

ANUARY 11, 1913

FIVE CENTS

# *The* New Review

A-WEEKLY-REVIEW-OF-INTERNATIONAL-SOCIALISM

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The following articles are among those that will appear in future issues of the NEW REVIEW :

The Eastern Question, by Theodore Rothstein of London; The Socialist Situation in Massachusetts, by Rev. Roland D. Sawyer; Charles Austin Needham, A Poet in Pigments, by J. William Lloyd; To Arturo Giovannitti, by John Macy; Social Classes in the United States, by Isaac Halevy; Tabooed Aspects of Suffrage Discussion, by Theodore Schroeder; Present State of French Socialism, by Paul Louis, of Paris; The Panama Canal, by Michael Pavlovitch, of Paris; Co-operation in Production, by Albert Sonnichsen; The Juridical Breakdown, by Frederick Haller; Charpentier, Musical Anarch and Labor Agitator, by André Tridon; Direct Action and Sabotage, by Moses Oppenheimer; Facts for International Socialists, by Dora B. Montefiore of London.

# *The* New Review

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Vol. I.

JANUARY 11, 1913

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## THE NEW MOOD

When the devil is sick, the devil a monk would be. Capitalism is sick to the bone and is in a mood to confess its sins, some of the worst and most obvious and notorious ones, at any rate. It is seriously considering ways and means of reforming itself and thus gaining a new lease of life. This mood is now very widespread and expresses itself in various ways.

First of all, in the form of all sorts of investigations. During the past decade American capitalism has been subjected to an endless series of inquisitions, official and unofficial, covering almost every branch of industrial, financial and political activity in all parts of the country. The shame of our city governments, the rottenness of our police departments, the subserviency of our state and federal courts, the corruption of the United States Senate have been mercilessly exposed to the public gaze. All the shifts and turns of the "invisible government," as ex-Senator Beveridge happily termed it, have been laid bare. The dissolution of the Standard Oil and Tobacco trusts have, it is true, remained without economic effect, but the investigations that led up to or were part of the court proceedings have heralded far and wide the crooked ways of the masters of finance and industry. Steel magnates and comparatively humble lumber thieves, Massachusetts woolen mills and New York canneries have all alike contributed to popular resentment of, and popular disgust with, the methods of unrestrained capitalism. Every prolonged strike has brought forth an investigation, and every investigation new and undreamed of horrors, now of speeding and overwork and unsanitary conditions, now of the driving of women into prostitution and of the sapping of child life, and now again of reckless destruction of the lives of workers, without distinction of age or sex, through willful neglect of the most ordinary precautions against dangerous machinery or poisonous fumes. Every investi-

gation has been a blow to the popular belief in the existing social order, and the multiplicity of these blows has made the leading representatives of this order groggy.

Even the confession of the McNamara brothers of crimes committed in the name of organized labor did not stem the tide of public opinion that was running powerfully against capitalism. To be sure, the capitalist organs in the press attempted to create a diversion in this direction; but it did not succeed. The public—that is to say, the great middle class that still gives tone to the public opinion of this country—was simply in no mood for an attack on organized labor. On the contrary, it was inclined to minimize and condone the crimes of the McNamaras by pointing to the overwhelming force and ruthless methods of the Steel Trust. Clearly the times have changed greatly from the days of 1886-87, when the entire middle class applauded the hanging of men against whom no crime was proven. This applies equally to the conviction at Indianapolis of the thirty-eight labor leaders accused, in effect, of participating in a widespread dynamiting conspiracy. The convicted men will serve their allotted terms in jail, but the public refuses to get into a rage against them, nor can it be induced to believe that these crimes have any essential relation to the labor movement, not to say the Socialist movement. In some dim, vague way the public seems to feel that the crimes of capital are part of its very nature, that capital cannot live and grow without committing ever new and nameless horrors, while the crimes committed in the name of labor are no part of the labor movement, but are due to ignorance and exasperation. Furthermore, the public seems to have made up its mind that if the safety boxes of the corporations and trusts were pried open and their entire correspondence covering a whole period of years looted, our magnates of finance might have to share the fate of the labor leaders convicted at Indianapolis—if our courts permitted. And when one recollects the dynamiting conspiracy, instigated or attempted to be instigated by the heads of the so-called Woolen Trust during the Lawrence strike, one does not feel so very sure that our courts would permit the leaders of capital to share the fate of mere labor leaders.

It was this new attitude of doubt and distrust on the part of the middle class public, coupled with deep-seated discontent on the part of the working class, that gave rise to the Progressive party. It is not our present purpose to analyze the Progressive party into its constituent elements and to attempt to prognosticate its future from the conflicting interests, aims and ambitions of these diverse elements, which at certain points are irreconcilable. But it is undeniable that the Progressive party as now constituted includes a number of anti-capitalistic elements—hu-

manitarian, middle class and proletarian. It could not have arisen without these elements, nor could it have inspired the more impressionable of its followers with that fervor of conviction which all political reporters have noted and which is not without its ludicrous side. The Progressive party is here because of the development of conflicts and antagonisms within the capitalist class and because capitalism as a whole is, therefore, in a mood to grant certain reforms that have become necessary to its own existence.

But the Progressive party by no means includes all the progressive elements of the American bourgeoisie. Many of these still linger with the Republican and Democratic parties, uncertain as to where their final resting place is to be. Accordingly we find that months before the assembling of the new Congress, the Democratic leaders are exhorting their followers to wrest the control of Congress, and particularly of the Senate—its more powerful half—from the conservative and Bourbon leaders. Even more notable, however, is the great number of progressive measures proposed in many State legislative bodies, in some of which the Progressive party as such is represented only by a feeble minority. The Evening Post has published this week a general resumé of the measures proposed in the various State legislatures of the country, and it is a striking fact that while occasionally we stumble across a proposal in relation to such hackneyed subjects as vice and graft, economy—that unattainable ideal of capitalist government—and civil service reform, the majority of these measures concern themselves with political and social reform, some in the general interest, others in the interest of the middle class, and still others in the interest of the working class. The bulk of the message of Governor Sulzer of New York, for example, is taken up with the discussion of such subjects as popular election of United States senators, woman suffrage, conservation, aid for farmers through co-operation, education, good roads and waterways, etc., and aid to wage-earners through factory legislation, workmen's compensation laws, establishment of minimum wages, protection of children, establishment of municipal safety museums, etc. Similarly in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine, Oklahoma, and Wisconsin. We must not fail to mention one curiosity among these "progressive" measures. Governor Glasscock of West Virginia, one of the original seven governors that called upon Roosevelt to take the field against Taft, has announced that he "will insist upon the enactment of a bill looking to the amicable adjustment of labor controversies. The bill, to be prepared by the State Board of Trade, will prohibit all strikes until a commission has made a report on disputed claims." Thus will this Progressive governor

deliver the workers of West Virginia bound hand and foot to the tender mercies of the coal barons, against whom the miners are now in open revolt.

No doubt many of these progressive proposals are mere figures of speech, many are mere homœopathic pills, many will never pass the committee stage, and the remainder will be so amended and mutilated out of all semblance to their originals that their proposers will not recognize them after they have been adopted into law. This is the inevitable fate of all truly progressive legislative proposals in capitalist society after it has passed its ascending stage and has reached the descending stage. Even the measures that have become indispensable to the welfare and progress of society as a whole, let alone those that are distinctly for the protection of the working class, must be passed and enforced in the face of the most determined opposition on the part of the propertied classes. But that so many of these measures are advocated and proposed is, nevertheless, characteristic of the mood now prevailing, a mood of self-examination and self-criticism on the part of the ruling classes.

Perhaps no element of our public life has so successfully resisted the invasion of this mood as our great metropolitan dailies. The politician with his ear to the ground has succumbed to it much more readily than the editor with his eye upon the ticker. For years these editors were free to indulge in the aimless discussion of a sort of political questions that had not the slightest bearing on the life and welfare of the millions and that interested nobody outside of a small coterie of professional politicians striving to enrich themselves at the expense of the public purse and of professional reformers who had already enriched themselves in that way. For years they fulminated against vice and graft, Tammany, official extravagance and inefficiency, high taxes and the policies of the opposing party. To fulminate against these things hurt nobody in particular, and it was so easy. No real knowledge of anything was required; a good assortment of high-sounding general phrases did the trick. If a little variety was wanted, there were ready to hand the eternal subjects of the tariff, which like the sea is ever changing and ever the same, the Sherman Anti-Trust law and the Interstate Commerce Commission. These subjects, it is true, deal with very weighty, very material affairs; but as nobody, not even the Congress and Supreme Court of the United States, ever understood what they were all about, an evasive talk on them by the editor could hurt nobody. But now, all of a sudden, these editors are called upon to discuss subjects that signify life or death, health or disease, bread or starvation to the toilers, and money in or out of pocket to the capitalists, large and small. No wonder they are perplexed. To

dance on eggs without breaking them is an art our editors have not yet acquired, but no doubt will in due time.

But notwithstanding the supineness of these editors, there can be no doubt as to the reality and pervasiveness of this mood at this present time. And as it is impossible to tell just how long it will last, it is therefore all the more the duty of the Socialists to utilize the present situation in order to wrest for the working class concessions of a valuable and enduring nature. This is no time for timid counsels, for explanations and apologies, for fears lest the world mistake us, the party of Social Revolution, for the friends and allies of the conservative, Democratic, Catholic McNamaras. The world knows very well where we stand, even though some of us seem not to know where the McNamaras stand, and others among us do not know where the world stands just at this present moment. But the world of American capitalism just now stands in a defensive and hesitant attitude. Now, therefore, is the time to be full of courage, to take advantage of the perplexities of the enemy, to press home the charge at all points, political and industrial, to close our ranks, give succor to the weak and heart to the disheartened. Thus alone can the cause of Socialism, of the working class and of humanity be advanced, and not through timidity, compromise and the fostering of dissensions.

H. S.

## AUSTRIA AND SERVIA

BY GUSTAV ECKSTEIN (Berlin)

Capitalism first awoke in Europe the tendency toward great centralized states. As long as individual households on the land and individual cities were economically sufficient unto themselves; as long as a regular exchange of goods took place only between the city and the surrounding country, and commerce as such brought about only the exchange of the surplus resulting from agriculture or handicraft, there was no economic necessity for a great state. Even politically this question played no great rôle; for the cities were accustomed to defend their own territories only, and even the feudal lords combined their fighting forces only on extraordinary occasions and for great undertakings, and this they sometimes did even when they did not belong to the same state.

But when production began to be undertaken not for particular customers, but for the market in general, for unknown purchasers who could only be reached through commerce, then it was to the interest of these producers to extend as far as possible the field in which their commodities could be easily sold, in which

they were not hampered by duties and imposts, in which they were not placed at a disadvantage by privileges granted to natives, in which prevailed the same standards of measurement and weight and the same coinage. Whenever increasing numbers of wage-workers began to be employed and exploited in the process of production, it was necessarily to the interest of the burgesses to have a national government strong enough to restrain by force the refractory proletariat. When commerce undertook large enterprises in foreign lands, it became necessary for the merchants that the government of their state be strong enough to protect them and their interests abroad. Hence the evolution of capitalism made the great state a necessity of the bourgeoisie, and their necessities became the chief consideration of domestic and foreign policies.

Hence we find that in Europe the growth of the great state goes hand in hand with the progress of capitalism. As the latter advances from west to east, so does the growth of the great states. England and France had for a long time been great modern states when Germany and Italy were still divided into small states constantly warring with one another. In these countries economic progress was checked, when through the discovery of America and of the ocean route to the East Indies, and through the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, the economic centre of gravity moved toward western Europe.

The unification of Germany and of Italy was effected in the sixties and early seventies of the last century by a series of bloody wars.

But capitalism did not halt there. It continued on its victorious march toward the East, to Austria and Russia. In Russia it offered to the Tsarian despotism the power to exploit and oppress the immense empire, held together in merely apparent unity by brute force, and brought to its aid all the appliances of modern technique. But in Austria capitalism met with altogether peculiar conditions, that were bound to result in a political development which differed in essential points from that of Western Europe.

In Western and Central Europe the nation had proved to be the natural basis of the state. The union of men who spoke one and the same language had shown itself to be the most natural, economically as well as politically. With the exception of the small States of Belgium and Switzerland, all the States of Western and Central Europe are national States, and even in Russia the Russian nation is heavily predominant over all others. But the conditions are quite different in the Southeastern portion of Europe, in Austria-Hungary and in the Balkans. In the great migrations that determined the present distribution of popula-

tions in Europe, the peoples were here dammed up, so to speak; here the Germans came to a halt and in part streamed back upon their path; the Slavs pressing after them penetrated between them in many cases; and between the two the Magyars forced their way and thus separated the Northern and Southern Slavs; and finally the Turks followed hard after. In this way the peoples of Southwestern Europe became thoroughly intermingled and checkered. But the political conditions made a still greater tangle of national conditions.

When the Turks pressed forward from the Balkans toward Central Europe, Germany was split into a number of small States and Hungary was too weak to halt by herself the Turkish onslaught. Hence the necessities of war forced the most diverse elements into common defence against the Turks. In this way originated the Hapsburg Empire, which for hundreds of years waged war against the Turks, and wrested from them by force of arms a great part of the territory of what is now Austria-Hungary. But that which the Hapsburgs combined under their flag was not a nation, but a conglomeration of all sorts of fragments of nations; Germans, Italians, Magyars, Roumanians and the most diverse Slavonic tribes. Of the Northern Slavs there were the Czechs, Poles, Ruthenians and Slovaks; of the Southern Slavs, the Slovenians, Croatians and Serbs. But Austria embraced only parts of most of these nationalities. Only the Magyars, the Czechs and the closely related Slovaks live entirely in Austria.

But this mixture of peoples exhibits not only national, but very considerable cultural and social differences. The Germans and Italians are old and highly cultured peoples. The Ruthenians, Slovaks and Croatians are poor peasant peoples, enslaved and oppressed for hundreds of years. The Germans, Italians and Magyars, in the territories where they live together with Slavs, have since ancient times been masters, the Slavs the servants.

Now capitalism came into these lands, where its effects are of necessity quite different from those in the national States of Western and Central Europe. To be sure, here as well as there, it broke up old conditions, destroyed old connections and created new relations of dependence. In Austria also, and finally even in Hungary, the peasant was "freed," that is, he was freed from the soil to which up to that time he had been tied, but he was at the same time freed of the greater part of his land, which was taken away from him. Even for that which was left to him he had to pay such heavy indemnities that from the very beginning he was in debt, while a large number became landless and homeless proletarians who emigrated to the cities to seek their scant bread in industrial wage-labor.

To this extent the effects of penetrating capitalism in Austria differed in no essential respect from those in other countries. But the social contrasts, which capitalism brought with it and rendered ever sharper, often were brought to the consciousness of the oppressed in a form different from that in other countries. Here the oppressor, the exploiter, often belonged to a different nation, spoke a different language than the exploited and thus their hate was directed against the ruling nation. The Czech peasant who was sentenced in court by a German judge, whose cow was seized by a German tax collector, whose very skin was almost stripped from him by a German usurer, hated the cursed German. The Slovenian sailor who was maltreated by his Italian captain hated the Italians; the Slovak proletarian who was robbed by the Hungarian landowner, and beaten into the bargain, hated the Magyars; and the Slav proletarians in almost every branch of industry hated the Germans, in whose hands were nearly all the great industrial enterprises. But the camp of the bourgeoisie was also divided against itself. The imperial absolutism strove to dress everything in a German uniform, to direct the whole administration in German fashion. But now when the hitherto socially oppressed Slav nationalities developed their own bourgeoisie, the Slav bourgeois also wanted to lead their sons to the feeding trough of the State and to gain influence in the administration of the State.

Thus there broke out the national struggle which soon was to take hold of all social strata and draw them into its whirlpool. The Slav merchants announced that it was treason to the nation to buy from any other than Slav merchants. The Czech manufacturer declared that a good Czech could only buy goods produced by a Czech. The Slovenian official fought like a tiger for the right of the Slovenian peasant to use his own language in the courts. And this national strife was fomented all the more from all sides as the bourgeoisie found that it was the best means to divert the proletariat and the declining petty bourgeois from the social struggles. The large Czech manufacturer found it very serviceable to himself when his workers raged against the Germans whom they held responsible for their misfortune and misery, instead of turning against the exploiters of all nations, and against himself first of all. He also found it very advantageous when the small employers, ruined by him through competition and reduced to poverty, did not blame him but the Germans. Thus all classes and strata were affected by the nationalistic struggles and phrases.

In the beginning the government watched these doings with delight; for when the capitalists, the petty bourgeois, the peasants and the proletariat of the various nationalities were tearing at

each other, the government met with no opposition among these classes either towards its absolutist inclinations or toward its policy of favoring, in the first instance, the interests of the great landed nobility. But the government soon discovered that it had entered into a dangerous game. For the nationalist strife not only crippled Austria's economic life and chiefly its administration, but the entire structure of the Empire, quite insecure without that, threatened to fall apart under the centrifugal pressure of the national ideologies. The tendency of the Germans was toward the German Empire, from which they had been excluded only since the war of 1866. The Italians gravitated toward the newly established Italian monarchy, while the Poles still dreamed of the re-establishment of their old kingdom which had been partitioned among Austria, Russia and Prussia.

To all these dangers which have threatened the Austrian Empire since its foundation, a new one has been added in recent times, one that just now has attained to paramount significance, because it threatens to plunge Europe into a universal war the consequences of which cannot be foreseen, which would transform Europe into a monstrous shambles, and which, very likely, would end in the complete collapse of all existing State authorities and in social revolution. This fateful question is the Servian question.

Of all the peoples of the Balkans, the Servian people have, in a national aspect, had the worst of it. The kingdom of Servia only embraces a comparatively small portion of the Servian nationality; the population of little Montenegro, also Servian, hardly needs to be taken into consideration. The majority of the Serbs and the Croats (these two peoples, who differ only in their religion, really form one nationality) live in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, while a considerable portion is subject, or at least was subject until the outbreak of the present war, to Turkish rule. If the program of the Austrian Social-Democracy in regard to the problem of nationalities were accomplished and if Austria were a free federation of its nations, then Servia would long since have attached itself to Austria. The peoples of Austria could greet such an outcome with joy, for Servia is still very little developed industrially, so that while it offers a welcome market to Austrian industry, it at the same time can supply cheap food for the Austrian market. But this was exactly what the ruling classes in Austria and Hungary wanted the least; for the Monarchy is still ruled in the spirit and in the interests of the great landowners. Ground rents are to be screwed up as high as possible, therefore bread and meat must not be permitted to become cheap. To this noble end the customs duties are continuously raised, and this interest, in the first place, always determines the policy of the Monarchy against the small Balkan States. And the one that had

to suffer most heavily under this policy was little Serbia, which borders on Austria on two sides, while on the third it borders on Turkey, to which country it cannot export its agricultural products because it is in an even more backward agrarian state. The Austrian and Hungarian agrarians have now closed the frontier entirely against the import of cattle from Serbia and only allow meat to pass in very small quantities, undisturbed by the fact that as a consequence Austrian industry cannot export to Serbia. If Serbia possessed a sea-port it could easily be made fairly independent of Austria, since it could export its products to Italy, France or England. For this reason Serbia, which has no sea-coast itself, sought in 1906 to conclude a customs union with its neighbor, Bulgaria, which would have enabled Serbia at least to bring its cattle duty-free to the sea. But Austria, which persistently refuses to allow Servian cattle to pass over its borders, prevented Serbia by means of severe threats from entering into this customs union, and hence Serbia still remains under the fearful and inexcusable pressure of the Austrian and Hungarian agrarians.

This policy was all the more short-sighted since the Austrian government pursued grand aims in the Balkans and desired to penetrate to the Aegean Sea. But this road led through Serbia. If Austria had attached Serbia to itself in friendly fashion—for which all the conditions were present if only the Austrian government had not persisted in its narrow agrarian policy—not only would a large part of the road to the Aegean have thus been covered, but Austria would have taken away an ally or vassal from Russia, its great rival in Balkan politics, and would also have won the friendship of the other Balkan States.

But it has turned out otherwise. The Balkan peoples, which for centuries had been in subjection to the Turkish landowners, rose in the last years against the Turkish government and waged a guerilla warfare against her, being secretly supported by the Balkan States of Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro, which have been free since the Russo-Turkish war of 1878, and of Greece. And then the armies of the four Balkan princes marched into European Turkey and the Turkish power, rotten through and through, collapsed at the first onslaught.

The great and rapid success of the allied Balkan States was an immense surprise, chiefly to European diplomacy.

Even at the outbreak of the war the wise gentlemen had announced that, no matter what the fortunes of war, the "status quo" in the Balkans would be maintained. As far as these wise men are concerned, there never are any peoples, but only "cabinets." The great Powers had often admitted officially that the administration of Turkey was bad, and they elaborated programs

of reform which the Turkish government was to be forced to carry into effect. Naturally they were concerned not at all with the welfare of the peoples of Turkey, all they cared for was the interests of their own governments and ruling classes, that is to say, the great landowners, banks, the great merchants, manufacturers, etc. Nevertheless, by their reform programs, the great Powers had admitted that the conditions in the Balkans had become impossible. They themselves did nothing to remove them, owing to their reciprocal jealousies. But that the Balkan peoples should take their fate into their own hands seemed to them a monstrous piece of insolence that could not be permitted.

Nevertheless they did it. After the battles of Kirk-Kilisseh and Kumanovo nothing more was heard of the famous "status quo." It was plain that the victors would not allow themselves to be prevented from parcelling out among themselves the greater part of the Turkish heritage in Europe. But this would obviously close to Austria the advance to the Aegean Sea, and at the same time would rescue Serbia from the oppressive domination of Austria by giving her access to the sea. But in addition the Servian army pressed forward toward the Adriatic, which is considered the "property" of Austria and Italy, and to which these powers were unwilling to admit a third partner. Austria is the less willing of the two, because from the new harbor Serbia would obtain low freight rates to Italy, and it could consequently ship its products there and receive manufactured articles in return. Should Austria lose all influence over Serbia, its position in the Balkans would be seriously shaken.

The advance of the Serbs to the Adriatic and the acquisition of a strip of land which allowed them access to the sea would also make more difficult Austria's road to Albania, to obtain possession of which Austrian diplomacy is straining all its powers.

But these are not the only reasons which drove the Austrian government to oppose Serbia's penetration to the Adriatic.

Perhaps even more important than these are the grounds of internal policy which cause the Austrian government to tremble at the prospect of a stronger and greater Serbia. The oppressive policy of the Magyar gentry has involved them in an embittered struggle with the Serbs and Croats of Hungary and Croatia, and at the same time the Austrian government has aligned against itself the Serbs in the recently annexed territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which formerly belonged to Turkey. Thus it has come about that in the regions inhabited by Serbs and Croats there has for years been carried on a propaganda, carefully nurtured by Serbia, looking to the formation of a great and independent Servian Empire, that should have for its centre Belgrade, the capital of the kingdom.

Therefore, if this kingdom should now become a strong Power, there would be very imminent danger that the nationalities so brutally oppressed by Austria and Hungary would free themselves with the aid of the kingdom of Servia. It is only natural that Servia, which has been so badly treated by Austria, should be greatly inclined to such an attempt; for it would become a powerful State through the adhesion of the Austrian Serbs and Croats. On the other hand, the Austrian and Hungarian nobles have taken good care that the Austrian Serbs and Croats should be inclined to tear themselves free of Austria. But instead of meeting this danger by abandoning the policy of oppression and smoothing the way for a peaceful union of the rising kingdom with Austria by concluding a commercial treaty favorable to both parties—by allowing Servian cattle to pass into Austria and Austrian manufactures into Servia—Austrian diplomacy knew no other solution than an appeal to the brutal force of arms, and took the risk of starting a world-wide conflagration merely to prevent little Servia from seeking a path to the sea, which is indispensable for its economic and political independence.

Just as old Austria was unable to escape the revolutionary effects of advancing capitalism, which awakened to new life the oppressed and slumbering nationalities, so now Austrian diplomacy will not be able to escape the consequences of the further advance of capitalism, which in its victorious march to the Balkans not only calls to new life the Slavs who for centuries have been the slaves of Turkey and leads them to victory over putrescent Turkish feudalism, but which has at the same time aroused the Southern Slavs of Austria, so that they, who once were the most obedient, submissive tools of Hapsburg despotism, are now beginning to become conscious of their own worth and to take part in the political and social struggles.

This evolution is of direct significance for the American proletariat. For it is these South European countries that in recent years have sent over the great pond immense masses of unskilled workers, hard to organize and dreadfully frugal, who, fleeing from the social misery of their own land, are carrying with them over the sea their low standard of living and their humility. If these people become imbued with self-confidence and if, at the same time, industry grows in their own country—as will now be the case in the Balkans—emigration will rapidly decrease, and the emigrants will be of entirely different character. The despised wage-depressers will become valiant, fighting comrades.

Hence even in their own interest the American proletariat must support the entire proletariat of Europe in the wish, in the demand, not only for peace, but also for the independence and freedom of the Balkan peoples.

## INDUSTRIALISM OR REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM

BY WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

The Lawrence strike, like some of the recent British strikes, was without precedent. All the world saw that the new movement had a revolutionary aspect. Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, for example, said that it was revolutionary and involved "a demand for fundamental changes in the basic organization of industry." The New York Times observed that the organization chiefly responsible for the strike "declares war on capital—war to the death, and intends to tear down the whole social structure and build it anew."

This movement has been growing steadily for years, but it is only since the Lawrence strike that the public has been aware of its full significance, and already it has caused scores of newspapers and periodicals to reverse their attitude towards the older unions and the Socialist party. Organs that have no word to say either for Mr. Gompers or the Socialists now recommend employers and property owners to support the officers of the Federation of Labor against the Industrial Workers of the World, and point out the value to capitalists of the conservative wing of the Socialist party.

"Strange, indeed, is the whirligig of time," says Mr. Baker. "It may be yet that the Socialist party will become a great conservative party in this country opposed to those forces of anarchy and discord which are bound up in the name of syndicalism."

Mr. Baker is not the only one to say this. The "Century," "World's Work," "Outlook," and nearly the whole capitalist press, have expressed themselves in almost identical terms.

The convention of the Socialist party last May passed the following resolution, which was aimed, however ineffectively, against supposed policies of the new revolutionary unionism, which its bourgeois and Socialist opponents insist on calling syndicalism:

"Any person who advocates crime, sabotage or violence as a means of emancipating the working class shall be expelled from membership." This action was approved by the entire anti-Socialist press of the country. The "Century" declared this to be a "great gain for true conservatism," while the "World's Work" concluded:

"It may turn out that the Socialists, whom we have been brought up to regard as dangerous radicals, will be classified as one of the strong and conservative bulwarks of the country."

The conservative and reactionary forces throughout the country are now expressing the hope that those in control of the So-



cialist party machinery will make good their threats that after the election they would drive Haywood and the revolutionists from the organization. Debs has publicly expressed his disapproval of this policy of expulsion, and it may never be carried out. But the fight could not be more bitter than it has become.

Under these circumstances, the widely circulated attacks on revolutionary unionism, such as those of Keir Hardie, may be understood even when they are known to be unjustifiable. Hardie wrote in the "Metropolitan" that the syndicalists (by which he evidently meant to indicate the I. W. W.) work on the assumption that the working classes are "at war with society and with the state that upholds order"; that "sabotage" plainly aims at making the conduct of industry impossible to the capitalist, and that the attitude of the syndicalist toward the state is frankly that of the Anarchist. None of these statements is true, but they are as true as many of the perversions of revolutionary unionism by some of its own writers.

Revolutionary unionism has been presented to the public chiefly by its enemies. But it is equally unfortunate in some of its advocates. It is evidently a condition, not a theory. Yet a theory has given the movement its commonest phrases, the name that is most widely used by its enemies (syndicalism), as well as "sabotage." Insiders and outsiders have been busy formulating it even before it has taken definite shape, until now it can only be approached through a mist of words and abstractions. These theories and their exponents, Pelloutier, the Anarchist; Sorel, the monarchist apologist of violence; Lagardelle, the anti-democrat; and Labriola, the conservative in politics and revolutionist in labor unionism, have little to do with the new world-wide movement of unskilled labor.

The theories of these "syndicalist" thinkers need not detain us. But I must confess that some of the practical leaders and writers are also guilty, at times, of equally strange doctrines. Tom Mann, for example, has revived, under the name of syndicalism, the antiquated trade union theory that hours may be sufficiently shortened and thereby the labor supply sufficiently curtailed, so that wages are increased indefinitely. He and others seem at times to make their new movement synonymous with co-operative production, as when he proposes that the miners should begin by buying a mine or two and operating them. Another syndicalist writer, Odon Por, expands this essentially conservative idea. He finds the unions in Italy already far on the road toward syndicalism: the glass bottle blowers, because they have co-operative mutual aid funds, provide schools for their own children, build workmen's houses, and yet "have no intention whatever of becoming capitalists"; the co-operative unions of agricultural la-

borers, because, "while they protect the land owners from strikes," they eliminate employers and improve the conditions of agricultural labor; the railway union, because it sets before itself as its aim, "the railway for the railway men," and, like the agricultural workers' union, is recognized by the Italian government. They are strange theories, indeed, which make something new and revolutionary out of such movements.

On account of such speculations it is difficult to get at the truth about the new movement. And even when we propose to cast aside "syndicalist" theories in order to get at the reality, we are told that the French Federation of Labor has adopted some of the theories and applied them practically, and that the French Federation is the forerunner of revolutionary unionism in other countries. This statement disregards the fact that the Western Labor Union was applying these principles in the Rocky Mountains, under the leadership of Haywood and others, several years before the French Confederation of Labor was formed (1902). The first premonition of the power of those labor unions that include all the unskilled, was given in the strike of Debs' American Railway Union at Chicago in 1894. But this was a union confined to one industry. In their long and bloody fight against the mine owners of Colorado, Montana, and the other mountain states, some of the incidents of which I have personally seen and described, the Western Federation of Miners conceived the idea of organizing *all* the workers of the mining towns, and even whole states, into a single organization, of which the industrial unions, while preserving some autonomy, were mere branches. It was the Western Labor Union and the American Labor Union that paved the way for the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W., founded at Chicago by Debs, Haywood and others in 1905).

Nor was the new movement, either here or in Great Britain, born as a mere scheme of superior organization. The I. W. W. was apparently dying out and dividing into factions, having lost Debs and other prominent members, when the spectacular contest at McKees Rocks occurred (1909) and put new life into the movement. It is not a mere scheme of organization, but the actual struggle of the unskilled workers, that constitutes the soul and body of revolutionary unionism. And it was only in the actual struggle that the movement reached its third and present stage. From industrial unionism it progressed, when the I. W. W. was formed, to a proposed world-wide unionism, and from this it passed to a realization that it could not expect the support of the majority of skilled workers, that it would be met by their bitter antagonism, and would have to rely exclusively on the unskilled. For at McKees Rocks, Bethlehem, the later strikes in Western Pennsylvania, and at Lawrence, the I. W. W. was fought almost

as bitterly by local "craft" unions and their national leaders as by the employers.

The McKees Rocks strike will be remembered as the one where the foreign-born workers of all nationalities first showed their capacity to organize and to fight. The I. W. W. itself picks out the following as the most significant incident after the strike: "The strike committee served notice upon the commander of the cossacks that for every striker killed or injured by the cossacks, the life of a cossack would be exacted in return. . . . The strikers kept their word. . . . For the first time in their existence the cossacks were 'tamed.'"

This fight brought many thousands of unskilled foreign workers to the I. W. W., and was heralded by the labor press all over the world. It was followed by several free speech fights on the Pacific coast, in Spokane, Fresno, and finally in San Diego, where devoted members of the organization not only literally broke into jail by the hundreds, but gave up their lives in hunger strikes and in facing reactionary mobs. In San Diego a special investigation ordered by Governor Johnson has verified the facts.

It was at this time that the I. W. W. inscribed on its banner the revolutionary watchwords, "abolition of the wages system," and demanded "the overthrow of capitalism." It had shown unskilled workers what it dared to do. And now came the Lawrence strike, and convinced all those who felt themselves on the side of the masses, that the new unionism could also show discipline and self-restraint wherever a moderate policy promised more than extreme measures. It was the surprise of the public when it saw the remarkable versatility of the new movement, that secured it the wide hearing it has now obtained.

But the British situation and the recent strikes there have also contributed to this result. The revolutionary tendencies in British unionism are no more imported from France than are those of America. When Tom Mann began his agitation in Great Britain (in 1910) he had learned far more from Debs and Haywood than he had in Paris, where he had only stopped a few weeks. But most of all, he contributed his long and disappointing experience with the older labor unions and with the Labor parties of Great Britain and Australia.

The British movement, like ours, is a reaction against the rule in trade unions and in Labor and Socialist parties, of the skilled, "the aristocracy of labor." Naturally, the better paid workers are more doubtful concerning radical proposals, and less ready to adopt radical methods. Formerly opposed altogether to the unions going into politics, they now favor a conservative Socialist or Labor party. More or less satisfied with their agreements with employers, they are often more interested in politics

than in strikes. It is largely against this ultra-political tendency that the American and British revolt has been directed; and this explains why it has been forced at times into a seemingly anti-political position that can be no essential or permanent part of the movement.

In their present reaction against the conservative politics of the older unions, many revolutionary unionists exaggerate the possibilities of the strike, and minimize those of the ballot. This is especially true of those writers who are under the influence of French and Italian "syndicalist" theories. For example, Odon Por says in the English Review:

"Syndicalists claim that it is an incredible hope that a Socialist party can ever obtain an effective majority in any parliament in any country. Socialism has done a great work as an educative and propagandist force. During the past fifty years it has leavened the whole lump of social ideas; yet, in spite of the many changes in capitalistic society, the legal relations between the capitalist and the worker have not undergone any vital essential change.

"Syndicalism, as a doctrine, has now practically exhausted and solved its problems, and its fundamental conclusion is that revolutionary energies of the working class are to be worked out in their economic movement and through their own functions as workers.

"Syndicalism transfers all problems of social evolution from the political to the economic field, and assigns to Socialist political action its sphere in obtaining the common advantages of democracy, constitutional and cultural reforms, conditions that may facilitate the organization of the workers."

This position is anti-political as far as Socialist parties are concerned. It leaves them no function whatever to fill—as Socialists. The I. W. W., on the other hand, denies that it is anti-political, though it leaves to politics a merely incidental part. One of its pamphlets says:

"Before a working class, industrially organized and conscious of its power, the government is powerless to proceed in the interests of the capitalists; nay, more, is it forced to act against them. This fact is being demonstrated in modern life, in Lawrence, Mass., and England.

"In the English railway strikes of 1911, such was the power of the strikers that the army officials had to secure permission from them to transport fodder for horses. The English miners' strike now on (March 3, 1912) again demonstrates that government, in fact, all of society, is paralyzed and powerless before an industrially organized working class. Such a class holds not only political control, but also the fate of civilization in its hands."

Starting out with these very same facts, the Lawrence and British strikes, the labor union and Socialist opponents of revolutionary unionism reach the very opposite conclusions. Says Philip Snowden, of the British Labor party:

"Both the railway and the miners' strikes were complete failures as strikes. Both were converted into successes solely by the interference of the State, the very power which the men had scorned and rejected."

Mr. J. R. MacDonald, until recently chairman of the Labor party, after a review of the recent dock strike, where government aid was also invoked by the strikers, concludes:

"Strikes cannot emancipate labor; they do not even weaken the intrenchment of capital. Not in the least degree has the economic power of capitalism been diminished by all the strikes or so-called 'direct action' of the last fifty years."

The Independent Labor Party (Socialistic) and its leader, Keir Hardie, indeed, go so far in the opposite direction that they claim for political action as much as some revolutionary unionists do for economic action. The I. L. P. thus advises the worker in a recent manifesto:

"Let him examine what are his powers of resistance to the industrial system if he is unaided by political action. He will find himself thwarted at every turn, and, after the supremest trials, still in the coils of capitalist domination.

"He is bound hand and foot to a system in which he possesses nothing. He has no voice in its management, no control in its guidance and policy, and no participation in its financial success. He is paid irrespective of the cost of living, and his remuneration is regulated by his own supply and demand in the market.

"Certain progress has been made by the use of strikes, and is being made, but at what cost, and how slowly?

"The country cannot for long do without the menial service of its poor people. They are indispensable. But they cannot fight for long in the streets; hunger and the police often drive them back at the masters' terms. Let them drive their masters from Parliament, and do with their votes what they cannot accomplish by any other means."

The I. L. P. then tries to divert the workers' attention to political questions:

"Thinking workmen will not forget that at the beginning of the session the Liberals refused to consider the question of a legal minimum wage. They have repeatedly refused to concede the right to work."

I shall return in a moment to the legal minimum wage and government employment for the unemployed, the inevitable political results of the revolutionary unionist agitation. I only need

to point out here that nearly every one of the I. L. P.'s criticisms of the strike can be applied with slight changes to the ballot also.

Keir Hardie, in his Metropolitan article, and his more recent speech at Chicago, has brought the campaign of the British Labor party against the New Unionism to this country. He approves of the new movement in so far as it proposes to unite all the workers and to teach them "not to rely upon the state, but to rely upon their own strength," but he accuses it of going further and viewing the state as a permanently capitalistic institution. Against this Hardie rightly points out that "with a Socialist government in office, if the militia was called out at all, it would be to protect the trade unionists in their fight for better conditions." Yet in spite of this unconsciously revolutionary remark, Hardie went on to protest against these people "who still speak of revolution" (Debs, for whom Hardie was then speaking, is one of these), accused the new unionists of having adopted the French theory of a revolution by "a small enlightened minority," and claimed that Socialism, on the contrary, requires an overwhelming majority in its favor and therefore needs no armed uprising. He concluded with the statement that the new movement is only a revival of Anarchism.

*(To be concluded)*

## THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BY TOM QUELCH (London).

In Great Britain, as in other parts of the capitalist world, the struggle between those who produce the wealth and those who appropriate it is being carried on with increasing intensity and bitterness.

The workers of this country are becoming restless and alive to the robbery that is practised upon them. A sullen gloom broods over the land. Trade returns were never so high—the amount of wealth produced never so great—and the condition of the mass of the people never so deplorable. The so-called "Labor unrest" has become the prevailing topic of discussion. Strike follows strike with ominous portents.

Scenes have been witnessed within the last two years which have never had their equal in the history of England.

Industries have been completely paralyzed for weeks. Millions of pounds have been lost. At one time a million miners were on strike. At another time the whole transport system was tied up. And in all trades—in the civil service even—prevails a spirit of rebellion seeking adequate expression.

The most formidable industrial struggle of 1912 was that of

the Dockers in London during the summer. In this great metropolis over one hundred thousand men with their wives and children lived in a state of semi-starvation for weeks and weeks while waging a grim battle for better conditions and a proper recognition of the trade unions. The masters were implacable. The naked horror of the class struggle was exhibited in all its hideousness. Ships lay idle in the River Thames—their holds in many instances full of rotting goods. The huge docks were deserted—the steam cranes standing out strangely still and silent against the leaden London sky. The whole East End—that portion of the city where Poverty reigns supreme—was in a state of turmoil and despair. Men tightened belts over empty stomachs; women held dying babes at empty breasts. At one meeting at Tower Hill, God was invoked to strike Lord Devonport—the masters' chief representative—dead. The branches of the British Socialist Party and the various trade unions organized food kitchens; and the entire working class movement subscribed liberally to various relief funds.

But the power of consolidated capital beat the men under. They had to give in.

Still more remarkable—in another way—was the strike of the North Eastern Railway workers which has just been concluded.

An engine-driver—Nicol Knox—was reduced from his position to a subordinate one. The charge made against him by the company providing the excuse for this action was that of being intoxicated while "off" duty.

This charge Knox denied, and alleged that the police in collusion with the railway authorities had assaulted him because of his activity during the previous strike.

His mates upheld his contentions, and came out on strike as a protest, refusing to return until he was reinstated in his job. They left the tracks, abandoned the stations. In all quite one hundred thousand men were involved.

Passengers, unable to reach their destinations, slept on the platforms and in the station rooms. Troops were held in readiness by the Government should the slightest opportunity be given to turn them loose. The great railroad center at Newcastle was as silent as a desert.

For a week the strike lasted—spreading abroad and gathering in volume each day.

In the end the King was induced to pardon Knox, and the railway company reinstated him. But the men are to be fined for the losses incurred—a certain amount is to be stopped out of their pay each fortnight—and the few blacklegs who continued working during the strike are to be momentarily compensated.

This decision is prone to make the hatred of the men more

intense and trouble of a more formidable character likely to ensue.

The feeling amongst the workers is revolutionary. The burden of their wrongs is rapidly becoming too great for them to bear. The high cost of living, the increasingly difficult struggle to make their meagre wages satisfy their wants, the flagrant and brutal oppression and victimization by the master class, all help to fan the flames of revolt.

The difficulty—a really tremendous one—the Socialists have to face in this country, is that of organizing and concentrating this revolt in the right direction.

To give clarity of vision to the British proletariat is our supreme task.

The miner who came out on strike has the unhappy knack of usually voting for the capitalist mine owner or some other member of his class. The same can be said of each of the others in turn.

The workers do not fully realize the power of the ballot. And even when they strike, their demands are for just small concessions, couched in the meekest possible terms.

In a great measure the English worker lacks the sense of organization possessed by his German comrade. In this country we have not that well-knit unification of all working-class forces as in Germany—nor have we the splendid lecture halls or daily papers. If we had, it would mean the end of capitalism in Great Britain. Generally speaking, the worker here is class-conscious. He realizes that he is being oppressed. But he has not a thorough understanding of the forces arrayed against him.

In its way this extraordinary series of strikes has been a wonderful object-lesson to the worker. Through the fires of industrial conflict, with its hungers and privations, the revolutionary spirit is being tempered and trained—the necessary understanding is being drilled into them. It is a hard, painful, and at times bloody way to learn, yet when the full realization does come it will be woe unto those who attempt to bar his progress.

A little more organization and education is all that is necessary. And that the Socialists are striving their utmost to provide.

## A FIELD FOR SOCIALISTS

By W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS.

There is a group of ten million persons in the United States toward whom Socialists would better turn serious attention.

These people belong to the working class predominantly: of the four or more millions of them who are adult workers less than a million could in any way be called capitalists, and the capital of most of these consists of small farms which they work themselves. The rest of the group is composed of two million common laborers, a half million servants and washerwomen, and a half million more or less skilled laborers with a few highly skilled workers, including fifty thousand professional men.

Because these persons are descendants of African slaves brought into the United States between 1619 and 1863, and emancipated from physical slavery in the latter year, they are the most thoroughly exploited class in the United States. They are not only exploited by individuals and corporations, but they are, to an extent unheard of in other American groups, exploited by the state with the consent of a widely organized public opinion.

Here, then, is a laboring class which no labor movement can afford to neglect. Both their actual numbers and their distribution geographically and by occupations make them of great importance. A labor movement without them in the Southern South is unthinkable, and the Southern South will be the greatest sphere of capitalist development in the United States after the opening of the Panama Canal. A labor movement without them in border states like Kentucky, Maryland, or Missouri, and in the southern part of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois can never be successful save in those industries where few or no Negroes are employed. In the northern cities the Negro is a small but growing factor. He may, therefore, be ignored or forgotten in most industries, but there are lines of work where even there he must be recognized. The waiters, the teamsters, the laundry workers, the barbers and even the steel workers and building trades have more or less roughly been made to realize this.

How have these facts been met in the past? They have been met by a determined effort to leave the American Negro out of the labor movement. This effort had its seeds naturally in the contempt of free workers for slaves. The laborer who hated slave labor was thoughtlessly led to hate the slave, and in new free labor states like Kansas and California, in early days, the laws against Negroes were as severe as the laws against slavery.

This inborn tendency found further justification in the fact that the freed Negro, having worked formerly for nothing, was delighted on emancipation to work for almost nothing. This lowered the general level of wages in sections and communities, and

everywhere in certain lines of work. The wrath of the laborers was forthwith directed not against the low wages and the men who paid them, but virulently against the men who received them.

These poor black workers merited no such anger. They accepted low wages because the low wages were higher than any they had ever received before. They knew nothing of the struggle of wage slaves for a higher wage; they did not know the A. B. C. of agitation. To meet this situation two paths were open to the working class: to educate this new free working class up to the plain of demanding a living wage, or to ignore them and to try and organize the working class along the color line.

First the labor movement in the United States tried more or less sincerely the broader and worthier method.

The Evans brothers, who came from England as labor agitators about 1825, put among their twelve demands: "10th. Abolition of chattel slavery and of wage slavery." From 1840 to 1850 labor reformers were, in many cases, earnest abolitionists; as one of them said in 1847:

In my opinion the great question of labor, when it shall come up, will be found paramount to all others, and the operatives of New England, peasants of Ireland and laborers of South America will not be lost sight of in sympathy for the Southern slave.

Indeed the anti-slavery agitation and the organization of the mechanics of the United States kept pace with each other; both were revolutionary in their character and although the agitators differed in their methods, the ends in view were the same, viz., the freedom of the man who worked.

Along with this movement went, nevertheless, many labor disturbances which had economic causes; especially the series of riots in Philadelphia from 1829 until after the war, when the Negroes suffered greatly at the hands of white workingmen. The Civil War with its attendant evils bore heavily on the laboring classes, and led to widespread agitation and various attempts at organization.

In New York City, especially, the draft was felt to be unjust by laborers because the wealthy could buy exemption for \$300. A feeling of disloyalty to the Union and bitterness toward the Negro arose. A meeting was called in Tammany Hall and Greeley addressed them. Longshoremen and railroad employees struck at times and assaulted non-unionists. In New York Negroes took the places of longshoremen and were assaulted.

After the war attempts to unite all workingmen and to federate the trade unions were renewed, and following the influence of the Emancipation Proclamation a more liberal tone was adopted toward black men. On August 19, 1866, the National Labor Union said in its declaration:

In this hour of the dark distress of labor, we call upon all laborers of whatever nationality, creed or color, skilled or unskilled, trades unionists and those now out of the union, to join hands with us and each other

to the end that poverty and all its attendant evils shall be abolished forever.

On August 19, 1867, the National Labor Congress met at Chicago, Ill. There were present a large number of delegates from the states of North Carolina, Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri. The president, Z. C. Whatley, in his report said, among other things:

The emancipation of the slaves has placed us in a new position, and the question now arises, What labor position shall they now occupy? They will begin to learn and to think for themselves, and they will soon resort to mechanical pursuits and thus come in contact with white labor. It is necessary that they should not undermine it, therefore the best thing that they can do is to form trade unions, and thus work in harmony with the whites.

It was not, however, until the organization of the Knights of Labor that workingmen began effective co-operation. The Knights of Labor was founded in Philadelphia in 1869 and held its first national convention in 1876. It was for a long time a secret organization, but it is said that from the first it recognized no distinctions of "race, creed or color."

Nevertheless admission must in all cases be subject to a vote of the local assembly where the candidate applied, and at first it required but three black balls to reject an applicant. This must have kept Northern Negroes out pretty effectively in most cases. On the other hand, the shadow of black competition began to loom on the horizon. Most people expected it very soon, and the Negro exodus of 1879 gave widespread alarm to labor leaders in the North. Evidence of labor movements in the South, too, gradually appeared and in 1880 the Negroes of New Orleans struck for a dollar a day, but were suppressed by the militia.

Such considerations led many trade unions, notably the iron and steel workers and the cigar makers, early in the eighties, to remove "white" from their membership restrictions and leave admittance open to Negroes at least in theory. The Knights of Labor also began proselyting in the South and by 1885 were able to report from Virginia:

The Negroes are with us heart and soul, and have organized seven assemblies in this city (Richmond) and one in Manchester with a large membership.

So, too, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners said about 1886 that they had Negro unions as far South as New Orleans and Galveston:

In the Southern States the colored men working at the trades have taken hold of the organization with avidity, and the result is the Brotherhood embraces 14 unions of colored carpenters in the South.

The Knights of Labor, after a brilliant career, began to decline owing to internal dissensions. Coincident with the decline of the Knights of Labor came a larger and more successful movement, The American Federation of Labor.

The attitude of the American Federation of Labor may be summed up as having passed through the following stages:

1. The working people must unite and organize irrespective of creed, color, sex, nationality or politics.

This was an early declaration, but was not embodied in the constitution. It was reaffirmed in 1897, after opposition. Bodies confining membership to whites were barred from affiliation.

2. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions composed exclusively of colored members.

This was adopted by the convention of 1902 and recognized the legality of excluding Negroes from local unions, city central labor bodies, etc.

3. A National Union which excludes Negroes expressly by constitutional provision may affiliate with the A. F. L.

No official announcement of this change of policy has been made, but the fact is well known in the case of the Railway Trackmen, Telegraphers, and others.

4. A National Union already affiliated with the A. F. L. may amend its laws so as to exclude Negroes.

This was done by the Stationary Engineers at their Boston convention in 1902, and since by other unions. The A. F. L. has taken no public action in these cases.

The net result of all this has been to convince the American Negro that his greatest enemy is not the employer who robs him, but his white fellow workingman. For thirty years, he has been taught this lesson by the working man himself: between 1881 and 1900, fifty strikes occurred in the United States against the employment of Negroes, and probably twice that number really against Negroes, but ostensibly against non-union men, when in reality the Negro was not permitted to join the union.

The Socialist party must know and heed this history. The Negro workingman is daily increasing in efficiency. Small Negro capitalists are arising. The whole trend of thought among Negroes is for the reasons given and other reasons, distinctly capitalistic. The employing class has given huge sums of money wrung from underpaid white laborers to furnish Negro schools and other institutions, which the States controlled largely by the white laborers' vote refused to furnish. Small wonder that the average Negro can be counted on as the solid unwavering ally of capitalistic government and looks on strike breaking as a more than justifiable blow to his enemies.

Facing such a situation what has Socialism to say to these black men? Is it going to ignore them, or segregate them, or complain because they do not forthwith adopt a program of a revolution of which they know nothing or a movement which they are not invited to join?

## HAUPTMANN'S EARLIER PLAYS

BY ANDRE TRIDON.

The careless individual who shattered the arms of Venus of Milo conferred unwittingly an inestimable boon on the artistic world. The poise of her proud head, her perfect body so well balanced on harmonious limbs, will discourage many a finished artist and lure hosts of imitating tyros. Thanks to the mutilator, the marvelous arms of the goddess will not strangle in too passionate an embrace young sculptors of genius with visions of their own. For masterpieces fetter us as do the arms of a woman too beautiful and too loving.

The impotent ones who can only teach, keep repeating to us: "No one, not even you, gifted disciple, can ever hope to emulate such loveliness; consider it as the goal towards which you must always strive, though you may never reach it in the days of your life."

Knowing that such perfection is unattainable, the gifted disciple soon comes to consider his own mediocrity as a pardonable homage to the masterpieces he worships.

For perfection has always wielded a deadly influence, and those who identify their god with the perfect principle, generally seclude themselves for a barren adoration of their idol, shorn of ambition, weaned of all desire for personal accomplishment.

The day may come when no artist will endeavor to create a masterpiece. Finished works of art were necessary when barely one in a million could perceive beauty clearly and visualize it for the world. A sense of beauty, however, increasing in direct ratio to our leisure, is permeating the masses, and the artist will no longer be the autocrat, but a skilled leader and elucidator. Art education and political education will bear the same fruit—freedom for the individual.

The artist of the future will furnish our imagination a basis from which it will soar on its own wings towards the beautiful; the more starting points the artist suggests, the more varied flights we may take.

The history of painting and sculpture reveals the fact that few of the greatest works of art were more than sketched by the masters whose signatures they bear. I am quite sure that the first rough draft was a perfect source of satisfaction to them; only the demands of the market drove them to carry out their original ideas in a more obvious and more detailed way. Rodin, however, seems to have freed himself from that bondage, and no sooner has he outlined some effective artistic ensemble than he leaves off and turns to some other block of clay.

The inspirational value of such work is incalculable. Ideas thrown to the world, even in their rough state, by men of genius, are the real leaven which causes intellectual masses to rise. This explains the zeal with which the note books of great men are ransacked after their death; while a slim interest attaches to Goethe's laundry bills published once in a learned "Archiv," a few lines jotted down after an hour's meditation may create more thought currents than Werther or Die Wahlverwandschaften.

While reading the first volume of Hauptmann's plays, all of which will soon be accessible to the English reader, thanks to the initiative of a progressive publisher, it struck me that this may have been the reason, unexpressed though mysteriously felt, for awarding the Nobel prize to the great German. In his long and industrious career, Hauptmann cannot be said to have ever written an absolute masterpiece; I mean one of those oppressive masterpieces which represent years of rewriting and pruning. Flaubert spent eight years in composing, with painstaking care, "Madame Bovary." Hauptmann never spent eight months on any of his works. Hardly had he pencilled the outline of an action, and created a set of characters, than he hurriedly proceeded to unroll another tale and to breathe life into another group of puppets.

The first volume of Hauptmann's plays, containing the "social dramas"—"Before Dawn," "The Weavers," the "Beaver Coat," and the "Conflagration" which is just off the press, admits the English-speaking public into the laboratory of the greatest experimenter of the day. Few playwrights ever experiment; the successful ones yield to the lure of profitable reiteration, and whether the unsuccessful try new formulas or not is seldom brought to the notice of the public.

Barring the brilliant Irish group: Synge, Yeats, and Lady Gregory; a Belgian, Maeterlinck; an American, Percy MacKaye; and a Frenchman, André de Lorde, who is there impractical enough to apply to the drama the only methods which have conditioned this age's advance in physics, chemistry or surgery?

"Chantecler" and the "Blue Bird" were not experiments, notwithstanding the epithet of daring applied to them by press agents. Ibsen never experimented. He simply drifted from one technique to another. Strindberg expressed marvelously novel ideas in his preface to Countess Julia, but the action of his plays unrolls itself according to the classical canon. Neither have Brieux, Echegaray or Sudermann deviated from the traditional line in more than one direction.

In 1889, when "Before Dawn" was completed, nobody was experimenting in Germany, excepting only Arno Holz. Holz's experiments, however, were extremely crude, and Hauptmann may

well claim to be the father of naturalistic impressionism on the German stage.

Three years before Hauptmann was born, Germany had celebrated the hundredth anniversary of Schiller's birth. It may be said that from that time until the first performance of "Before Dawn" no dramatic work of modern character and artistic value was presented on the German stage. The few who dissented from Schiller's enthusiastic formalism, were still propagandizing for Goethe's cold-blooded formalism. Playwrights never wandered from the orthodox path blazed by Freytag and Lessing, however little the two pundits' technique fitted the new age.

It may be, as Mr. Lewisohn repeats after Percival Pollard, that a literary hoax elaborated by Arno Holz and Johannes Schlaf, was the source from which Hauptmann drew his inspiration for "Before Dawn." The detail is very unimportant, the more so as "Before Dawn" is the least original of the four social dramas. The wicked business man who flouts all reform suggestions; the man with a past who dashes through the world on mysterious errands; the abandoned mother who would palm off her brutal lover on her innocent daughter; love at first sight; a sentimental suicide; a country doctor escaped from Russian fiction—these do not exactly uphold anyone's claim to originality, nor redound to the credit of the supposed source of inspiration.

It is certain, on the other hand, that Holz did not supply Hauptmann with a model for his style. As Mr. Lewisohn remarks in his excellent introduction, Holz had used in his earlier works blocks of conversation reported as actually overheard. Such a crude method could not satisfy an ex-sculptor, well aware of the difference between modelling and making casts.

Nor could the snappy parallel dialogue which the French are still worshipping, and which they fittingly compare to gentlemanly passes at arms, satisfy his craving for realism.

Hauptmann also endeavored to steer clear from the formal debates on moral and psychological topics which burden many a scene in "A Doll's House," "Ghosts," and "The Wild Duck."

Another breaker he avoided quite successfully was a literary style—the pathological symptom which appears in the drama when the author's personality is breaking through the skin of his characters.

Super-logical plots and carefully prepared climaxes seemed to him in those days quite irrelevant. Scenes from life, sometimes totally unrelated, from which the unusual and adventurous, are severely excluded, were left to shape themselves in a hap-hazard fashion into dramatic sequences; for the differentiation of characters he relied upon the little, nameless, unremembered acts which constitute the thread of daily life. Instead of the tense situation

dear to Philistine audiences, he chose to visualize "the daily grind of a hostile environment upon men or the imprisonment of alien souls in the cage of some social bondage."

In all the social dramas, excepting only *Before Dawn*, Hauptmann shunned the love motive which recently "futurists" have denounced savagely. The individuals he depicts have little time, indeed, for expressing the softer emotions. What attracts him most is the daily life of the common people; he never shared Sudermann's fondness for describing scenes from the aristocratic and official world.

Another side of his pioneer activity was the introduction into dramatic literature of the scientific theories relating to heredity, alcoholism and degeneracy, which some twenty years ago began to invade the novel. He soon abandoned the attempt, however, and no regret should be expressed on that score.

Such are the fascinating experiments of which the Social Dramas are the concrete result. From a strictly artistic point of view, they are somewhat awkward and crude. The leading idea is sliced up into too many plays and the plays into too many scenes. *Before Dawn* contains the germ from which *The Weavers* grew, and the cast and action of the *Beaver Coat* and *The Conflagration* present a strange similarity. In the hands of a more experienced or more artificial craftsman, either of the last two plays would have become the mere background for a play beginning with the gist of *Before Dawn* and ending with the gist of *The Weavers*.

The very crude details of those first attempts make them infinitely illuminating for the student of dramatic literature. But for a close observation of these gropings of a tyro of genius, it would be difficult to understand how "Drayman Henschel," "Rose Bernd" and the "Rats," the three plays forming volume II., ever came into existence.

None of these plays seems to be a stubborn effort at carrying out a formula. Performance, Hauptmann thinks, is vastly more important than programs, and should in any event precede programs. Programs and formulas, after all, are limitations. A formula is a practical thing for routine work; progress, however, consists in disregarding the accepted formulas and inventing new ones. Hauptmann's works—an indefinite source of inspiration for literary seekers—will drive to despair the petty critics who rejoice in tagging geniuses and cataloguing them as a dealer in hardware sorts out nails and screws.



**A NOTE ON HENRI BERGSON.**

BY REV. ROLAND D. SAWYER.

Undoubtedly, in Henri Bergson the world has a new, daring, original thinker, one that will rank with the foremost speculative philosophers. And it certainly strengthens the intellectual position of Socialists when this man comes out so squarely and forcibly for our philosophy of Economic Determinism.

It has long been a truism that man is distinctly a tool-making and tool-using animal, and it is that which has marked his advance over all other forms of animal life; but never have I seen any such statement as Bergson makes for us. Bergson shows that the very essence of human intelligence consists in this faculty of making tools. Bergson says in splendid italics: *Intelligence, considered in what seems to be its original feature, is the faculty of manufacturing artificial objects, especially tools to make tools, and of indefinitely varying the manufacture.* Bergson's position is that we come upon human intelligence, as distinct from animal intelligence of the highest order, when we come upon the first chipped stone hatchets; when we discovered that first crude tool or weapon, we came upon the first trace of human intelligence, for the highest form of animal intelligence never thought of forming artificial objects. To quote Bergson again:

"As regards human intelligence, it has not been sufficiently noted that mechanical invention has been from the very first its essential feature, that our social life gravitates around the manufacture and use of artificial instruments, that the inventions which strew the path of progress have also traced its direction. This we hardly realize because it takes us longer to change ourselves than our tool. Our individual and social habits survive the circumstances that made them, so that the effect of an invention is not seen till the novelty has disappeared from sight. A century has elapsed since the invention of the steam-engine, and we are only beginning to feel the depths of the shock it gave us. But the revolution it has effected in industry has nevertheless upset human relations altogether. New ideas are arising, new feelings are on the way to flower. A thousand years from now, when our wars and revolutions are forgotten, the age of the steam engine will be remembered as we think of the age of bronze or of chipped stone." Not only does Bergson make the use of artificial instruments the boundary line between human and animal intelligence, but he also makes it the distinction between *instinct* and *intelligence*; and he takes for illustration the ants and bees with their highly organized social habits, and he shows that instinct uses only *organic* instruments, while intelligence uses inorganic instruments.

Here we have, then, a fine statement of economic determinism by the greatest modern speculative thinker. He stands squarely with Marx and Morgan; and he does it, not in order to provide a working basis for ethnology or sociology, but in order to lay a solid foundation for the building up of a theory of thought and knowledge. All of this goes to show the tremendous importance of the truth that Marx and Morgan discovered and gave to the world. And furthermore it goes to show the solid scientific foundation upon which Karl Marx built his interpretation of the world and laid out the active program for human action in International Socialism. The open-minded man cannot but stand amazed at the way that events and thinkers come one after another to justify the deductions of Marx; and if logical, the open-minded man will see that he can safely follow Marx in his program for social action, and he will get into the Socialist movement.

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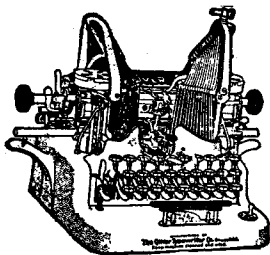
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