The Revolution of Our Day

Stephen Marion Reynolds
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ITS PROGRESS AND ITS MEANING

THE progress of humanity towards its divine destiny has ever been for the most part unconscious. There have been domination and submission but neither master nor slave was conscious of his part in the evolution towards the highest for both; when both should be free.

There seem to have been periods in human history that developed partly conscious movements toward freedom, but that step accomplished, a period of complacent satiety, if not of indifferent peace has followed, during which the spirit of that period has again run its course and a new revolt has been slowly fermented and another step forward has been taken.

Again and again humanity has overthrown tyranny in one form and at once or soon after begun to submit to it in another so that so-called Republics have followed monarchies and retaining the name the people have obeyed the oligarchs and submitted in long, dumb patience. Even now the great masses of working men venerate the owners of the things they create, building mansions and living in huts, mining coal and burning the dust, digging gold and carrying a brass Waterbury, holding the throttle of the 20th Century Flyer and receiving for his constant service a few hours daily sleep, enough food and clothing and perhaps an annual excursion with a week off. These things are as they are because the workingman is not yet conscious of his right relationship to the things he produces and to the assumptive owner of the products of his toil. He is living and working in a world where under-
bidding, nagging, quarreling and jealousies prevail, and as long as he works and does not think progress will proceed only by slow and sickly steps, unless he is deprived of work and food, then because he does not think and can not work and eat he will fight, and then governments fall. The workingman and his master work and live automatically, unthinking. The cannibal ate his enemy slain in battle without malice but with an appreciative appetite, and the master now when accused of greed justifies his ownership, and points proudly to codes, statutes, pulpits, bibles, books, priests, preachers, flags, schools, jails even and charitable institutions and pronounces himself respectable, divinely selected and the gaping crowds admire and believe.

The ruling class, whether by monarchy, aristocracy, bureaucracy, democracy or republic maintains, for its preservation as the ruling class, the administration, the diplomatic members, the judiciary, the legal and clerical professionals, all unconsciously for the sole purpose of keeping the world as it is, quite sincerely believing that it is good enough, "that it always has been this way and it always will be." It has not heretofore been very difficult to do these things, for the reason that physical boundaries separated the inhabitants of the earth into camps, factions, denominations, fraternities and hostile races. There were warring interests, desirable territory, selfish tariffs, and low ambitions and all these the "long-headed brothers" guided either to their own interests or as they often fondly believed to the interests of their people. So Patriotism once had a place and was really for the time a true ideal, but now infinite physical problems have been solved, distances have been annihilated, fluidity instead of fixity of population has arrived, there is a vast blending of nations, intermingling, intermarriage, mutual friendship and understanding. The ships and the machinery of the
earth are bringing unity as well as suffering; the earth has yielded vast treasures of wealth, and the inventive minds have fashioned steel and bars into metallic brains and nerves, to work that more leisure and growth may come to mankind; transportation is accomplished with the minimum expenditure of human energy; things are easily made in vast superabundance, almost automatically.

EXAMPLES

A pair of shoes in 30 minutes, one man and the machine making 84 pairs of house slippers in a day. The machine and a man and a boy making 20,000 loaves of bread in a day. The old flint is replaced by the modern match, the machine cuts the wood into splints, places the splints into dipping pans and puts them in perfect order complete into boxes at the rate of 14,400 boxes in 3 hours and 38 minutes, two persons operating the machine. Pins are made 12 pounds in 1 hour and 33 minutes. Doors, windows, sash, blinds, etc., the ratio is 50 to 1 in favor of the machine. One bushel of wheat by machinery is produced with 6 minutes labor. 100 tons of ore are loaded into cars in two hours. The 20th Century train equipped with beds, books, barbers and baths, makes the journey every day between Chicago and New York in 18 hours and has only been late 10 minutes in 123 consecutive trips. Without wires messages are sent to all parts and across all seas and within the last few days the ship, heavier than air, has sailed across the English Channel and kept its flight steadily and serenely as a feathered bird and sustaining easily more than 50 miles per hour, and so on infinitely in astonishingly interesting and wonderful detail.

THINGS HAVE NOT ALWAYS BEEN THIS WAY

The last century has accomplished the same wonderful reductions in the time required to do almost everything
essential to human needs, but the number of people has tremendously increased, the wants have increased and the ability to supply these wants has increased but between the producer and the product is the owner, standing firmly upon his legal rights, and forced by the power of money to propagate itself, to exploit in all directions, everything that is or may be made, everything that grows or may be made to grow, so we have that puzzling anomaly: "Fruitfulness creating civilization and civilization restricting fruitfulness," prosperity and panics playing leap frog while the worker works.

SOCIETY DEFINED

So we discover when we inquire that Society is the aggregate body of vital vibrant, living men and women with physical and mental needs, and as they grow in intelligence, they demand freedom from restraint, freedom of life and action, but the Laws are stable, Society is not. Every invention affects the remotest worker, and to his detriment so long as the machine invented remains his master, because his master owns it legally. The conscience of society changes as it progresses and if the laws remain fixed while man grows then there is the widening gulf between Society and its laws and a social cataclysm is foreshadowed as certainly as the appearance of an eclipse is foretold by the careful astronomer who notes the pathway of the planets through the charted skies. It is evident that government must in some way harmonize with the means of providing the things needful for life. When the breach between the needs of the people and the governmental functions gets too wide a revolution is needful.

THE REVOLUTION

The world is not about to have a revolution, the entire world is having the revolution now. We are only more or
less conscious of its strength and manifestations. It will always take the needed form and the needed weapons. What is the meaning of the Turkish Revolution? The Russian Revolution? The Persian? The Spanish? The Swedish? Why did the farmers of Kentucky ride at night and terrorize and destroy? Why do the soldiers often refuse to shoot? Why are the people of Europe indignant when the Czar, the bloody Czar, is entertained by the ruling master class. Why did the police destroy the paper “Justice” containing the cartoons of the Czar? Why has our own government sought to suppress the “Appeal to Reason?” Why has it persecuted Fred Warren, one of its editors? Why did Mr. Roosevelt write his unjustifiable attack upon Socialism for the Outlook, whose hired editor he has become. Because the ruling class are conscious of the impending revolution, because they believe that the change sought is wrong, unlawful, undesirable, they are blind to the progress, they attempt to prevent and in the most natural way they are rallying to unite to suppress its coming, but the Saxon King could only command the tide to stop. Kier Hardie recently said in London at a monstrous mass meeting of the people: “We are protesting against the Czar of Russia being received as a guest by the government and the King. In Russia there is a great constitutional struggle going on, in which the people are ranged on one side and the autocracy headed by the Czar on the other. By inviting the Czar to come to Cowes—they dare not bring him here—the government is taking sides with the oppressors of the people and we are here representing neither the King nor the government, but the power that makes both Kings and governments, to say to the party of all shades and degrees in Russia that our sympathies are with them.”

On July 28, 1908, Home Secretary Gladstone was interrogated in Parliament as to the actions of the police in
Trafalgar Square, July 25, in attacking men and women, who were selling the newspaper “Justice.” He was asked whether “the freedom of the press in England was to be in the hands of the commissioner of police? It is apparent that the freedom of the press cannot safely be interfered with in any land where the English language is spoken.

WEALTH CONCENTRATION

We see in our own country that the concentration of wealth is compelling the owners to organize offensively as well as defensively.

The Railway Managers’ Association was the first; loosely organized in 1886 and made powerful in 1894 when the American Railway Union won the Great Northern strike in a few days without a blow and merely because they were a conscious unit in organization. A few weeks later in the Chicago strike, so called in spite of the powerful arguments of Mr. Debs against the wisdom of, at that time taking the steps proposed, the A. R. U. delegates almost unanimously voted not to touch or haul a Pullman car.

Almost immediately the State Sovereignty of Illinois, Sacred Democratic Doctrine, was overridden by the orders of the supposed-to-be Democratic president, Cleveland, and over the protests of Mayor Hopkins of Chicago and Governor Altgeld, Federal troops were sent into the streets of Chicago, disorder was set on foot, the courts were appealed to and a new thing, called “Government by Injunction,” was brought into our jurisprudence. Mr. Taft discovered the wonderful illegality of the “Secondary Boycott” leaving the “Primary Boycott”—a legal weapon. Mr. Debs was thrown into prison, the strike was crushed, the thousands of devoted Railway Union Men were put upon the “black list” and Industrial Strikes were shown to be ineffective with armies and courts, and new
and unexpected legal interpretations used against the laudable desire for shorter hours and more pay for efficient service. In the prison at Woodstock the Labor Leader had time to contemplate these things and to clearly see the hopelessness of the unequal battle, to learn that man is a "political animal," as Aristotle long centuries ago defined him to be, that the laws are of political origin, that they are chiefly for the conservation of private property, not for the preservation of life, that if the people do not like them, they have the political power and the lawful right, if they have the political intelligence, to alter or abolish them. It is certain that at that moment the intellectual revolution was tremendously accelerated and the early result was the organization of the Socialist party in 1897. The party did not, as other parties of necessity must, originate a platform, the party here as in other countries formulates its so-called platform according to the laws of economic development, noting the existent facts. Showing that governments should function in making the struggle for existence less difficult and destructive, revealing that the profit system separates the people into classes with opposite interests and therefore the Class struggle must exist, not because men are bad or unkind but because under the unnatural method of providing food, shelter and clothing with profit and gain as the motive, the interests of owner and worker are opposite. Robert Owen had observed early in the XIXth Century that the workers in the cotton mills were poorly paid, but the mills paid large profits. The natural thing for an honest man to think (if he does think) therefore, was "why should not the workers have the gains, instead of making one man enormously rich and the rest vexed workers and even paupers. Better still, he reasoned "why not exchange products on an utility and cost in energy basis, rather than on the greedy basis of profit and advantage
to the owner of the tools of production. So these were the ideas of co-operation, that preceded the Socialist ideal of collective ownership of collective wealth and of orderly scientific production, democratic, intelligent administration of industry instead of forceful government—of men made hungry, ignorant and mean by poverty and unceasing toil. The Owen experiment succeeded and failed at the same time, and helped to demonstrate that within Capitalism on the Profit System reforms are impracticable and that with the State machinery in the hands of the exploiters, the workers cannot escape being exploited. Very many other experiments were made, Saint Simonism, Fourierism, even bloodshed, but after the Paris Commune of 1871, the idea of promoting Socialism by violence yielded everywhere to that of education, political education, capturing the powers of government, “making laws” instead of breaking laws, for the good of the people instead of grumbling about the conditions put upon them by their own ignorant use of the suffrage. Of course in Russia, where there is no constitutional machinery, the Revolution proceeds blindly with force and secret resistance, but even there the Socialists are the steady advocates of Educational methods. In Germany the workers are taught the sacred importance of the ballot, and there the only non-parliamentary political method surviving is the Strike and that is seldom resorted to, but everywhere are brilliantly edited and beautifully printed journals, magazines, remarkable pamphlets, powerful novels, plays, books, poems, pictures, cartoons, and these are steadily making growth towards political supremacy. The Revolution in Germany has no propaganda of hate, and it is also free from the dangers of demoralizing compromises, they do not over-emphasize the class struggle, while clearly and scientifically showing its precise tendencies they steadily show, or try to show, the capitalists that
they have really only in ignorance mis-conceived their inter-
ests, and that the true interests of all the community is that of the workers, and in this way logically and irresist-
ibly the movement proceeds to gain not only the prole-
tarian support, but at the same time breaks down or di-
minishes the power of resistance of the capitalists and makes for the certainty of ultimate and enduring success, when ignorant capitalists as well as ignorant workers are made intelligent, brotherly men, instead of unlovable, greedy, working and scheming animals.
So the Socialists there as elsewhere in the world use “The White Steel of Science” to educate as well as to convince, giving unanswerable reasons why armies of peaceful pro-
duction should take the places of armies of destruction, why children should be educated instead of enslaved, why diseases and crimes exist and increase while health and sanity are so rare, and whenever given a hearing and whenever the true position of Evolution—Revolution—Socialism is presented there is either acquiescence, accept-
ance or resistance according to the interests and under-
standing of those who hear.
The Climax of Capitalistic development is here now. The Census of Manufactures, published in 1906, states that in 1904, 11.2 per cent of the manufacturing establishments controlled 81.5 per cent of all capital invested in manu-
factures in the United States and supplied 79.3 per cent of all products. Less than one per cent of the total number of establishments produced 38 per cent of the total values and it is well known that one per cent of the people of the United States own more than all the remaining 99 per cent. The concentration is startling. The so-called pan-
ics of 1907 gave further great opportunity to concentrate wealth by taking over the properties of those who could not stand the unequal warfare of modern wealth produc-
tion. The taking of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Com-
pany, in direct violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, was accomplished and by the consent of President Roosevelt and nothing has been heard of remedying the matter. The railroads are practically now in one gigantic organization, notwithstanding the fact that under Mr. Roosevelt the Northern Securities Company was attacked and legally dissolved. No wonder with these and unnumbered other similar Municipal, State and National cases of law violation and evasion, the people have largely lost respect for the laws, and joke and laugh when they speak of laws and courts. Everywhere is deep seated discontent with existing conditions. It is being more and more freely expressed in all our literature and politics. Mr. Bryan was defeated by Capitalists, Democrats and Liberal (?) Republicans. Millions of dollars were expended in the 1908 campaign and the campaign debts are handsomely recognized in the Payne Tariff Bill: within 24 hours after Mr. Taft signed the bill the Tobacco Trust landed the first few millions of the 150 million Manilla cigars free of duty to annihilate their competitors with. A close analysis of the bill will reveal to the people that the government still exists, but not for the people, that the Trusts have in every instance been cared for and in no case has an interest been touched that the revision promised to be down, has been up, whenever it is affected at all except in non-competitive, but income producing articles.

The Capitalists many of them know that the foregoing facts and hundreds of others are being brought to the attention of the people. Mr. Belmont, who seems to be always concerned about the public welfare, sees great danger ahead ostensibly to the people, but really to the system of private plunder of public rights, danger to private control of municipal transportation and to the private control of government itself. He sees the army being made conscious of what it is maintained for. He says in
his recently published letter to his co-capitalists that the army is deeply impregnated with Socialism and he calls for an immediate fund of fifty thousand dollars to hire brilliant writers to avert the approaching revolution.

It is somewhat late to discover the conditions existing. The people are awakening in the army as well as in the shop, the mills, the mines and upon the farms. They are awakening because like other sleepers they have slept enough. The dawn is here. Economic evolution culminates as evolution always does in revolution, not a bloody revolution, but an intelligent restoration of rights. The Capitalists are awake, why should the people slumber? They have spies in the Union, but even spies are not to be depended upon. They do clumsy work as Orchard did, and fearless men expose them. A fearless Press keeps sending its messages of education to the workers and the workers do not waste their papers, books or pamphlets, they pass them on and help educate their fellow workers.

The Appeal to Reason gained 13,343 subscribers in Kansas alone in the week ending July 31st, 1909, immediately following the conviction by the Government of its editor, Fred Warren, of violating the Postal Laws. The gain for the week in total numbers was 17,632. The total number of subscribers sent in from July 15 to August 4 was 74,349, equal to the number Lincoln called for first service in the Civil War, and brains are far more effective than foolishly expended bullets. It is true that the army and navy of this and every other country are becoming conscious of their kinship with the working class from whom they are mostly enlisted. It is true that they are reading and hundreds of them are Socialists and thoroughly informed in its philosophy and purposes. They know that peace is what they and their people want, not war, and they are clearly learning that wars, all wars, have been waged for property.
RECENT PROGRESS

In the last 3 or 4 years the continuous educational work carried on by local, state and national organizations of Socialists has accomplished the most wonderful results, not at all to be measured by the number of votes cast, but in the amount of ignorance and prejudice overthrown. There are no longer brilliant politicians silly enough to publicly say "the Socialists intend to divide up," or that "they do not favor government," or that "they seek to destroy the home," or that "they are free lovers;" 100,000 annual divorces are, as every one knows, practically, entirely Republicans and Democrats. If politics has anything at all to do with divorces, that silly statement falls to the ground. Socialists are no longer called "Anarchists" or "Dreamers." It is being revealed that in their ranks are great intellectual men, men who place man above money, above office, place or power, that they are brave, true, lovable men who do not advocate hate, but who philosophically account for human conduct. The Socialists are recognized, the next great political contest will possibly be between the Socialist party, representing the American working people in shop, mill, mine and farm, and the Republican party, representing the Capitalists, the large ones who have and the little ones who hope to have, for sincere men, who are students and who really want democracy, are coming to see, when unblinded by prejudice, that the Socialist program promises industrial democracy, full, equal opportunity to work, therefore to live and grow mentally and spiritually, and is for that reason the only full and true democracy ever proposed for mankind.

It is perhaps somewhat unfortunate that the name Socialism has been so generally misunderstood, but all movements for Freedom have been misunderstood and have
been given bad names, however sweet in itself the name may have been. The Socialist movement is progressive as evolution is and no name could adequately describe the ends and effects of an industrial revolution in conscious progress.

SOCIALISM DEFINED

Socialism has been confused with Anarchism, Communism, Nihilism, St. Simonism, Fourierism, Populism, etc., all terms attempting to define the Revolution in terms of method or after the one proposing an escape from the intolerable conditions under which the people struggle to live. The term Socialism is derived from the Latin Socius, meaning a friend or companion. The words Society, Social, Associate, etc., are from the same word. Socialism therefore, describes a state of Society that should be desirable, where men are to be companions, friends, instead of being competing-warring antagonist enemies. (The word competition is from Latin con-against and peto—to fight, and the word enemy is from the Latin through the French, and means not a friend, not a friend easily becomes an enemy). The word Socialism does not in any way indicate the manner of obtaining this condition of friendship or brotherhood, even the economists and lexicographers use the word vaguely, and with a great variety of meanings, but the word in the last 3 or 4 years has become more fixed in meaning and is no longer confused by intelligent people with any of the other radical or conservative movements. The Encyclopedia Brittanica says, “Socialism is tending more and more to ally itself with the most advanced democracy.” There is now no excuse for confusion as to its meaning and purposes. It declares them openly in its platforms, in its press and through its speakers and teachers. It is the revolution! That is its declaration and its object.
There are 10 million people in the world who vote for it and more than fifty million who believe and advocate its teachings. In every civilized country it has organized workers. It has scores of daily and weekly papers. Hundreds of magazines and periodicals, and its adherents ceaselessly promulgate its doctrine in millions of books and pamphlets. Its objects include immediate demands for better environment, better sanitation and protection in shops, mines and on farms, better schools, old age and disability pensions, shorter hours and wages increasing with the rise in the cost of living, but its one single aim is the ownership of the earth by the people who inhabit it, or in terms Socialism is defined as “The collective ownership of all the sources of wealth and of the collectively used means of wealth production and distribution, and the democratic administration thereof.” Such ownership and management the Socialists contend would make brotherhood practicable and the status of all men and women would be tremendously improved.

The Socialist program is therefore political. It proposes to eliminate the private ownership of collective property and thus remove the degrading motives for public corruption and let him who will work, work, and let him have not the wages doled out to him by the owner, but the full value of his product in fact.

THE PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION FURTHER CONSIDERED

We must remember that progress in the past has been unconscious, a struggle to live. The history of this struggle to live would be the history of man from protoplasm to his present stage of development. The past is not to be quarreled with. It is to be studied and understood and the laws of evolution revealed—so that instead of fight-
ing, struggling blindly, groping, unconsciously adapting himself to environment, man may become a conscious evoluter, controlling forces, instead of being enslaved by them. Securing to himself more and more perfect physical, mental and spiritual growth, driving the machine instead of being limited and crushed, bent and deformed by it.

The progress of this Social Revolution, as fully represented by the Socialist party of the world, has been very remarkable, and if fully understood, it would thrill the hearts of the workers with hopefulness and bring apprehension to the minds of those who own and hope to forever control the great sources of wealth production and distribution.

SOME STATISTICS

In 1867 the total vote of the world for Socialism was 30,000
1884 " " " " " " 500,000
1893 " " " " " " 2,585,893
1898 " " " " " " 4,515,591
1903 " " " " " " 6,285,374
1905 more than . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 7,000,000
This table as given in the May, 1908, Review of Reviews, will show in more extended detail the extent of the growth of Socialism, and it should be observed that all elections since have greatly enlarged the totals recorded:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>FIRST RECORDED</th>
<th>LAST RECORDED</th>
<th>Socialists in National Legislature</th>
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This table omits Russia, where 192 Revolutionists were elected to the first Duma, and in many of the countries mentioned suffrage is much restricted.

It is now estimated on careful authority that the voting strength of the World's Socialist party is upwards of ten millions.
IN THE UNITED STATES

The vote in 1888 was in 2 States .......................... 2,064
1892 " 6 " ........................................ 21,512
1900 first national campaign ..................... 97,730
*1904 ............................................ 435,040
1908 ............................................ 463,072

The 1908 vote was certainly entirely a Socialist vote for there was Mr. Bryan in the field with his personal and radical following, Mr. Watson, a true Populist, a full Prohibition ticket and Mr. Taft, wholly acceptable to the Republican party, and yet the Republican vote showed loss from Mr. Roosevelt's 1904 vote of approximately 1,247,000. The political student will find much to think about if he will carefully consider these observations and analyze the votes of 1904 and 1908. The Socialist party is overwhelmingly the third National party and this, too, at its first truly National Campaign.

It will be observed, too, that neither in this country nor in the world has there been any decline. Always more, the growth seeming to be in proportion to economic development and according to the extent of the intelligent propaganda of its theories.

In the United States no Socialists have yet been elected to Congress, but hundreds have been elected to municipal and State offices. In European countries Socialists have gained many seats in the National Councils, and this, too, in spite of absurd, unfair, plural voting laws, disfranchising, districting of voting precincts, etc. A steady and amazing growth is evident in every European country. In Belgium in 1905 the Socialists had 41 members in the

*NOTE. A large part of the 1904 votes were votes of protest of radical democrats who could not vote for Mr. Parker after Mr. Bryan passionately said "No self-respecting democrat could vote for Mr. Parker." How large this vote was can only be conjectured but probably, judging from the Socialist party membership's growth, not less than 150,000.
Chambers of Representatives, the largest number of members being the Catholics, 172. In France, 115 Socialist members. Germany, 43. In Germany the number of subscribers to party papers is near the million mark. The Vorwärts Daily, owned by the party, showed a net profit of $37,500 in 1905. Holland has 8 Representatives. Italy, 25. Poland is moving rapidly and is carrying on one of the most diligent and intelligent educational movements in the world. All its work must be done by secret congress, and much of the propaganda is by word of mouth. Secretly but steadily uniting the workers into compact scientific organization. In Spain, because of the failure of Republican government in 1873, the working people have contempt for political agitation and for the most part Socialism there is anti-political and educational. There are 12 Socialist papers and the Tierra y. Libertad has a very large circulation. It carries no advertising matter for its support and is remarkably strong, intelligent and free.

In all of England's colonies there is great unrest, particularly where the English Capitalists are exploiting the people under the protection of the English government. South Africa is in a pitiful condition and the people are ready to revolt, but are kept in subjection by the mine owners who are pouring Chinese laborers into the country by the thousands.

In India similar conditions exist and there is an intense spirit of revolt growing and being intelligently directed. Japan has a great number of Socialist propaganda clubs. One in the University of Tokio, also one in the University of Kyoto. The movement is headed by the young men of education and ability. Katayama is a member of the international committee and is well known and beloved by American Socialists. They have established a People's bank, two weekly papers, and they constantly petition
parliament for universal suffrage and have made great impressions throughout Japan, and are daily winning the people to the theories they so diligently promulgate. These are only a few examples chosen to show that Socialism is international, that it is the only world movement ever known, looking to unite all people for the common good, not religiously, but economically. To eliminate waste, war, poverty and disease. That the movement co-exists with Capitalistic development, that everywhere its keywords of progress are *Education, Love, Truth*. That it has patience because its adherents know that evolution can only be guided, it cannot be arrested. It can be promoted and the world be made as it was intended to be, super-abundantly sufficient for the sustenance of life on the highest plane.

In 1890 there were only 10 organized trusts. In 1904 there were listed in the American Almanac, 320. The maximum has since been reached, and now the trustifying of trusts is in full swing and must of course proceed along the lines of economic law to the logical conclusion. When that time will arrive cannot be definitely foretold, but it is *certain* to proceed. When it does, as Marx says, “when the expropriation of the many by the few is completed, then the expropriation of the few by the many will take place.” The sole and only question is, How?

There is a revolution going on in the Labor Unions also. Craft autonomy is proving insufficient, for as wealth concentrates there are fewer compelling interests among the owning class and they are more powerful, for if one plant is shut down by a strike, they can operate another in some other part of the country. So if the anthracite miners strike, the bituminous coal operators may supply the demand until the strike is crushed. The efforts of the Unions to gain better conditions by boycotts, strikes, union labels and other methods are now easily thwarted.
in most branches of industry, but as they lose on the industrial field, they are forced to understand their interests are most likely to be promoted by being united on the political field. At the last National Convention of the United Mine Workers, the Socialist resolution favoring the collective ownership of mines and other social property was passed by more than 1,300 votes out of the 1,400 voting delegates. The sentiment of that body of workers was unmistakable and no more intelligent body of delegates was ever assembled in convention in this country. It was conceded that the labor committees presenting petitions and asking for legislation were never more coolly ignored than in the legislative halls in 1909. The effects cannot be discovered yet for there have been no elections since to show the changed political sentiment. It is certain, however, that this element is very powerful in accelerating the revolt.

DANGERS

There are intelligent, scholarly men who are unconsciously in the pay of the ruling class, and they very often see clearly the progress of events and faithfully report them. President Eliot of Harvard College said: "I am forced to believe there is a present danger of Socialism, never before so imminent in America in so dangerous a form because never before in so well organized a form: the danger lies in the obtaining control of the Trades Unions by the Socialists." Wise, watchful man! There is the danger and the Civic Federation knows it. There are in the great unions of the country many men in the indirect employ of the owners of industrial establishments who belong to Unions, who are skilled workers, who are officials and who are there to report and thwart threatened strikes and avert impending trouble. The rank and
file in these unions are becoming enlightened and they are wondering how much the labor leaders can really stand for their interests, and for the interests of their employers on the idle and false, because unnatural theory, that there is such a thing as "Identity of interests between employers and employees" where the manifest interest of the employer is to receive maximum results for minimum expense and the interest of employees is to have larger pay and shorter hours. President Eliot can only see here and there a danger. He has not called the attention of his confreres to many others. Here is a big one.

A BIG DANGER

The Socialist Party of America has organizations in every State and Territory of the United States, Alaska, Hawaii and the Philippines are not too remote to send their delegates to the national conventions. They publish a weekly and a monthly bulletin. This reaches every party member in the world. The American organization is directly a component part of the International organization. The International organization has officers chosen from all parts of the world. Secretaries, treasurer and executive committees. The committee is large and is composed of the ablest and most intellectual men in the world, and these are men whose minds are not bent upon ambitious selfish schemes, but upon educating and developing the powers and intelligence of the people.

The American party has a National office full of intelligent workers, busy every day in every year, Sundays excepted, in arranging routes for lecturers, organizers and teachers. Editing and publishing books and pamphlets on great questions. Formulating tactics and instructions. Systematizing organizations and propaganda. At the head of the finely equipped organization, chosen by ref-
erendum, submitted to the rank and file, serving as Na-
tional Secretary, is a clear-headed, widely experienced, brave-souled, gentle, unpurchasable, uncompromising revolutionary workingman. Advocating peaceful methods, educational tactical integrity, working class solidarity, candor, openness, no secrets, all meetings open to not only the party membership, but to any citizen of any political faith whatever. In 1908 this Socialist party car-
rried on a State and National Campaign that appealed to every true man and woman in the world in touch with its clean methods. There was no booze, no boodle, no purchasing, no intimidation, no promises. There was speaking from public platforms and soap boxes, fearless criticism of men and measures. They equipped and sent out through 33 States into more than 500 cities, “The Red Special Train of Cars.” The party of about 30 was composed of young master musicians, volunteers who gave inspiring music to the listening multitudes and for the first time the great world Song of Revolution, “The Marseillaise,” was heard in the United States from ocean to ocean and the people loved its international notes as much as they ever loved the national anthem “America.” There were young newspaper correspondents, one representing the European Labor and Socialist Papers, a half dozen young men who distributed thousands of books and pamphlets among the people crowding to listen and to learn; Mr. Debs speaking every day many times, always loving and lovable, always logically and eloquently present-ing the claims of the working people for a better world, a world without wars, a world without jails and hangmen, without insanity, disease or poverty, a world such as has been promised and prayed for since the Mas-
ter came.

The total cost of the campaign was approximately $40,000, paid by the coppers, dimes and dollars of the
workers, gladly contributed. Every penny accounted for and reported to the party membership. No wonder such a party with such clean methods, grows in strength, when its work becomes known to the workers.

The Republican campaign fund as published, was nearly two million dollars. No name of a contributor giving less than $50 was published. No Trust gave a penny, but those who own them, gave it all. The Democratic fund was much less, for the Democratic party does not so much represent the rich, as it does those who want equal opportunity to become rich, and when they become rich, they usually become truly class-conscious and Republican. No one imagines that these totals given were the full amounts used to buy and corrupt, bewilder and confuse the voters. Printed notices of promises and poorly concealed threats were posted in many shops prior to the election and on election day the automobiles were busy carrying the voter for an occasional ride to the ballot box. All these things are a very important part in the Revolution and are only mentioned to reveal their ultimate influence upon the minds of honest men.

Another great danger lies in the fact that in the organized towns, cities and country districts the local party subdivisions meet regularly. They read and discuss evolution, political science, literature, party tactics, propaganda and other subjects calculated to make the gray matter of the brain live instead of atrophy.

Another danger. There are hundreds of night schools where men, women and children study English, the class-struggle and all the subjects above mentioned. Another danger is from the Inter-collegiate Socialist Society, organized to promote intelligent study of Socialism by the young men and women in our colleges and universities, and there are no colleges where the subject is not a live one.
Another danger. Leslie M. Shaw, former secretary of the U. S. Treasury, recently made the following remarks at an annual dinner given by Dickinson College in New York City: "Socialism is being taught on every hand and I am alarmed by the general trend of things in this connection. At our Chautauqua the lecturers are all preaching the doctrine of Socialism. Teachers of Sociology in our schools, colleges and universities are doing the same thing. With a few exceptions they are Socialists, as you can find by a few moment's conversation with them. Our public libraries are full of Socialist literature. Even the pulpit reflects Socialistic doctrines."

Another danger. Prof. Wenley, of Ann Arbor University, is giving a five months' course on the "Ethics of Socialism" to the students at Michigan University and recently declared:

"Instead of being born with 'certain inalienable rights,' man is becoming to be thought of as being born with certain duties to his fellow men. Alone, man the individual, can do nothing. He is important only as he constitutes a part of society. He, therefore, owes definite obligations to that society which gives him his power and his meaning. Socialism is simply a name for the struggle of the working class for better things, for greater material comforts, but chiefly for more leisure, for better opportunities for self-culture. The competitive system which we have to-day never can bring these things about. If they could be brought about without a change in society there would, to-day, be no place for Socialism. But they cannot. A change in society, a peaceful revolution of the existing order—Socialism—is necessary. Socialism is inevitable; it's coming, in some manner." How is the question.

These are only a few of unnumbered utterances by profound scholars in our great institutions of learning and their significance is apparent.
Another danger, is in the fact that the Socialists stand for Woman Suffrage, and the other parties dare not, for women do not want a world of war and strife.

Another danger, is from the fact that in every country the Socialists are opposed to war. They refuse to be soldiers; in Spain recently they told the government they would die first and hundreds did. In Germany and France the position taken by the Socialists has made war almost impossible. In this country there is a steady growing aversion to war and to warriors as such. The soldiers and sailors are beginning to see that they are to do police duty in strikes and labor troubles. They are for the most part enlisted from the working class and the unemployed. In every city in the parks where the unemployed gathered in the last few years of industrial stagnation, United States recruiting officers were stationed to tell the young men, the wholesome, physically perfect young men all about steady employment, enlarged experiences, etc., and yet it has been exceedingly difficult to get enough enlistments to keep the army and navy forces up to the requirements and desertions are, of course, increasingly frequent, for their hearts do not go into the army and navy with them. In all countries these young men are being educated by their Socialist fellows at home as to the horrors of war and particularly as to their relationship to the working class.

Another danger is in the fact that the employees in banks, offices, schools, churches and in all departments where fixed salaries are paid, are confronted with the rising cost of living and they too are thinking of the causes of things, thousands of these are breaking away more and more freely towards the epoch of revolt. It does not matter how they may seem to be hindered and restrained by precedents and established conventions and formulae. Such as these are always found among the revolutionists when
the time for revolution has ripened. For no man makes revolutions or prevents them. Revolutions are born out of the exigencies of progress and are always brought on by the unconscious and complacents, the laissez faire, "the let well enough alone people" and never by the radicals.

It is true that force and violence in the past have been in at the birth of a new society and may be again, but all the signs are hopefully the other way now. The one thing that is absolutely undeniably certain is that the signs of pregnancy are apparent, that society is soon to emerge into a new manner of living. It is conscious and is rapidly becoming intelligent, and it knows that the laws express only the public ruling reason at the given moment of history, and that the laws are of necessity subject to amelioration, amendment or abolition in proportion as humanity progresses and creates new ideals. *It is true now* that the ownership of the whole earth by a few or by even one man is lawful according to man's laws, but it is not to be denied that it will *soon be* unavoidably necessary to amend, alter or abolish any and all laws of exclusion from the right to work and have access to the means of life since the means of life are now pouring into the hands of the few with resistless rapidity and the poor and disinherited are being increased from the ranks of the formerly well to do or middle class and here, now, in *our day*, at the culmination of the centralization of wealth in the hands of the few, in the compacting of the forces of labor into groups, and of groups into compact armies, in a new literature and a new teaching is the resistless consciousness of interdependence, solidarity and oneness that will before long bring the toilers of the earth into one harmoniously united army marching to a restoration of original rights, not by boycotts, strikes, costly litigation, lobbying or bargaining or petitioning, but to the
ballot box in every lawful and intelligent manner proceeding to the eradication of the laws of exclusion, exploitation, disinheritance and profit and the re-enactment of the divine and natural law that declares humanity alone the supreme heirs of the earth and the rightful administrators of the conditions under which we all must live. The past is dead. The present only lives. Those who are not in revolt belong to the past. They walk in cerements that stifle and destroy. Those who fear to walk the “Open Road” are those who cling to old laws, customs and superstitions and enjoy and persist in mourning and wearing and carrying with them the garments of gloom, because they do not know; they have not been awakened; they live either before or after the Revolution. They are not of it; they sleep. They are unconscious. They do not believe the things will ever be that they are taught to hope for. They scramble through their brief existence for things. They get things. They get things only. They extract nothing from the feast except indigestion, insomnia, death. They only hope. These are the ones who are unconscious and who are to be made conscious. So that each “here on earth may know as well as play a conscious part in life.”

STEPHEN MARION REYNOLDS,

Terre Haute, Ind., August, 1909.