the mother who had borne him, to persuade the wife who adored him that it was her duty to separate from him forever, to abandon his children, uncared for and beggars, to the mercies of the world, was regarded by the true hermit as the most acceptable offering he could make to his God. His business was to save his own soul. The serenity of his devotion would be impaired by the discharge of the simplest duties to his family. Evagrius, when a hermit in the desert, received, after a long interval, letters from his father and mother. He could not bear that the equable tenor of his thought should be disturbed by the recollection of those who loved him, so he cast the letters unread into the fire. A man named Mutius, accompanied by his only child, a little boy of eight years old, abandoned his possessions and demanded admission into a monastery. The monks received him, but they proceeded to discipline his heart. 'He had already forgotten that he was rich; he must next be taught to forget that he was a father.' His little child was separated from him, clothed in rags, subject to every form of gross and wanton hardship, beaten, spurned and ill-treated. Day after day the father was compelled to look upon his boy wasting away with sorrow, his once happy countenance forever stained with tears, distorted by sobs of anguish. But yet, says the admiring biographer, 'though he saw this day by day, such was his love for Christ, and for the virtue of obedience, that the father's heart was rigid and unmoved.'" (Vol. ii, 126.)

"He (St. Simeon Stylites) had been passionately loved by his parents, and, if we may believe his eulogist and biographer, he began his saintly career by breaking the heart of his father, who died of grief at his flight. His mother, however, lingered on. Twenty-seven years after his disappearance, at a period when his austerities had made him famous, she heard for the first time where he was and hastened to visit him. But all her labor was in vain. No woman was admitted within the precincts of his dwelling, and he refused to permit her even to look upon his face. Her entreaties and tears were mingled with words of bitter and eloquent reproach. 'My son,' she is represented as having said, 'why have you done this? I bore you in my womb, and you have wrung my soul with grief. I gave you milk from my breast, you have filled my eyes with tears. For the kisses I gave you, you have given me the anguish of a broken heart; for all that I have done and suffered for you, you have repaid me by the most cruel wrongs.' At last the saint sent a message to her to tell her that she would soon see him. Three days and three nights she had wept and

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entreated in vain, and now, exhausted with grief and age, and privation, she sank feebly to the ground and breathed her last sigh before that inhospitable door. Then for the first time the saint, accompanied by his followers, came out. He shed some pious tears over the corpse of his murdered mother, and offered up a prayer consigning her soul to heaven." (Ibid, 130.)

Did he not indulge in vituperation and abuse?

"Ye fools and blind." (Matthew xxiii, 17.)

"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites." (14.)

"All that ever came before me are thieves and robbers." (John x, 8.)

"Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?" (Matthew xxiii, 33.)

Regarding these abusive epithets of Christ, Prof. Newman says: "The Jewish nation may well complain that they have been cruelly slandered by the gospel. The invectives have been burnt into the heart of Christendom, so that the innocent Jews, children of the dispersion, have felt in millennial misery—yes, and to this day feel—the deadly sting of these fierce and haughty utterances." (Jesus Christ, p. 25.)

Relate his treatment of the Pharisee who invited him to dine with him.

Luke: "And as he spake, a certain Pharisee besought him to dine with him: and he went in, and sat down to meat. And when the Pharisee saw it, he marveled that he had not first washed before dinner. And the Lord said unto him, "Now do ye Pharisees make clean the outside of the cup and the platter; but your inward part is full of ravening and wickedness. Ye fools * * * hypocrites!" (xi, 37-44.)

Was such insolence of manners on the part of Jesus calculated to promote the interests of the cause he professed to hold so dear at heart? Supposing a Freethinker were to receive an invitation to dine with a Christian friend and were to repay the hospitality of his host with rudeness and abuse, interrupting the ceremony of "grace" with an oath or a sneer, and showering upon the head of his friend such epithets as "hypocrite" and "fool." Would such insolent behavior have a tendency to gain for him the world's esteem or aid the cause he represents? And we are to approve in a God conduct that we regard as detestable in a man? It may be urged that God is not subject to the rules of human conduct. Grant it; but is it necessary for him in order to exhibit his divine character to assume the manners of a brute?

Do the Pharisees deserve the sweeping condemnation heaped upon them by Christ and his followers?

In marked contrast to the diatribes of Jesus is the testimony of Josephus: "Now for the Pharisees, they live meanly (plainly), and despise delicacies in diet, and they follow the conduct of reason; and what that prescribes to them as good for them, they do; and they think they ought earnestly to strive to observe reason's dictates for practice.

* * * The cities gave great attestations to them on account of their entire virtuous conduct, both in the actions of their lives and their discourses also." (Antiquities, book xvii, chap. i, sec. 3.)

Paul, the Christian, when arraigned before Agrippa, believed that no loftier testimonial to his character could be adduced than the fact that he had been a Pharisee. (Acts xxvi, 4, 5.)

What is said in regard to his purging the temple?

John: "And the Jews' Passover was at hand, and Jesus went to Jerusalem, and found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting: and when he had made a scourge of small cords, he drove them all out of the temple, and the sheep, and the oxen; and poured out the changers' money, and overthrew the tables." (ii, 13-15.)

No currency but the Jewish was accepted in the temple, while doves, lambs, and other animals were required offerings. These persons performed the very necessary office of supplying the Jews with offerings and exchanging Jewish coins for the Roman money then in general circulation. What right he had to interfere with the lawful business of these men, and especially in the manner in which he did, it is difficult to understand.

Evangelist W. E. Beiderwolf, in an unguarded moment, said: "It is going to be hard for the moral man in the world to come." He preached the following doctrines:

"You might be the most moral man in Sioux City tonight and be farther away from the kingdom of God than the meanest profligate that walks the street. The harlot will go into the kingdom of God before some of you moral men do. The hardest man in the world to reach with the gospel is the moral man. He is harder to touch than the drunkard and the prostitute. If I thought I could bring myself into heaven simply by being moral and paying my honest debts and being a respected citizen, I would shut my Bible and repudiate my Christian faith. What about the man who was born into the world with all of the good influences a pure and holy home could possibly give him, and the man that was born with one foot in hell? It would be a queer plan of salvation if the one man, because he was a moral man, when he could scarcely help himself, went to heaven and the other, who had everything to drag him down to destruction, went to hell. Morality is the best thing you have got outside of your faith in Jesus Christ. A moral man is apparently all right until he comes to die. When a Christian dies he is washed white, but when a moral man dies he is whitewashed. It is going to be hard for the moral man in the world to come."

This man Beiderwolf is not the only one of his stripe who proclaims the inefficacy of the moral and decent life. A while ago that incorrigible prevaricator, the Rev. Reuben A. Torrey, while under contract to do some evangelistic work in Philadelphia, broke forth after the following, as reported in the *Bulletin*:

"The hardest people in the world to convert are the educated and amiable and the cultured. The trouble in Philadelphia is that people have not been convicted of their sins. It is not with the drunkards, it

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is not with the fallen women, but with the people who live on Broad street and in West Philadelphia, college graduates and theological students; the people so refined, so cultured, reared in an old Quaker influence, so cultured, who see no wrong in themselves, and are so self-righteous that they think it will be a compliment to the Almighty if they go to heaven."

It staggers and exasperates these professional get-saved-quick men that people persist in having all the qualities that make desirable members of society without first doing business with them. They prefer that men and women should be drunken, dishonest, and fallen until such time as the evangelists, for a sum previously agreed upon, shall come around and save them from their sins. To be good prior and otherwise is an affront to heaven and an injury to the evangelists of the soul-saving profession. Their doctrine is the most dangerous and demoralizing one that can be imagined. Nothing could be worse than to teach that unless a certain superstition is embraced, a certain set of illogical propositions accepted, honesty and morality are of no avail. When Torrey and Beiderwolf declare that "the moral man," the virtuous woman, the refined and cultured, are farther from the "kingdom" than the thief, the drunkard, and the abandoned woman, they do nothing but recommend that their hearers should join the latter class.

While despising them and their doctrine, we as Freethinkers may not be wholly ungrateful to them for their concurrent testimony that morality and religion are two distinct and unrelated propositions.

The lower middle class Freethinkers stubbornly cling to the critical or analytical stage of the movement and are purely negative in their tendencies.

On account of the fancied solidarity of their interests with the interests of the upper strata of their class, the bourgeois proper or capitalists with a big "C" and antagonism to the interests of the broad masses of the proletariat, the middle class Freethinkers are very frequently extremely conservative in everything except religious matters. They do not seem to be aware that there be any essential connection between a philosophy of life itself, between free thought and other human interests, affairs and institutions. Hence the inconsistency and backwardness of middle class Freethinkers in social economic ideas and ideals.

Thinking Socialists are anti-church, if not anti-Christian all the world over. However, it is considered good tactics to avoid all religious discussions. We do not agree with these tactics. If the German Social-Democrats would declare openly for free thought, there would be no disgraceful Stoeckerism possible. The Catholic Church started its crusade against collectivism in this country and other churches will follow. It cannot be otherwise. Why then make believe that we do not see the enemy? The Socialists of the United States ought not to repeat the mistakes of their German comrades, but declare war to the institutional church. We have many friends, who

delight in the phraseology of the Bible and style themselves "Christian" Socialists as a matter of sentiment. It is a waste of time to quibble about words once we agree on their meaning. And, as far as we know, the so-called "Christian Socialists" in the United States are just as opposed to the institutional church as their rational comrades.

One prominent Christian Socialist comrade stated to us his attitude very lucidly in the following sentence: "We do not need Christianity in order to be Socialists, but we need Socialists to be able to be Christians." Mere negation of religion, even based on the soundest foundation of irrefutable facts of science and elucidated by the pure light of reason, does not appeal strongly to the majority of the proletarian Freethinkers.

"What of it?" is the question asked by proletarian Freethinkers, "you cannot enthuse us by merely tearing down the old, as long as you ignore to build up the new. Bury the dead, but do not forget the coming generations. Shape conditions so that they may live better lives than their predecessors were able or willing to live. Let us start an era of constructive free thought. Mere negation leaves us cold, as cold as Christian Charity."

That class interests paralyze every effort at constructive Free Thought on the part of intellectual bourgeois is clearly demonstrated by the Ethical Culture movement.

In contrast to militant Free Thought the Ethical movement does not attack the institutional church; all it attempts is to be an asylum to the unchurched of all denominations. The E. C. organizations bear the name of "Societies." They are free from any religious paraphernalia whatsoever. The Ethicians profess no dogma, do not indulge in any kind of "worship." Their preachers, who dress and address their audiences as common mortals, are styled "lecturers" and have no Reverend appendix to their names. These lecturers seldom quote the Bible and apologize in case they occasionally do it.

And yet, the Ethical Culture movement is but a still-born child of the impotency of thought and sterility of emotion of the moribund middle class. The Ethical movement, in spite of its modern outward appearance, retained the essential features of church morality. In fact, the Ethical Societies are but churches minus theology.

The *pium desiderum* (pious desire) of the Ethicians is individual morality—a contradiction in terms and an essential religious postulate. Even the classical philosopher of the bourgeois—Herbert Spencer—admits that morality conduct is essentially a Social phenomenon. Robinson Crusoe could commit no moral or immoral act on his uninhabited island till his man Friday appeared on the scene. But even if we would admit, for the sake of argument, the possibility of individual morality, the task of moralizing humanity by preaching individual morality is an obviously hopeless one.

We are the product of our environment in the broadest sense of the term. Our conduct depends largely, if not exclusively, on our Social economic status. It is impossible to maintain a higher standard of physical well-being in an anti-hygienic surrounding, and it is im-

possible to cultivate a high standard of morals in a state of society based on an essentially immoral foundation: The exploitation of men by men, social economic parasitism. The Ethicians want to preserve the system of exploitation of men by men and at the same time attain a high standard of morals. The invention of a perpetuum mobile and the squaring of a circle are mere toys in comparison with the task undertaken by the Ethicians.

Another point in common between Ethical Cultureism and Religion is the criterion of morality—"inner consciousness." Inner consciousness carefully instilled by a sacerdotal caste from impressive childhood to ripe age is all that Religion ever claimed for its adepts. There is no absurdity, no abomination that could not be implanted in the "inner consciousness" by systematic training of the uncritical mind, an art highly developed by the Jesuits.

A rational system of conduct cannot be developed on the principle of individualism. Individualism carries in itself the germs of immorality.

Only a system of conduct based on the principle of conservation and development of the best and highest interests of the human race is thoroughly rational and scientific.

We cannot expect such a broad and profound system from any people whose mental horizon and social sympathies are limited by the interests of one class.

Only the broad proletarian masses, when duly enlightened, will be able and willing to grasp and attain the ideal of all ideals, "the race ideal."

The class consciousness of the proletariat, comprising the overwhelming majority of humanity, merges into race consciousness. Only the proletariat, when duly enlightened, will be able and willing to adopt the philosophy of constructive Free Thought as its philosophy of life. The middle class Freethinkers, use the modern rational philosophy of life as a spade to dig a grave for the expiring institutional church. The constructive Freethinker realizes that a new world philosophy spells a revolution in all human inter-relations and consociations and especially a revolution in the field of social economics. Constructive Freethinkers are therefore not mere grave diggers of the past, but revolutionary up-builders of the future. The new world philosophy is used by them as a guide in the intricate labyrinth of social economics, the most fundamental of all human relations. In the Free Thought philosophy they find their inspiration and aspirations for a brighter future for humanity. Constructive Free Thought introduces rational consciousness into the till now unconscious, mere organic growth and development of society as a whole.

The achievements of science so far only incidentally benefited the toiling masses of humanity, but were chiefly applied for the purpose of enhanced exploitation of human toil by parasitic classes, warriors, clergymen, monied groups of mercenaries.

Constructive Freethinkers reclaim science as the product of the collective mind of humanity for the benefit not of a few social parasites,

but for all mankind. Constructive Free Thought aims at the abolition of social economic parasitism and consequently at the abolition of poverty. Constructive Free Thought aims at social-economic democracy in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Constructive Free Thought, in short, is but the mental or philosophical expression of Socialism, the meeting ground of Ethics and Economics.

A clear-thinking Socialist cannot help but be a Freethinker and vice versa, a logical and courageous Freethinker cannot help but be a Socialist. Free Thought means scientific Thought and Socialism is the result of Scientific Thought.

Nihil humanum mihi alienum est. (Old Roman saying.)

Thought free from the fetters of preconceived, unverified notions; thought along the line of logical reasoning; thought based on critical inductions; from carefully ascertained facts; *scientific thought is Free Thought.*

Free Thought, in the true meaning of the word, is therefore not a mere negation of its opposite of un-free thought, but principally and essentially *an affirmation of rationalism.*

For the sake of elucidation of *un-free thought*, let us consider the explanation of the rainbow by the Bible. This explanation is beautiful from the esthetical point of view; however, it emanates from the psychology of a child and as such, *is essentially sterile.* This explanation admits no open vista. Contrast it with the scientific investigation of the same natural phenomenon. Some critical mind observed, maybe accidentally, a small rainbow in a glass with water that happened to stand on a window sill in the way of a sunbeam. This critical mind then tried to make an experiment with a peculiarly formed piece of glass called a lens in a dark room, through the window of which only a small beam of light was admitted. The beam of light striking the lens, formed a small rainbow, or as we call it now, the spectrum of the sun. The critical mind then concluded that the light of the sun is only apparently colorless, but is actually composed of various colors. In order to verify this conclusion he prepared a disc, divided it in sections and colored each of the sections with a different color, identical with and in the sequence of the sun spectrum colors. The disc was subjected to rapid motion around its center. The resulting sensation on the human eye was colorless, or rather, white light, similar to daylight. The critical mind did not stop here. The spectrum of the sun was subjected to careful study, the result of which was the conclusion that our great luminary, the sun, was composed of the same fundamental substances as the tiny speck of cosmic dust called the earth, with the difference that the first is in a state of high heat, while the latter is comparatively cold. It was further found that each fundamental substance or element had its own characteristic spectrum, somewhat varying with the temperature and other conditions. These facts gave mankind a means of penetrating into many deep secrets and serve as a foundation for many scientific discoveries of great abstract and

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Scientific thought, free thought, is not less poetical than its opposite, but eminently more fruitful of far-reaching results for humanity. The theory of the world based on mythology may appear very poetical as fiction, but the theory of the world based on the achievements of free thought, of scientific thought, is radiant with the enhanced beauty of truth. To be sure, our human faculties for fathoming truth are necessarily limited by the shortcomings of our physical organization and the inertia of our mind. The field of the unknown is rather vast in its dimensions in comparison with the domain of the known; and there is an indefinite area of the unknowable. The field of the unknown is diligently cultivated by thousands of truth loving, trained minds, and joined to the domain of the known, section after section.

However, there are mainly three attitudes towards the unknowable; the Anthropomorphic, the Metaphysical and the Rationalistic. One attitude is to pretend to know the unknowable by the means of a substitute for knowledge called Intuition, Inner-consciousness, or Faith. This attitude is taken by the institutional churches of all denominations. Another somewhat similar attitude is taken by Metaphysicians who are wrapt up in the delusion of being able to fathom the mysteries of the world by abstruse formulas. Such are the twin sisters in Philosophy, Pantheism and Atheism. The first denies the existence of a personal god, and identifies the deity with the world at large; they are deistic monists. The second deny the existence of any deity, personal or impersonal. Neither the existence of a personal nor of an impersonal god are capable of strictly scientific verification. Atheism is just as unprovable scientifically as deism. Truly scientific minds like those of Huxley or Spencer can see no virtue in the self-deception of false knowledge, be it called Faith, Metaphysics, or Inner-consciousness. They prefer to candidly admit their inability to penetrate beyond the line of demarcation of the knowable and call themselves Agnostics. There is deep wisdom in this self-limitation.

True Freethinkers are Agnostics in respect to the unknowable and Gnostics, "Knowers" in respect to what can be known. They believe in nothing, they want to know everything—all the truth and nothing but the truth. Freethinkers are truth seekers par excellence. Truth is their ideal, truth seeking their passion. To live according to truth, in strict compliance with truth, are the ethics of free thought.

Freethinkers have no patience with the sickly mysticism, the antedeluvian philosophy of life, the dubious ethics of the institutional church acting as hand maid of "the powers that be." However, the free thought movement is by no means limited to a struggle against the institutional church.

The Free Thought movement is not a mere negation of un-truth, but eminently an affirmation of truth in all fields of human life and ac-

tivity. *Freethinkers* are not only the grave diggers of the past, but the builders of the future. The mission of free thought consists in introducing rationality, not only into the domain of philosophy of the world at large, but chiefly into the field of human institutions, into the field of interrelations between various groups of men and individuals. *Freethinkers have to study* not only the Bible in order to criticize it, but also *economics, sociology, and politics* in order to be able to reconstruct human institutions on a new basis, on a foundation of truth, reason and justice.

Religious skepticism or even infidelity, negation alone, however radical and pronounced, does not make a Freethinker. Let Thomas Paine, the greatest of all American citizens, be our ideal. What we ought to love, admire and imitate is the courage of his convictions, his high civic aspirations. We ought to revere him as a man who lived his ideals and was willing to suffer for them, as a hero who dared and did. The aspiration he left us is immortal. As a keen observer and careful student of all human institutions, he did all he could in rationalizing them by word and deed. He took active part in the social and political movement of his day.

Let us follow his example; let us be broad and inclusive, rather than narrow and exclusive. Let us work for Truth and Reason in all walks of human life and strife.

And above all, let us dare and do what we consider right, irrespective of what Mrs. Grundy may say concerning certain awful "isms."

THE NEW CONSCIENCE.

The rate of gain of the Protestant Church membership was only one-fourth as great during the last half of the nineteenth century than during its first half; and during the last twenty years of that century it was only one-fourth as great as during the preceding thirty years, while during the last ten years it was only one-third as great as during the preceding ten years.

The number of unchurched for every ten of the churches was reduced sixteen on the average every decade for the first half of the nineteenth century, and only four the last half of it, while the average for the both decades was two, and for the last the rate of increase has fallen to one, being only one-sixteenth part of the rate of gain during the first half of the century. (Encyclopedia of Josia Strong.)

The Catholic Church alone held its own, and this was only due to immigration.

Joseph McCabe's book, "The Decay of the Church of Rome," which has been noticed at length in THE TRUTH SEEKER, is reviewed by the New York Independent, which says:

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"This book is an honest, conscientious effort. Its purport is to show that the Church of Rome is losing ground. The author's conclusion is that Rome lost, during the nineteenth century, 80,000,000. Throughout the volume he cites in the main Catholics—Catholics recognized as sound and orthodox; he also used official statistics of various states. For the sake of convenience he divides the world into the Latin, the English speaking, the German and the Russian. The first embraces France, Italy, Spain Portugal and Spanish America. The third is made up of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland and Belgium. These two worlds we may pass by. The second world, consisting of Great Britain, the British Colonies and the United States, touches us more closely. Its increase of Catholics was merely a transplanting. Catholics from Catholic lands flocked to those countries. In the general census of Catholics, that could not mean an increase. Ireland, for instance, once numbered eight million; today it has less than four. The other four millions, chiefly Catholics, scattered to the English-speaking world, where the church did not hold them. She lost and lost heavily. In Great Britain and her possessions the loss was 3,500,000 "without claiming any diminution in Ireland." (p. 170.)

But the story of the leakage in the United States is thus stated:

"The 10,000,000 or so Catholics of the United States do not represent a miraculous addition to the Vatican. They come from Ireland, Austria, Italy, Germany, Poland, France, Canada, and Mexico. * * * They are but the salvage from one of the most appalling wrecks that Catholicism has suffered during the fatal nineteenth century. * * * In fact, they do not represent *one-half* of the descendants of Catholic immigrants into the United States." (p. 172.)

Now this conclusion rests on Catholic authorities. In 1836 Bishop England, of Charleston, in an official report written in Rome itself, put the loss at 3,750,000, and in his own diocese of the two Carolinas and Georgia he registered the backsliders at 40,000. Their descendants during the past seventy odd years increased three, perhaps fourfold. In 1852 a Father Mullen, an Irish priest, put the loss at 2,000,000. In 1891 the "Lucerne Memorial," of Cahensly, and his German followers, addressed to Leo XIII, submitted that there were 26,000,000 descendants of Catholic immigrants in the United States, of whom 16,000,000 had left the church. In 1898, when Brunetiere reported in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* the remarkable progress of the Catholic Church in the United States, the *Verite*, of Quebec, declared that according to Catholic authorities there had been a leakage of 15,000,000 to 17,000,000. On December 3, 1898, the *New York Freeman's Journal* quoted a Roman prelate to the effect that the number of Catholics in the United States ought to be double what it is today. The *Freeman's Journal* claimed that there were 40,000,000 people of Catholic extraction in the United States and that 20,000,000 of them had gone over to Protestantism.

Nine years before (1889) a German priest of Cincinnati, Walburg by name, put the loss among the Germans alone at 3,500,000. He

figured out that there should be in our country 18,000,000 Irish Catholics, 5,000,000 Germans, and 2,000,000 Catholics of other races, in all 25,000,000, and yet the Catholic Directory for that year gives only 8,157,678. Walburg puts the entire loss at about 17,000,000. In 1901 an Irish priest named Shinnars, with some fellow Oblates of Mary, to which congregation he belonged, made a tour of missions—revivals, that is, in Methodist phraseology. He made a study of the Catholic population. He computed that it should be 20,000,000 but he found it less than 10,000,000.

"Here, then, we have sincere Roman Catholics estimating the loss of their church in the United States at 10,000,000, 15,000,000, 17,000,000, and even 20,000,000 in the course of the nineteenth century." (p. 180.)

The author next takes the census in order to verify the foregoing, and concludes:

"Probably if these lines of inquiry could be carried out in America, the 14,000,000 (leakage according to census) would rise to 16,000,000 or 17,000,000. This enormous leakage, we say, is not a matter of past history, but goes on very heavily still. A million, at least, were lost in the last decade of the nineteenth century." (p. 193.)

The gains of the Catholic Church in America, which account for the larger percentage of church members than we had ten years ago, are balanced by corresponding or greater losses in other countries. Joseph McCabe, of London, the translator of the works of Ernst Haeckel, has written a book (as we see by a review) with the auspicious title "The Decay of the Church of Rome."

The author has the figures to show that the common estimate of the total following of the Catholic Church is gross exaggeration. A popular magazine article referred to by Mr. McCabe lately gave this total as 353,000,000. We have looked in the World Almanac and find the claim is 230,836,533, which is approximately 119,000,000 less than the popular statistician supposes. Really, Mr. McCabe tells us, the world's total of Catholics is about 180,000,000—"possibly a little more, but certainly not exceeding 200,000,000." Instead of a gain there has been a net loss of 80,000,000 in the last seventy years. Consider the losses in France. In 1875 the church counted 30,000,000 adherents in that country alone, and the figures are still reproduced in some quarters as showing the number of Catholic Frenchmen. The World Almanac says 35,000,000. Mr. McCabe states that only about 5,500,000 of the French people are Catholics today, though most of the living have been baptized so.

If America has gained 10,000,000 Catholics, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Poland, and Austria have lost 14,000,000. England's million and a quarter of Romanists represent that much loss to the Catholic population of Ireland.

So much for numbers. Now what is the position of Rome's following in the civilization of today? Of her 190,000,000 possible ad-

herents, more than 120,000,000 are illiterate. We need not specify regarding the bulk of the church in America. It is sufficient to say it is not made up of members of the educated class. Mr. McCabe asserts that "the majority of Roman Catholics of the world consist of American Indians, half-castes, negroes, and mulattos; of Italians, Spanish, Russian, and Slavonic peasants of the most backward character; and of Indian, Indo-Chinese, and African natives. These make up more than one-half of the whole. Further, the great bulk of the remainder are the peasants and poor workers of Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, and Ireland."

The church gains her converts among the ignorant; her losses are among the educated and intelligent. This is an important consideration in fixing the place of the church in today's civilization.

In a bulletin just received from the Department of Commerce and Labor at Washington is a diagram showing the proportion of the population reported as belonging to the churches. In New Mexico, chiefly occupied by a race bred from Spaniards and Indians of a low order, more than 60 per cent of the population belong to the church, and more than 50 per cent are Catholics. Most of the states with a large and ignorant foreign population are predominantly Catholic. Owing to an influx of French from Quebec and Irish from over-seas, more than one-half of the church population of the six New England states are Catholics. They represent so many lost to the church in Canada and Ireland. But not half the people of these states are members of any church. Seventy per cent of the inhabitants of Maine, 55 per cent of New Hampshire, 58 per cent of Vermont, 48 per cent of Massachusetts, 47 per cent of Rhode Island, and 50 per cent of Connecticut are unchurched. Without the Catholics their percentages of church membership to population would be: Maine, 14; New Hampshire, 15; Vermont, 18; Massachusetts, 15 minus; Rhode Island, 12; Connecticut, 19. In other states, barring those where the negro is an important factor, the percentages average about the same, so that not alone the Catholic Church, but the whole country, owes an increase in church membership to foreigners.

Mr. McCabe is confident that "only a dramatic change in its whole character" can save the Catholic Church from ruin. That is likely in European countries, in Italy and Spain, for example; in America it looks as though a dramatic change in the character of the United States government might temporarily save the church from ruin. But we can only wish that the English writer's prophecy may come true. The hope that it will must rest upon the maintenance of our secular schools, upon the gradual education of the illiterate bulk, and upon the spread of Free Thought.

Ray Stannard Baker's recent articles in the press state that the exodus of the people from the institutional churches is increasing at a rapid pace. What are the reasons of this exodus? The reason of

this is the Industrial Revolution of the last half of the nineteenth century, the rapid transition from individual to co-operative production.

That the change in the mode of production of the necessities of life would produce a change in the people engaged in this production, no determinist could doubt.

The fisherman, the hunter, and the primitive agriculturalist, living face to face with nature, would be inclined to mysticism and humanization of the seemingly capricious forces of nature. The theory of the Universe and the relation of men to the unknowable, preached by the institutional church, was in harmony with the attitude of mind of the masses of the people during the first half of the nineteenth century.

However, the application of the achievements of science to the useful arts in the last half of that century wrought a change in the attitude of mind of the masses of the people. The co-operative production in shops and factories with complex tools called machines, caused a gradual and deep estrangement from the traditional mysticism and anthropomorphism. The factory operative knew that, with a certain machine, handled in a certain way, he would always attain certain results and this experience made of the operative of the factory a positivist, a skeptic, a critical reasoner, a rationalist.

But probably still deeper was the influence of co-operative production on the ethical conception of the toiling masses. Co-operation in the shop and factory developed group consciousness, class-consciousness, the consciousness of the solidarity of interest of social aggregates.

And this consciousness of group solidarity created a new conscience, *collective conscience as a basis of a new morality*, while individual morality (admitting for a while the possibility of such a contradiction in terms) gradually decayed and atrophied.

The institutional churches, meanwhile, true to their tradition, held fast to their anthropomorphic theory of the Universe and the relation of men to the unknown. The institutional church ignored the new collective conscience, holding fast to its theory of individual salvation, holding fast to its mysticism. The result was that the toiling masses and many rationalists of the so-called upper classes, were and are drifting away further and further from the institutional churches.

There are millions of people in the United States unaffiliated with any institutional church; there are hundreds of thousands in each State of the Union; there are tens of thousands in each of the principal cities of the country. Unfortunately there was so far no serious attempt at organization of Rationalists. There are a few clubs and societies, with no definite plan of work, scattered over the States. There is even in existence a so-called central body trying to represent Free Thought, but it is weak and insignificant, as it has no "feeders" in the shape of organized locals, all over the country.

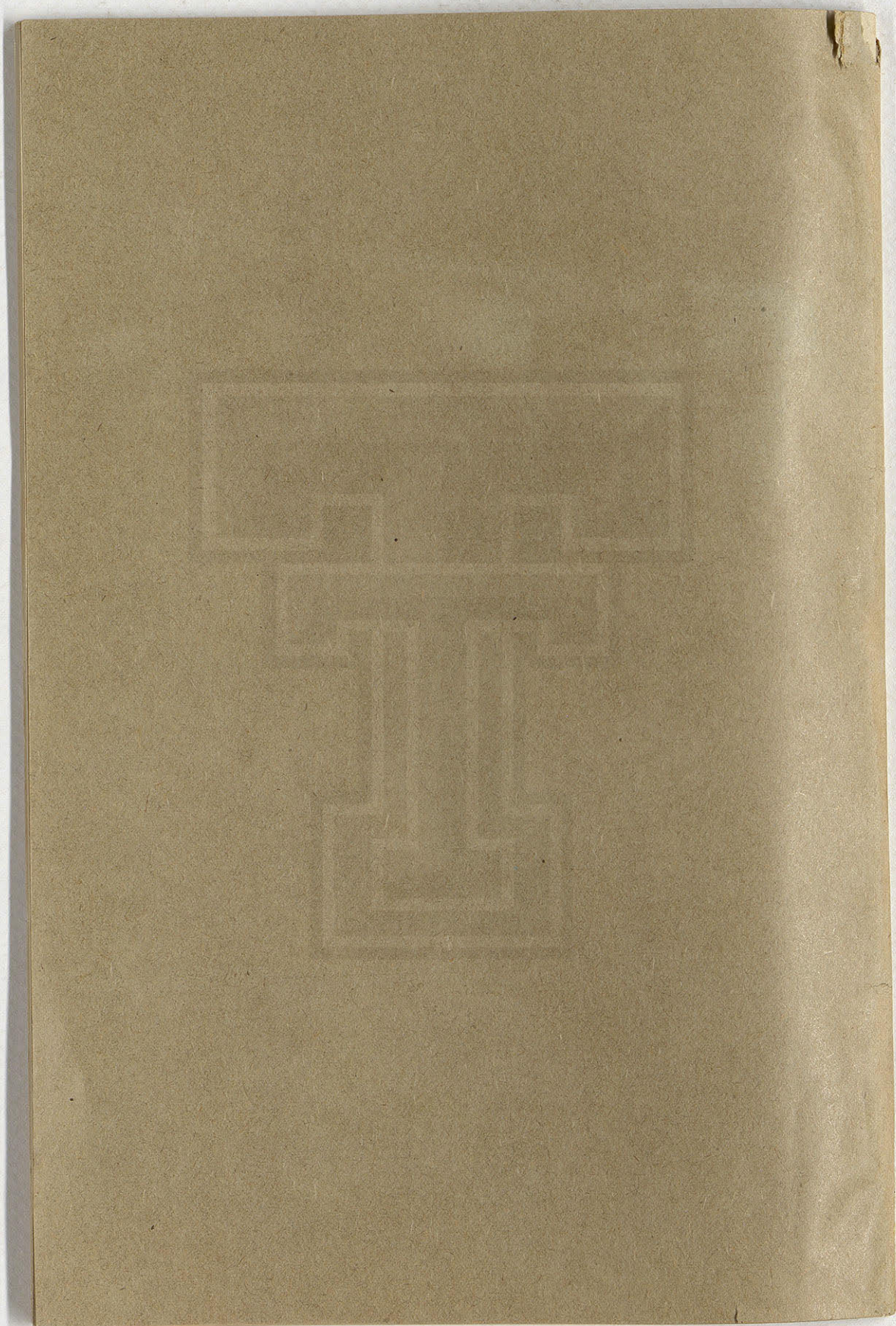
This lack of organization and concentrated action is due probably to the fact that most of the Freethinkers of America are purely critical in their attitude of mind. They are opposed to the institutional church, without realizing that negation alone is inadequate; that constructive work is necessary and imperative.

The institutional churches, especially the Protestant churches, fulfill one useful function—the function of social centers. The Y. M. C. A., the Salvation Army, and other semi-religious institutions attempt even, according to their light, to perform useful social services to the people they can reach.

We feel that the time for constructive work for Freethinkers and Rationalists has arrived. We feel the necessity of creating social centers for the unchurched, centers for intellectual and moral advancement on purely secular basis.

We feel that the new conscience, collective conscience, requires the association of Rationalists for the purpose of mutual helpfulness in the strenuous life and strife of our modern age.





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MATING OR MARRYING, WHICH?

BY

W. H. VAN ORNUM.

—O—

(Revised and enlarged from an address delivered by the author, before Lucifer Circle of Chicago, in October 1896, on the subject of Natural Selection.)

The distinctions of sex seem to extend throughout all nature, certainly through all animate nature; and there is reason to believe that it does not stop at the limits of what is termed the inanimate. In fact, who can say that nature is anywhere inanimate? Every atom of the universe seems to possess the power of selection, by which it is able, under favorable conditions, to attract to itself certain other atoms widely diverse from itself in physical properties, which, together form new substances and manifest new attractions. Along with these attractions and their correlative repulsions goes the active interplay of natural forces, which, throughout every part of the universe, is working evolutionary changes not unlike a progressive growth. Even deep below the ocean's bed, or far beneath the foundations of the everlasting hills, under pressures so great that they cannot be estimated, heat, electricity and magnetism, combined with chemical reactions are changing old forms into new ones in a manner strangely suggestive of vital action. Even there, the separate atoms are moving freely among each other and arranging themselves in definite order, building up crystals always according to certain patterns, each after its own kind.

No matter how much people may differ in opinion as to the First Cause of all this power of selection in nature, there can be no difference of opinion as to the fact of its existence. There are certain ways in which things act under certain conditions; and those conditions being the same, the same actions will always follow. It is convenient to call this uniformity of action a law of nature, taking nature to mean the sum total of the universe in which we live, with all the forces operating in and through it, including the possible First Cause, if there is such a First Cause. We may say then that the power of selection is inherent in every sentient being, every plant and every atom of the universe; and that the impulse to exercise it is a law of nature. All this may not be sexual selection; but sexual selection is clearly a part of it. It is a part of this universal impulse which drives different animals, different plants and different atoms to blend with others, either for their own perfection or for the production of others distinct from themselves. There is just one thought right here that is worth noting, because it is likely to have an important bearing upon our conclusions. Each separate animal, plant, or atom possesses this power of selection for itself and not for others; and its own impulses are adequate for the proper exercise of it, without interference from

others. At least, this is the case with everything below the human animal. Why should it not also be true of him?

This natural selection, as applied to sex when free from outside interference, is what we will call mating; while a union under formalities and regulations, imposed by society as a prerequisite to any union, constituting a limitation of the natural freedom of selection, is what we will call marriage.

Our purpose is not to enter into any elaborate consideration of the sexual relations of other beings than mankind, further than to throw needed light upon that important subject. Much has been written and spoken during the last twenty years on natural selection; but when it comes to elucidating the way in which natural selection works, in every day life, among human animals at least, and its consequent bearing upon social customs and moral standards, it does not seem to me that much light has been shed upon the subject. And yet, it is highly important that we understand the practical workings of a natural law which exercises so great an influence over the lives and characters of individuals; and, in a larger way, over the life and character of the race.

Marriage consists in certain formalities which society imposes upon individuals for certain purposes, as a prerequisite to the granting of its permission to the sexes to mate at all. Not that society rightfully has anything to say as to who may or may not mate; or the conditions of the mating; but it assumes to determine these questions as a means of perpetuating the institution of private property, and the inequalities which grow out of it. The necessity and the only necessity for the exercise of any regulation whatever, on the part of society, of the relations of the sexes, arises from the necessity of preserving private fortunes. If private fortunes are to be preserved and perpetuated from one generation to another, then it is necessary to maintain the integrity of the marriage relation and the control of society over it. It is for this purpose that the distinction is made between legitimate and illegitimate children; that is, to preserve the succession of estates: to protect one man against being saddled with the expense of the support of another man's children, and so be made to suffer in his estate. And again, if a system of property rights is to be preserved according to which each person's claims are to be weighed and measured against the claims of each other person; if we must continue to take from some by law, to confer upon others, according to certain predetermined rules which the greedy will find ways to break whenever they think they will not be caught; if the present scramble for individual fortunes is to be kept up, with its resulting inequalities and injustices; if there must continue to be born into the world certain persons with more and better rights than inhere in others, the right of succession to estates, for instance, then it is necessary that society should continue to interfere in the natural right of individuals to mate as they please; and to preserve the marriage relation intact, or as near intact as theological dogmas, moral codes and statutory enactments can compel. No matter at what expense of suffering, of suppression of natural instincts, of consequences to offspring born of low ideals, ruined from conception in their physical and mental constitutions: I say, no matter at what expense of all these, the marriage relation must be preserved. The reason to be for the institution of marriage lies in the institution of property. When that falls, marriage as a compulsory institution will fall with it.

Let those who entertain any doubt as to the truth of the statement that the purpose of the institution of marriage is solely to preserve private estates and determine who is to get the property in cases of succession, study the laws on the subject of marriage, both civil and ecclesiastical, in every country in the world where private property prevails. Everywhere they tell the same story: the fact of the marriage

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is the thing that determines the right of the child in the estate of the parent. In order the more certainly and effectually to control the actions of individuals in this matter, the Church has made marriage a religious sacrament; and so surrounded it with supernatural terrors, which it visits upon those who mate independent of its sanction. In this, the State has largely acquiesced; because its own object is identical with that of the Church; and it recognizes the effectiveness of its methods. In my other works I have shown how completely our whole social fabric is built upon property as a foundation.

It has become quite the thing among a class of would-be reformers to talk of freeing women from the dominion of men; and yet, not one in a thousand of those who indulge in such talk have any adequate conception of what the source is of that dominion. What good is it to preach to women to assert their independence and become a law unto themselves, when they know that if they are to fulfill their manifest destiny they must be individually dependent upon some individual man for the bread they eat? Women know that they cannot fulfill the office of motherhood and still rely upon their own powers as breadwinners. It is true that some women do raise families and practically support the whole household at the same time; but no one will undertake to justify it, or recommend its extension to women in general. Therefore, those who are so anxious for "woman's emancipation" will do well to go deeper than the surface of things: to strike at the root of the evil, which lies in the institution of private property.

There are two powerful influences at work, which seriously interfere with the natural law of selection; and which prove effective props to the institution of marriage. One is the Church and the other the State. One assumes to speak in the name of religion and the other of morality. One enforces its decrees by appeals to the superstitious fears of its adherents and the other by the penalties of the law. One binds the soul and the other the body.

Let no one misunderstand me. I say, the Church ASSUMES to speak in the name of religion; but it is in a foreign tongue. Religion, so far from being the same thing as ecclesiasticism, or even a system of theology, is entirely distinct from either. It is a social force proceeding from the emotions and operating upon the emotions of others, for the purpose of softening the asperities of mankind and fitting men for association one with another in this life. It has nothing necessarily to do with another life. The conception of a life to come belongs to the domain of theology and not religion. It is a dogma of the Church and not an impulse of the heart. For a fuller analysis of religion, see my forthcoming work, "Co-operation, Past and to Come." But the thing that the Church teaches as religion is quite another thing. It enjoins a love and veneration for something supernatural, that is, above nature, as a source of authority and as a guide to human conduct. If a question arises among those who acknowledge the sway of the Church, respecting what may or may not be done, appeal is made to the authority of their pretended religious books or teachers. The question is settled strictly on authority—by a "Thus saith the Lord." Reason, or human needs do not enter into the question at all. It is easy to see then, how powerful must be the influence which the Church wields over its subjects to cloud their perceptions as to any matter in which its authority is acknowledged. The teachings of the Church are based wholly on authority; and just to the extent to which that is acknowledged, reason and love, the supreme guides in all things, are dethroned; or rather, are never permitted to become enthroned, because, to enthrone love and reason is to dethrone authority.

Morals, on the other hand, have their origin in human needs. I say, that is their origin. They may outlive the needs which gave them rise; and, in that way,

become just as great a hindrance to human progress as the authority of the Church or the State. But while the need remains they perform a salutary part in determining human conduct. The term "moral," has a Latin derivation and signifies, a mode, a fashion, a custom, or habit. And like all customs which arise among men, in their origin they spring from some real or supposed need. But their tendency is to outlive the conditions which made them necessary at first, and thus to become clogs and hindrances to human development. The needs of mankind change from one age to another as development progresses; and therefore the customs: that is, the morals, must change with them correspondingly, or else moral codes become a curse. They act to cloud the judgement; hinder the enthronement of reason; and prevent the march of progress. Statute laws are only a concrete expression of so much of the moral codes as have been formally enacted into law.

It is time now, to consider the mating of the sexes, with and without the sanctions of marriage, and see if we can determine the relative effects of freedom and restriction respectively. To do it properly, it will be necessary to consider the effect upon all the parties in interest. Those are, first, the individuals who mate; second, their offspring; and third, society at large. While it will be necessary to study all these different aspects; yet it is impossible to separate their effects upon the different persons. For instance, the relations between mother and child are so intimate that whatever affects one is apt to affect the other; and therefore, it will promote clearness to consider them together.

Broadly stated, the objects for which the sexes mate at all, are, first, the happiness and improvement of the contracting parties; and second, the production and rearing of offspring. It will scarcely be denied that love ought to be the basis of all union between the sexes, and that too, a love unmixed with sordid considerations of every kind. In fact, natural sexual selection, or mating, is only the expression of love apart from any thought of property, rank or station in life. Where the sexes are so united, they need no law or regulation of society to keep them together or determine their conduct. They will remain together just as long as the love continues which brought them together at first, law or no law. And when that ceases, the relations ought to cease, as will be made manifest in the course of this work. To continue them is no longer a continuation of the natural selection. Love cannot live when the relations cease to be voluntary; it always dies whenever compulsion becomes necessary.

We cannot carry our study much further without taking into account the differences between the sexes; and the part those differences play in the accomplishment of the objects for which the sexes mate at all.

In the first place, we will note those characteristics of the female which most distinguish her from the male, and the part which they perform in determining the character of the offspring. What are those characteristics? Wherein does woman differ most widely from man? Admitting that this is a subject which is open to a wide difference of opinion, I will only undertake to present my own idea, based upon my observations, which must stand or fall upon its own merits. To me that difference, in the main, lies in her sympathetic, emotional and intuitive nature. These, I think, are the qualities which most distinguish her from man. And these are precisely the qualities which have most to do in determining the character of her offspring. While a man will reach his conclusions after an elaborate course of reasoning and calculation; a woman, being generally more en rapport with the "soul of things," brushes aside his figures and details; and goes directly to the heart of the subject, as if by some intuitive impulse. She acts more spontaneously—more impulsively. And it is open to question if she is not quite as likely to form correct judgements as the man. Certain it is that this

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makes her more imaginative. She deals more with ideals. She is constantly seeking ideals in everything. And those ideals partake of the predominating characteristics of her own constitution. They express her longings. If, by training, temperament and association, her own ideals are gross and sensual, she will seek the gross and sensual among her male friends. If, however, she has learned to value something higher, even if she is unable to attain to it herself, she will form a higher ideal; and strive to realize it in her association with the other sex. This quality of ideality, resulting from her emotional, intuitive and sympathetic impulses, is the great distinguishing characteristic of the sex: the characteristic which has more to do in determining the character of the child than any, perhaps than all other causes combined. It rises superior to heredity. It can absolutely neutralize the influence of heredity, just as a strong and robust man, in the full vigor of health can throw off the germs of disease and prevent them from obtaining a lodgement in his system. There are men, and I doubt not women also, whose vital forces are so vigorous that they can, with impunity, expose themselves to the contagion of small pox without taking them. Some even, are able to overcome venereal diseases where the exposure is by actual contact. The vital forces, when acting vigorously through the physical system, enable the individual to pass unscathed through dangers which would be fatal to those in whom they are less active. And so, with a woman soul free, with her woman's nature unhampered and in vigorous exercise, she may bid defiance to the laws of heredity, so far as any taint that can attach to her offspring. If a woman mates with the man who best meets her ideal, or whom she thinks meets that ideal, she will stamp that ideal upon her child. I say, "whom she thinks meets that ideal," for the question is not so much what he is as what she thinks he is. His real character may differ as wide as the poles from the conception she has formed of him; and yet, it is her ideal that she will stamp upon her child. The powerful influence which the imagination of the mother exerts over the offspring is well known, especially in cases of malformations and abnormalities. Have we any reason to suppose that it is less powerful when operating along beneficent lines? If now, a woman who has yielded herself to the man who has won her affections, whom she believed was the embodiment of all that was noble, generous and true, finds that he is not all that her fancy had painted him; but, on the contrary, that he is mean, vulgar and heartless, so that her ideal is destroyed which she had formed of him, her child will certainly partake of the new characteristics she has discovered; and if she continues to mate with him, the disgust and loathing which takes the place of love is likely to find expression in a moral or physical monstrosity according to the degree of the mother's repulsion to her mate. It is from this that come deformities, congenital and hereditary defects, degenerate reversions and monstrosities. Here is where we get our Guiteaus, our Prendergasts and our Jesse Pomeroyes. If married, the woman no longer finds her ideal in the man who claims her by legal right; but law and custom still compel her to submit to his embraces; or else she is placed under circumstances in other ways which call into activity the characteristics which are afterward found impressed upon her child. There is a consciousness of degradation and she makes actual, in her offspring, the degradation which she feels. Therefore, it will be seen, how important a part love plays in the development of the child, and, in a larger way of the species; and also, how absolutely sexual relations should cease when love no longer exists.

It will be seen from all this that the influence of the male upon the character of the child, except at the time of connection, is wholly secondary: that is, it is an influence exerted upon the mother, through her emotions and her imagination; and by her impressed upon the child. Undoubtedly, at the time of connection his

influence is of the utmost importance. Some have regarded it as so great that it makes little difference what the mother may be if the father is all right. They have claimed that it is the father that fixes the character of the offspring; that the mother does little more than furnish a receptacle into which the seed is dropped and in which it develops until birth. Such claim that the child will follow closely the characteristics of the male parent with little regard to the female. But this ignores some of the most obvious facts in nature.

At certain regular periods the female ovaries give off what is known as the "ovum," germ cells, which, if they come in contact with the germ cells of the male, are likely to become impregnated. If so, they pass on into the womb where they are developed until birth. But without such a blending of these opposite cells, the germs of either are incomplete. If connection takes place at a time in the month after ovulation has ceased, so that this blending is impossible, there can be no conception. I contend that at the time of conception the part which the female plays in determining the character of the child is equally as great as that of the male; and that, for the whole nine months following, her influence is not lessened one particle, while that of the male is greatly lessened; and, under some circumstances, ceases altogether, so far as exerting any direct influence beyond the initial point. Every particle of nutrition comes from the mother; and every emotion, every thought, every aspiration which she experiences carries its impress to her unborn child. It is her soul, her spirit, her ideal that is being stamped, indelibly stamped upon its young and plastic being. Let her experience fright, disgust, horror, or any other strong emotion, and she will register that emotion upon her unborn child with absolute certainty in some way.

Nor does her influence cease with the birth of her child. While nursing a babe, the ready sympathy between the mother and child is scarcely less delicate and active than before birth. Strong emotions act almost as promptly through the mother's milk as they formerly did through the umbilical cord. And then it is the mother's love that comforts and soothes it in its little troubles; her approbation and encouragement that stimulates it to early endeavors; and her lullaby that wafts it to dreamland. Whatever influence the father exerts, up to a comparatively late period, is purely secondary. It is an influence upon the mother, mainly, as already shown, through her emotions and the building of her ideals, which she in turn stamps upon the child. He fills a larger place in her thought than all other men combined. If he impresses her with the idea that he is an ideal man, that he possesses ideal qualities, she will fix those same qualities upon her child, even to physical conformation. His conspicuous habits, his walk, his methods of expression, his ways, every kind of a peculiarity she will photograph, as it were, upon the child. If, on the other hand, he proves to be something different from her ideal of a man—if he is mean, vulgar, vicious, dishonest, brutal, so that her emotions become those of disgust and loathing, the chances are good for a child strongly marked with some hereditary taint, some congenital defect, physical or mental, or some degenerate réversion.

More than this, the very habits which prevail in married life actually do tend to produce these very effects. When men and women are constantly thrown together in such close relationships as they are, it promotes excesses, if nothing more, which are unfavorable to the preservation of lofty conceptions of the character which each may have formed of the other. Excess always produces satiety; and satiety leads to repulsion. It is even probable that a large proportion of the female diseases, those which are peculiar to the sex, are the result of sexual excesses. Could but a tythe of the physical sufferings, the sorrows and heartburnings of married life be told, it would be appalling. It is only when exceptional

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cases find their way into the divorce courts; or startling tragedies are enacted in real life, that the world gets a peep behind the scenes. And yet, we regard it as a matter of special wonder that children are born with undesirable hereditary characteristics.

I am fully convinced that the family life as now commonly lived, wherein the husband is the breadwinner, while the wife attends to the domestic labors of cooking, washing, ironing and the general housework, is bad; and promotive of anything but harmonious relations between them, or lofty ideals in either as to the qualities of the other. The adage, "familiarity breeds contempt," here finds an abundant verification. After the night's rest, each is engaged in their own way at their peculiar duties, until the labors of the day are mostly done. They are then brought together again when each is wearied with his or her own cares and labors. Oftentimes they are irritable and worried, or inclined to find fault. Then bickerings arise, too often ending in criminations and recriminations; or one is moody and exacting or is careless of the other's feelings. To make it still worse, they commonly occupy the same bed, which should never be done habitually. Aside from the excesses which it promotes, the sanitary objections are conclusive. And then, it is well calculated to dispel any high ideals which they may have formed of each other. If neither ever entered the presence of the other except under such conditions as would stimulate a mutual love and respect there would be less necessity for the interference of the law in the relations of the sexes.

Coming back now to the influence of the mother upon her child, if the social atmosphere in which she lives is unfavorable to healthy growth: if her lot is cast among those whom we call criminals, those who must live by preying upon others; if she is called upon to resort to stealth, cunning or strategy, or depend upon the exercise of these qualities on the part of her husband or others, for the supply of necessities, so that these qualities come to be regarded as desirable, ideal, even for the time being, she will be sure to give birth to a child marked by cunning, secretiveness, or given to strategy and deceit. She will give it the qualities of a criminal. And further, if her children continue to live in this atmosphere of criminality, as is frequently the case, because society closes and bars the door of their exit, we are likely to head a race of criminals, or rather, several generations of men with criminal instincts. And then the social Pharisees will compile long genealogical tables to show the tendency of crime to become hereditary in certain families. Of course, as long as the conditions continue the effects of those conditions will be felt. The thing that I wish to make clear now is, that it is the female, far more than the male, who determines the character of the offspring; that she does it through her emotional, impressional and idealistic nature, in response to the conditions which environ her; and she does it, not as a reproduction of her own character; but, first as a representation of what she sees, or thinks she sees in the male; and second, of the predominant feelings, emotions and aspirations which govern her during the time of conception, gestation and lactation. And I am so strongly impressed with the power which favorable or unfavorable conditions exert, that I fully believe that if no woman ever mated with any man except one which fulfilled her best ideal as to noble manly qualities; and the conditions surrounding her during gestation and lactation were favorable, even to a normal degree, it would be impossible to produce a deformed or depraved child, or one possessing congenital or hereditary taints. As I have before said, heredity, regarded as a transmission of the undesirable qualities of ancestors, is a reversion; and, under favorable conditions will be thrown off, just as one strong in vital force, can, within certain limits, resist the attacks of disease. Nature, when free to act, is capable of overcoming the tendency to reversion, otherwise it would be impos-

sible to make any progress whatever. All this goes to show how direct is the influence of the surroundings upon the making of the individual. It is the way that nature works to adapt man to his environment. When there is a bad social environment those who must live in it, in this way are fitted to it. If we want better men and better women we must change the conditions—the environment.

The influence of low ideals upon the mother and through her upon her child, is well illustrated among the lower animals. It is well known among the breeders of dogs that a thoroughbred female, if once paired with a mongrel, will taint her future offspring long afterward, even when it has been fathered by a thoroughbred. I see no way to account for this except that the mother becomes debased in her ideals by association with the cur. The same thing too, has been observed in the breeding of horses. There is a probability that the same distinguishing characteristics run all through the animal kingdom, only varying according to the degree of the animals' development; and that it is the quality which gives direction to natural selection. This impressionable characteristic of the female, when it has its natural and proper action, is fraught with untold good to the species; but when thwarted by low and debased ideals born of bad social conditions, or by legal restrictions, it carries with it an awful punishment.

So far we have dealt with conditions and laws which apply to women in general; but I do not wish to be understood as maintaining that the principles laid down, while universal in a degree, apply to all women equally. The coarse, uncultivated and undeveloped woman, who has been trained under a system of restriction; who has been taught that the first duty of a wife is subjection in all things to her husband; who is ready to shut her eyes to all his imperfections; and who thinks that any thought of another is an act of infidelity to him, will not feel as keenly as another would his deficiencies; and therefore, she will be less susceptible to feelings of disgust at his shortcomings. Such a woman may continue to cohabit with a brutal husband without serious danger to her offspring. But under favorable circumstances, even she may lose her balance and be carried into open or covert revolt by a power she little dreams of. Let her be brought in contact with another, who, from personal qualities or peculiar relationships, she regards with esteem and veneration; and the chances are good that formal marriage ties will be broken. She does not understand that she is acting in obedience to a natural law which impels her to select the best possible paternity for her child. She may succeed in stifling her natural promptings in obedience to her early training; but if she does, it is at the expense of her woman's nature; and thereafter, if she accepts the embraces of the husband, when he no longer fills her ideal, it must be at the risk of bringing into the world a monstrosity. Nature has little respect for human laws, even when made to preserve so sacred a thing as private property; but it punishes any infractions of its own laws by penalties which the guilty cannot avoid.

But the woman of independent spirit, of refined and cultured tastes, who instinctively revolts at manifestations of brutality and sensuality and who yearns to realize her ideals in her association with the male sex, dares not, must not accept the embraces of one who fulfills none of those ideals, but who excites in her nothing but disgust, no matter what may be the ties which an artificial marriage institution has imposed upon her.

Several facts have now been established, in the course of this study, with sufficient clearness to be accepted as a basis for further inquiry.

The first is, that marriage, in-so-far as it interferes with freedom in sex relations, is an arbitrary social regulation imposed solely for the purpose of determining and maintaining property rights. The question of marriage is not a religious

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one at all. The Church, in attempting to make it such, has succeeded in giving it only the sanction of its theology, which is quite another thing.

The second fact is, that a natural mating of the sexes, free from any interference of society, fulfills all the requirements of human needs apart from determining and maintaining property rights. It satisfies the requirements of religion, regarding religion to mean, a social force proceeding from and operating upon the emotions for the purpose of fitting mankind for association one with another in this life. Love is but another name for religion.

The third fact is, that the function of sexual selection naturally rests with the female. It is she who is to determine with whom she is to mate; and she must do it with reference to her own ideals. Any restraint placed upon her freedom of choice must operate disastrously in the building of the race.

The next question is, is the institution of private property of such vital importance to mankind as to justify so great an interference with the operation of the natural law of sexual selection as is involved in the institution of marriage?

I shall not undertake here to answer this question fully; because I have sufficiently done so in my forthcoming work, "Co-operation, Past and to Come," wherein I have shown that the institution of property is but a passing phase of human development; that it has had a definite mission to fulfill in that development; and that when that purpose has been accomplished, it will disappear and be replaced by common rights, common duties and common property. In the mean time, it is enough to call attention to the fact that the world is paying a very high price for what little good it can get out of these restrictions to liberty. When we take into account the domestic infelicities, sometimes resulting to awful tragedies; the moral, mental and physical monstrosities which are born to mismatched couples; and the poverty, strife, degradation and crime which result from property, not to say anything of the anxiety and worry from which none can wholly escape so long as it continues, we shall be likely to ask ourselves, what can we do to hasten the time when private property shall be no more?

So, it will be seen, that the reasons to be for the prevailing moral codes, or customs which uphold the marriage relation, are still operative and must continue to operate until people realize the necessity of abandoning the institution of property. I do not mean by this that sex reformers, by reason of their preachments, will not be able to induce a few women, who chance to be possessed of independent sources of support, to act independently of moral codes; but I do mean that no considerable headway can be made in that line. Such women, in number, are to the great mass of women about like a dipper of water to the great Atlantic. A thousand times more can be done by uniting in practical methods of co-operation—in such a full and adequate co-operation as will replace private rights, divided interests and individual properties with a common property. Then the economic question will be eliminated from the problem of the relations of the sexes. The production of wealth will be carried on for the common account, by means of the best appliances and under conditions which will insure the best results with the least expenditure of labor. Every one will be provided for from the common estate. Then no woman will be compelled to depend upon any particular man for a support. Her support will come just like the support of all others. There will be no question of legitimacy to arise to place her offspring at a disadvantage with others. She can seek her ideals as associates. She will not be compelled to accept a man who fulfills none of her ideals, and thus risk bringing into the world a brood of degenerates. If men wish to enjoy the association of the other sex, they will be compelled to make themselves worthy of it; not one time but every time. This will make better men and better children, children freer from the

taints of heredity, from congenital defects and degenerate reversions. And it will make better women. It will take away the drudgery of woman's life; and give her such an object in life as she can never realize under present conditions. It will give her leisure and opportunity for improvement. It will give her the absolute control of her own person. Under the workings of such a system, it is reasonable to expect a higher physical, mental and social development than anything ever heretofore known.

These changes will necessarily come gradually. As co-operation takes the place of capitalism, the economic conditions must become easier and woman's lot more independent. Then the old forms and customs will respond less and less to the manifest needs; while the new may, for a time, be regarded as immoral and disreputable; but they will continue to approve themselves and justify their practice until they become finally established. In this way a new morality, or custom will arise.

Then the association of the sexes will be purified from every sordid or base consideration. It will be the highest expression of love unmixed with greed or ambition for social station. So far from being in any way degrading, it will be the highest and purest form of association. Nor need there be the least fear of what purists are pleased to call promiscuous sex relations. If those relations depended upon the volition of the male, there is no doubt that this would follow; because the male is lacking in that form of ideality which is so strong in the female. It is perfectly natural for a man to mate sexually with women, with little regard to selection; and any pretense of moral scruples may generally be set down as a pure pretense. He may, by a sort of religious phrensy, cultivate certain scruples, especially if his amateness is weak; but those scruples constantly run counter to his impulses, which are always in revolt against them. And when the opportunity comes, the scruples are apt to be forgotten. But the case is different with women. That quality of ideality is nature's own safeguard of the race. If woman could be left perfectly unhampered in the exercise of it, her own natural promptings, which are always good when healthy, and when freed from sordid considerations, would be adequate to its perfect use. So, there is not the slightest danger to be apprehended in the utmost freedom on the part of the woman in the matter of sex. But, on the other hand, there is the greatest danger in every form of restriction not imposed by nature itself.



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A LESSON FROM HISTORY.

(Revised and Republished from the Twentieth Century.)

The following extract is taken from Ridpaths' History of the United States. It is a part of the concluding chapter of the early history of Connecticut.

"The half century preceding the French and Indian war was a period of prosperity to all the western districts of New England. Connecticut was especially favored. Almost unbroken peace reigned throughout her borders. The blessings of a free commonwealth were realized in full measure. The farmer reaped his fields in cheerfulness and hope. The mechanic made glad his dusty shop with anecdote and song. The merchant feared no duty, the villager no taxes. Want was unknown, and pauperism unheard of. Wealth was little cared for and crime was of rare occurrence among a people with whom intelligence and virtue were the only foundations of nobility."

Remember, this was in Connecticut; and in time extended over a period ranging between 140 and 200 years ago. Massachusetts had been settled under the authority of the Plymouth Company, which had obtained a royal patent from the English Crown, vesting in that company, not only the title to the lands of Massachusetts, but the right to govern the Massachusetts Colony; while Connecticut was settled somewhat later, not under authority of any special grant, but by enterprising pioneers who had previously settled in Massachusetts. These settlers, for various causes, had left the older settlements and pushed further into the wilderness until they reached the valley of the Connecticut, where they stopped and established themselves beyond the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Colonies. Being beyond that jurisdiction they felt that they were under no obligations to pay rents to the proprietary governors, as those were expected to do who remained within the limits of the royal grants. They were seeking for free land; and here is where they found it. The result is stated by the historian already quoted.

This picture of prosperity was realized under what would now be considered, in many respects, very adverse circumstances. It was before modern invention had made it so easy to bring wealth into being. It was before a railroad had been built; the telegraph had been invented; machinery had been applied to the manufacture of the thousand and one articles which we find so essential to the comfort of every day life; and before the increase in population had made possible the almost infinite subdivision of labor with its endless saving of labor required to produce wealth. The population was confined to a few scattered villages and farms. There were no cities and scarcely any commerce. There was not even a stage coach in the whole colony; and not more than two or three stage routes within the entire thirteen colonies. And yet, mark the statement! "Want was unknown, and pauperism unheard of. Wealth was little cared for." Why was it little cared for? Because it was so equally distributed that there was no rich class on one side and poor class on the other; and no one lived in fear of being brought to want. "Crime was of rare occurrence." The conditions which produce crime were absent. The farmers were not oppressed. They feared neither the landlord nor the sheriff. The account says: "They reaped their fields in cheerfulness and hope. There were no strikes among the workingmen. The full

product of their labor was the measure of their wages. "The mechanic made glad his dusty shop with anecdote and song." It was before the modern contrivance was adopted whereby the people tax themselves rich. Mr. McKinley had not been thought of yet, for the account says: "The merchant feared no duty and the villager no taxes." It is common to accuse a man of being visionary who attempts to depict an ideal condition of society, as if he were picturing something outside the limits of human experience. But here was a realization of almost perfect Anarchy, not in the dreams of a future utopia, but in the practical experience of one of the early colonies in this country; an experience which lasted more than half a century. Can we find a place like that in Connecticut today? Can we find a place like that within the broad expanse of these United States today? To the people of Connecticut the progress of these 200 years has been a progress in some respects backward instead of forward. And yet, during this time vast improvements have been made in everything pertaining to the satisfaction of human needs. New sciences have been constructed and old ones enriched with vast stores of knowledge; literature has been purified and exalted; and old superstitions have been shaken to their very foundations, or swept away altogether. The arts have flourished beyond the wildest dream of the enthusiast. The earth has been girdled as with a shoe string, so that any important event which takes place anywhere throughout the civilized world is fully reported in the morning's newspaper; and we read the account of it at the breakfast table or on the way down to the office. We have found out how to produce almost everything that we eat, drink or wear with but a small fraction of the labor and expense which used to be required to obtain them. We can build houses in a few days which formerly required months or years; and build them a great deal better. We can bring articles of comfort, convenience or luxury from the uttermost ends of the earth in exchange for our own handiwork within a few weeks; sometimes within a few days.

Taken by themselves, these improvements tend directly to make the burdens of life easier; to shorten the hours of labor; to increase the rewards of labor; to elevate and enoble human life; and to increase the sum of human enjoyment. But it has not done it. On the other hand, it is harder today; and it is constantly growing harder for a poor man to get a living. The struggle everywhere is growing fiercer and fiercer. In Connecticut, instead of progressing from good to better, the condition of the people has changed right the other way. Want, and the fear of it, has become well-nigh general and pauperism is almost, if not quite, as prevalent as in any of the countries of Europe. Crime is of so frequent occurrence that prisons have been multiplied everywhere; and yet they are kept filled to overflowing. Not only the villagers but everybody else is crushed down under a load of taxation. The mechanic no longer whiles away his hours of work with joyous song, but is driven by the lash of hunger to a servitude as exacting and arbitrary as a galley slave. What is it that has reduced a once free people to such straight? Were those early settlers unmindful or careless of the real blessings of liberty that they have allowed themselves and children to be robbed of the fruits of liberty? No! Their hearts were right; but their heads were at fault. They did not realize that human authority once set up, no matter how mildly, and no matter what safeguards are provided against abuse, it grows and grows till liberty is subverted. Once make men accountable for their conduct to other men: once allow one man to sit in judgement upon another: once allow him to pass laws for others to obey and we have planted a deadly upas tree, which, in time, will grow and choke out the tender tree of liberty.

This is what those early settlers of Connecticut did. On the 14th day of January, 258 years ago, delegates from the scattered hamlets in Connecticut met at

Hartford to form a constitution. The one made was said to have been the most simple and liberal ever adopted. "An oath of allegiance to the State was the only qualification of citizenship. No recognition of any English king, or foreign authority was required. Different religious opinions were alike tolerated and respected. All the officers of the colony were to be chosen by ballot at an annual election. The law making power was vested in a general assembly; and representatives were apportioned among the towns according to population."

This was a very mild sort of a government; almost no government at all. Its growth was slow, attracting slight attention, just as a farmer may give slight heed to a single Canada thistle which he finds in his wheat field, until it has so multiplied and spread as almost to choke to death all the other crops of the field. The settlers of Connecticut were a sturdy and robust people; ready to resist to the last extremity anyone who should attempt to encroach upon their liberties. Over and over again they beat off the representatives of the English crown sent out to set up its authority over them. They refused to acknowledge that authority, only admitting a vague sort of allegiance which carried with it no right of taxation or legislation; and finally, when the war of the revolution broke out, they cast off even the slight semblance of allegiance which remained. But they failed in one thing. They did not realize that a foreign landlord is no worse than a domestic one; that a foreign tyrant is just as good as one of home production; and that the tyranny of the majority is just as relentless and grinding as the tyranny of a king. They brought to this country their old country notions of property, especially in land. It was true that land was free; and every one took as much as he wanted or expected to want. But they regarded it as property—as a chattel; and as such it must have laws to protect the so-called owners in the possession of it. True, for a time, little law was needed, because land was so plenty; and there was no occasion for much dispute until it was all monopolized. But the laws grew, little by little; and taxes grew with them. Poverty, pauperism and crime kept equal pace until the conditions in Connecticut became exactly like the conditions in the older countries in Europe, so far as the relative positions of the rich and poor are concerned. After a half a century of almost perfect Anarchy, when there was a nearly complete absence of law, and under which the people enjoyed the greatest prosperity, happiness and freedom from crime; we find it now, under the law, with its people pauperized, its prisons overcrowded with criminals; and its industries paralyzed.



THE PROBLEM OF CRIMINALITY.

(Reprinted from the Twentieth Century.)

I am asked a thousand and one times, by those who fear the establishment of a society based upon personal liberty, "What are you going to do with your criminals?" But this is not a question which is half as important to me, or to those on my side, as it is to those who are opposed to any change at all. For ourselves, we are not called upon to answer that question until we have criminals to dispose of. We hold that just social conditions would reduce and finally abolish criminality. In other words, the result would be to stop making them. But with the other side it is quite different. "What are you going to do with your criminals?" is already a pressing question for them. Criminality is increasing at such a ratio that it is difficult to find prison room to confine the criminals. What with the criminals in and out of prison (and the indications are that there are more out than in), capitalism is having a hard time of it. And yet it asks, in the most confident way, what are we going to do with the criminals, as if its own solution of the problem was entirely satisfactory. But it is not. Every student of social questions knows that the growing importance of the problem of criminality and its treatment is one of the most pressing and difficult which this age is called upon to face. In fact, capitalism presents no solution. The most it does, or attempts to do, is to forcibly repress the expression of it. But this is like a man trying to hold a plank against a break in a dam to prevent the water from cutting the dam away altogether, although he knows that the water is rising higher and higher and must soon sweep both him and the dam away together.

So we are asking the apologists for things as they are what they are going to do with their criminals. And it is a question which they must answer, for they must do something. If they don't, the criminals will do something with them. The special privileges, inequalities and injustices in society cannot continue without maintaining that stress which results in crime. The greater the stress the greater is bound to be the crime. So, pile up your repressive laws. Fortify and protect the privileges of the rich. Hold the plank tightly against the dam lest any of the water escape. See how the great fortunes are growing. The water is rising higher and higher. Well! How long can you keep it up? That is the only question.

There is another view to take of the matter. Does it pay to take such risks? Is it worth what it costs to rear a race of human wolves who are ready to tear you in pieces at the first opportunity that offers? Stop and think what those great fortunes cost you, my rich friends, who control for the time being the destinies of the world. There is something in this world of more importance than wealth, that is manhood. Can you develop a high type of manhood in an atmosphere of greed? Do you receive anything which will compensate you for the worry and anxiety attendant upon making and watching investments, and collecting and managing their revenues? Do you not see that you are sacrificing your possibilities for personal development, your ease, your comfort, even your very safety, in order to get and keep fortunes which you can never use, and that only bring labor and worry to care for them? All any man can have in this world is what he can

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enjoy. If he takes more, he merely withdraws it from the possibility of others' enjoyment, without benefitting himself. Then, when some take more than they need, others have less, and there is stress in society. This requires law and the machinery of administration to protect the few in possessions which are of no use to them except to minister to their avarice and greed. It requires law to hold the people down and enable the rich to acquire and keep their riches. Do you know what crime is? Do you know what it comes from? Let me tell you! It is the natural and inevitable resistance to the laws which enable you to get and keep your wealth. I will try and make that clear. Suppose you were a mechanic and wanted to raise a column of water to a given height, you would have to apply force in some way, to do it. And the greater the force applied, the higher the water would rise. But the return pressure of the water always exactly equals the force applied. This is a physical law of nature, and acts with unvarying certainty.

Now, the same thing applies in human dynamics. If you apply the pressure of restrictive laws to men, they, naturally and inevitably, resist just in proportion to the force of the restriction. They, naturally, seek freedom; and, openly or covertly, rebel against whatever restricts them in the exercise of it. Your laws of property, that you call "rights of property," which are purely creations of the law, bear heavily upon the people. They hinder them in the freedom of their action. If the people wish to build houses for themselves, you own the land; and the law protects you in the possession of it. If they would raise food, they must make terms with you or go hungry. Would they mine ores with which to fashion useful implements, you stand in the way. They cannot even cut firewood, make bricks, dig coal, do anything without paying toll to those who do nothing but who have the law on their side. Then, on top of all this come patent laws, copyright laws, laws of taxation, laws of debt and for the forcible collection of it, laws of interest, laws of money and for the restriction of business, private rights to the highways of commerce, private ownership of the means for the employment and a multitude of others, all working to the advantage of a few and the disadvantage of the many. Even the sexes are not allowed to mate without consulting the law for the benefit and in consideration of the property rights of somebody. So the law is a constant instrument of restriction and repression in every act of life from the cradle to the grave. And, by means of its workings, the many are held down while a few get on top. Consequently, there are plenty of people all the time who resist the law; who seek to acquire wealth by methods which the law forbids, and who are called criminals. The proportion of those criminals and the degree of their criminality always exactly correspond to the intensity of the repression of the law.

The same principle holds good as to crimes against persons where no property is involved. Restrict the freedom of the individual and the individual, openly or covertly, rebels. His aspiration is for freedom and he chafes and frets against the bonds which bind him down. That is why I say that the resistance will always equal the force of the laws; and crime must keep pace with law. The more law the more crime. And vice versa, the less law the less will be the crime. This principle holds good the world over. All the statistics of crime in every civilized country where observations have been made and recorded, prove that crime rises and falls exactly in proportion as the social conditions bear lightly or heavily upon the masses.

I say again to the rich and to the apologists for things as they are: "What are you going to do with the criminals?" You are industriously grinding out more laws every year in congress, in the various state capitols, in the common councils of the cities, in the county boards and even in the school districts; and you are getting the equivalent in an increased number of criminals in every state in the union. You haven't prisons enough to accommodate them; and yet, you are making more all the time. What are you going to do with them?

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BY

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AUTHOR OF

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AUTHORIZED TRANSLATION BY
A. M. SIMONS

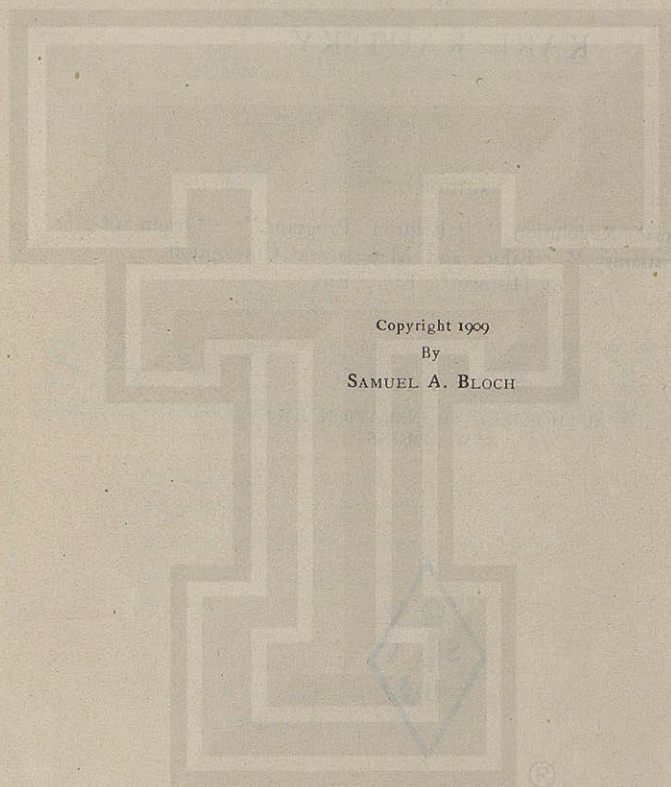


1909

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CHICAGO, ILL.

The Road to Power



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- I—
- II—
- III—
- IV—
- V—
- VI—
- VII—
- VIII—
- IX—

CONTENTS

- I—The Conquest of Political Power.
- II—Prophecies of the Revolution.
- III—Growing gradually into the Co-operative Commonwealth.
- IV—Economic Evolution and the Will.
- V—Neither Revolution nor Legality "at any price."
- VI—The Growth of Revolutionary Elements.
- VII—The Softening of Class Antagonisms.
- VIII—The Sharpening of Class Antagonisms.
- IX—A New Period of Revolution.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER.

Friends and enemies of the Socialists agree upon one thing, and that is that they constitute a REVOLUTIONARY party. But unfortunately the idea of revolution is many-sided, and consequently the conceptions of the revolutionary character of our party differ very greatly. Not a few of our opponents insist upon understanding revolution to mean nothing else but anarchy, bloodshed, murder and arson. On the other hand there are some of our comrades to whom the coming social revolution appears to be nothing more than an extremely gradual, scarcely perceptible, even though ultimately a fundamental change in social relations, much of the same character as that produced by the steam engine.

So much is certain: that the Socialists, as the champions of the class interests of the proletariat, constitute a revolutionary party, because it is impossible to raise this class to a satisfactory existence within capitalist society; and because the liberation of the working class is only possible through the overthrow of private property in the means of production and rulership, and the substitution of social production for production for profit. The proletariat can attain to satisfaction of its wants only in a society whose institutions shall differ fundamentally from the present one.

In still another way the Socialists are revolutionary. They recognize that the power of the state is an instrument of class domination, and indeed the most powerful

instrument, and that the social revolution for which the proletariat strives cannot be realized until it shall have captured political power.

It is by means of these fundamental principles, laid down by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto, that the Socialists of today are distinguished from the so-called Utopian Socialists of the first half of the last century, such as Owen and Fourier. It also distinguishes them from those who, like Proudhon, either treat the political struggle as unimportant, or else reject it entirely, and who believe it possible to bring about the economic transformation demanded by the interest of the proletariat through purely economic means without changing or capturing the power of the state.

In their recognition of the necessity of capturing political power Marx and Engels agreed with Blanqui. But while Blanqui thought it possible to capture the power of the state by a sudden act of a conspiratory minority, and then to use that power in the interest of the proletariat, Marx and Engels recognized that revolutions are not made at will. They come with inevitable necessity, when the conditions which render them necessary exist, and are impossible so long as those conditions, which develop gradually, do not exist. Only where the capitalist methods of production are highly developed is there the possibility of using the power of the state to transform capitalistic property in the means of production into social property. On the other hand, the possibility of capturing and holding the state for the proletariat only exists where the working class has grown to great proportions, is in large part firmly organized, and conscious of its class interests and its relation to state and society.

These conditions are being constantly created by the development of the capitalist methods of production and the class struggle between capitalists and laborers growing therefrom. So it is that just as the continuous ex-

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pansion of capitalism necessarily and inevitably goes on, so the inevitable antithesis to this expansion, the proletarian revolution, proceeds equally inevitably and irresistibly.

It is irresistible, because it is inevitable that the growing proletariat should resist exploitation, and that it should organize industrially, co-operatively and politically to secure for itself better conditions of life and labor, and greater political influence. Everywhere the proletariat develops these phases of activity whether it is socialistically minded or not. It is the mission of the Socialist movement to bring all these various activities of the proletariat against its exploitation into one conscious and unified movement, that will find its climax in the great final battle for the conquest of political power.

This position, the fundamental principles of which were laid down in the Communist Manifesto, is today accepted by the Socialist movements of all countries. Upon it rests the whole great international Socialist movement of our time.

Meanwhile it is unable to proceed on its victorious way without finding doubters and critics within its own ranks.

To be sure, actual evolution has taken the road foretold by Marx and Engels. And the triumphant progress of Socialism is due, next to the extension of capitalism and therewith of the proletarian class struggle, above all to the keen analysis of the conditions and problems of this struggle supplied by the work of Marx and Engels.

In one point they were in error. THEY EXPECTED THE REVOLUTION TOO SOON.

The Communist Manifesto said at the end of 1847:

"The Communists turn their attention chiefly to Germany, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution, that is bound to be carried out under more advanced conditions of European civil-

ization, and with a more developed proletariat than that of England was in the seventeenth, and of France in the eighteenth century, and because the bourgeois revolution in Germany will be but the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution."

The Manifesto was right in expecting a German revolution. But it was deceived when it believed this to be the immediate prelude to a proletarian revolution.

Nearer to us in time lies another prophecy made by Engels in an introduction to these conditions of Marx's brochure on the trial of the Cologne Communists, published in 1885. In this he stated that the next European uprising "was almost due, since the period of European revolutions during the present century was between 15 and 18 years—1815, 1830, 1848-52, 1870."

This expectation was not fulfilled, and up to the present time the expected revolution has not arrived.

Why was this? Was the Marxian method, upon which this expectation was based, false? In no way. But there was one factor in the calculation that was valued altogether too highly. Ten years ago I said concerning these very prophecies: "Both times the revolutionary and oppositional power of the capitalist class was overestimated."—(*Neue Zeit*, XVII: 2, p. 45.)

Marx and Engels expected a far-reaching and violent revolution in Germany in 1847 similar to the great French upheaval that began in 1789. Instead of this, however, there was but a wavering uprising that served only to frighten the whole capitalist class so that it took refuge under the wing of the government. The result was that the government was greatly strengthened and the rapid development of the proletariat was stifled. The bourgeoisie then relinquished to individual governments such further revolutionary action as was necessary to its prog-

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ress. Bismarck, especially, was the great revolutionist of Germany, at least to the extent of throwing a few German princes from their thrones, favoring the unity of Italy, the dethroning of the Pope, and bringing about the overthrow of the empire and the introduction of the Republic in France.

This was the way in which the German bourgeois revolution, the early entrance of which Marx and Engels had prophesied in 1847, proceeded until it reached its end in 1870.

In spite of this Engels still expected a "political upheaval" in 1885, and declared that the "middle class democracy is even now the only party" that in case of such an uprising "must certainly come into power in Germany."

Again Engels prophesied truly in foretelling a "political upheaval," but again he was mistaken in expecting anything from the middle class democracy. This class failed completely when the Bismarckian regime collapsed. Consequently the overthrow of the Chancellor became only an act of the emperor, with no revolutionary consequences.

More and more it becomes evident that the only possible revolution is a *proletarian* revolution. Such a revolution is impossible so long as the organized proletariat does not form a body large enough and compact enough to carry, under favorable circumstances, the mass of the nation with it. But when once the proletariat comes to be the only revolutionary class in the nation, it necessarily follows that any crisis in an existing government, whether of a moral, financial or military nature, must include the bankruptcy of all capitalist parties, which as a whole are responsible, and in such a case the only government that could meet the situation would be a *proletarian* one.

Not all Socialists, however, draw these conclusions. There are some who, when an expected revolution does

not come at the time set, do not draw the conclusion that industrial development may have altered the form and character of the coming revolution from what might have been expected from the experience of previous capitalist revolutions. On the contrary, they at once conclude that, under the changed conditions, revolutions are not to be expected, are not necessary, and indeed are hurtful.

On one side they conclude that a further extension of the achievements already gained—labor legislation, trade unions, co-operation—will suffice to drive the capitalist class out of one position after another, and to quietly expropriate it, without a political revolution, or any change in the nature of governmental power. This theory of the gradual growth into (*hineinwachsen*) the future state is a modern form of the old anti-political utopianism and Proudhonism.

On the other hand it is thought to be possible for the proletariat to obtain political power without a revolution, that is without any important transfer of power in the state, simply by a clever policy of co-operation with those bourgeois parties which stand nearest to the proletariat, and by forming a coalition government which is impossible for either party alone.

In this manner they think to get around a revolution as an outgrown barbaric method, which has no place in our enlightened century of democracy, ethics and brotherly love.

When this attitude is carried to its logical conclusion it throws the whole system of Socialist tactics founded by Marx and Engels into the street. The two cannot be reconciled. To be sure that is no reason why such a position should be declared false without examination. But it is a reason why everyone who, after careful study has become convicted of its erroneous character, should energetically oppose it, and this not merely because of a

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It is very easy to be led into false paths in discussing this question unless the boundaries of the subject are narrowly defined.

Therefore it is necessary to make clear, what has so often been stated before, that we are not discussing the question of whether labor legislation and similar laws in the interest of the proletariat, and unions and co-operatives are necessary and useful or not. There are no two opinions among us on that point. What is disputed is the view that the exploited class, who control the power of the state, will permit such a development of these factors, as will amount to abolishing capitalist oppression, without first making such a resistance, with all the means at its disposal, that it can be abolished only through a decisive battle.

Furthermore this has nothing to do with the question of utilizing quarrels among capitalist parties in the interest of the proletariat. It was not for nothing that Marx and Engels fought the use of the phrase "reactionary mass," because it tended to conceal the antagonism that exists between different factions of the ruling class, which may well be very important in securing the progress of the working class. Laws for the protection of labor and the extension of the suffrage are largely due to such differences.

What is opposed is the idea of the possibility that a proletarian party can during normal times regularly combine with a capitalist party for the purpose of maintaining a *government* or a *governmental party*, without being destroyed by the insuperable conflicts which must exist. The power of the state is everywhere an organ of class rule. The class antagonisms between the workers and the possessing class are so great that the proletariat can never share governmental power with any possessing

class. The possessing class will always demand, and its interests will force it to demand, that the power of the state shall be used to hold the proletariat down. On the other hand the proletariat will always demand that any government in which their own party possesses power, shall use the power of the state to assist it in its battle against capital. Consequently every government based upon a coalition of capitalist and working class parties is foredoomed to disruption.

A proletarian party which shares power with a capitalist party in any government must share the blame for any acts of subjection of the working class. It thereby invites the hostility of its own supporters, and this in turn causes its capitalist allies to lose confidence and makes any progressive action impossible. No such arrangement can bring any strength to the working class. No capitalist party will permit it do so. It can only compromise a proletarian party and confuse and split the working class.

It was just such a condition that constantly postponed the revolution of 1848 and brought about the political collapse of the bourgeois democracy, and excluded any co-operation with it for the purpose of winning and utilizing political power.

However willing Marx and Engels were to utilize the differences between capitalist parties for the furtherance of proletarian purposes, and however much they were opposed to the expression "reactionary mass," they have, nevertheless, coined the phrase "*dictation of the proletariat*," which Engels defended shortly before his death in 1891, as expressing the fact that only through purely proletarian political domination can the working class exercise its political power.

Even if an alliance between capitalist and working-class political parties is incapable of contributing to the development of proletarian power, and even if the progress of social reform and economic organization must be limited

under the present conditions, and even if because of these facts the political revolution has NOT YET come, this does not give the slightest reason for concluding that therefore revolutions belong to the past and there never will be any in the future.

Others who doubt the coming of a revolution are not so dogmatic in their conclusions. They recognize that revolutions may still come, but say that if one comes it will be in the far distant future. For at least a generation it is wholly impossible. So far as practical politics are concerned it is not to be taken into our calculations. For the next decade at least we must depend upon the policy of peaceful permeation and the alliance with capitalist parties.

Yet facts are just now arising that more than ever before tend to show the weakness of this view.

CHAPTER II.

PROPHECIES OF THE REVOLUTION.

In order to discredit the expectations of a revolution by the Marxians, we are frequently reproached with the statement that while we dearly love to prophesy, we are very poor prophets.

We have already seen why it was that the proletarian revolution expected by Marx and Engels has not yet appeared. When, however, we turn from this one disappointed expectation, astonishment arises, not that all their prophecies have not been realized, but that they were able accurately to foretell so much.

For example, we have already called attention to the fact that in November, 1847, the Communist Manifesto had already announced the revolution of 1848. This was at the very time when Proudhon was proving that the era of revolutions had gone forever.

Marx was the first Socialist to point out the significance of the trade unions in the proletarian class struggle. He did this in his controversial work against Proudhon, "The Misery of Philosophy," in 1846. His work upon "Capital" shows that during the '70's he already foresaw the growth of the corporations and the trusts of today. During the war of 1870-71 he prophesied that henceforth the center of gravity of the Socialist movement would pass from France to Germany. In January, 1873, he prophesied the crisis that had its beginning a few months later, etc.

The same is true of Engels.

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Even when they were mistaken there was always a very accurate and important kernel of truth in the midst of the error. Remember, for example, what has just been said about the expectations that Engels expressed in 1885 concerning the political upheavals of the next few years.

Here is a good place to refute a legend that has of late gained considerable credence. In his work on "The Labor Question," a fifth edition of which has just appeared, Professor H. Herkner of Berlin writes as follows concerning the report of the Socialist Congress at Hanover in 1899:

"In the heat of the debate Kautsky was led to designate the hope of an early catastrophe that would fulfill all wishes, as idiocy and to attack this idea far sharper than even Bernstein had done. If Engels actually had predicted the coming of a great catastrophic collapse (Klatterdatsch) in 1898 (said Kautsky) then he would not have been the great thinker that he was, but such an idiot that not a single district would have chosen him as a delegate to the convention. Engels meant nothing more than to say that by 1898 the present Prussian political system might collapse.

"There may be some uncertainty as to what Engels meant. On the other hand the statement of Bebel's at the Erfurter Convention in 1891, that there were but few members of that body but would live to see the realization of the final goal, admits of no saving explanation. This statement was, to use Kautsky's expression, idiotic. This is the way in which the confusion that reigns in the heads of the defenders of the old tactics is gradually gaining as clear and satisfactory expression as could be wished."—p. 379.)

Unfortunately the professor's clearness leaves much to be desired. I have never designated as idiotic "the hope of an early catastrophe that would fulfill all wishes (!)" for the simple reason that no one was talking about any such thing. I would certainly be justified in calling the hope of an "*all-wishes-fulfilling*" catastrophe idiotic. I applied the word "idiocy" to the statement that Engels had ever set a DEFINITE DATE for the outbreak of the revolution in 1898. Any prophecy of this sort would certainly seem to me to be idiotic. But Engels was never guilty of anything of the kind. Just as little was Bebel. Nor did he, at the Erfurter Convention, set any definite date for the coming of the revolution.

There were some who made fun of his "prophesying" at that time. To these he made this reply:

"You may laugh and sneer at prophesying, but thinking men can not avoid it. There was a time, not so many years ago, when even Vollmar did not assume this attitude of cold pessimistic darkness. Engels, whom he has been attacking, correctly foretold the revolution of 1848 in 1844. And furthermore was not everything prophesied by Marx and Engels in the well known address of the International Workingmen's Association at the time of the Commune uprising, concerning the future of events in Europe, fulfilled even to the dotting of an i. (That's right.) Liebknecht, who has been making a little fun of me on this point, has done his share of prophesying. (Laughter.) Like me, he prophesied certain things in the Reichstag in 1870 which have since been completely fulfilled. Read his speeches and mine from 1870-1871 and you will find the proof of this. But now comes Vollmar and cries: 'Keep still about your ancient history and stop prophesying.' But he also has done some prophesying. The

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only difference between him and me is that he has the most wonderful optimism in regard to our opponents, and the most fearful pessimism in regard to the principal aims of the party and its future."—(Proceedings of Congress, p. 283.)

One of the most significant of the prophecies of Bebel which has been fulfilled was the one which he made in 1873 that the Center, which then had sixty seats, would soon have a hundred, and that the Bismarckian fight on the Catholic Center (*Kulturkampf*) would have a miserable end, and would contribute to Bismarck's overthrow.

Recently some have done me the honor to place me in the ranks of the "prophets." I could not well be in better company.

I have been reproached with some of the things that I wrote in the series of articles in the *Neue Zeit* and in the introduction to my work on *Ethics* concerning the revolution, which it is claimed the course of events proved fundamentally wrong.

Is this correct?

In the introduction to my "Ethics" I wrote:

"We are about to enter upon a period, whose length no one knows, during which no Socialist can engage in quiet labors, but where our work must be that of constant fighting. * * * The tools of the Czar are eager in their work as were the Albas and the Tillys in the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—not with deeds of military heroism, but of brutal murder and arson. The West European champions of law and order defend these actions as restoring legal conditions. But just as little as the soldiers of the Hapsburgs, in spite of momentary successes, were able to restore Catholicism in North Germany and Holland, are the Cossacks of the Romanoffs

capable of restoring the regime of absolutism. The Czar has the power to lay his country waste, but he never more can govern it.

"In any case the Russian revolution is far from being at an end. It cannot end so long as the Russian peasants are not satisfied. The longer it continues the greater will be the unrest of the masses of the workers of Western Europe, the nearer the danger of financial catastrophes, and the more probable that an era of acute class struggles will begin in Western Europe."

What is there in these words, written in January, 1906, of which I should now be ashamed? Does anyone believe that the Russian revolution is at an end and that normal conditions are now prevailing in Russia? And is it not true that since the above lines were written the whole world has been in a condition of great unrest?

And now about my "unfortunate prophecy" in my "Various Phases of Revolution." I was there writing a polemic against Lusnia, who declared it impossible that a war over Corea could lead to a Revolution in Russia, and claimed that I exaggerated when I pronounced the Russian laborers a much more vital political factor than the English. On these points I replied as follows in February, 1904, at the beginning of the Russo-Japanese war:

"There is no doubt that the economic development of Russia is far behind that of Germany or England, and that its proletariat is much weaker and less mature than the German or the English. But all things are relative, including the revolutionary power of a class."

I explained the reasons that made the Russian proletariat such an extraordinary revolutionary force, and continued:

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"The more completely Western Europe withholds its help from absolutism, the quicker will it be overthrown. To assist to this end, to discredit Czarism as much as possible, is today the most important work of the International Socialist movement. * * *

"Meanwhile, in spite of all his valuable friendships in Western Europe, the Autocrat of the Russias grows visibly less powerful. The war with Japan may greatly hasten the progress of the Russian revolution. * * * What took place after the Russo-Turkish war will be repeated in a higher degree: a great extension of the revolutionary movement."

Having established this point, I continued:

"A revolution in Russia cannot at once establish a Socialist regime. The economic conditions of the country are not sufficiently developed for that. The best it can do is to bring a democratic government into existence, behind which would be a strong and impetuous and progressive proletariat that would be able to demand important concessions.

"Such a regime in Russia could not but have powerful counter effects upon neighboring countries. First by reviving and inspiring the proletarian movement itself, giving it thereby the impulse to attack the political obstacles to an actual democracy—in Prussia, primarily the "three-class" electoral system. Secondly, through the release of the manifold national questions of Western Europe."

I wrote this in February, 1904. In October, 1905, the Russian Revolution was a reality and the proletariat was its champion, while at the same time its reactions were being felt upon neighboring lands. In Austria the battle for universal suffrage gained irresistible force and pressed on to victory. Hungary was on the verge of actual insurrection. The German Socialists accepted the principle

of the general strike, and threw its full force into the fight for suffrage, especially in Prussia, where it led to actual street demonstrations, in January, 1908, something that had not been seen in Berlin since 1848. And in 1907 came the hysterical elections and the complete collapse of the German democracy. When I had expressed an expectation of the release of the nationalistic movements of Eastern Europe, these expectations were far exceeded by the rapid awakening of the entire Orient—in China, India, Egypt, Morocco, Persia and Turkey. In the last two countries especially this awakening has culminated in successful revolutionary uprisings.

And in connection with this we have had a steady sharpening of national antagonisms that have twice already, first in Morocco and then in Turkey, led Europe to the verge of war.

If ever there was a "prophecy," if you wish to use the word, that has been completely fulfilled, it was this one of the coming of the Russian revolution and that it would bring with it an era of increased political unrest and a sharpening of all social and national antagonisms.

Certainly I will not deny that I did not foretell the momentary defeat of the Russian revolution. But did the person who in 1846 foretold the revolution of 1848 make a mistake because it was put down in 1849?

Certainly we must recognize the possibility of defeat in the case of every great movement or uprising. Only the fool sees victory already in his pocket before he enters upon a battle. All we can do is to investigate and decide whether we shall enter upon a great revolutionary struggle. We can determine this question with certainty. But the outcome of such a struggle cannot be foretold. We would be a miserable sort of fellows, and, indeed, direct traitors to our cause, and incapable of any fight, if we overlooked the possibility of defeat and reckoned only upon victory.

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Naturally every expectation cannot be fulfilled. Anyone who pretends to be an infallible prophet, or who demands infallible prophecies of others, presupposes supernatural powers in men.

Every student of politics must calculate upon the possibility of the defeat of his expectations. From this it does not necessarily follow that "prophesying" is foolish play, but, on the contrary, when carefully and methodically done, it is a part of the continuous work of every thinking and far-seeing political worker, as Bebel has already proven.

Only the most brainless routine worker is satisfied with the belief that things will continue to be as they now are. The politician, who is also a thinker, will weigh every possibility that each coming event may carry in itself, and think them out to their furthestest consequences. To be sure, the power of inertia in society is enormous. In nine cases out of ten the follower of precedent will be right when he follows the old road, without worrying about new situations and possibilities. But on the one time there will come an event strong enough to overcome this power of inertia, that has perhaps already been internally weakened by previous conditions, while externally everything remained the same. Then suddenly evolution starts out upon new roads. The followers of routine lose their heads. Only those politicians are able to assert themselves who have been considering new possibilities and their consequences.

It does not even follow that even in the customary run of events the brainless follower of routine is superior to the "prophesying" politician who weighs the future. This can be true only when the politician treated the possibilities whose consequences he had calculated, as realities, and directed his practical acts accordingly. Will anyone claim that Engels and Bebel and other similar "prophesy-

ing" politicians that we have been discussing have ever understood their prophecies in this sense?

The brainless follower of routine will never feel himself compelled to study present conditions, which to him are simple repetitions of already well-known situations, in which he has already been moving. Whoever, on the contrary, considers all the possibilities and consequences of a given situation must carefully study all the forces and powers that it presents. In so doing his attention would naturally be turned first of all to the most recently developed and least considered factors.

What many a Philistine looks upon as a purposeless building of castles in the air, is in reality the result of the deepest study, and consequently is based upon the most careful consideration of reality. Bebel and Engels can be criticised for their "prophecies," only if these can be shown to be impracticable phantasies. As a matter of fact, no one has shown a greater ability in advising the proletariat in times of desperate need, or has given more valuable guidance, than just these "prophets." This was just because they were occupied with the work of "prophe-sying." It has not been the politicians with the widest visions who have most frequently misled the rising class, but rather those "practical politicians" who could not see further than their noses, and who considered only those things to be real which they could touch with their noses, and who pronounced every obstacle endless and unconquerable against which they bloodied their noses.

But there is still another form of "prophecy" besides that described above. In the last analysis the development of any society is determined by the development of its method of production. We are today sufficiently familiar with these laws to recognize the direction which social evolution must take, and to determine the road the political happenings must take.

This sort of "prophesying" is frequently confused with

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what we have been discussing, and yet the two are fundamentally different. In the one case we are dealing with a great mass of possibilities which may be contained in any particular situation or event, and whose possible consequences we must determine. In the other case we are dealing with a single necessary line of evolution, knowledge of which we are seeking. In the first case we are concerned with definite, concrete facts. In the other we can only point out general tendencies, without being able to say anything definite regarding the form they will take. These two forms of investigation must not be confused, even though they appear to give the same result.

When, for example, one person says that a war between France and Germany would lead to a revolution, and when another declares that the constantly increasing class antagonisms in capitalist society will lead to a revolution, it seems as if the latter prophecy of a revolution was of the same nature as the first. Yet they are fundamentally very different.

When I speak of a war between France and Germany I am not talking of an event, the appearance of which can be determined with the certainty of a law of nature. Science has not yet reached that point. Such a war is only one of very many possibilities. On the other hand, a revolution which comes from such a war must be of certain definite forms. It may happen that in the weaker of the two warring countries the effort to unite all the forces of the state against the external enemy may bring the most daring and energetic class—the proletariat—to the head of the nation. This was what Engels thought possible in 1891 in Germany when a war was expected between Germany and the then relatively more populous France, and when Russia was still unconquered and not disrupted by revolution.

Revolution as a result of war can only come from an uprising of the mass of the people. This would come

when the power of the army was broken and the nation was surfeited with the misery of war. The government would then be overthrown, not in order to prosecute the war more energetically, but to end a useless and accursed war with an opponent who also desired nothing more than the end.

Again, revolution as the result of war may arise as a result of a universal uprising against a disgraceful and especially injurious treaty of peace. Such an uprising might easily combine the army and the people.

In such cases the form of the revolution can be determined in advance. But it is impossible to form any picture of the revolution which I can foretell as a result of the increased sharpening of class antagonisms. I can state with certainty that a revolution brought on by war will take place during the war or immediately after it. On the other hand, when I speak of a revolution as the result of increased sharpening of class antagonisms, this tells us absolutely nothing as to the time it will appear.

I can say definitely that a revolution brought about by a war will happen but once. Nothing whatever can be said on this point concerning the revolution springing from sharpening class antagonisms. It may be a long-drawn-out process, while a revolution as the result of war must take on more the character of a single event. It is impossible to say in advance whether a revolution as the result of war would be successful. The revolutionary movement springing out of class antagonisms, on the contrary, cannot meet with anything more than temporary defeats, and must ultimately win.

On the other hand, the preliminary conditions to a revolution in the first case—that of war—are something which may or may not appear. No one can possibly say anything definite on this point. The sharpening of class antagonism, on the contrary, arises inevitably out of the laws of the capitalist method of production. While a

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revolution as the result of war is only one of many possibilities, as the result of class antagonisms, it is inevitable.

It is evident that each sort of "prophecy" demands its own especial method, and its own especial study, and that the significance of the "prophecy" depends upon the thoroughness of such study, instead of being, as some people who have no conception of the amount of such studying seem to think, mere empty phantasies.

It would be very much of a mistake, however, to conclude that we Marxians are the only ones that prophesy. Even bourgeois politicians, who are standing on the basis of the present state of affairs, are not without their visions of a distant future. The whole force of colonial politics, for example, rests on this fact. If we were dealing with colonial policy for today only it would be easy to do away with it. For every country but England it is a miserable business. But it is the only field inside capitalist society from which great hopes for the future at least appear to beckon. And therefore, because of the glittering future which our colonial fanatics prophesy, and not because of the miserable present, colonial politics exercise such a fascinating attraction to such minds as are not convinced of the coming of Socialism.

Nothing is more foolish than the idea that distant ideals have no practical significance in present politics that immediate interests always rule, or that we will be successful in our electoral agitation in proportion as we are "practical"—which signifies insipid and insignificant, and the more we talk only of taxes and tariffs, police graft and sick insurance and similar things, and the more we treat our future goal as a youthful love affair, to be cherished in our hearts and looked back to with longing, but to which it is best not to make any reference in public.

CHAPTER III.

GROWING GRADUALLY INTO THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMON-WEALTH.

There is no such thing as politics without prophesying. The only difference is that those who prophesy that things will always remain the same do not know that they are prophesying.

Naturally there can be no proletarian politician who is satisfied with present conditions and does not strive fundamentally to alter them. And there is no intelligent politician, of whatever faction, who possesses even a remnant of freedom of judgment who is not forced to recognize that political conditions cannot remain as they now are in the midst of the present rapid rate of economic transformation.

But if in spite of this he refuses to recognize the possibility of a political revolution, that is, of a decided rearrangement of political power in the state, then there is nothing left for him to do but to seek in some way gradually and imperceptibly to do away with class antagonism without any great decisive battle.

The reformers dream of the establishment of social peace between the classes, between exploited and exploiters, without abolishing exploitation. They would bring this about by having each class exercise a certain self-restraint toward the other, and by the giving up of all "excesses" and "extreme demands." There are people who believe that the antagonisms which exist between the individual laborer and capitalist would disappear if they

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confronted each other in ORGANIZED form. Wage contracts are to be the beginning of social peace. In reality organization simply concentrates the antagonisms. The struggle becomes less frequent, but more violent, and disturbs society far more than former little individual conflicts. The antagonism of conflicting interests becomes much harsher. Because of the existence of organization the conflict tends to drop its character of a *momentary* conflict of *individual persons*, and takes on the form of a NECESSARY conflict between whole CLASSES.

It is impossible for a Socialist to share the illusion of the reconciliation of classes and the coming of social peace. That he does not share it is what makes him a Socialist. He knows that if social peace is to come it will be not by a chimerical RECONCILIATION, but by the ABOLITION of classes. When he has lost faith in a revolution, however, there is nothing left for him but to await the peaceful and imperceptible disappearance of classes through economic progress—through the growth and increased power of the working class, which gradually absorbs the other classes.

That is the theory of the gradual growth into (*hineinwachsen*) the socialist society.

This theory contains a germ of truth. It is supported by facts of economic development that show an actual growth toward Socialism. It was Marx and Engels who first set forth these facts and explained the scientific laws that govern them.

We are growing from two directions. One of these is through the development of capitalism, and the concentration of capital. When, in the competitive struggle a larger body of capital is brought into conflict with a smaller the latter is first pressed, then oppressed, and finally suppressed. This fact, wholly apart from the rage for profits, compels every capitalist to increase his capital and to extend his undertakings. Ever larger grow the

industries, ever more and more industries are concentrated in a single hand. Today we have reached the point where banks and promoting organizations control and direct the greater part of the capitalist undertakings in the various countries. So it is that the road is being prepared for the social organization of production.

Hand in hand with this centralization of business goes the growth of great fortunes, something that is in no way hindered by the appearance of the corporation. On the contrary, the corporation not only makes the control of production by a few banks and industrial combines possible; it also furnishes a means by which the very smallest fortunes can be transformed into capital and thereby be made to contribute to the centralizing process on capitalism.

Through the corporation the savings of even the poor are placed at the disposal of the great capitalists, who are enabled to use those savings as if they were a part of their great capitals. As a result the centralizing power of their own great fortunes is increased still more.

The corporation renders the person of the capitalist wholly superfluous for the conduct of capitalist undertakings. The exclusion of his personality from industrial life ceases to be a question of POSSIBILITY or of INTENTION. It is purely a question of POWER.

This preparation for Socialism through the concentration of capital is meanwhile only one side of the process of gradual growth into the future state. Along with it there is proceeding an evolution within the working class that is no less of an indication of growth in the direction of Socialism.

With the growth of capital goes also an increase in the number of proletarians within society. They become the most numerous class. Simultaneously grows their organization. The laborers create co-operatives that abolish the middle men and establish production directly

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for their own use. They organize unions that restrict the absolute power of the employers and exercise an influence in the productive process. They elect members to the representative bodies in the municipalities and states who seek to secure reforms, to enact legislation for the protection of laborers, to make state and municipal industries model businesses and to increase the number of such industries.

These movements go on continuously, so that our reformers say we are in the midst of the social revolution, indeed some of them would say in the midst of Socialism. All that is needed is further development along these lines, with no catastrophe—indeed, anything of the kind would only disturb this gradual growth into Socialism. Therefore, away with all such ideas, let us concentrate on “positive” work.

This outlook is certainly a very alluring one, and a person would have to be a regular fiend to wish to destroy such a magnificent “gradual reformist ascension” by any sort of catastrophe. Were the wish father to our thought we Marxists would all become inspired with this idea of a gradual growth.

It has only one little defect: The growth that it describes is not the growth of a SINGLE element, but of TWO elements, and, moreover, of two very ANTAGONISTIC elements—Capital and Labor. What appears to the “reformers” as a peaceable growth into Socialism, is only the growth in power of two antagonistic classes, standing in irreconcilable enmity to each other. This phenomena means nothing more or less than that the antagonism between Capitalist and Laborer, which, in the beginning, existed only between a number of individuals, constituting together but a minority in the state, has now become a battle between gigantic, compact organizations that dominate and determine our whole social and political life.

So it is that this gradual growth into Socialism is really a gradual growth into great struggles that shatter the very base of the state, that is growing ever more violent, and that can end only with the overthrow and expropriation of the capitalist class. It must so end, because the working class is indispensable for society. It may be temporarily defeated, but it can never be destroyed. The capitalist class, on the contrary, has become superfluous. The first great defeat that it receives in the struggle for control of the state must lead to its complete and final collapse.

Those who do not recognize that this gradual growth into Socialism includes these consequences must be blind to the fundamental fact of our society—the class antagonisms between capitalists and laborers.

This growth into Socialism is only another expression for the steady sharpening of class antagonisms, for the growth into an epoch of greater, more decisive class struggles, such as we have described under the name of the Social Revolution.

To be sure, the revisionists do not grant this position. But up to the present time none of them has been able to bring any convincing argument against it. The exceptions that they offer, when of any importance, indicate, not a "growth into" Socialism, but a "growth away" from Socialism. Such is the case, for example, with the acceptance of the idea that Capital is not concentrating, but the reverse. This logical contradiction is bound up with the very essence of revisionism. It must accept the Marxian theory of capitalism in order to prove the growth toward Socialism. It must discard this theory in order to make credible the peaceable, progressive development of society and the softening of class antagonisms.

A glimmering of this idea is beginning to penetrate the heads of the revisionists and their neighbors, and they

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are beginning to see that the idea of a peaceable growth into the future state has a catch in it.

In this connection an article by Nauman, published in the October number of the "Neuen Rundschau" (1908) and later in the "Hilfe," on "The Fate of Marxism," is very significant. It is a pretty rough fate that the former leader of the National Social party pictures for us. He concludes that the concentration of capital and the formation of Employers' Associations have surprised us Marxians, and placed us in an unexpected dilemma. This good man has no suspicion of the fact that it was Marx who first set forth the existence of these very things upon the continent of Europe, and that he recognized their significance long before even other Socialists.

But we have become accustomed to ignorance of such things on the part of these gentlemen, and it does not require further attention here. It is worthy of notice, however, that Nauman, in his article, discovers the superiority of concentrated capital so that, according to him, economic evolution is not leading to Socialism, but to a "new feudalism, with inconceivably powerful economic means." Against the Employers' association, he says, co-operatives and unions cannot prevail.

"For any conceivable time the leadership of industry must be located where the trusts and the banks work together. There is growing up a rulership that cannot be thrown from the saddle by any social revolution, so long as there do not come times of unemployment that shall release the hunger rage of the masses, that will blindly throw everything overboard without being able to erect anything better in its place. The idea of a social revolution is practically at an end. All this is very painful for the old-style Socialists, and also for us social ideologists, who have been hoping for a swifter gait in the progress of

Labor. But it makes no difference how much we may have deceived ourselves—the future belongs to the industrial combinations.”

That certainly does not look like growing into Socialism, and least of all like a peaceful growth. Nauman, himself, can suggest no other way of overthrowing this feudalism than a “popular rage” (*Massengroll*), that shall “throw everything overboard”—that is a revolution, and he reaches this conclusion by a logical somersault. First he asserts that the employers’ associations can be overthrown only by a revolution. Then he avoids the idea of this sort of a revolution by the simple assertion that it must be a hunger revolt, which “would simply throw everything overboard, without being able to erect anything better in its place.” Why this must be so, why the revolution is doomed beforehand to barrenness remains Nauman’s secret.

After having killed the idea of a revolution with a stroke of his pen, without any reason, he by no means sinks into complete hopelessness. On the contrary, he arises filled with joyous faith. He then discovers that the employers’ associations are invincible only to Marxians who recognize economic necessity and deny free will. We have only to recognize this will and we can handle the employers’ associations, and the “inconceivably great power” of the “new feudalism” loses its invincibility.

What is not possible to the uprising of the masses can be accomplished by the recognition of the free will of the individual—of his “personality.” The proof of this is furnished by “practical politics.”

Nauman tells us:

“Marx cared little for appeals to free will, since he looked upon all events as determined by natural necessity. At least, it sounds that way in his theory.

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As an individual man, to be sure, he was a personality with a powerful will, who aroused to energetic action. Today there is with the thinking portion of the Socialist movement a certain wandering back from this philosophy of nature to a philosophy of the will, and consequently to the fundamental philosophy of the Socialist movement. Edward Bernstein has spoken the plainest on this point, calling for a return to the feet of Kant. In the anarchist or half-anarchist movement that accompanies Socialism we find this same tendency away from the belief in a blindly ruled natural history in economic life, toward the view that the will can form things as it wishes. This return to the idea of the will is a result of the fact of the permanence of the new industrial domination. One is forced to recognize that it will not overthrow itself, but that concessions can be obtained from it through acts of the will."

The "ones" who have recognized this are just those worshipers of the gradual growth into Socialism. We Marxists do not really need this knowledge. For the revisionists, as well as their anarchist and National Social assistants, on the contrary, this is a wonderful discovery. But they are bees that know how to get honey out of every flower, and they are therefore able to see, even in this discovery, a complete overthrow of the Marxian position, and the same is true of their liberal, National Social, anarchist and half-anarchist intellectual brothers. They all complain that Marx recognized only a "blindly ruled," "automatic," economic evolution, and knew nothing of the human will. And it should be our main task to arouse this will.

So teaches, not alone Nauman, but also Friedeberg. So teaches all those elements within the Socialist movement that are vibrating between Nauman and Friedeberg,

and so teach also the theoreticians of revisionism like Tuganbaranowsky:

"The author of 'Capital' overvalued the significance of the elementary side of the historical process, and did not comprehend the tremendous creative role of the living human personality in this process."—(*Der Moderne Socialismus*, p. 91.)

All this shows clearly that the theory of the "gradual growth into" Socialism has a large hole that is to be stopped up by the tremendous creative role of the living human personality and its free will. But this free will that is to bring about the "gradual growth" really means its abolition. If Nauman is right, and the will is free and can "shape things as it wishes," then it can also "shape as it wishes" the direction of economic development. Then it is absolutely impossible to discover any guarantee that we are growing into Socialism. It is, moreover, impossible to determine any line of historical development whatsoever, and no scientific knowledge of society is possible.

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CHAPTER IV.

ECONOMIC EVOLUTION AND THE WILL.

The revisionists meet these conclusions with the claim that there is a much greater contradiction in Marx himself. They allege that, as a thinker, he recognized no such thing as a free will, but expected everything to come from inevitable economic evolution, which moves on automatically, but that as a revolutionary fighter he sought in the strongest manner to develop wills, and to appeal to the volition of the proletariat. This proves Marx to be guilty of an irreconcilable contradiction between theory and practice, declare the revisionists, anarchists and liberals in closest harmony.

In reality Marx is guilty of no such contradiction. It is a product of the confusion of his critics—a confusion that is incurable, since it recurs again and again. It rests in the first place in the making of will and free will identical. Marx has never failed to recognize the significance of the will and the "tremendous role of human personality" in society. He has only denied the freedom of the will, something very different. This has been explained so often that it scarcely seems necessary to restate it here.

Furthermore, this confusion rests upon a most remarkable conception of the meaning of economics and economic development. All these learned gentlemen seem to think that because this evolution proceeds according to certain definite laws it is automatic and spontaneous without the willing human personality. For them the human will is a separate element *alongside of and above economics*. It

adds to the force and operates upon economics, "making otherwise" the things produced by economics. Such a view is only possible in minds that have only a scholastic conception of economics, that have gathered their ideas entirely from books, and that treat it purely intellectually, without the slightest vital conception of the actual economic process. Here, at least, the proletariat is superior to them, and in spite of Maurenbrecher and Eisner, is better capable of comprehending this process and its historic role, than the capitalist theoretician to whom economic practice is foreign, or than the capitalist practical man to whom every theoretical interest is foreign, and who has no conception of the necessity of understanding anything more of economics than is essential to successful profit making.

All economic theory becomes mere mental gymnastics for those who do not proceed from the knowledge that the motive force back of every economic event is the human will. Certainly not a FREE will, not a will existing by itself (*Wollen an sich*), but a PREDETERMINED (*bestimmtes*) will. It is, in the last analysis, the WILL TO LIVE which lies at the basis of all economics, which appeared with life as soon as it was gifted with movement and sensation. Every expression of the will is, in the last analysis, to be traced back to the will to live.

Whatever especial forms this life impulse (*Lebenswille*) of an organism may take in individual cases depends upon the conditions of that life, taking the word condition in the widest possible sense, as including all the dangers and limitations of life, not merely the means of its sustenance. The conditions of life determine the character of its volition, the nature of its acts and their results.

This knowledge forms the starting point of the materialistic conception of history. But, to be sure, the simplicity of the relations, that must be explained in this man-

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ner in the less complex organisms, give place in higher organisms to conditions in which many intermediate members step in between the mere will to live and the manifold forms of its expression.

I cannot here undertake to carry this further. But a few suggestions may be given.

The conditions of life of an organism are of a twofold nature—first, those that are continually repeated and that do not change in the course of many generations. A will developed by and adjusted to such conditions is strengthened both by inherited custom and natural selection. It becomes an instinct, an impulse which the individual follows under all circumstances, even under extraordinary conditions where following it does not maintain and sustain life, but injures it, perhaps even leads to death. In spite of all this the basis of this will is still the will to live.

Alongside of those conditions of life that are constantly repeated there are also others that appear only seldom or in changed form. Here instinct fails. Here the maintenance of life depends fundamentally upon the possession of intelligence by the organism which will enable it to recognize a given situation and to adjust itself to it. The more an animal form lives in swiftly changing conditions of life the more its intelligence is developed. This is partly due to the fact that the organ of intelligence has greater demands put upon it and partly because the individuals with weaker intelligence are more quickly eliminated.

Finally, when we come to man, intelligence has grown so great that he is able to construct artificial organs—weapons and tools—with which the better to assert himself under given conditions of life. But at the same time he creates for himself new conditions to which, in turn, he must adapt himself. So it is that technical develop-

ment, a result of higher intelligence, becomes in turn an impulse to further development of intelligence.

Technical development is also a result of the will to live, but it carries with it important modifications of that will. The animal wishes to live just because it is alive. It demands nothing more. The discovery of new weapons or new tools brings with it the power of living better than before. It brings the possibility of more abundant nourishment, greater leisure, better security, and finally the satisfaction of new necessities than has hitherto been possible. The higher technical evolution, the more the will to LIVE becomes the will to live BETTER.

This will is the distinguishing mark of civilized man.

Technical evolution changes not only the relation of man to nature, but also that between man and man.

Man belongs to the social animals. The conditions for his life cannot be met in isolation, but demand the formation of societies. The will to live takes on the form of the will to live with and for the members of a society. Technical development changes, among other conditions of life, the forms of social life and co-operation. It does this primarily by bestowing organs upon man that are separated from his body. The natural tools and weapons, nails, teeth, horns and the like, are the property of all individuals of the same nature, and of the same age and sex. The artificial tools and weapons, on the other hand, may all be possessed by a single individual, who may withhold them from all others. Those who have the control of such tools and weapons live under different conditions of life from those who are deprived of them. So different classes are created, in each of which the same will to live takes a different form.

A capitalist, for example, according to the conditions under which he lives, cannot exist without profit. His will to live drives him to acquire profits, and his will to live better forces him to seek increased profits. This,

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again, compels him to increase his capital; in the same manner and to an even higher degree, the competitive struggle threatens him with destruction, if he is not able continuously to increase his capital. The concentration of capital is not an automatic process, that proceeds without the will and the consciousness of the participants. It would not be possible without the energetic will of the capitalists to become rich and to drive their weaker competitors out of the field. What does lie outside their will and their consciousness is the simple fact that the result of their willing and striving is to create the necessary conditions for Socialist production. That the capitalists certainly do not wish. But this does not say that in the economic process, the volition of man, and the "gigantic role of creative personality" is excluded.

The same will to live that animates the capitalists, exists also among the workers. But it takes on different forms to correspond with the different conditions of life. It is not expressed in a struggle for profits, but for sale of labor power, for higher prices for labor power, and lower prices for the means of life; out of this springs the creation of unions and co-operatives, the seeking after legislation for the protection of labor, and finally out of this springs a second tendency, accompanying the concentration of capital, that may be designated as a growing into Socialism. Even here there is no such unintentional, unconscious process, as is customarily understood by the words "growing into."

Finally, in relation to the social process there is still another phase of the will to live which must be considered. Under certain conditions the will to live of an individual or a society can express itself only through the subjection of the will to live of other individuals. The beast of prey can live only through the destruction of other animals. Often his will to live demands the dispossession of some of his own kind who contend with him for prey, or who

diminish the supply of food. This does not demand the destruction of these others, but the bending of their will because of a superiority of muscle or nerve force.

Such contests also take place among men. They are less frequent between individuals than between societies. They are waged over means of winning life, from hunting grounds and fishing places to markets and colonies. Such conflicts always end either with the destruction of one party, or, more frequently, with a breaking or bending of its will. Each time this is only a passing event. But out of this develops a continuous bending of the will of one man by another, that ends in a condition of continuous exploitation.

Class antagonisms are antagonisms of volitions. The will to live of the capitalists meets with conditions that force it to bend the will of the workers and to make use of it. Without this bending of the will there would be no capitalist profit, and no capitalist could exist. The will of the laborer to live, on the other hand, forces him to rebel against the will of the capitalist. Therefore the class struggle.

Thus we see that the will is the motive force of the whole economic process. It is the starting point and enters into every expression of that process. There is nothing more absurd than to look upon the will and economic phenomena as two factors independent of each other. It is a part of the fetish-like conception that confuses the economic process—that is, the forms of social co-operative and competitive labor of mankind—with the material objects of such labor, and that imagines that just as men make use of raw materials and tools to form certain objects according to their own ideas, so the “creative personalities” make use through their free will of the economic process to form “thus and so,” certain definite social relations to suit their needs. Because the laborer stands outside of the raw material and tools, because he stands

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above them and rules them, these worshipers of the economic fetish, think that man stands outside the economic process, that he stands above it and rules it according to his free will.

There is no more ridiculous misunderstanding than this.

Economic necessity does not mean absence of will. It springs from the necessity of the will to live of living creatures, and from the inevitable necessity arising therefrom to utilize the conditions of life that they meet. It is the necessity of a predetermined volition.

There could also be no greater perversion of the truth than the idea that a knowledge of economic necessity means a weakening of the volition, and that the will of the workers must be aroused by biographies of generals and other powerful willed men, and by lectures on the freedom of the will. When the people have once been persuaded that a thing exists, then it must exist and can be used by them! If you do not believe this take a look at our professors and other bourgeois intellectuals, who have had a course in Kant on one side, and worshiped the powerful willed Hohenzollerns on the other, and observe what a great inflexible will they have obtained by this means.

If the will to live, which is the foundation of all economic necessity, is not most powerful in the workers, if this will must first artificially be awakened in them, then is all our struggle in vain.

This does not by any means imply that human volition has no relation to consciousness and is not determined by it. The energy of the will to live, to be sure, does not depend upon our consciousness, but our consciousness does determine the *form* that it will express itself in in any given case, and the amount of energy that the individual will expend in any given form. We have seen that next to instinct consciousness rules the will and that the way in which it is directed depends upon in what

manner and to what degree the consciousness recognizes the conditions of existence. Since the intellect differs with individuals it can react differently upon the same will to live under the same conditions of life. It is this difference that gives the appearance of freedom of the will and makes it look as though the form of the volition of the individual depended, not upon the conditions of life, but upon his own will.

It is not through edifying legends and speculations concerning the freedom of the will, but only through a broader insight into social relations that the proletarian will can be awakened and its energy directed into the channels most effective for the furtherance of proletarian interests.

The will to live is the fact from which we must always take our start—that we must presume to exist. The form which it takes and the intensity with which it expresses itself depend, with each individual, class, nation, etc., upon their knowledge of the actual conditions of life. Wherever two classes arise developing opposing wills, the conditions are presented for conflict.

We have to deal only with this latter situation.

The expression of the will as the spirit of conflict is determined by three things: First, by the *stake* for which the combatants are striving; second, by their *consciousness of strength*; third, by their *actual strength*.

The greater the stake of battle, the stronger the will, the more the fighters will dare, the more eager the sacrifice of every energy to attain that stake. But this holds true only when one is convinced that the forces at his disposal are sufficient to attain the prize. If this necessary self-confidence is lacking, the prize may be ever so alluring, it will still fail to release any volition, but will only arouse desires and longings, and no matter how intense these may be they will give birth to no actual deed, and for all practical purposes are completely useless.

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The feeling of strength is again worse than useless when it is not based upon actual knowledge of its own and its opponents' powers, but depends upon pure illusions. Strength, without a feeling of strength, is dead, and arouses no volition. A feeling of strength without strength can, under certain circumstances, lead to actions that may overwhelm or destroy an opponent, weakening or bending his will. But permanent results are not to be obtained without actual strength. Undertakings that are carried through without actual strength, but whose success depends upon deceiving an opponent as to his real strength, are doomed to failure sooner or later, and the disappointment which they will bring with them will be all the greater in proportion as their first successes were brilliant.

When we apply what has just been said to the class struggle of the proletariat it shows us what must be the nature of the work of those who would fight with and for that class and how the Socialist movement affects it. Our first and greatest task must be to increase the strength of the proletariat. Naturally we cannot increase this by wishing for it. At any definite period of capitalist society the strength of the proletariat is determined by economic conditions and cannot arbitrarily be increased. But the effect of its existing strength can be increased by preventing its waste. The unconscious processes of nature always seem extremely wasteful when looked at from the standpoint of our purposes. Nature, however, has no purposes to serve. The conscious mind of man sets purposes before him, and also shows him the way to attain these purposes without waste of strength, and with the least expenditure of purposeful energy possible.

This holds true also in the class struggle of the proletariat. To be sure, it proceeds in the beginning without the consciousness of the participants. Their con-

scious volition includes only their closest personal needs. The social transformations that proceed from the effort to satisfy these needs remain hidden from the fighters. As a social process, therefore, the class struggle is for a long time an unconscious process. As such it is laden with all the waste of energy inherent in all unconscious processes. Only through a RECOGNITION of the social process, its tendencies or aims can this waste be ended, the strength of the proletariat concentrated, the workers brought together into great organizations united upon a common aim, with all personalities and momentary actions subordinated to the permanent class interests, and those interests, in turn, placed at the service of the collective social evolution.

In other words, the theory is the factor that raises to the highest degree the strength which it is possible for the proletariat to develop. The theory does this by teaching the workers how to use the powers arising at any given stage of economic development in the most effective manner and by preventing the waste of those powers.

The theory does not simply increase the effective strength of the proletariat; it also increases the consciousness of that strength. This latter is something that is no less necessary.

We have seen that the will is determined, not alone by consciousness, but by customs and instinct. Relations that have been constantly repeated through decades, and indeed through centuries, create customs and instincts, that continue to operate after their material basis has disappeared. A class may have become weak that once ruled because of its superior strength, and a class that it exploits may become strong, that at one time was weak and permitted itself to be laden with an exploiting class. But the inherited consciousness of strength may long affect both sides until there comes a test of strength, such, for example, as a war, that exposes the whole weakness

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of the ruling class. Then the subject class suddenly becomes conscious of its strength and a revolution follows.

The proletariat is affected in this manner by the feeling of its original weakness and a belief in the invincibility of the capitalists.

The capitalist system of production arose in a period during which the mass of the proletariat had been thrown upon the street to a parasitic, socially useless existence. The capitalist who took them into his service was their savior, their "giver of bread," or, as we say today, "giver of work," a phrase that does not sound much better. Their will to live drove them to sell themselves. They saw no possibility of existence besides this, and much less any possibility of resisting the capitalist.

But gradually relations changed. From a troublesome beggar, employed out of pity, the proletarian became the working class from which society lives. The personality of the capitalist, on the contrary, became more and more superfluous in the progress of production, something which the corporation and the trust made plainly evident. Because of economic necessity the wage relation became more and more a relation of power, maintained by the power of the state. But the proletariat grew to become the most numerous class in the state, and also in the army, upon which the power of the state rests. In a highly developed industrial state like Germany or England it already possesses the strength to capture the power of the state, and if the economic conditions now existed it could use the power of the state for the substitution of social industry for the present capitalist industry.

But what the proletariat lacks is a consciousness of its own strength. Only a few sections possess this consciousness. For the great mass it is still lacking. The Socialist movement does what it can to develop this consciousness. Here again it makes use of theoretical ex-

planations, but not of these alone. More effective for the development of the consciousness of strength than any theory is always the deed. It is by its victories in the struggle against its opponents that the Socialist party most clearly demonstrates the strength of the proletariat, and thereby most effectively arouses a feeling of strength. These successes, in turn, are due to the circumstance that it is guided by a theory that makes it possible for the most consciously organized portion of the proletariat to utilize its maximum strength at any moment.

Everywhere outside the Anglo-Saxon countries the economic activity of the workers has been directed and assisted from the beginning by the knowledge of Socialism.

Next to these successes it has been the successful battles for parliament and in parliament that has done most to increase the strength and the feeling of strength on the part of the proletariat. Not alone through the material advantages that have been secured for some sections of the proletariat, but most of all through the fact that the propertyless, cowed and hopeless masses of the people saw here a power appear that boldly took up battle against the ruling powers, winning victory after victory, and which was itself nothing but an organization of these propertyless ones.

Therein lies the great significance of the first of May demonstrations, and battle of the ballots, as well as the battle for the ballot. These things often do not bring any important material advantage to the proletariat. Very often the gains are in no way proportionate to the sacrifices made. Nevertheless, every such victory signifies a mighty increase in the effective strength of the proletariat, because they mightily arouse its feeling of strength, and thereby the energy of its volition for the class struggle.

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this increase in the feeling of strength. They know that the giant is not dangerous to them so long as he is not conscious of his own strength. To keep down this feeling of strength is their greatest care, even material concessions are much less hated by them than moral victories of the working class, which increase its self-confidence. Therefore they often fight much harder to maintain autocratic management of the factory, to maintain the right to "run their own business," than against increases in wages. This explains the bitter enmity to the celebration of Mayday as a holiday taken by labor, and also explains the efforts to throttle universal and equal suffrage wherever it has become a means of visibly demonstrating to the population the continuous victorious advance of the Socialist party. It is not the fear of a Socialist majority that drives them to such efforts—they need not fear that for many an election.

No, it is the fear that the continual electoral victories of the Socialists will give the proletariat such a feeling of strength, and so overawe its opponents that it will be impossible to prevent the seizure of the powers of the state and the transformation of the relation of powers in the government.

Consequently we must be prepared to see our next great electoral victory followed by an attack on the present suffrage law for the Reichstag elections—by which I do not by any means say that this attack will be successful.

To be sure, our party does not have victories alone to record, but defeats as well. But the discouraging effect of these are lessened just in proportion as we turn our attention from the local and momentary limitations to follow our movement as a whole during the last two generations in all the nations of the world. The continuous and rapid advance of the whole proletariat, in spite of very heavy individual defeats, then becomes so notorious

that nothing can destroy our confidence in ultimate victory.

The more, however, we seek to consider our individual battles in their relation to the whole social evolution, the clearer and stronger we keep before us the freeing of the working class, and thereby of all mankind from all class domination as the final object of all our endeavors, the more our minor tasks are enobled, the more continuously and impressively the will to live on the part of the proletariat expresses itself, the more will the greatness of the battle prize spur that will on to the greatest possible revolutionary passion, that is not the product of a senseless excitement, but of clear and definite knowledge.

These are the methods by which Socialism has aroused the volition of the working class up to the present time, and this has produced such marvelous results that there is not the slightest reason why these methods should be exchanged for any other.

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CHAPTER V.

NEITHER REVOLUTION NOR LEGALITY "AT ANY PRICE."

On the one side we Marxists are accused of having excluded the will from politics and of having thereby reduced politics to an automatic process. On the other side, these same critics assert the exact reverse. They allege that our desires far exceed our knowledge of reality. They claim that the facts should teach us the impossibility of any revolution, but that we cling to the idea of revolution out of pure sentimental fanaticism until we are drunk with it. They allege that we are seeking a political revolution at any price, even though we might progress faster on the existing legal basis.

(Kautsky here introduces an argument and quotations to show that Frederick Engels did not disavow the revolutionary position, as has been sometimes claimed. This matter deals so largely with German local politics as to be of little interest to English readers.)

I discussed this question of the revolution in the *Neuen Zeit* in December, 1893, and I will simply reproduce a portion of what was said there.

We are revolutionists, and this not simply in the sense that the steam engine is a revolutionist. The social transformation for which we are striving can be attained only through a political revolution, by means of the conquest of political power by the fighting proletariat. The only form of the state in which Socialism can be realized

is that of a republic, and a thoroughly democratic republic at that.

The Socialist party is a revolutionary party, but not a revolution-making party. We know that our goal can be attained only through a revolution. We also know that it is just as little in our power to create this revolution as it is in the power of our opponents to prevent it. It is no part of our work to instigate a revolution or to prepare the way for it. And since the revolution cannot be arbitrarily created by us, we cannot say anything whatever about when, under what conditions, or what forms it will come. We know that the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat cannot end until the latter is in full possession of the political powers and has used them to introduce the Socialist society. We know that this class struggle must grow both extensively and intensively. We know that the proletariat must continue to grow in numbers and to gain in moral and economic strength, and that therefore its victory and the overthrow of capitalism is inevitable. But we can have only the vaguest conjectures as to when and how the last decisive blows in the social war will be struck. All this is nothing new.

Since we know nothing concerning the decisive battles of the social war, we are manifestly unable to say whether they will be bloody or not, whether physical force will play a decisive part, or whether they will be fought exclusively by means of economic, legislative and moral pressure.

We are, however, quite safe in saying that in all probability the revolutionary battles of the proletariat will see a much greater predominance of these latter methods over physical, which means military force, than was the case in the revolutionary battles of the bourgeoisie.

The one reason why the battles of the coming revolution will be less frequently fought out by military

methods is pointed out of the presence of weapons in any resistance from the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, we have better resistance to the overthrow of the eighteenth century rule to this rule.

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methods is to be found in the fact, which has been often pointed out, of the colossal superiority of the weapons of the present standing armies, as compared with the weapons in the possession of civilians, and which makes any resistance of the latter practically doomed to failure from the beginning.

On the other hand the revolutionary sections of today have better weapons for economic, political and moral resistance than was at the disposal of the revolutionaries of the eighteenth century. Russia is the only exception to this rule.

Freedom of organization and of the press and universal suffrage (under certain circumstances universal military duty) not only place weapons in the hands of the proletariat of modern nations which give them an advantage over the classes which fought the revolutionary battles of the bourgeoisie; these institutions shed a light upon the relative strength of the various parties and classes and upon the spirit that animates them, and this light was wholly lacking under absolutism.

At that time the ruling classes as well as the revolutionary ones were groping about in the dark. Since every expression of opposition was rendered impossible neither the government nor the revolutionists could gain any idea of their strength. Each party was in danger of overestimating its strength so long as it had not measured it against an opponent. It was, on the other hand, inclined to underestimate it as soon as it suffered the slightest defeat.

This is one of the principal reasons why, during the bourgeoisie revolutions, so many uprisings were suppressed with a single blow, and why so many governments were overthrown at a single stroke, and why revolution was so generally followed by a counter revolution.

It is wholly different today in those countries having any democratic institutions. Such institutions have been

called social safety valves. If this expression is intended to mean that in a democracy the proletariat ceases to be revolutionary, and that it is satisfied with a public expression of its anger and its sufferings, and that it renounces the political and social revolution, then the expression is false. Democracy cannot do away with the class antagonisms of capitalist society. Neither can it avoid the final outcome of these antagonisms—the overthrow of present society. One thing it can do. It cannot abolish the revolution, but it can avert many premature, hopeless revolutionary attempts, and render superfluous many revolutionary uprisings. It creates clearness regarding the relative strength of the different parties and classes. It does not abolish their antagonisms, nor postpone their ultimate object, but it does operate to hinder the rising class from sometimes attempting the accomplishment of tasks of which it is not yet capable, and to keep the governing class from refusing concessions that it no longer possesses the strength to maintain. The direction of development is not thereby changed, but its course becomes steadier and more peaceful.

The advance of the proletariat in those nations with some democratic institutions is not marked by such striking victories as those of the bourgeoisie during its time of revolution; but it also lacks the great defeats. Since the appearance of the modern Socialist labor movement in the '60s, the European proletariat has met with but one great defeat—that of the Commune of 1871. At that time France was suffering from the victories of the German empire, that had withheld democratic institutions from its people, while the French proletariat had attained to but the dawn of class consciousness and was forced into the uprising.

The democratic-proletarian method of battle may appear more monotonous than the revolutionary period of the bourgeoisie; it is certainly less dramatic and striking,

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but it calls for far fewer sacrifices. This may be somewhat disappointing to those smart literary persons who come to Socialism as an interesting sport, looking for interesting stuff, but not to those who actually have to do the fighting.*

These so-called peaceful methods of conducting the class struggle, which are confined to non-military measures (parliamentarism, strikes, demonstrations, the press and similar methods of bringing pressure to bear) stand a chance of being maintained in any country the more democratic the institutions, and the greater the political and economic insight and the self control of the people.

Of two opponents confronted with the same conditions, that one is most likely to retain his cool-headedness who feels himself superior to the other. On the contrary, the person who does not have faith in his own ability quickly becomes excited and loses his self-control.

In all civilized countries it is the proletariat above all other classes that has the greatest faith in itself and its cause. It is not necessary for it to cultivate any illusions for this purpose. It need only study the history of the last generation, to see how it has moved forward everywhere uninterruptedly. It has only to trace the course of evolution in present society to be convinced that its victory is inevitable. It is not, therefore, to be expected that in those countries where it is most highly developed, the proletariat will easily lose its head and its self-control

* "Capitalist revolutions, like those of the eighteenth century, rush swiftly on from victory to victory, their dramatic effects pile climax upon climax, men and things appear in most glowing brilliancy, ecstasy becomes the every-day spirit; but they are short-lived, they soon reach their apex and there is a long 'morning after' (*katzenjammer*), for society, before the results of the storm and stress period are deliberately appropriated. Proletarian revolutions, on the contrary, . . . are constantly criticizing themselves, etc." (Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire.") In the comparison which he made in 1852, between the capitalist and proletarian revolution, Marx naturally did not take into consideration the influence of democratic institutions.

and enter upon any adventurous policy. And the danger of this is lessened just in proportion to the simultaneous height of culture, the insight of the working class and the democratic development of the state.

On the other hand, the same assurance cannot be offered in regard to the ruling class. It sees and feels that it is growing weaker from day to day and is accordingly more and more nervous and uneasy, and consequently uncertain. It is more and more approaching a state of mind where it is evident that it is liable to be seized with a fit of desperate rage that will lead it to throw itself furiously upon its opponent, in a desperate hope of gaining a victory regardless of the wounds it may inflict upon the whole social body, and also of the irreparable destruction it may produce.

The political situation of the proletariat is such that it can well afford to try as long as possible to progress through strictly "legal" methods alone. The danger that these efforts to progress peacefully will be thwarted lies principally in just this nervous attitude of the ruling class.

The statesmen of the ruling class desire above everything else the commission of some insane act that would arouse, not only the ruling class itself, but the whole great indifferent mass of the population against the Socialists, and they desire this before the Socialists shall have become too powerful to be defeated. Such an occurrence offers the only possible hope of putting off the victory of the working class for at least a number of years. To be sure, they are staking everything on this game. If it is not successful and the proletariat is not overthrown in the act of rage that follows, then the collapse of the capitalist class will but be hastened, and the triumph of Socialism be brought so much nearer. But the politicians of the ruling class have reached a condition where they are ready to risk everything upon a single

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The Socialists, on the other hand, not only have no reason to follow suit in this policy of desperation, but should much rather seek by every means in their power to postpone any such insane uprising, even if it is recognized as inevitable, to a time when the proletariat shall be so powerful as to be able to at once whip the enraged mob and to restrain it so that the one paroxysm shall be its last, and the destruction that it brings and the sacrifice it costs shall be as small as possible.

The Socialists must, therefore, avoid, and indeed actively oppose, any purposeless provocation of the ruling class that might give their statesmen an opportunity to rouse a mad rage against the Socialists. When we declare that revolutions cannot be made, and when we maintain that it is foolish, and indeed pernicious to incite to revolution, and when we act in accordance with these statements, we do not do this in the interest of the capitalist politicians, but of the fighting proletariat. These same tactics have been followed by the Socialist parties of all countries. Because of this fact the ruling class politicians have not, as yet, been able to accomplish what they have desired.

Although the political influence of the Socialists is as yet comparatively small, still it is, in most modern states, too great for the capitalist politicians to do with it as they desire. Petty measures and punishments do not help them; they merely embitter those against whom they are directed, without either frightening them or diminishing their combativeness. Every attempt to carry out such unfair measures for the purpose of disarming the proletariat, carries with it the danger of civil war, which, whatever its final outcome might be, is sure to bring terrible devastation. Everyone with even a little foresight knows this.

However anxious capitalist politicians may be to drive the Socialists to a test of strength, which they are not yet, perhaps, strong enough to meet, the capitalist business men have no desire to enter upon an experiment that may easily ruin any one of them. They certainly will not invite anything of the kind so long as they retain their judgment and are not carried away by any attack of insane rage such as has already been discussed.

The interest of the proletariat today more than ever before demands that everything should be avoided that would tend to provoke the ruling class to a purposeless policy of violence. The Socialist party governs itself in accord with this position.

There is, however, a faction that calls itself proletarian and social revolutionary which takes as its most favored task, next to fighting the Socialist party, the provoking of a policy of violence. The very thing that the statesmen of the ruling class desire, and which is alone capable of checking the victorious progress of the proletariat, is made the principal business of this faction, thereby gaining them the special favor of Puttkamer and his followers. The adherents of this faction do not seek to WEAKEN but to ENRAGE the capitalist.

The overthrow of the Paris Commune was, as has already been noted, the last great defeat of the proletariat. Since that time it has, in most countries, marched steadily forward. This has been due to the acceptance of the tactics just described, and if the progress has sometimes been slower than we might desire, it has been more certain than that of any previous revolutionary movement.

There have been but few instances since 1871 where the proletarian movement has suffered any setback, and in every instance these have been due to the interference by individuals with methods that we have come to designate as "anarchistic," since they correspond to the tactics

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preached by the great majority of present-day anarchists as the "propaganda of the deed."

Concerning the evils inflicted by the anarchists in the "International" and by the uprising in Spain in 1873 we can only make a passing reference. Five years after these uprisings came the incident of the popular rage excited by the attacks of Hodel and Nobiling, without which Bismarck would scarcely have been able to carry his anti-Socialist laws. It certainly could not have been so rigorously administered as it was during the first years of its existence, and the German proletariat would have been spared some terrible sacrifices, and its victorious progress would not have been checked even for a moment.

The next setback suffered by the labor movement was in Austria in 1884 as a result of the knavery and bestiality of Kammerer, Stellmacher, and their followers. The mightily growing Socialist movement there was overthrown at a single stroke without being able to offer a trace of resistance, crushed, not by the authorities, but by the general rage of the people, who charged the Socialists with the acts of the so-called anarchists.

Another setback came in America in 1886. The labor movement had been growing rapidly, and had attained great power. It had been progressing with such giant strides that many observers thought it possible that within a short time it would pass the European movement and stand on the apex of the labor movement of the world. In the spring of 1886 the unions made a tremendous concerted effort to secure the eight hour day. The labor organizations grew to colossal size. Strike followed strike. The most hopeful expectations ruled, and the Socialists, always the foremost and most active, began to attain to the leadership of the movement.

Then at one of the numerous clashes between the laborers and the police came the well known Chicago bomb affair of May 4. No one knows, even today, who

was the real author of this affair. The anarchists who were hung upon the 11th of November and their associates, who were condemned to long terms of imprisonment, were the sacrifices of a judicial murder. But the deed had corresponded to the tactics so long preached by the anarchists. It released the rage of the entire bourgeoisie of America, confused the laborers and discredited the Socialists, whom the people did not know how to distinguish from the anarchists, and whom they often did not wish to distinguish.

The struggle for the eight hour day ended with the defeat of the workers. The labor movement collapsed and the Socialist movement sank into insignificance. Not until within recent years has it once more slowly arisen in the United States.

The only great injuries suffered by the labor movement during the last twenty years have come as a result of acts for which the anarchists were directly responsible, or else which were in accord with the tactics they preach. The anti-Socialist laws of Germany, the exceptional conditions in Austria, the judicial murder in Chicago, with its results, all were thereby made possible.

The possibility that anarchy will again gain a hold upon the masses, is today much less than ever before.

The two great causes which made the people receptive to anarchy were lack of insight and hopelessness, and especially the apparent impossibility of securing the slightest improvement by means of political action.

During the first half of the '80s, during the time when the laborers of Austria and the United States were captured by anarchistic phrases, both countries showed a most remarkable growth in the labor movement—but which was also almost entirely without leaders. The battalions of labor were formed almost entirely from undrilled recruits, without knowledge, without experience and without officers. And out of this condition arose the

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apparent impossibility of overthrowing the political domination of capital by political methods. The laborers of Austria did not possess the suffrage and had little hopes of obtaining it through legal methods in any conceivable time. In America the laborers were disheartened by the political corruption.

Even in other countries beside these two there was a pessimistic wave during the '80s.

Since then things have changed everywhere for the better.

In Austria there was still another condition favoring the rise of anarchy—*faith in the Socialists had been almost destroyed among the masses*. When the political and economic weapons—the organization and the press—of the German proletariat were destroyed by the anti-Socialist laws, the just arising anarchists in Austria took advantage of this situation to accuse the party which had thus been rendered momentarily dumb, of having thrown away its weapons and renounced its revolutionary principles. The Austrian Socialists who defended their German comrades not only failed to rehabilitate the latter in the eyes of the majority of the Austrian laborers, but only succeeded in discrediting themselves. A government official, Count Lamezan, gave his assistance to the anarchists, who were naturally very much beloved by him, and sneeringly declared that the Socialists were only “revolutionists in dressing gowns.”

Even today the anarchists devote most of their activities to showing that the Socialists are only “revolutionists in dressing gowns.”

Up to the present time they have had little success. But if it should ever be possible for an anarchist movement to gain a foothold in Germany, it would not be because of the agitation of the “independents,” but either through such action of the ruling class as would destroy all hope among the laborers and inspire them with an attitude of

extreme prejudice, or else through events among ourselves which would arouse the idea that we had relinquished our revolutionary attitude. The more "moderate" we become, therefore, the more water we supply to the mills of the anarchists, and thus give aid to just the movement that would substitute the most brutal forms of battle for the civilized forms of struggle. We may say that there is today one force that would cause the workers to turn of their own accord from the "peaceable" methods of struggles that we have just been considering—the loss of faith in the revolutionary character of our party. We can endanger the course of peaceful evolution only by too great peacefulness.

We do not need to state here what misfortunes will follow any wavering in our policy.

The opposition of the possessing classes will not thereby be diminished, and no trustworthy friends will be won thereby. It would, however, introduce confusion into our own ranks, render the indifferent more indifferent still and drive away the energetic.

The greatest force making for our success is the revolutionary enthusiasm. We will need this more in the future than ever before, for the greatest difficulties are before, not behind us. So much the worse for all these things that tend to weaken this power.

The present situation brings the danger that we will appear more "moderate" than we really are. The stronger we become the more practical tasks are forced into the foreground, the more we must extend our agitation beyond the circle of the industrial wage worker, and just so much the more we are compelled to guard against any useless provocation or any absolutely empty threats. It is very difficult to maintain the proper balance, to give the present its full due without losing sight of the future, to enter into the mental attitude of the farmers and the small capitalists without giving up the

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proletarian standpoint, to avoid all possible provocation and yet always maintain the consciousness that we are a fighting party, conducting an irreconcilable war upon all existing social institutions.

The above paragraphs were written in 1893. They also contain a prophecy that has since been fulfilled. What I feared in 1893 appeared a few years later. In France a portion of our party membership became temporarily a government party. The masses received the impression that the Socialists had renounced their revolutionary principles. They lost faith in the party. Not a small section of them fell under the influence of the latest variety of anarchism—syndicalism—which, like the old anarchism, follows the propaganda of the deed not so much to strengthen the proletariat as unnecessarily to frighten the bourgeoisie, to arouse its rage and provoke immature, inopportune tests of strength, to which the proletariat is not adequate in the existing conditions.

It is just the revolutionary Marxists among French Socialists who have presented the most determined opposition to this tendency. They fight syndicalism as energetically as ministerialism, and consider one just as injurious as the other.

The revolutionary Marxists are still standing today upon the standpoint developed by Engels and myself in the articles just quoted, written in 1892-1895.

We are neither men of legality at any price, nor are we revolutionists at any price. We know that we cannot create historical situations to suit our desires, and that our tactics must correspond to such situations.

At the beginning of the '90s I had recognized that further peaceful development of the proletarian organizations and the proletarian class struggle, upon the then existing governmental foundations, would best advance the proletariat in the situation existing at that time. Neither can I be accused of being drunk with r-r-revo-

lution and r-r-radicalism when my observation of the present situation leads me to the conclusion that the situation which existed at the beginning of the '90s has fundamentally changed, and that today we have every reason to believe that we are entering upon a period of fighting for governmental institutions and governmental power; that these battles under manifold conditions and changes of fortune may continue for a decade, and that the form and duration of these battles cannot now be foretold, but which it is highly probable will within a comparatively short time bring about important changes in relative power in favor of the proletariat, if they do not bring its complete domination in Western Europe.

The reasons for these views will be indicated in the following chapters.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE GROWTH OF REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS.

We have seen that the Marxists have shown themselves to be by no means as poor prophets as some people would like to make them appear. Many of them, to be sure, have been wrong in some ONE point, as, for example, the setting of a date for the great revolutionary struggle that shall bring about important political alterations of power in the interest of the proletariat.

What reason have we to expect that now, at last, the long expected time is drawing close when the ban of political stagnation will be broken, and that once more the fresh, joyful life of battle and victorious progress on the road to political power will appear?

In his introduction to Marx's "Class Struggles in France," to which reference has already been made, Engels quite properly pointed out that, under present conditions, a great revolutionary struggle can be carried on only by great masses who know what they intend to do. The times are past in which a small minority, by a sudden energetic action, can overthrow a government and erect a new one in its place.

This was possible in a centralized state where all political power was concentrated in a capital city which dominated the entire country, and where the villages and smaller cities had no trace of political life and no power of co-operation. Whoever was able to cripple the military forces and the bureaucracy of the capital, or to win it to their side, could seize the powers of government,

and, if the general conditions were favorable to a social revolution, use them for that purpose.

Today, in the age of railroads and telegraphs, of newspapers and public assemblages, of countless industrial centers, of magazine rifles and machine guns, it is absolutely impossible for a minority to cripple the military forces of the capital, unless they are already completely disorganized. It is also impossible to confine a political struggle to the capital. Political life has become national.

Where these conditions exist a great transfer of political power that shall destroy a tyrannical regime is only to be expected where all of the following conditions exist:

1. The great mass of the people must be decisively hostile to such a regime.
2. There must be a great organized party in irreconcilable opposition to such a regime.
3. This party must represent the interests of the great majority of the population and possess their confidence.
4. Confidence in the ruling regime, both in its power and in its stability, must have been destroyed by its own tools, by the bureaucracy and the army.

During the last decade, at least in Western Europe, these conditions have never existed simultaneously. For a long time the proletariat did not form a majority of the population and the Socialist Party was not the strongest party. When in previous decades we looked for the early appearance of the revolution, it was because we calculated, not alone upon the proletariat, but also upon the small capitalist democracy to help make up the mass of the revolutionary party, and upon the small capitalists and the farmers to form a party of the masses that would stand behind such a revolution. But the small capitalist democracy has completely failed in this respect. In Germany it no longer constitutes an opposition party.

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On the other hand, however, the uncertainty as to conditions which prevailed in 1870 has disappeared in the great cities of Europe outside of Russia. The governments have entrenched themselves and grown in strength and security. They have learned how to gain the confidence of the mass of the nation and to convince it that they stand for its interest.

So it was that in the first decade of the rise of a permanent and independent labor movement, during the '60s of the last century, the possibilities of revolution were constantly less. At the same time the proletariat was ever in more and more need of such a revolution, and, because of the example of the decades just passed, believed such a revolution near.

But gradually conditions changed to favor its coming. The *organization of the proletariat* grew. Perhaps this was most striking in Germany. During the last dozen years this growth has been especially rapid. We have seen the organization of the Social Democrats reach a *half million members*. Closely united to it in spirit is a trade union movement with *two million members*. Simultaneously has grown its *press* as a work of the organization and not of private enterprise. The political daily press now has a circulation of nearly a *million*, and the trade union press, composed mostly of weekly papers, reaches an even greater number.

That is an organized power of the laboring subject masses such as the world has never seen before.

The domination of the ruling class over the subject class has hitherto rested in no small degree on its control of the organized means of governmental power, while the subject class was almost wholly without organization, at least of any organization extending over the field of the entire state. The working class has never been wholly without organization. Through antiquity and the middle ages and up to recent times these organizations, however,

were confined either to single, narrow BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY or to single, narrow LOCALITIES—either guild or municipal corporations.

Under certain circumstances these could exercise a strong restraint over municipalities. There can be no greater mistake than to confuse state and community without distinguishing between them, and to designate one and the other as organizations of the same class domination. A community CAN be, and often is, the same as the state. A community, within the state, may also represent the subject class, if this constitutes a majority and asserts itself. During the last century it performed this function in the most striking manner in the municipality of Paris. This municipality came to be the organization of the lowest classes of society.

But in no great state of today is it possible for a single municipality to maintain its independence in opposition to the power of the state. It is therefore all the more necessary that the subject classes should be organized in great organizations extending over the entire scope of the state and embracing all branches of industry.

This has been most successfully accomplished in Germany. Not only in France, but also in England with its old trade unions, is the economic as well as the political movement very much divided. But however much the proletarian organizations may grow, they will never in normal, non-revolutionary times include the whole of the laboring class within the state, but only an elite, that through either trade, local or individual peculiarities are raised above the mass of the population. On the other hand, the attractive power of a class organization in revolutionary times, in which even the weakest feel themselves capable of and willing to fight, depends upon the numerical strength of the classes whose interests it represents.

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stitute a majority, not only of the population, but even of the electorate, in the German Empire.

The exact figures of the laboring population from the census of 1907 are not yet available. We must therefore take those for 1895. When we compare these with the election of 1893 we obtain the following:

In 1893 the number entitled to vote was 10,628,292. On the other hand, there were in 1895 15,506,482 persons active in industry. Subtract from this figure the number of those under twenty years of age, and one-half of those between twenty and thirty, and we have 10,742,989, as the nearest figure obtainable of the male industrial workers of voting age. This number is almost identical with the number of those entitled to vote in 1893.

Of the male industrial workers of voting age in agriculture, industry and trade (reckoned in the same manner) there were again 4,172,269 independent producers and 5,590,743 wage workers and salary force. If we consider, however, that in business (trade and industry) alone, that of the 3,144,977 heads of business more than one-half, 1,714,351, a single person was both employer and employe, and that therefore the overwhelming majority of these fall within the circle of interest of the proletariat, then we are not exaggerating when we accept the statement that in 1895, while there were three and a half million such "independent" producers who were interested in private property in the means of production, there were more than six million proletarians who were interested in the abolition of this private property.

We may take it for granted that in the remaining strata of the population that are to be considered, while insignificant in numbers, is divided in about the same way. This is especially true of those who are classified as "independent without occupation," and who are composed upon the one side of rich capitalist landlords and

on the other of needy invalids and recipients of old-age pensions.

If we take the total population engaged in productive industry, the preponderance of the proletariat is much greater than among those entitled to the suffrage. Those active in industry who do not vote are nearly all child laborers.

The figures are as follows:

Age.	Independent.	Employees.
18-20 years	42,711	1,335,016
20-30 years	613,045	3,935,592
On the other hand:		
30-40 years	1,319,201	3,111,115
40-50 years	1,368,261	1,489,317
Over 50 years.....	2,102,814	1,648,085

Altogether in agriculture, industry and trade there are 5,474,046 "independents" and 13,438,377 employees. If we deduct from this first class a portion composed of home workers, and similar "independents" who are really disguised proletarians, we can safely say that in 1895 scarcely *one-fourth* of the productive population was interested in the maintenance of private property in the means of production, while the proletariat composed fully one-third of the electorate.

Thirteen years earlier, in 1882, the conditions were not yet so favorable. If we compare the figures of the occupation statistics of 1882 with those of the election of 1881, and use the same method of calculation we have just applied to the figures for 1895, we obtain the following:

Year.	Total Voters.	Voters.	Voting Laborers.
1882	9,090,381	3,947,192	4,744,021
1895	10,628,292	4,172,269	5,590,743
Increase	1,537,911	225,077	846,722

The number of individual industries was almost as great in 1882 as in 1895—1,877,872. But the number

of those classified as "independent" who led a non-proletarian existence was certainly higher in 1882 than in 1895. We can also certainly take it for granted that the number of those interested in the maintenance of private property in the instruments of production was proportionately greater in 1882 than in 1895, when it was in the neighborhood of three and one-half million. The proletarian element, on the contrary, included about five million. The defenders of private property have, therefore, remained practically the same from 1882 to 1895. The number of their opponents in the electorate, on the contrary, has increased a million.

The number of Socialist votes grew at an even more rapid rate during this period, increasing from 311,901 to 1,780,989. To be sure, the number of Socialist votes in 1881 was artificially decreased by the anti-Socialist laws.

Since 1895 capitalist development, and with it the growth of the proletariat, has made yet greater progress. Unfortunately the statistics of 1907 that would give us the desired enlightenment on these points are not yet available for the whole empire.

According to some preliminary statements the number of male "independent persons" in agriculture, industry and trade, during the period from 1895 to 1907 increased but 33,084—practically not at all. The number of male clerical workers and wage workers, the proletariat, increased 2,891,228, or almost a hundred times as much.

The proletarian element that in 1895 was already the dominant element in the population and in the electorate, has since then enormously increased its preponderance.

If we take it for granted that the proportion of those entitled to suffrage among the "independents" and the laborers remained the same as in 1895, then we can carry forward the table already given in the following manner:

Employees.

1,335,016

3,935,592

3,111,115

1,489,317

1,648,085

Voting

Laborers.

4,744,021

5,590,743

846,722

Year.	Total Voters.	"Independent" Voters.	Laboring Voters.
1895	10,628,292	4,172,269	5,590,743
1908	13,352,900	4,202,903	7,275,944
Increase	2,724,608	30,634	1,685,201

The lion's share of the increase in the number of voters falls to the proletariat and this in a higher degree than in the period from 1882 to 1895.

The figures of the census of 1905 are also strikingly significant as showing industrial progress.

As a general thing the cities are much more favorable to the political life and organization of the proletariat and to the extension of our teachings than the open country. It is therefore highly significant that the population of the latter has retreated before that of the cities.

How swiftly this change is proceeding is shown by the following table. The country population includes all those living in communities having less than 2,000 population, and the city population those living in communities of more than 2,000.

Year.	—Rural Population—		—City Population—	
	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.
1871	26,219,352	63.9	14,790,798	36.1
1880	26,513,531	58.6	18,720,530	41.4
1890	26,185,241	53.0	23,243,229	47.0
1900	25,734,103	45.7	30,633,075	54.3
1905	25,822,481	42.6	34,818,797	57.4

In a period of thirty years the city population has more than *doubled*, while the country population has not only relatively but *absolutely* decreased. While the city dwellers have increased more than twenty millions, the number living in the country has decreased nearly one million. At the time of the establishment of the German empire the latter formed almost two-thirds of the population; today they form but a little over two-fifths.

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increase the revolutionary element among the people, that element that is interested in the abolition of the present property and political institutions, and to give it a greater preponderance in the state, and this at the expense of the conservative elements.

To be sure, these revolutionary elements are only revolutionary as a *possibility*, not as a *reality*. They constitute the recruiting ground for the "soldiers of the revolution," but not all are at once such soldiers.

To a large degree hatched out of the small capitalist and small farmer class, many proletarians long carry the shells of these classes about with them. They do not feel themselves proletarians, but as would-be property owners. They live in the hope of getting a little strip of land, or of opening a miserable little store, or of becoming "independent" by establishing a tiny hand industry with a couple of unfortunate apprentices. Others have given up hope in these directions, or recognize what a miserable existence these things really mean, but they are still unwilling to fight for a better existence in co-operation with their comrades. Such become strike breakers and yellow trade unionists. Others, again, have gone further, and have come to recognize the necessity of fighting the capitalists that stand in antagonism to them, but do not feel themselves secure enough and strong enough to declare war upon the entire capitalist system. These look to capitalist parties and governments for relief.

Indeed, even among those who have become thoroughly conscious of the necessity of the proletarian class struggle, there are still plenty who cannot escape from the influence of present society, and who doubt or despair of the victory of the proletariat.

Just so much the more rapid the economic development, and therewith the proletarianization of the population proceeds, the more numerous the hordes that stream

from the country to the city, from the East to the West, out of the ranks of the small possessors into the ranks of propertyless, just so much the more numerous within the ranks of the proletarians is the element that have not yet comprehended the significance of the social revolution, indeed that do not even understand the significance of the class antagonisms in our society.

To win these to the idea of Socialism is an indispensable, but, under ordinary conditions, a very difficult task, that demands the greatest sacrifice and skill, and never proceeds as fast as we wish. Our recruiting ground today includes fully *three-fourths* of the population, probably even more; the number of votes that are given to us do not equal *one-third* of all the voters, and not *one-fourth* of all those entitled to vote.

But the rate of progress increases with a leap when the revolutionary spirit is abroad. It is almost inconceivable with what rapidity the mass of the people reach a clear consciousness of their class interests at such a time. Not alone their courage and their belligerency, but their political interest as well, is spurred on in the highest degree through the consciousness that the hour has at last come for them to burst out of the darkness of night into the glory of the full glare of the sun. Even the laziest becomes industrious, even the most cowardly becomes brave, and even the most narrow gains a wider view. In such times a single year will accomplish an education of the masses that would otherwise have required a generation.

When such a situation has arisen, when a stage has been reached where internal conflicts threaten a collapse, and if there is within such a nation a class that is interested in attaining, and has the power to take political power, then the only thing that is needed is a party that possesses the confidence of this class, and which stands in irreconcilable antagonism to the tottering regime, and

which clearly recognizes the existing situation, in order to lead the aspiring class to victory.

The Socialist party has long been such a party. The revolutionary class is also here, and has for some time constituted a majority of the nation. Can we also reckon upon the moral collapse of the ruling regime?

CHAPTER VII.

THE SOFTENING OF CLASS ANTAGONISMS.

We have seen how Engels in 1885 called attention to the fact that since the French Revolution, with its after effects, which continued from 1789 to 1815, revolution had come in Europe in periods of about fifteen years—in 1815, 1830, 1848-52, 1870-71. From this Engels concluded that the next revolution was due about the close of the '80s or the beginning of the '90s. There actually was a great political transformation about this time, culminating in the overthrow of the Bismarckian regime and a revival of democratic and social-reform efforts throughout all Europe. But this uprising was insignificant and short lived, and since then almost two decades have passed without any actual revolution taking place—at least in Europe proper.

Why is this? How are we to account for the continuous unrest in Europe from 1789 to 1871, and for the continuous stability in political conditions since, which has now culminated in complete political stagnation?

During the whole of the first half of the nineteenth century large sections of the population, of greatest importance in the economic and intellectual life, were completely excluded from the government, which, as the agent of the nobility and the priesthood, was in sharp opposition to them, partly through misunderstanding and partly through direct antagonism. In Germany and Italy economic growth was prevented by the multitude of little states. The period from 1846 to 1870 greatly changed

this situation. During this time industrial capital gained a victory over landed property, first in England, where the corn laws were abolished in 1846 and free trade introduced. Elsewhere, as in Germany and Austria, industrial capital at least obtained an equal position alongside of the landed interests. The intellectuals secured freedom of press and movement. The small capitalists and farmers obtained the suffrage. The national unity of Germany and Italy satisfied a long-felt and urgent longing of these nations. To be sure, this was brought about after the collapse of the revolution of 1848, not by internal movements, but by external wars. The Crimean War of 1854-56 overthrew serfdom in Russia and compelled consideration of the industrial bourgeoisie by the government of the Czar. 1859, 1866, and 1870 saw the completion of Italian unity, and 1866 and 1870 saw the same thing accomplished in an imperfect form in Germany. A liberal era was begun in Austria in 1866, and in Germany also the introduction of universal suffrage paved the way to a certain freedom of the press and of organization. The year 1870 completed this tendency and brought France a democratic republic. In England an electoral reform was carried through in 1867 granting the suffrage to the upper circles of the working class and such of the small capitalists as had not obtained it previously.

These steps gave all the classes in European nations, with the exception of the proletariat, a legal foundation upon which to base their existence. They had obtained, even if in a somewhat incomplete form, the things for which they had been striving since the great Revolution. While all their wishes were not fulfilled, and could not be fulfilled, since the interests of various divisions of the possessing class are frequently antagonistic, yet those who felt their rights abridged did not feel strong enough to fight for complete control of the state, and the things they

lacked were not important enough to make them willing to take the risk of a revolution.

There remains but one revolutionary class in present European society, the PROLETARIAT, and, above all, the city proletariat. In it the revolutionary impulse still lives.

Although the carrying out of these transformations fundamentally altered the political situation, expectations were still widely cherished that were based upon the experiences of the years from 1789 to 1871. Reasoning upon the experiences of centuries, the conclusion was drawn that there would soon be another revolution. To be sure, it was not a purely proletarian revolution that was expected, but a combination of a small bourgeois and proletarian revolution, but in which the proletariat, in accordance with its increased importance, would take the lead. This was the expectation, not alone of a few "dogma-believing Marxists," but of practical politicians who were wholly untouched by Marxism—such, for instance, as Bismarck. When, in 1878, he considered it necessary to call for special legislation against the Socialists, although they had at that time not drawn to themselves a half million votes, which was less than ten per cent of the number of voters and less than six per cent of the total number of those entitled to vote, and if he was even then considering the desperate remedy of trying to provoke the Socialists to street fighting before they became irresistible, such views can be explained only on the theory that he thought the proletarian-little bourgeois revolution at the very door.

And, in fact, there was a series of events that favored this view, and this wholly aside from the remembrance of the events of the previous century.

During the '70s an economic crisis broke over Europe, more lasting and extensive than had ever been known; it continued until the second half of the '80s. The misery in proletarian and small capitalist circles and the discour-

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agement in capitalist circles called forth by this crisis were aggravated still further by the simultaneous sharpening of competition in the means of life from America and Russia, which apparently promised to end all agricultural production in Western Europe.

The universal misery of farmers, artisans and proletarians, the dwindling confidence of the bourgeoisie, the brutal suppression of Socialist efforts—since 1871 in France, and no less in Germany and Austria since 1878—all this appeared to indicate the early approach of a catastrophe.

But the governmental institutions that had been created between 1848 and 1871 corresponded too closely to the necessities of the great mass of the population for them to collapse at this time. On the contrary, the more threatening the danger of revolution appeared, which could be only of a proletarian, anti-capitalist character, the closer the wealthy classes clung to the government.

The small capitalists and farmers, moreover, found the newly acquired political rights, and especially the ballot, very effective means for influencing the government, and of obtaining all sorts of material concessions from it. They were all the more willing to purchase help from the government by political services, the more unbearable their previous allies in political struggles became.

So it was that the widespread discontent which arose from economic depression and political oppression produced only insignificant revolutions. The most important results of these, as has already been remarked, were the overthrow of Bismarck in 1890 and, in the course of a rather violent transformation of the French constitution, the appearance of Boulangerism in France in 1889. With these even the appearance of revolutionary situations disappeared.

Just about the time of these political transformations the long industrial depression ceased. A period of most

active economic improvement began, which, with few interruptions, has continued up until within recent years. The capitalists and their intellectual retainers, professors, journalists and the like, took new courage. The hand workers shared in the improvement, and even agriculture once more enjoyed a revival. It found an expanding market in the swiftly growing industrial population, especially for such products as meat or milk, which were little affected by foreign competition. It was not the agrarian tariffs that rescued European agriculture, for even free trade countries like England, Holland, Denmark shared in the rise, but it was rather the rapid upward movement of industry which came at the end of the '80s.

This upward movement was, in turn, itself a result of the rapid extension of the world market, the same extension that had sent the stream of food stuffs pouring into Europe from distant countries, and had thereby produced the agricultural crisis. This growth of the world market was due especially to the great development of railroad construction outside Western Europe.

Following is the length of the railroads in kilometers*:

	1880.	1890.	1906.	Increase 1880-1906 Per Cent.
Germany	33,634	42,869	57,376	.70
France	25,932	36,895	47,142	.82
England	28,854	32,297	37,107	.29

On the other hand, the following six countries show a remarkable increase:

Russia	22,664	32,390	70,305	.210
British India	14,772	27,316	46,642	.215
China	11	200	5,953	54.000
Japan	121	2,333	8,067	6.666
America	171,669	331,599	473,096	.176
Africa	4,607	9,386	28,193	.513

* A mile equals 1,760 yards; a kilometer equals slightly over 1,093 yards.

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One sees how much greater has been the building of railroads in the new region where capitalism has been growing than in older countries since 1880, and especially since 1890.

At the same time the means of ocean transportation have grown with leaps and bounds. The carrying weight of ocean steamers is in tons:

	1882.	1893.	1906.
German Empire.....	249,000	783,000	2,097,000 (1907)
Great Britain	3,700,000	6,183,000	9,606,514
Norway and Sweden..	140,000	392,000	1,240,000
Denmark	67,000	123,000	376,000
France	342,000	622,000	723,000
United States.....	617,000	826,000	2,077,000 (1907)
Japan	40,000	108,000	939,000

These figures reflect the tremendous extension of the world market during the last two decades, which made possible the absorption during this period of an increased mass of goods. As a result of this fact the attention of all industrial countries was fixed upon this world market, and, naturally, as a result, upon colonial politics, as a means of extending the foreign market. To be sure, the acquisition of new and distant markets has done very little to extend the foreign market since the '80s. The later colonial politics of this period have been directed almost exclusively toward Africa, where alone there still remains a large extent of what the European powers call "free" land—that is, land that is not possessed by any powerful nation.

It is only necessary to refer to the foregoing table showing the progress of railroad construction to recognize how little Africa has been touched by this extension. To be sure, the length of its railroads during the years from 1880 to 1906 has grown from 4,600 to 28,000 kilometers, but what does this signify beside the growth in Asia during the same period from 16,000 to 88,000 and for America of from 171,000 to 473,000. Even in Africa itself the

lion's share of the railway building was not in the new colonies that have been established since the '80s, but in the old colonies and independent states, as is shown by the following table:

Length of railroads in kilometers:

	1880.	1890.	1906.
Algeria	1,405	3,104	4,906
Egypt	1,449	1,547	5,252
Abyssinia .....		.....	306
Cape Colony	1,457	2,922	5,812
Natal	158	546	1,458
Transvaal		120	2,191
Orange State		237	1,283
Remainder of Africa.....	438	919	6,985
Totals	4,607	9,356	28,193

Only 7,000 kilometers, one-fourth of the railroad mileage of Africa, less than even one per cent of the railroads of the earth, was constructed in those districts which, to be sure not all but in large part, have been acquired through the recent colonial politics of the great European powers. It is evident how little this colonial policy has had to do with the extension of the world market which has taken place during the last twenty years, or with the revival of production.

But this revival is very plainly connected with the opening of foreign markets, which has taken place simultaneously with the development of modern colonial policy since the '80s. Consequently the mass of the bourgeoisie connect the colonial policy with the improvement in economic conditions. The result is that a new ideal has arisen for the bourgeoisie of the great European powers. During the '90s this ideal began to be placed in opposition to Socialism, the same Socialism that had captured so many of the thinkers of this same bourgeoisie a decade before. This ideal was the linking together of transoceanic territory with the European government the so-called IMPERIALISM.

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The imperialism of one great nation, however, implies a policy of conquest, and implies enmity toward the other great powers which have entered upon the same policy of conquest in the same transoceanic fields. Such a policy cannot be carried out without great military preparations, without great standing armies, without fleets, that shall be in a condition to carry on battles in distant oceans.

Until the '60s the capitalist class was generally hostile to militarism, because it was hostile to the government. It hated the standing army that cost such vast sums of money and was the strongest support of a government that was hostile to it. The capitalist democracy looked upon the standing army as superfluous, since it confined its endeavors to national boundaries, and had no wish for wars of conquest.

Since the '70s the sympathy of the capitalist class for standing armies has steadily increased, and this not alone in Germany and France, where the war of 1870 had made the army popular—in Germany as the bringer of brilliant victories, in France as a means of avoiding such desolation as that war had brought. In other countries also there began to be enthusiasm for the standing army, as much as a means of repressing the internal enemy as of repulsing external foes. The possessing class became friendly to the army in just the degree that they became friendly to the government. However much they might be divided by antagonistic interests, all joined hands in the willingness to sacrifice for the warlike preparations. Here the radical democrats and the conservative defenders of feudal privileges joined hands. The proletariat, the Socialist, presented the only opposition.

So it was that the government was extraordinarily strengthened during the last decade, and the possibility of its overthrow, of a revolution, appeared to disappear into the infinite.

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the opposition of the "ins" and "outs" of the office holders and seekers—was more and more confined to the proletariat. Many sections, even of the proletariat, lost their revolutionary impulse, after the last political upheaval of 1890.

This upheaval abolished the worst expressions of the political repression of the proletariat in Germany and Austria. Somewhat earlier in France the last remnants of the era of persecution after the uprising of the Commune had disappeared.

To be sure, social reform and labor legislation have not gotten on. These belong rather to the period when industrial capitalism had developed to the point where its destructive effect upon the public health had become so evident as to imperatively demand redress, where industrial capital did not absolutely and entirely rule in state and society, where the little capitalists, land holders and a portion of the intellectuals still stood in sharp antagonism to it, and where also the opinion prevailed that it was still possible to keep the proletariat, that had just begun to become a power, satisfied with a little labor legislation. This was the condition in England during the '40s of the previous century. The most significant measure of all its labor legislation, the ten-hour day for laboring women, became a law in 1847.

Continental Europe lingered far behind. It was not until 1877 that the Swiss enacted a federal factory law fixing a maximum day of eleven hours for men and women. Austria provided for a similar maximum labor day in 1885. The period of upheavals that followed the overthrow of Bismarck brought a few small advances in Germany and France. In 1891 the new German law on industry came, which fixed a maximum eleven hour work day for women, who had hitherto been entirely unprotected. In 1892 this same provision was introduced into France.

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That was all! Since then no progress has been made worth speaking about. After seventeen years we at last obtained a ten-hour work day for women in Germany. The male workers remain, as always, wholly unprotected.

In the field of labor legislation, and also in every field of social reform, complete stagnation reigns.

But the economic improvement which came since the end of the '80s brought to a number of sections of the working class the possibility, thanks to the increasing demand for labor power, of improving their condition through the "direct action" of the unions without the help of legislation.

This increasing demand was well marked by the decrease in the emigration from the German empire.

The number of emigrants from Germany has been as follows:

1881	.....	220,902
1887	.....	104,787
1891	.....	120,089
1894	.....	40,964
1900	.....	22,309
1907	.....	31,696

This sudden increase in the demand for labor power created a relatively favorable position for a considerable number of sections of the laborers in their opposition to capital. The unions, which, during the first two decades of the new era beginning in 1870, because of the economic depression and the political oppression in Germany, France and Austria, had developed but slowly, now grew rapidly. This was especially true in Germany, where the economic development was most rapid. The English trade unions, the old champions of the working class, were caught up with and, indeed, passed. Considerable improvements in wages, hours of labor and other conditions of employment were obtained.

In Austria, for example, the membership of the unions

grew in the period from 1892 to 1896 from 46,606 to 448,230. During the period from 1893 to 1907 the German unions affiliated with the Central organization increased from 223,530 to 1,865,506. The English trade unions, on the contrary, during the period from 1892 to 1906 only grew from 1,500,000 to 2,106,283. They added but 600,000 members to the German 1,600,000.

But it was not alone in rapidity of growth that German unions exceeded the English ones during this period. They presented a higher form of the economic movement. The English unions were purely a national development, the children of practice alone. The German unions were founded and led by the Socialists, who were guided by the fruitful theory of Marxism. Thanks to this fact, the German trade unions were able, from the beginning, to adopt a much more effective form. In place of the local and occupational divisions of the English unions they substituted the great centralized industrial organizations. They were able thereby largely to avoid jurisdictional disputes, as well as the guild-like ossification and aristocratic exclusiveness of the English unions. Far more than the English, the German unionists feel themselves the representatives of the whole proletariat and not simply of the organized membership of their own trade. The English unionists are but slowly overcoming these difficulties. The leadership in the international trade union world is falling more and more to the German unions, thanks to the fact that from the beginning they have been consciously or unconsciously more influenced by the Marxian teachings than their English comrades.

This brilliant development of the German unions made all the deeper impression upon the great mass of the proletariat in proportion as the course of social reform in parliament was checked, and the smaller the practical results attained by the working class during this period through political methods,

The unions, and along with them the co-operatives, appeared to have the mission, without any political disturbance, simply by utilizing the existing legal foundations, of continually raising the working class, of narrowing the field of capital, and of substituting the "constitutional factory" for capitalist absolutism, and through these transitional stages to gradually, without any sudden break or catastrophe, attain to "industrial democracy."

But while the class antagonisms are apparently steadily softening, elements are already appearing that tend once more to sharpen them.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SHARPENING OF CLASS ANTAGONISMS.

Simultaneously with the labor union organization proceeded another powerful organization, that threatens constantly to bar the way of the first. This organization is the EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION.

We have already considered the growth of the *corporation*. Trade and banking associations have long existed. Since the '70s of the last century these have been seizing power in industry at a constantly increasing rate. We have already referred to the manner in which the centralization of undertakings in a few hands, the road to which was prepared by the advance of the great industry, has received a powerful impetus by the entrance of the corporation. It furthers the expropriation of the small properties that have been invested in shares of stock by the masters of "high finance," who generally know how to navigate the deep waters of modern economic life much better than the little "savers." Indeed, in many cases artificial whirlpools and abysses are stirred up for the express purposes of engulfing these little capitalists. The corporation also brings together the small sums invested in shares into a powerful property completely controlled by the masters of high finance who rule these corporations. The corporation finally makes it possible for great individual financiers, individual millionaires, and great banks, to bring numerous industries under their control

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Thanks to the corporation, we have seen employers' associations shoot up like mushrooms since the '90s. These take on different forms, according to the state of legislation in the various countries. All, however, have the same object—the creation of artificial monopolies by increasing profits. This is sought partially through raising the price of the products, also through increased exploitation of the consumers, and partially through reduction of the cost of production, which is accomplished either through the discharge or increased exploitation of labor or, more frequently, by both.

Still easier than the joining together into combines and trusts for the maintenance of prices, is the formation of organization for the suppression of laborers. In this latter field there is no competition, no antagonism, all are united. It is not only all the employers in any one branch of industry that feel themselves united by a common interest, but the same bonds unite all those in the various branches of industry. However great their enmity as buyers and sellers in the goods market may be, in the labor market they are all united by the most brotherly ties as purchasers of the same commodity—labor power.

These employers' associations offer every possible obstacle to the progress of the working class through labor organizations. Naumann has exaggerated their strength in the extracts quoted above. But the victorious progress of the unions is more restricted during recent years. They are everywhere being placed on the defensive. Ever more frequently and more effectively is the strike met with the lockout. The favorable periods in which successful battles may still be fought are more infrequent.

This situation is made still worse by the ever increasing

flood of needy foreign labor power. This is a natural and necessary result of the industrial growth that has extended the world market with steamships and railroads until the most distant corners of the earth have been opened for the introduction of the products of capitalist industry. In the newly opened localities these products displace those of domestic industry, especially of peasant house industry. This means upon the one side the awakening of new needs in the dwellers in such newly opened localities, and on the other hand it renders necessary the possession of money. At the same time the destruction of these home industries renders labor power superabundant in such backward localities. This labor power soon finds itself without any occupation in its old home, and certainly without any money earning occupation. The new means of transportation, steamships and railroads, that have brought them the industrial products of other countries, now offer them the possibility of shipping as living return freight to these industrial countries, where wage earning labor is in sight.

The exchange of men for goods is one of the unavoidable results of the extension of the market for capitalist industry. At first it brings the industrial products of its own country from the city to the open country, and draws back to the city not simply raw material and food products, but labor power also. As soon as an industrial country becomes an exporting country it soon begins to import men. So it was at first in England during the first half of the last century when it drew hordes of workers, especially from Ireland.

To be sure, this flood of backward (*tiefstehender*) elements is a serious obstacle to the proletarian class struggle, but it is naturally and necessarily united with the extension of industrial capitalism. It does not do to do as some "practical politicians" of Socialism wish, and

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praise this extension of capitalism as a blessing for the proletariat and immigration of foreigners as a curse which has nothing to do with the blessing. Each economic advance is under the system of capitalism united with a curse for the proletariat. If the American laborers wish an influx of Japanese and Chinese, then they must also oppose the carrying of American goods in American steamships to Japan and China, for the purpose of building railroads there with American money. One thing is inseparably connected with the other.

The immigration of foreigners is a means of keeping the proletariat down, just the same as in the reduction of machines, the substitution of men by women in industry, or of skilled by unskilled workers. Its oppressive results furnish a reason for hostility, not to the foreign workers, but to the domination of capitalists, and for renouncing all illusions that the rapid development of capitalist industry can bring any permanent advantage to the laborers. All such advantages are ever transient.

The bitter end inevitably comes later. Once more this fact becomes evident.

We have already noticed the great reduction in emigration from Germany during the last twenty years. At the same time the number of foreigners in Germany has increased, as is shown by the following figures:

1880.....	276,057	1900.....	778,698
1890.....	433,254	1905.....	1,007,179

The enumeration always takes place on the first of December when building and agricultural work is at a standstill. The numerous foreign laborers who work in Germany only during the summer, returning to their homes in autumn, are not included in this count.

The difficulties added to the economic battle by the employers' associations and the influx of unattached, unor-

ganized, unprotected strange laborers was rendered doubly bitter by the rise in the price of food products.

One of the most important factors in maintaining the standard of life of the European working class was the fall in the price of food products since the '70s, to which we have already referred. It raised the purchasing power of their money wages, softened the effect of their fall during crises, and during the time of revival permitted the real wages to rise faster than money wages, in so far as agrarian taxes did not offset the favorable effect of lowering food prices.

But within a few years the price of food products has again begun to rise.

This movement can be most clearly followed in England, where it has been unaffected by any agrarian tariff. According to Conrad's table the price of wheat per ton was:

	Mark.		Mark.
1871-75.....	246.4	1886-90.....	142.8
1876-80.....	206.8	1891-95.....	128.2
1881-85.....	180.4	1896.....	123.0

On the other hand, in recent times, according to the quarterly statistics of the German Empire, prices are as follows. In Liverpool La Plata wheat from July to September was:

	Mark.		Mark.
1901.....	129.1	1905.....	144.8
1902.....	138.0	1906.....	138.0
1903.....	139.3	1907.....	160.0
1904.....	152.1	1908.....	176.0

Naturally the price has varied in the different years with good or bad harvests. But it, nevertheless, appears as if we were now confronted with a rising price of food products, not as a temporary but a permanent phenomenon.

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The bankruptcy of Russian agriculture, together with the transformation of the United States from an agricultural to an industrial nation, makes it probable that the gigantic stream of cheap food products which has flowed toward Europe will gradually dry up.

The American wheat production, for example, has not been increasing for several years. It has been as follows:

Year.	Cultivated Area, Acres.	Crop, Bushels.	Av. Price Per Bushel, Dec. 1.
1901.....	49,900,000	748,000,000	\$0.624
1902.....	46,200,000	670,000,000	.630
1903.....	49,500,000	638,000,000	.695
1904.....	44,100,000	552,000,000	.924
1905.....	48,900,000	693,000,000	.748
1906.....	47,300,000	735,000,000	.667
1907.....	45,200,000	634,000,000	.874

It is thus evident that production is rather decreasing than increasing. Consequently the price shows a decided tendency to increase.

The effect of the stoppage in the importation of food products is made worse by the capitalist combines that artificially raise all prices and freights.

All this is aside from the agrarian tariffs by which the state still further adds to the burden which increasing prices lay upon the laborer.

Added to all this the crisis which came at the end of the year 1907, bringing with it widespread unemployment and the condition of the proletariat became a frightful one, which it remains today. But it is not to be expected that the end of the crisis will bring with it any such upward movement as marked the period from 1895 to 1907. The high price of food products will remain and rise yet higher. The flood of cheap labor power from without will not cease; on the contrary, it will set in with increased power on the appearance of somewhat improved conditions. Most important of all the employers' associa-

tions will form an even stronger iron ring, which it will be impossible to break by purely union methods.

However important, and indeed indispensable, the unions have been and will remain, we need not expect that they can again so mightily advance the proletariat by purely economic methods as they were able to do during the last dozen years. We may even need to reckon with the possibility that their opponents will gain sufficient power to gradually force them back.

It is worthy of notice that even during the last years of prosperity, while industry was still in full swing, and was even complaining of a lack of labor power, that the workers were no longer able to raise their real wages—that is, their wages as measured not in money, but in the necessities of life. This has been proven by private investigations in various sections of the workers in Germany. In America we have an *official recognition* of this fact for the whole laboring class.

The labor bureau at Washington has, since 1890, undertaken each year to investigate the condition of the workers in a number of establishments of the most important branches of industry in the United States. In recent years there were 4,169 factories and work places in which the height of wages, the hours of labor, as well as the domestic budgets of the laborers were investigated, together with the form of their consumption and the prices of the necessities of life. The figures thus obtained were then compared to show the improvement or deterioration in the condition of the workers.

For each individual article the average of the figures from 1890-99 was taken as 100. The number 101, therefore, indicated an improvement of one per cent as compared with the years 1890-99; the number 99, in the same way, indicated a deterioration of one per cent.

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Year—	Weekly Wages of a Workingman Com- monly Employed.	Retail Price of Nec- essaries of Life in Workingman's Budget.	Purchasing Power of Weekly Wages.
1890.....	101.0	102.4	98.6
1891.....	100.8	103.8	97.1
1892.....	100.3	101.9	99.4
1893.....	101.2	104.4	96.9
1894.....	97.7	99.7	98.0
1895.....	98.4	97.8	100.6
1896.....	99.5	95.5	104.2
1897.....	99.2	96.3	103.0
1898.....	99.9	98.7	101.2
1899.....	101.2	99.5	101.7
1900.....	104.1	101.1	103.0
1901.....	105.9	105.2	100.7
1902.....	109.2	110.9	98.5
1903.....	112.3	110.3	101.8
1904.....	112.2	111.7	100.4
1905.....	114.0	112.4	101.4
1906.....	118.5	115.7	102.4
1907.....	122.4	120.6	101.5

First of all this table shows us how much of a basis there is for the so-called "improvement through reform" of the proletariat. The last seventeen years were uncommonly favorable ones for the working class. They were years of such tempestuous upward leaping in America as perhaps may never come again. No working class enjoys greater liberties than the American. None is so "practical" in its politics, freer from all revolutionary theories that might attract its attention from the detail work of improving its condition. Nevertheless, in the year of prosperity, 1907, when the money wage rose an average of 4 per cent above that of the previous year, actual wages were only a trifle higher than in 1890, when business was by no means exceptionally good. To be sure, unemployment and the uncertainty of existence make an enormous difference between a time of prosperity and a crisis; but the purchasing power of the weekly wages of the fully-

employed laborer has changed but a trifle from 1800 to 1907.

Money wages, to be sure, have increased quite largely. They fell during the period of depression from 1890 to 1894 from 101 to 97.7, or more than 3 per cent, but from then on they grew steadily, until in 1907 they reached the figure indicated by 122.4, or almost 25 per cent.

The prices of the *necessaries of life*, on the contrary, fell more rapidly than wages during the period from 1890 to 1896, the decrease being from 102.4 to 95.5, or about 7 per cent, so that the purchasing power of a week's wages did not fall as fast as the money income. Actual wages, in the period from 1890 to 1896, fell only from 98.6 to 98, or only .6 of one per cent, while money wages had fallen around 3 per cent. From 1894 to 1896 money wages rose from 97.7 to 99.5, while the cost of living fell still faster. So it was that in 1896 the purchasing power of the wages of an average laborer reached the point indicated by 104.2.

His money wages have never since been able to purchase an equal amount. In spite of all prosperity actual wages are LOWER NOW THAN TEN YEARS AGO. And this is what they call a slow but sure *rise* of the laborers!

It is equally worthy of notice that in the very highest intoxication of business, when the capitalists were grabbing their fattest profits, the actual wages of labor did not even hold their own, but had already begun to sink. To be sure, the index number indicating money wages increased from 1906 to 1907 from 118.5 to 122.4, almost 4 per cent, but the price of the necessities of life moved even more swiftly upward from 115.7 to 120.6, or nearly 5 per cent, so that the purchasing power of a week's wages actually sank one per cent. In reality the relation was much worse. American statistics are not ordinarily fixed up so as to make existing conditions blacker than the facts justify.

All this gives rise to a foreboding that after the passage

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of the crisis and the reappearance of prosperity, the proletariat need expect no repetition of the former glorious industrial era.

Let it be repeated that this does not mean that the unions will be powerless or by any means superfluous. They will remain the great mass-organizations of the proletariat without which it would be delivered up helpless to be completely despoiled. The change in the situation does not lessen their importance, but only demands that their methods of fighting be transformed. Where they have to deal with powerful employers' associations they can accomplish little directly, but their battles with such organizations grow to gigantic proportions, and where all concessions are refused by the employers such conflicts may shake all society and the state and influence governments and parliaments.

Strikes in those branches of industry that are dominated by employers' associations, and which play an important part in the general economic life tend more and more to take on a *political* character. On the other hand, opportunities come with increasing frequency in the purely political struggles (for example, battles for the suffrage) in which mass-strikes may be used as an effective weapon.

So it is that the unions are compelled more and more to take up political tasks. In England as in France, in Germany as well as in Austria, they are turning more and more toward politics. This is the justified kernel of the syndicalism of the Romance countries. Unfortunately, however, as a result of its anarchistic origin this kernel is buried in a desert of anti-parliamentarism. And yet this "direct action" of the unions can operate effectively only as an AUXILIARY and RE-ENFORCEMENT TO and not as a SUBSTITUTE FOR parliamentary action.

The center of gravity of the proletarian movement is again resting, even more than during the last two decades, in *politics*. In the first place, proletarian interests are na-

turally directed toward social reform and protection for labor. In these fields, however, there is almost universal stagnation, which with the present relative forces on the basis of the present governmental foundations cannot be overcome.

By stagnation we do not necessarily understand a complete cessation of movement. That is impossible in such a wildly agitated society as ours. There may be, however, such a slow rate of advance, that it amounts to a complete cessation, or even to a backward movement in comparison with the rate of technical and economic transformation and the increase in exploitation. And this unspeakably slow progress must be secured only through great economic battles, carefully prepared for and fought out. The burdens and sacrifices of such battles tend to rapidly increase and ever more to overbalance the definite results.

It must not be forgotten that our "positive" and "reformatory" work not only strengthens the proletariat, but also arouses our opponents to more energetic resistance to us. The more the battle for social reforms becomes a political battle the more do the employers' associations seek to sharpen the antagonism of parliaments and governments toward the laborers, and to cripple their political powers.

So it is that once more the battle for political rights is being forced into the foreground, and constitutional questions that touch the very foundations of governmental life are becoming live questions.

The opponents of the proletariat are constantly seeking to limit the political rights of the workers. In Germany every electoral victory of the proletariat is followed by threats to substitute a system of plural voting for the present universal suffrage. In France and Switzerland the militia are turned upon the strikers. In England and America it is the courts that are restricting the freedom of

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But the proletariat cannot be satisfied to simply guard itself against such attacks. Its condition will be more and more threatened if it is unable to conquer new positions in the national life, which will enable it to utilize the governmental institutions in the service of its class interests. In Germany especially is it in need of this, even more than any other country save Russia. Already the Reichstag suffrage is being turned more and more against the city proletariat. The distribution of districts for the Reichstag elections is today the same as it was in 1871. But we have seen to what extent the relation of city and country has changed since then. While in 1871 two-thirds of the population was in the country and but one-third in the cities, today that proportion is reversed, while the relative representation in the Reichstag remains the same. This more and more favors the open country at the expense of the city. In the last Reichstag election the Socialists received 29 per cent of all the votes cast, but only 10.8 per cent of the representatives. The Center party, on the contrary, received 19.4 per cent of the votes and 26.4 per cent of the representatives, and the Conservatives 9.4 per cent of the votes and 15.7 per cent of the representatives.

These two parties combined did not have as many votes as the Socialists, but they have four times as many representatives. Under proportional voting the Socialists would have had 116 instead of 43 representatives in 1907 and the Conservatives and Center together would have had 115 instead of 164.

The continuation of the present districting is equivalent to giving a plural vote to the more backward portion of the population, and this inequality increases from year to year in the same degree that the city proletariat grows.

Along with this we have a system of casting the votes,

especially in the country and the small cities, that subjects the proletariat to a political dependence upon the possessing classes in almost as great a degree as their economic dependence, since the voting envelopes as now used destroy the secrecy of the ballot almost as effectively as the previous system.

To be sure, the removal of this abuse alone would not be sufficient. Of what avail is the increase in our influence, and our power in the Reichstag, when the Reichstag itself is without influence and power? Power must first be conquered for it. A genuine parliamentary regime must be established. The imperial government must be a committee of the Reichstag.

The Reichstag is weakened, not alone because the imperial government is independent of it, but no less from the fact that the empire is by no means a complete united state. Its power is further restricted by the sovereignty of the separate states, by their governments and landtags, and their narrow particularism. It would be easy enough to deal with the smaller states, did not one mighty mass lay athwart the way—PRUSSIA and her Landtag, elected by the three-class system of voting. The particularism of Prussia, above all, must be broken, her Landtag must cease to be the shield of all reaction. The conquest of secret and equal suffrage for the North German Landtags, and above all for that of Prussia, and the raising of the Reichstag to the position of dominant power, are the most imperative political tasks of the day.

But even if we were able in this manner to transform Germany into a democratic state, that would not be enough to help the proletariat forward. The German proletariat, that already constitutes a majority of the population, would, to be sure, have the key to legislation in its hand. But this would do it very little good if the state did not possess the rich resources that are indispensable to social reform.

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Today, however, all the resources of the state are eaten up by the *military* and *naval* expenditures. The steady growth of these expenditures is responsible for the fact that the present state neglects even those cultural undertakings that are of the most imperative interest for the whole population, and not of the proletariat alone, such as the improvement of education, and of means of communication—canals and roads, etc.—undertakings that would greatly increase the productive and competitive power of the country, and are accordingly demanded by the purely business interests of capitalism.

But no large sums can be secured for these purposes, since the army and the navy devour everything, and will always continue to devour everything so long as the present system rules.

The *abolition of the standing army and disarmament* is indispensable if the state is to carry out any important reforms. Even capitalist elements are coming more and more to recognize this, but they are incapable of accomplishing it. Peace prattle by philanthropists will not take us a single step forward.

The present competitive preparation for war is primarily a result of the colonial policy and imperialism, and so long as this policy is maintained it will do little good to preach peace. The colonial policy involves militarism, and it is foolish to set a definite aim and then try to avoid the means by which it can be attained. This ought to suggest something to some of our friends, who are shouting for world peace and disarmament, attending all the bourgeois peace congresses, and at the same time advocating the colonial policy, although, to be sure, they always advocate an ethical, socialist colonial policy. They are in the same position as those Prussian liberals of the '70s of the last century, who as capitalist politicians feared the revolution, and who sought to secure the unity of Germany, not through a revolution, but by the triumph of the

house of Hohenzollern, and at the same time as democratic politicians sought to restrict militarism and refused to grant the Hohenzollerns the military force with which to perform their task. They were destroyed by their own contradictions.

Whoever stands for the colonial policy must also stand for competitive armament. Whoever would check this must convince the people of the useless and indeed of the ruinousness of the colonial policy.

In the present situation that is the most imperative political task of the militant proletariat; that is the "positive" policy that it must follow. Until this problem is solved there is little hope of securing any "reforms" of any importance in the face of the growth of employers' associations, of the rise in the cost of living, of the flood of low standard workers, of the universal stagnation in all legislative social reform, of the growth of the national expenses under this burden.

The improvement of the right of suffrage for the Reichstag, the conquest of equal and secret ballot for the Landtags, especially of Saxony and Prussia, the gaining of a dominant position for the Reichstag not only over the imperial government, but also over the individual states, these are the special tasks of the German proletariat. The battle against imperialism and militarism is the common task of the whole international proletariat.

Many may think that the accomplishment of these tasks would not bring any great advance. Does not Switzerland offer an example of a state that fulfills all these conditions—complete democracy, popular militia system, and no colonial policy? Yet social reform stagnates in Switzerland and the proletariat is exploited and enslaved by the employers just as everywhere else.

On this point the first thing to note is that the Swiss do not escape the consequences of the competitive armament that is going on around them, but, on the contrary,

are industriously entering upon the same competition and spending no small amounts thereby. A portion of the military expenses are borne by the various cantons, but in spite of this the expenditures of the central government are growing by leaps and bounds, as is shown by the following table:

Year—	Francs.	Year—	Francs.
1875.....	39,000,000	1905.....	117,000,000
1885.....	41,000,000	1906.....	129,000,000
1895.....	79,000,000	1907.....	139,000,000

The appropriations for the military are growing rapidly, as is also the income from taxes. They are as follows:

Year—	Appropriations for Militarism	Receipts of Finance and Tax Departments
1895.....	23,000,000	4,000,000
1905.....	31,000,000	64,000,000
1906.....	35,000,000	62,000,000
1907.....	42,000,000	63,000,000

If we omit the income and expenditures for the postal and telegraph systems, that nearly cancel each other, we find that in 1907 the income was eighty-three million francs, of which seventy-three million were raised from taxation. The expenses amounted to eighty million francs, of which forty-two million were for the military and six million for interest on the public debt.

So we see that even in Switzerland militarism is swallowing up the lion's share of the national income, and that its demands are rapidly growing.

No one would be so naive as to assert that we can pass unperceptibly and without a battle from the military state and absolutism into democracy, and out of the conquering imperialism into the union of free peoples by a gradual "growing into." The whole idea of "growing into" can only arise during a time when it is the common belief that all further evolution will take place exclusively on the economic field, without any change whatever being required in the relation of political powers and institu-

tions. As soon as it becomes evident that such changes are imperatively necessary for the proletariat if its economic elevation is to proceed further, this compels the recognition of the necessity of political struggles, transfers of power and transformations.

The proletariat must grow mightily in these struggles. It cannot win these battles, cannot reach the above mentioned goals of democracy and abolition of militarism, without itself attaining to a dominant position in the state. So it is that the acquisition of democracy and the abolition of militarism in a modern great nation have wholly different results, than rise at the present time from the old inherited militia system and the republican institutions of the Swiss.

This is all the more true in proportion as these transformations are accomplished exclusively by the proletariat. And there is no prospect of any faithful allies in the coming battles. Hitherto we have reckoned upon allies from the capitalist camp, namely, small capitalists and small farmers.

We have seen how earnestly Marx and Engels for a long time expected that the small capitalist democracy would at least start a revolution with us as they had done in 1848 and 1871. As the democratic policies and parties continued more and more to prove disappointing, we Marxians still continued to believe that great masses of the little capitalists and small farmers would be drawn to us, and interested in our revolutionary objects. In my articles of 1893 which have already been quoted, these expectations found even stronger expression than in Engels' introduction written in 1895:

"If this continues, by the end of the century we will have captured the larger portion of the middle classes of society, small capitalists and small farmers, and will have grown to be a deciding power in the country."

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The agrarian tariff and the employers' associations came simultaneously with the trade unions. So it was that the handicraftsmen were simultaneously pressed from all sides. The tariff and the employers' associations raised the price of the necessities of life and raw material, while the unions raised wages.

To be sure, it was only the money wages and not the real wages that were raised, since prices went up faster than wages. Nevertheless the wage struggle embittered the little bosses, and they came to look upon the employers' associations and the tariff parties as their allies against the organized workers. The latter and not the tariff and trusts were blamed not only for the high money wages, but also for the rise in prices of raw material and rents, which it was claimed were due to the rise of wages.

The little merchants, again, saw themselves squeezed by the rise in prices since the purchasing power of their customers, mostly laborers, did not increase in the same degree. They turned their anger against the laborers rather than against the tariff and the combines. They did this all the more willingly, the more the laborers sought to escape the effect of the rise in prices by trying to abolish the middle men through co-operatives.

It must not be forgotten that the laborer plays a peculiar role in the market for goods. Everyone else comes to this market, not only as buyer, but also as a seller of products. What the trader loses as buyer of goods in the universal rise of prices he gains by the rise of his own products. Only the laborer comes to the world market as a buyer alone and not as a seller of goods. His labor power is a peculiar sort of goods, with peculiar price laws, so that wages do not automatically follow general changes in price. Labor power is not something apart from men, but is inseparable from and closely bound up with the lives of human beings. Beneath its price are psychological, physiological and historical conditions, that do

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Wages follow price movements, but slowly and only to a certain degree. The possessor of labor power gains more in declines of price and loses more with rising prices than buyers of other products. His standpoint in the goods market is in antagonism to that of the sellers. In spite of the fact that he produces all and consumes but a portion of his product, his standpoint is that of the consumer and not that of the producer. His product does not belong to him, but to his exploiters, the capitalists.

It is the capitalist who appears upon the market as a producer and seller with the product of the labor of the wage worker. The laborer appears there only as the buyer of the means of life.

In consequence of these facts the laborers are placed in antagonism to the sellers and also to the farmers in so far as they are sellers. It is not alone on the question of the tariff on agricultural products, but on many other points, for example, the attempt to raise the price of milk, that the farmers and the laborers stand in sharp antagonism.

The farmers, in so far as they employ wage workers, are embittered by the attempts to raise wages and improve the conditions of the industrial workers. The time of industrial prosperity and the strengthening of the unions and their victories was also the time of insufficient labor in agriculture. Not only the hired men and the hired girls, but even the children of the farmers, were drawn away to industry in ever increasing swarms, seeking to escape the barbaric conditions of life in agriculture. Naturally the accursed Socialists were blamed for this lack of labor power in the country.

So it has happened that increasing sections of those classes of the population that formerly constituted the

nucleus of the little capitalist democracy, and energetic fighters in its revolution, and who had been at least somewhat indifferent allies of the revolutionary proletariat, now turned everywhere into its most violent enemies. This was still least true in "Marxian soaked" Germany, and much more in France, Germany and Switzerland.

In the great cities the enmity of the middle classes to the proletariat was increased still more by their antagonistic positions on the questions of imperialism and colonial policy. Whoever rejects the Socialist position has nothing left but despair unless he believes in the colonial policy. It is the only prospect before the defenders of capitalism. But along with it must go the acceptance of militarism and the big navy. Even those sections of the middle class that are not in the direct circle of interest of hand work, retail trade, or the production of necessities of life, such as the intellectuals are also, in so far as they are not permeated with Socialism, being driven away from the proletariat and its far-seeing vision, by being thrown into the current of imperialism and militarism. All those who, like Barth, Brentano, and Naumann, once looked so favorably upon the trade union and co-operative organization of the proletariat and its democratic efforts, are today defenders of big fleets and expansion. Their friendship for the Socialists lasts only so long as imperialism and its consequences are not concerned.

These policies seem destined to complete the isolation of the proletariat and thereby doom it to political barrenness at the very moment when its political development is needed more than ever.

Yet it is possible that this very policy of imperialism may become the starting point for the overthrow of the present ruling system.

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CHAPTER IX.

A NEW PERIOD OF REVOLUTION.

We have seen how rapidly the cost of militarism has risen in Switzerland. That, however, is little more than a weak reflection of what is taking place in the great military nations. Let us now turn to the German empire. According to the statistical year book of the German empire the following have been the expenditures for this purpose, in millions of marks:

	1873	1880-81	1891-92	1900	1908
Army	308	370	488	666	856
Navy	26	40	85	152	350
Colonial government.....	..	..	..	21	21
Pensions	21	18	41	68	110
Interest on public debt.....	..	9	54	78	156
Totals	355	437	668	985	1493
Annual increase	12	21	35	64	
Total government expense.....	404	550	1118	*1640	2785
Annual increase.....	21	52	58	91	

We see that the expenses rise steadily, but in an ever increasing rate. During the first decade of the empire the increase was in the neighborhood of 21,000,000 a year. Finally during the last decade the increase rose at the rate of nearly 91,000,000 a year, and during these last years the yearly increase reached almost 200,000,000.

The principal increase is in the cost of the preparations

*From 1900 on the expense of postoffice, railroads and government printing are included. These amounted in 1900 to 416,000,000 marks.

for war. Of these the cost of the navy rises more rapidly than that of the army. While the population of the empire during the years from 1891 to 1908 increased from 50,000,000 to 60,000,000, or about ONE-FOURTH, the cost of the army has in the meantime almost DOUBLED, the expenditures for pensions and interest on the public debt have TRIPLED, and the naval expenses have QUADRUPLED. And there can be no halt in this mad increase until the present system is changed from the VERY FOUNDATION. The continuous technical transformation which is bringing the capitalist machine system and natural science into the field of production forces its way into the art of war, and there creates a continuous competition of new discoveries, a continuous depreciation of what now exists, and a continuous extension of power, but not, as in the field of production, a continuous increase in the productivity of labor, but a continuous aggravation of the destructiveness of war and a continuous increase in the unproductive wastes of peace.

Along with the transformation through technical evolution there goes also a constant extension of the domination, or at least of the sphere of influence of every great nation, due to the policy of expansion, which in turn makes necessary ever increasing armament.

So long as the policy of expansion continues the delusion of competitive armament must continue to increase until complete exhaustion is reached. Imperialism, however, as we have already seen, is the single hope, the single idea of the future which offers anything to present society. Consequently this delusion will increase until the proletariat gains the power to determine the policy of the nation, to overthrow the policy of imperialism and substitute the policy of Socialism. The longer this competitive armament continues, the heavier the load that will be laid upon the people of each country. Consequently each class will seek more and more to shove these loads off upon other

classes, and will tend to

In Germany the heaviest load of industrializing trade crisis, of international association simply diminishes the purchasing power of industrial production. It pretends to

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classes, and therefore the more this competitive armament will tend to sharpen class antagonism.

In Germany it is naturally the laborers upon whom the heaviest load is shoved. This was bad enough in a time of industrial prosperity, of low cost of living, of advancing trade unions. It becomes unbearable in a time of crisis, of rising prices, of the ascendancy of employers' associations. But the increasing load of taxes does not simply diminish the income of the laborers and reduce the purchasing power of their wages. It greatly threatens industrial progress itself, which the policy of expansion pretends to further.

The United States is the most dangerous competitor of German industry. The latter is greatly handicapped in this struggle by the German tariff system. To be sure, America has an even higher tariff. But it is an INDUSTRIAL and not an AGRARIAN tariff. It is provided with the cheapest food products and produces nearly all raw materials itself. Along with this it possesses the advantage of having no important land power as neighbor. It does not need to draw more than half a million men year in and year out from production to engage in the foolish waste of soldiery.

The more militarism grows in Europe, the greater grows the industrial superiority of the United States, and the more the economic progress of Europe languishes. Consequently, the more unfavorable grows the economic condition of the European working class. And in order to further this process the greatest sacrifices are demanded of us.

To be sure, the United States has also entered upon the road of imperialism and therewith upon the road of increased military preparations. Since the war with Spain the expenses for army and navy have been increasing. Nevertheless they are still less injured by this than the great powers of Europe, since, unlike these, they do not

need to maintain a great standing army at home. In the whole United States there are barely 60,000 men in the army.*

As in the field of industrial competition, the United States can still go a long ways in military competition before it is exhausted.

The following table shows the position of the United States in these respects in round millions:

	Popu- lation	National Debt	Expense of Army	Expense of Navy	Value of Exports Per Cent of Total		
					Food Prod.	Raw Material	Manu- facturing
1880....	50	1919	38	14	56	29	15
1890....	63	890	45	22	42	36	21
1900....	76	1101	135	56	40	24	35
1907....	86	879	123	97	28	32	40

We see that the national debt of the United States is decreasing. To be sure, it increased in 1900, together with the expenditures for the army, as a result of the war with Spain. But since then it has again decreased in spite of increasing expenditures for the army and navy. The cost of the land forces for 1908 was \$190,000,000, almost as much as in Germany, although, to be sure, with a population of eighty-six million.

The table of exports, however, shows how rapidly the export of manufactured articles from America is increasing and how much it is growing to be an industrial and not an agricultural nation in relation to the world market.

Out of a total export of \$1,875,000,000 worth of goods from Germany in 1907, \$1,750,000,000 were manufactured goods. In the United States, out of a total export of \$1,853,000,000 worth of goods of domestic production, over \$740,000,000 worth were manufactured articles. In 1890 the value of the manufactured goods exported from

*This, of course, does not include the militia.—Trans.

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Germany amounted to \$530,000,000 and of the United States to \$170,000,000. Since then Germany has increased its exports of manufactures 150 per cent and the United States 300 per cent.

It is evident that the United States is already pushing Germany hard as an industrial nation.

And in this situation, while the United States in the period from 1900 to 1907 reduced its national debt in the neighborhood of \$230,000,000, Germany increased its load of debt during the same period about \$360,000,000. And even now, while this is being written, new colossal increases in expenses and higher taxation to raise a half million more are being planned.

The working class are struck hardest by these loads and crushed down, and this hampers industry, and handicaps the nation in its competitive struggle, which again reacts upon the laborers, upon whose shoulders this whole hassle is fought. But there is a limit to the burden the laborers can bear, so at last this competitive armament cripples industrial progress.

At the same time the national antagonisms grow sharper, which stirs up the danger of war. Each government finds the constant and ever revolutionized war preparations more unbearable, but none of the ruling classes seeks the fault in the world politics that they follow. They dare not see it there, for this is the last refuge of capitalism. So each one finds the fault with the other, the German with England and the English with Germany. All become more and more nervous and suspicious, which in turn creates a new spur, to add new haste to the warlike preparations, until they are at last ready to cry: "Better a terrible end than an endless terror."

Long ago this situation would have led to war, as the only alternative except revolution by which to escape from this crazy situation of reciprocal screwing up of the national burdens, had it not been for the fact that this

alternative would have brought the revolution that stands behind the war—nearer than even behind an armed peace. It is the rising power of the proletariat which for three decades has prevented every European war, and which today causes every government to shudder at the prospect of war. But forces are driving us on to a condition where at last the weapons will be automatically released.

There is another phenomenon that is working in the same direction, and which, even more than the competitive arming, is destined to reduce the policy of expansion to an *ad absurdum*, and thereby to cut off from the present method of production its last possibility of further evolution.

The policy of expansion or imperialism rests upon the supposition that only peoples belonging to the European civilization are capable of independent development. The people of other races are looked upon as children, idiots, or beasts of burden who may be handled with more or less gentleness, and in any case are beings of a lower stage, which can be controlled according to our desires. Even Socialists have proceeded upon this supposition so far as to advocate colonization—to be sure, in an ethical manner. But actual events soon teach them that the fundamental principle of our party—the equality of all men—is not a mere phrase, but a very real power.

To be sure, the peoples who are outside the circle of influence of European civilization are almost incapable of any resistance during this century. This does not rest upon any natural inferiority, as the conceited ignorance of European bourgeois scholars would have us believe, whose science finds expression in the phantasies of our racial theoreticians. These people are crushed simply by the superiority of European technical development, including, to be sure, European mentality, which, in the last analysis, rests upon that technical development.

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including but a few to non-European peoples, up that civilization have been lacking.

The extent of this is but little. Capitalism lying outside which American first only capitalism. Most confined to the rivers.

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We have been in railway especially in the capitalist industrial countries. This is true of Africa.

It is from capitalist industry second half to be at the half of the manufacture of products striking evidence of production

including but a few thousand men, the peoples belonging to non-European civilizations are fully capable of taking up that civilization, but the material conditions hitherto have been lacking.

The extension of capitalism changes these conditions but little. Capitalist exportation brings into the localities lying outside the scope of European civilization (within which America and Australia are, of course, included) at first only capitalist PRODUCTS, and not capitalist PRODUCTION. Most important of all, even this influence is confined to the waterways, the sea coast and a few great rivers.

A tremendous transformation has taken place in this respect during the last generation, and especially during the last two decades. They have not only brought a new era of transoceanic conquest. The exports from industrial countries to undeveloped lands are no longer composed exclusively of PRODUCTS; they now include the INSTRUMENTS OF PRODUCTION AND TRANSPORTATION of modern industrialism.

We have already seen what a rapid advance there has been in railroad construction during recent years, especially in the Orient (Russia is here included). But capitalist industry is also rapidly developing in these countries. This is especially true of the textile and iron industries and mining. The latter has revolutionized South Africa.

It is from this export of the means of production that capitalist industry has drawn its new blood since the second half of the '80s of the last century. It appeared to be at the end of its capacity for expansion by the first half of the '80s, and it really was, so far as the export of manufacture is concerned. But the export of the means of production made possible a wholly unexpected and striking expansion, and developed the capitalist method of production in non-European civilizations, driving the

previous economic conditions quickly out of existence. This, however, made impossible the continuance of the old methods of thought in the Orient. Along with the new methods of production of European origin, hitherto barbaric peoples suddenly acquired the intellectual capacity of developing to the European level. This new spirit breathes no love for Europe. The new countries become competitors of the old. But competitors are ENEMIES. The existence of the European spirit in Oriental countries does not make them our friends, but only our equals as enemies. That does not take place immediately. We have already seen what a role the CONSCIOUSNESS OF STRENGTH plays in the social life, and how long a newly rising class or nation may remain in a subservient position which already possesses the power of securing independence, but is not yet conscious of that fact. This is showing itself now. The people of the Orient have been so often conquered by Europeans that they look upon all resistance as hopeless. Europeans have the same opinion. Their colonial policy is based on this, and so they treat, dispose of and deceive these people as if they were cattle.

But as soon as the Japanese broke the ice there was an instant reaction throughout the entire Orient. All Eastern Asia, as well as the whole Mohammedan world, raised to an independent policy, to a resistance against all domination from without.

This brought imperialism to a sudden stop. It can move no further. Yet it must constantly proceed further, since capitalism must constantly expand if its exploitation is not to become absolutely unbearable.

Equatorial Africa remains as the only possible field of expansion, where the climate is the best ally of the native, where European soldiers cannot be used, and where the Europeans must obtain natives as soldiers, and arm and train them—in preparation for the time when these mercenary troops will turn against their masters.

Everywhere is spreading, European and exploitation. exploitation into seeds of revolution itself first in a constant in siasts comfort impose upon the future is for the main constantly increase of the country in which and continue foreign yoke nearest to the ruptcy of the

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Everywhere in Asia and Africa the spirit of rebellion is spreading, and with it is spreading also the use of European arms, and a growing resistance to European exploitation. It is impossible to transplant capitalist exploitation into any country without therewith sowing the seeds of revolt against that exploitation. This expresses itself first in a growing difficulty in colonial politics, and a constant increase in their cost. Our colonial enthusiasts comfort us for the burdens that the colonies now impose upon us with promises of the rich rewards that the future is to bring. In reality the military expenses for the maintenance of colonies will, from now on, constantly increase—and this will not be all. The majority of the countries in Asia and Africa are reaching a condition in which the temporary uprisings will become open and continuous, and will end with the destruction of the foreign yoke. The British colonies of East India are nearest to this stage; their loss is equivalent to the bankruptcy of the English government.

We have already called attention to the fact that the Russo-Japanese war has inspired Eastern Asia and the Mohammedan world to throw off European capitalism. In this they are fighting the same enemy that the European proletariat is fighting. To be sure, we must not forget that while they are fighting the same enemy they are not fighting it with the same object—not in order to gain a victory for the proletariat over capital, but in order to substitute an internal national capitalism for an external one they are rising. We must not have any illusions on this point. Just as the Boers were the closest skinners of the people, so the Japanese rulers are the worst persecutors of Socialists and the Young Turks have already felt themselves compelled to proceed against striking workers. We must not take an uncritical attitude to the non-European opponents of European capitalism.

This, however, does not alter the fact that these oppo-

nents weaken European capitalism and its governments and introduce an element of political unrest into the entire world.

We have seen how in Europe a period of constant political unrest continued from 1789 to 1871, until the industrial bourgeoisie had conquered everywhere the political positions which their rapid development made possible. Since the Russo-Japanese war, since 1905, a similar period of constant political unrest has existed in the Orient. The people of Eastern Asia and the Mohammedan world, together with those of Russia, have just entered upon a position in many ways similar to that of the West European bourgeoisie at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Naturally the conditions are not wholly the same. One thing that makes them different is that the world is a hundred years older. The political development of a country does not depend entirely upon its own social conditions, but upon the conditions of the whole surrounding world, which affect that country. The different classes of Russia, Japan, India, China, Turkey, Egypt, etc., may stand in a similar relation to one another as did the classes of France before the great Revolution. But they will be influenced by the experiences of the class struggles that have taken place since then in England, France, and Germany. On the other hand, their struggle for favorable conditions for a national capitalist system of production, is at the same time a struggle against foreign capital and its foreign domination—a struggle which the people of Western Europe did not have to conduct during their revolutionary period from 1789-1871.

But however great these differences which tend to prevent the East from simply repeating the events of the West of a century ago, the similarity is still great enough to make it certain that the East is now entering upon a revolutionary period of a similar character—a period of

conspiracies, renewed insurrections will continue, and a serious portion of

Thanks to this word in the Occident but affect the that has been wholly unexpected which it can peaceful solution subsequently be as the relation and demands everywhere, mess already armament. proximity.

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will continue until the conditions of a peaceful develop-
ment and a secured national independence is obtained for
this portion of the world.

Thanks to world politics, however, the Orient (using
this word in the widest sense) is so closely connected with
the Occident that the political unrest of the East cannot
but affect the West. The political equilibrium of nations
that has been so carefully obtained is now confronted with
wholly unexpected alterations, that stagger it, and upon
which it can exercise no influence. Problems whose
peaceful solution appears impossible, and that have con-
sequently been avoided and put aside (such, for example,
as the relations of the Balkan states) now suddenly arise
and demand a solution. Unrest, mistrust, uncertainty
everywhere, are forced to a climax through the nervous-
ness already raised to a high degree by the competitive
armament. A world war is brought within threatening
proximity.

The experience of the last decade, however, shows that
war means revolution, that it has as a result great changes
in political power. In 1891 Engels still held that it
would be a great misfortune for us if a war broke out
which should bring a revolution with it, precipitating us
prematurely into power. For some time, he thought, the
proletariat could proceed more securely by the utilization
of the present governmental foundations than by running
the risk of a revolution precipitated by a war.

Since then the situation has changed much. The pro-
letariat has now grown so strong that it can contemplate
a war with more confidence. We can no longer speak of
a PREMATURE revolution, for it has already drawn so great
strength from the present legal basis as to expect that a
transformation of this basis would create the conditions
for its further upward progress.

The proletariat hates war with all its strength. It would sacrifice everything rather than raise a cry for war. But if war should break out in spite of it, the proletariat is the only class that could confidently await its outcome.

Since 1891 it has not only grown greatly in numbers, not only been solidified by organization, it has also gained enormously in MORAL CONVICTION. Two decades ago the Socialists of Germany were still confronted with the great prestige which the rulers of the empire had gained in the struggles for its foundation. Today that prestige is scattered to the winds.

On the other hand, the more the idea of imperialism becomes bankrupt, the more the Socialists become the only party that is fighting for a great ideal and a great object, that is capable of arousing all the energy and devotion that flows to such an object.

In the ranks of our opponents, on the contrary, hesitation and apathy is sown by the consciousness that incapacity and corruption has degraded their leaders. They no longer believe in their cause, nor in their leaders, who right now, in the face of the situation whose difficulties are increasing from day to day, must fail and continue to fail and to more and more expose their complete incapacity.

This also is no accident, no fault of any individual persons, but is a necessary consequence of conditions.

The causes of this condition are manifold in character. As soon as a class or a government passes out of the revolutionary into the conservative stage, as soon as it is no longer compelled to fight for its existence or its further progress, as soon as it is contented with the present, the intellectual horizon of its spokesmen and rulers is narrowed and confined. Its interest in great questions dies out, it loses the power to do and dare, bold thinkers and fighters become undesirable and are pushed aside.

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In the same way the fact that statesmen and thinkers of a class or a country no longer struggle for anything great tends to develop selfish interests, and to cause the interests of individual persons to be pressed forward instead of the general interests of a class, a community or a society. The persons who are striving for power are no longer inspired by the impulse to create something great and new for the community, but only to obtain riches and power for themselves. This unscrupulous striving finds its expression in the efforts of the seekers after power, to attract, not those forces that are most capable of serving the community, but of such as can be most easily utilized to satisfy the needs and inclinations of the seekers for power.

To these general causes of the moral and intellectual collapse of all possessors of power in a conservative stage, must be added certain ones that spring peculiarly from capitalism.

Hitherto the exploiting classes have been the governing classes. They at least reserved the apexes of the governing machinery for themselves. The capitalist class, on the contrary, is so filled with the greed for business profits, that it relinquishes politics to others, who, to be sure, are at bottom but its agents. In democratic countries they are professional politicians, parliamentarians and journalists, in absolutisms the court circle, in intermediate nations, a mixture of these two elements with sometimes one, sometimes the other dominating.

So long as capitalist exploitation is small, the watchword of capital is economy, and it seeks to introduce this into the administration of government also. The small capitalists are forced, willy-nilly, to remain true to this watchword. The big capitalists, on the contrary, as the degree of exploitation rises practice ostentation and ex-

travagance, that finally reaches such a mad pace as finds its extreme in insane forms of competitive armament.

In other ages the rulers of the state led all their subjects in display. Now the politicians and the statesmen even in the highest places are left far behind by the kings of high finance. It is difficult to increase the income of the government officials from the national treasury, especially in parliamentary nations, where heed must be paid to the voters and taxpayers who are always crying for economy. This is all the more difficult as the preparations for war absorb all the increase in national income.

If the politicians and statesmen are to keep up with the rising standard of living of the great exploiters, there is nothing left for them but to open up illegitimate sources of income alongside of their legitimate ones, by the utilization and prostitution of their political influence. They use their knowledge of governmental secrets and their influence upon governmental policies in speculation on the board of trade; they sponge upon the hospitality of great exploiters in a parasitic manner; they permit such persons to pay their debts, and in the worst cases accept bribes for the sale of their political influence.

The evil of corruption is invariably found wherever there are capitalist states with great exploiters. It always seizes the politically influential organs first, in democratic states the parliamentarians and journalists, in absolutisms the court nobility. Everywhere it breeds a far-reaching corruption that spreads the more rapidly in proportion as the exploitation and extravagance, and therewith the needs of the politicians and officials grow, and the power and the economic functions of the government increase.

To be sure, it is not claimed that all those who are touched by corruption are aware of it, or that all politicians and statesmen of the ruling class are corrupt. That would be to exaggerate. But the TEMPTATION to corrup-

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tion continuously increases in these circles. It demands a constantly increasing strength of character to resist this temptation. It becomes easier to yield to this temptation the more extensive the atmosphere of corruption and the more developed and insinuating its methods, which do not permit those who are seized by corruption to become conscious of their own downfall.

So we see that in the same degree that the problems of politics become more and more complicated and make greater demands on the knowledge, intellectual activity, foresight and decision of statesmen, that in just the same degree the ruling class substitutes superficial babbling for scientific earnestness, fickleness for intellectual stability, personal rivalry and narrow intrigues in place of calculated pursuit of a distant goal, constant wavering between provocative brutality and cowardly retreat in place of quiet, decisive firmness.

At the same time an almost universal greediness and corruption appears. This manifests itself, now in a Panama scandal, then in an alliance between officials and swindlers, almost everywhere in fraudulent contracts for war material, sometimes in blow-hole armorplate, and again in useless weapons, and in other places again the fatherland is charged double what the same goods are sold for to other countries. For a long time contracts for war material have been a means of enriching the capitalists. Never, however, have the contractors for military supplies been so close to the government as now, never have they had so much influence over the policies that make for peace or war.

These same contractors are today the greatest industrial capitalists, the greatest exploiters of the proletariat. They have the greatest interest in the brutal war upon the inner as well as the outer enemy, and the greatest influence upon the government, which is more and more made up of unstable individuals,

Consequently every state must regard its neighbors, and the working class of every state must look upon its rulers as liable upon the slightest provocation, or as a result of any accident, to release the most inconceivable horrors upon it. All this is bound to produce a new transformation in the little capitalist class.

Naturally the moral bankruptcy of the ruling class is most complete in those localities where it is inaccessible to the mass of the people. Some great catastrophe, like the Russo-Japanese war, is required to expose the full rottenness of the system. In ordinary times it is only here and there that some special unskillfulness lifts a corner of the blanket that at other times shamefully conceals all. The class-conscious proletariat are touched but little by such disclosures. The laborers are much more antagonistic to the ruling class than formerly and do not deceive themselves about its moral qualities.

It is different with the small capitalist class. The more it becomes untrue to its democratic past, the more it crawls under the government and expects help from it, and the more it trusts in that government and its stability, and all the greater its horror when the foundation is torn away and its prestige goes to the devil.

There is a simultaneous increase in the pressure by the great capitalist combines and through the demands of the state upon their purses. This does not improve their confidence in the ruling class.

That confidence must completely disappear when the incapacity, indiscretion and corruption of the governing class frivolously precipitates a catastrophe—a war or a coup d'état—that would expose the country to extreme distress. The blind rage of the little capitalists would be all the more easily and fiercely turned against the class that chanced to be ruling at such a time in proportion as it had expected much from this class previously, and the

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The last decade has certainly increased the hatred of the small capitalists for the proletariat. The latter must henceforth direct its policy with the expectation of fighting the coming battle unaided. But Marx has already shown that the little capitalist, as an intermediate thing between the capitalist and proletarian, wavers back and forth between the two, now the man of one and now of the other. We dare not reckon upon him, he will always be an uncertain ally—as a body. Individuals may well become very excellent party comrades, or their enmity to us may grow still greater. But that does not necessarily mean that some day, because of an unbearable burden of taxation and sudden moral collapse of the ruling class, they will come into our ranks en masse and perhaps thereby sweep away our enemies and decide our victory. Certainly it could make no cleverer stroke, for the victorious proletariat offers to all those who are exploiters, to all oppressed and exploited, as well as to all who vegetate like the small capitalists and small farmers, a tremendous betterment in their conditions of life.

However hostile the little capitalist class may be to us today, it is far from being a firm support of the possessing class. It also is wabbling and cracking in all its joints, like every other support of present society.

The security of the existing order is failing in the consciousness of the people as well as in reality. There is a general feeling that we are entering upon a period of general uncertainty, that things cannot go on as they have gone for a generation, that the present situation is becoming rapidly untenable and cannot survive another generation.

In this time of universal uncertainty the immediate task of the proletariat is clear. We have already developed it. It cannot progress further without changes in the

national foundation upon which it is waging its fight. To strive for democracy, not only in the empire, but also in the individual states and especially in Prussia—that is its next task in Germany; its next international task is to wage war on world politics and militarism.

Just as clear as these tasks are the means which are at our disposal for their solution. In addition to those that have already been utilized we have now added the MASS-STRIKE, which we had already theoretically accepted at the beginning of the '90s, and whose application under favorable conditions has been repeatedly tested since then. If it has been somewhat pushed into the background since the glorious days of 1905, this only shows that it is not workable in every situation, and that it would be foolish to attempt to apply it under all conditions.

So far the situation is clear. But it is not the proletariat alone that must be considered in the fight that lies before us. Many other factors will participate therein that are wholly incalculable.

Incalculable are our statesmen. Their personalities change rapidly and their views more rapidly still. They no longer have any logical, definite policy.

Incalculable also are the small capitalist masses that, now here, now there, throw their weight into the scale, balancing it up and down.

Furthermore, the insanity of foreign politics, which involves so many nations, is still incalculable, so that the incalculableness of the internal politics of such states is increased manifold by the complications of its foreign relations.

All these factors are now in the closest and most continuous interrelation, so that it is impossible to come to any conclusions concerning them.

The Socialists will be able to assert themselves in the midst of this universal uncertainty just in proportion as they do not waver and as they remain true to themselves.

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In the midst of this constant wavering policy they will increase the conscious strength of the laboring masses just in proportion as their theory makes possible a logical, definite practice. The more the Socialist party maintains an indestructible power in the midst of the destruction of all authority, the more the Socialists will increase their authority. And the more they persevere in their irreconcilable opposition to the corruption of the ruling class the more complete the trust that will be vested in them by the great masses of the population in the midst of the universal rottenness which has today seized the bourgeois democracy, which has completely surrendered its principles for the purpose of gaining governmental favors.

The more immovable, logical and irreconcilable the Socialists remain, the sooner will they conquer their opponents.

It is to ask the Socialists to commit political suicide to demand that they join in any coalition or "bloc" policy, in any case where the words "reactionary mass" are truly applicable. It is demanding moral suicide of the Socialists to ask them to enter into an alliance with capitalist parties at a time when these have prostituted themselves and compromised themselves to the very bottom. Any such alliance would only be to join in furthering that prostitution.

Anxious friends fear that the Socialists may prematurely gain control of the government THROUGH a revolution. But if there is ever to be such a thing as a premature attainment of governmental power, it will come from the gaining of the appearance of governmental power BEFORE the revolution; that is, before the proletariat has actually gained political power. So long as it has not gained this, the Socialists can obtain a share in governmental power only by SELLING its political strength. The PROLETARIAT as a class can gain nothing in this man-

ner. Even in the best cases the only gain will be to the PARLIAMENTARIANS who have carried out the sale.

Whoever looks upon the Socialist party as a means for the freeing of the proletariat, must decisively oppose any and all forms of participation by that party in the ruling corruption. If there is anything that will rob us of the confidence of all honorable elements in the masses, and that will gain us the contempt of all those sections of the proletariat that are capable of and willing to fight, and that will bar the road to our progress, it is participation of the Socialists in any coalition or "bloc" policy.

The only elements that would be served by such a policy would be those to whom our party is nothing more than a ladder by which they can personally climb—the strivers and the self-seekers. The less of such elements we attract to us and the more we can drive away, the better for our battle.

How what has been said will be applied in individual cases it is impossible to say definitely. Never was it more difficult than now to foretell the form and tempo of the coming developments, where all the factors that are to be considered, with the exception of the proletariat, are so indefinite, incalculable.

The only certain thing is universal uncertainty. It is certain that we are entering upon a period of universal unrest, of shifting of power, and that whatever form this may take, or how long it may continue, a condition of permanent stability will not be reached until the proletariat shall have gained the power to expropriate politically and economically the capitalist class and thereby to inaugurate a new era in the world's history.

Whether this revolutionary period will continue as long as that of the bourgeoisie, which began in 1789 and lasted until 1871, is, naturally, impossible to foresee. To be sure, all forms of evolution proceed much more rapidly now than previously, but, on the other hand, the field of bat-

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tle has grown enormously. When Marx and Engels wrote the "Communist Manifesto" they saw before them only Western Europe as the battle field of the proletarian revolution. Today it has become the whole world. Today the battles in the struggle of the laboring and exploited class for freedom will be fought not alone upon the banks of the Spree and the Seine, but on the Hudson and the Mississippi, on the Neva and the Dardanelles, on the Ganges and the Hoangho.

Equally gigantic with the battle field are the problems that spring from it—the social organization of the world industry.

But the proletariat will arise from this revolutionary era, that may perhaps continue for a generation, wholly different from what it was when it went in.

If today the elite of the workers are the strongest, most far-seeing, unselfish, keenest, best and freest organized section of the nations of European civilization, then it will draw to itself in the fight and through the fight the most unselfish and far-seeing elements of all classes, and will organize and educate the backward elements within its own bosom and inspire them with the joy and hope of freedom. It will raise its elite to the height of civilization and make them capable of directing that tremendous economic transformation that shall forever make an end of the whole world round of all misery arising from slavery, exploitation and ignorance.

Happy he who is called to share in this sublime battle and this glorious victory.

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HEADS AND HANDS



Workers—Produce everything and get only ----- 17%
Shirkers—Produce nothing yet get ----- 83%

According to Census Bulletin No. 150, the average skilled mechanic produces \$2471 worth of goods and receives in wages but \$437.

W. F. RIES - Toledo, O.

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If the capitalists did not work with their heads enough to induce
you to work for them with your hands, the capitalists
would starve. **WAKE UP,**



W. F. RIES

Author of "Heroes and Heroines," "The Money Problem," "Men
and Mules," "Monkeys and Monkeyettes," "Co-operative Farm-
ing," "Lions and Lambs," "Heads and Hands," Etc., Etc.

TOLEDO, OHIO



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PREFACE.

That the American people have reached a crisis in their economic development, none will deny. Never before were unrest and dissatisfaction so openly expressed. Millions are in poverty. The nightmare of our civilization is the FEAR of poverty and want. For the great mass of humanity the bread and butter question is the ever present problem. The people of every civilized nation are being driven to crime, prostitution and insanity because of the difficulty of obtaining food, shelter and clothing.

That these conditions do actually prevail, I quote from Pope Leo XIII, who on May 15th, 1891, said: "But all agree, and there can be no question whatever that some remedy must be found, and quickly found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the poor. * * * * * By degrees it has come to pass that workingmen have been given over, isolated and defenseless, to the carelessness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition. * * * And to this must be added the custom of working by contract and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself."

Note that Pope Leo says that "some remedy must be found and quickly found", thus admitting that none of the many remedies that have been tried were effective. Will those of our church people of any denomination who believe that christianity is the "cure all" please tell us why it is that in every Christian country poverty and ignorance is the lot of the majority of its citizens

In this booklet I prove (prove, mind you) what is the cause of the deplorable condition of the working class throughout the world, and present the cure—the only cure—for this condition.

"Heads and Hands," is the fourth of a SERIES of twenty booklets which I am preparing. They are to be written in series, yet each is to be complete in itself. They are especially designed for a "HOUSE TO HOUSE" DISTRIBUTION ON THE MILWAUKEE PLAN.

There are but two methods by which the people can change the system—bullets or ballots. I recommend the ballot.

That the many economic wrongs may be speedily corrected by the ballot is my fondest wish.

H & H

A FORECAST.

There is looming up a new and dark power. The accumulation of individual wealth seems to be greater than it has ever been since the downfall of the Roman empire. And the enterprises of the country are aggregating vast corporate combinations of unexampled capital boldly marching not for economical conquests only, but for political power. . . . For the first time really in our politics money is taking the field as an organized power. . . . Wealth has its rights. Industries wealth has its honors. . . . But money, as a political influence, is essentially corrupt; is most dangerous to free institutions. . . . It is entitled to fear, if not to respect. The question will arise in your day, though perhaps not fully in mine. Which shall rule—wealth or men; which shall lead—money or intelligence; who shall fill public stations—educated and patriotic freemen, or the feudal serfs of corporate capital? . . . Look to it in that day that the bar do not suffer the disgrace of permitting mere money, the successful gambler's stake in Wall street, to assume the functions of intellect, so long and largely shared by our profession.

The above is an excerpt from an address delivered by Chief Justice Edward G. Ryan, before the law class of the University of Wisconsin, June 16th, 1873.

With keen political perception, Justice Ryan predicted our present oligarchy of wealth. His worst fears have materialized. In less than a third of a century the wealth of this nation is in the hands of a few trust magnates. With downcast look and sadness in our hearts we must in truth answer Justice Ryan's questions in these words: "Wealth, not men, rule; money, not intellect, leads; feudal serfs of corporate capital, not educated and patriotic freeman, fill public stations."

Chief Justice Ryan cautioned his law class to beware of permitting the money power to corrupt our courts. Have they been heeded?

Fred B. Coudert, a New York lawyer, in a recent speech, reported in the New York Herald, Nov. 6, 1910, states conditions as they are today in the following words:

The debasement of the supreme court bench through the system of selecting men not for their eminence in the legal profession, but because they are organization men (tools of the trusts) and presumably can be of service to that organization, is one of the worst features of our civic life. It is thoroughly well understood in our profession that the only way to a seat on the bench is through the good will of the political boss.

It is also thoroughly well understood that seats on the bench are bought, not always outright, perhaps, mainly through the guise of campaign contributions made by the candidate himself or by some friend (trust) of the candidate.

I know of cases, and it is common talk among lawyers—in which \$60,000, \$100,000, and, I believe as high as \$180,000 has been paid for the ermine.

With this condition existing it is easy, to understand the disgraceful state in which nearly all of our courts are today.

(The same is true in practically all courts, from chief justice to justice of the peace).

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A PLAIN STATEMENT AND A FEW QUESTIONS.

The recent elections afford ample proof of the growing discontent of the great mass of our people. All shades and degrees of dissatisfaction are expressed with present economic conditions. These various protesting throngs find expression in "Stand Pat" and "Insurgent" republicans; "Stand Pat" and "Insurgent" democrats; Independents; Hearstites; Single Taxers, Socialists, etc. These one and all are beginning to see things in their true light. Indeed it is enough to stir any man with red blood in his veins to patriotic action when he sees that those who do the most have the least, while those who do the least have the most; when he sees that in every so called, civilized nation the great mass of working people are in poverty. These conditions prevail alike in Russia under a Czar, in Germany under an emperor, in England under a liberal kingdom, in France, Mexico and the United States under republican governments.

In this country we see the fabulous natural resources of a nation drifting into the hands of a few.

We see all the giant factories owned by a few men.

We see the mines, the forests, the railroads, in short all the means of production and distribution owned by a mere handful of idle millionaires.

We see that 82 % of our people do not own a home.

We see political parties, the press and the government of ninety million people pass into the hands of a few trust magnates.

We see our fair land cursed every few years with a panic which penetrates to the remotest corners of the country.

During these panics, factories are closed and millions of strong, able and willing men are denied the right to work. Nevertheless, during these panics, while men can't get work, children are compelled to work every day. Think of it! There are today millions of children in their early tender years, when nature is making her greatest demands, when they ought to be in the school and play grounds and sunshine, now under the hunger whip, working for a pittance which barely suffices to keep their protesting souls in their little bodies. When their cheeks ought to be blooming with the red roses of health, we see in them the pale lilies of death.

We see a still larger group of seven million women snatched from their homes and household duties and pushed into factories for long hours at starvation wages. Think of

it—men denied work—women and children compelled to work.

We see factories close down because the workers have produced too much. Think of suffering and starving in the midst of plenty.

We see crime, prostitution and insanity increasing several times faster than our population.

We see one million prostitutes—women forced to sell their virtue for a crust of bread, while forty thousand virtuous girls are annually added to the list.

We see one-third of the children die before they reach their teens.

We see sixty thousand children in the wealthiest city in the world (New York) unable to acquire an education because no school buildings are provided.

We see that this same city contains three thousand millionaires, hundreds of multi-millionaires, and one billionaire.

We see a nation with prosperity for the few—poverty, ignorance and starvation for the many.

We see a nation in which they send a man to prison for stealing a sandwich and send another to congress for stealing a railroad.

We see a nation where preachers talk to a man about a robe in heaven when he hasn't the price of a shirt in his pocket.

We see a nation of eight thousand millionaires and sixty million others not two weeks from starvation.

We see the national government spending annually eleven million dollars for education, and five hundred and forty million dollars for war—that means \$11,000,000 to shoot brains into them, and \$540,000,000 to shoot brains out of them.

We see this nation calling itself **Christian** and sending missionaries to convert the heathen to Christianity. (Will someone please put the heathen next?)

We see a nation honoring and eulogizing labor in theory and snubbing, imprisoning and shooting it in practice.

We see a nation where there is a law for the poor and none for the rich.

We see a nation with a system of factories so marvelous that a single workman of today with the latest improved machinery can produce ten, twenty, fifty and even a thousand times as much as his grandfather could a century ago with the simple hand tools of that day. Why then doesn't the workingman of today get ten, twenty, fifty or

one hundred ago?

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one hundred times as much as his grandfather did a century ago?

Can it be possible that the ills enumerated above prevail because we lack the natural resources? Behold we have iron, coal, timber, precious metals, and fertile soil in abundance. We have a country blessed with a diversified climate and natural resources sufficient to last for ages if properly conserved.

How does it happen that during a panic the people don't take the raw material (which all admit we have in abundance) and feed it into these factories (and at such times we have plenty of idle factories) and thus produce what they want, instead of suffering and starving?

Can you imagine any living thing on this earth starving in the midst of plenty, except man, be it mammal, fish or fowl?

What seen or unseen thing, force or system is keeping us in this worse than Hades?

Are the laws of nature responsible for the deplorable conditions of the working class of all nations? Is such the fate of humanity? Is human industry so pernicious that in all countries there must or is permitted to operate some power which at one pole of human society gathers wealth and culture and at the other poverty and ignorance—sin and sadness—which showers the blessings of education on one class of society, while it deprives the great multitude of mental training and spiritual life?

Is there some force in nature which rewards idleness and debauchery with robes and rubies while it doles out to prolonged toil rags and rubbish?

Is it necessary for civilization in order to advance to trample under foot defenseless women and children?

Is it fate that at the feet of civilized society there must yawn that menace and awful abyss of poverty; that with each day the struggle for existence must assume a more and more savage form—to say nothing of the energy wasted in it, to say nothing of the silenced conscience and the hardened heart?

Is it a part of the fixed fate of toiling humanity to curse machinery invented to lessen the hours of drudging labor?

Is it fate that here are millions of families whose daily bread, even under normal conditions, depends on the many vicissitudes of a planless and ruthless commercial war?

And, finally, how does it come that in every nation there are two distinct classes, one a small group controlling

in doubt and fear; the other a vast multitude, tumultuous, defiant ever increasing in numbers, expressing its dissatisfaction in strikes lockouts, and riots so severe that vast armed forces are necessary to keep it in check.

How does it happen that the few voices singing the praises of our present system are constantly drowned by the frantic, ever-rising, unappeasable cry of countless multitudes?

Shall we accuse some natural unseen law for this nightmare of society or to man-made laws and regulations which if removed would give to the toiling millions peace and plenty?

The one great overshadowing question of the ages is, "Does there exist, somewhere, a remedy for these economic ills?"

The great majority, through ignorance, parrot-like, answer; "No! there is no remedy, it always was so and always will be so." Another ever increasing throng, fifty millions strong, scattered throughout the civilized world, shouting as with one mighty voice, their answer, **Yes, Co-operation.**

Socialism is the oasis in the desert of Capitalism. It is the glare of the noon-day sun breaking through the threatening clouds of private ownership which have for ages darkened the earth—Exit Capitalism—Enter Co-operation.

The remedies proposed for our political ills are many, most of which have been tried and found wanting. A partial list follows: More Religions, High Tariff, More Taxes, Low Tariff, Free Trade, Gold Standard, Silver Standard, Income Tax, Single Tax, Christianity, etc.

Ask the average person of any civilized society why it is that in all countries, no matter how great the product, the great bulk are nevertheless in poverty and you get the same stereotyped reply that fathers, mothers, preachers, teachers, and others have been giving you for centuries, viz: "Several factors enter into the problems as causes the chief of which are: shiftlessness, lack of foresight, wasting one's income for trifles stimulants, or other things worse, living beyond one's means, imitating one's betters in dress and display, lack of God in their heart; in short with now and then an exception from accident and sickness, they reply that poverty is caused by the individual himself in not following moral precepts standardized by society through experience or inspirations."

In other words, nine out of every ten people assert that

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poverty can be averted by the individual himself—is this truth? No, it is an absolute falsehood. It is the **system** that is responsible—the **system** of conducting business known as **Capitalism** that is the father of all the minor or immediate causes.

Many contend that low wages, long hours, premature labor, unsanitary tenements and work shops, unemployment, ill health, etc., etc., are solely responsible. That these are the immediate causes is not denied. Why not find out the **cause** of the **immediate** causes of, long hours, low wages, etc. Every thorough student realizes that these are the normal fruit of our all pervading capitalist system of private ownership. If you deny this it becomes necessary for you to believe that landlords give their tenants unsanitary homes through malice, that employers of child labor harbor a malignant hatred for the little ones whose lives they ruin, that all employers are vindictive against their workmen and rejoice to see wages forced down below the starvation level. Certainly you cannot believe such nonsense. What is it then that forces the capitalists to grind the faces of the poor and to muzzle their every ambition? To answer just that question and to give the remedy is my purpose in writing this booklet. To patch up any of the thousand and one **immediate** causes and leave their **source** untouched is folly. Suppress one and another will break forth; increase wages and the cost of living is raised; improve tenements and rents rise; force light into the house and overcrowding increases; increase industrial efficiency and competition intensifies; live cheaper and wages are reduced.

For every evil suppressed, a new and greater evil breaks forth. This is inevitable so long as you keep patching the old garment and retain the old **system**. A new garment is needed. The old one is outworn and so rotten that it won't hold the patch.

"One might think that it would be palpable to every educated man of our time that the exclusive control of land by people who do not work upon it, and who prevent hundreds of thousands of distressed families making use of it, is an action every whit as wicked and base as the possession of slaves; and yet we see aristocrats, supposed to be educated and refined, who profit by this base and cruel right, and who are not only not ashamed but proud of it."—Tolstoy.

It is the agitators who make the world move forward.

THE NECESSITY FOR A CHANGE.

As aforesaid, a century ago a workman could not produce on an average one-twentieth as much as he can today with modern machinery. Yet they lived comfortably. To be sure they wore homespun clothing but it was warm. They wore hand-made shoes, but they were substantial. They grew and prepared their own food, but it was wholesome and pure. No formaldehyde in the milk—no trichena pork and pickled glanders palmed off as "Armour's veri best." No tom cats and poddle dogs in the sausage. A century ago an increase in the family was welcome. Today a Rooseveltian family in the home of a workingman is a nightmare, especially with present high prices, and I congratulate the women who refuse to rear large families that the capitalists may have a larger army of unemployed from which to select another crop of wage slaves when their present hirelings are worn out. After Socialism has been established and the workers get all they produce, it will be time enough to talk about large families, but not until then.

A century ago people worked with simple hand tools. A shoemaker of that period could tan a hide and in a day, with simple hand tools which he owned, convert it into a pair of shoes. At night he could take the shoes to his neighbor, Smith, a cabinet maker and swap it for a chair which took Smith a day to produce.

They exchanged the products of their labor on some-thing of an equitable basis. A century ago nearly all manu-facturing was done in much the same way. A great change has taken place in manufacturing since that time, especially during the last quarter century. The shoemaker's bench with its hammer, awl and waxed-end has grown into a huge factory employing thousands of men, operating hundreds of complicated machines and requiring millions of capital for its successful operation.

In the same way the cabinet maker's kit of hand tools has grown until it has become one of the many large furni-ture factories covering acres of ground.

Because of this great change in the method of pro-ducing the commodities necessary to modern civilization—because of this change from hand tools to the factory sys-tem, the owner of hand tools cannot compete with the fac-tory.

Formerly he owned the tools with which he worked. Today he works with tools he does not own. These giant tools are today owned by a man who cannot use them, and operated by men who do not own them. Today the modern

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