

Oppression and suffering count him as their source.

The jail is the place for J. D.
Enforce the law, 'twill yet save the State.
Do it at once before it's too late.
Once we were blind but now we can see
That the jail is the place for J. D.

PAUL MARTIN.

The beneficiaries of privilege have the optional alternative of surrendering their privilege, or of submitting to whatsoever bungling methods ignorance may employ to rid itself of the unjust burden.

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

"I'm sorry," said the Private Secretary, "but the President will not see you."

"Try again, won't you?" persisted the White House visitor. "Tell him I'm the man in the brown hat that stood in the crowd when the Rough Riders left Tampa for the front."—Philadelphia Press.

"Josh Medder's son Bill is a director of a big trust in New York now."

"Gosh! When he lived here he didn't know beans."

"He don't now; that's why they made him a director of th' trust."—Puck.

Judge—You admit you sand-bagged the man. Have you any excuse?

Prisoner—Yes, yer Honor. De sand-bag wuz me own property and J. P. Morgan says a man has de right ter do wot he pleases wit' his own property.—Puck.

A member of a labor union began to read a paragraph relating to the land question in one of the union's meetings. He was stopped by the objection that the union label was not on the publication containing it.

Was this any less foolish than the refusal of the drowning Presbyterian to be rescued by anyone but a Presbyterian?—Daybook and Ledger, of Oak Lawn, R. I.

BOOKS

SOCIALIST AGITATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

Socialism is a theory of inevitable and unpremeditated social evolution, rather than a deliberate movement for social reformation. According to this theory all social changes proceed from economic or industrial variations. A history of socialism, therefore, in the strictest sense, would be a history of economic improvement and its consequent developments of social structure.

But such a work would be more in the nature of a treatise than of a history. Even though it incidentally mentioned

the popular agitations that might be supposed to stimulate inevitable evolution, it would not satisfy the demand for a distinctive story of those agitations. With all his faith in economic fatalism, the socialist nevertheless wants to organize for the purpose of helping Fate along, and likes to read the history of his organized efforts to that end.

While the logic of his "science" requires him to disbelieve in ideals, his nature as a man compels his devotion to organized and self-sacrificing work for ideals.

The history of that work is consequently not only interesting to him and instructive to all; but in his own mind as well as in the minds of others, it seems to be the history of the fatalistic evolution itself. A contribution to this type of socialist history is the "History of Socialism in the United States," by Morris Hillquist (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls company), which was issued late in the year just closed.

Mr. Hillquist allows his readers to infer through many pages, nearly half his book, that organized socialism in the United States originated in the communistic experiments of the last century. In these experiments he includes not only the non-religious Owenites and Fourierites, but also such religious organizations as the Shakers, the Amana community, the Oneida community and the Mormons at Nauvoo. With so broad a conception of the origin of modern socialism, it is difficult to understand why the author was content with so late a date as the last century. Along with the religious sects that he names, to which communism was an attachment, he might properly have included primitive Christianity, and the monastic life both before and after Christ; and to the Icarians, with Etienne Cabet's mythical "Voyage to Icaria" as their inspiring text book, he might have added an old communistic experiment or two in the British possessions of America under the inspiration of Sir Thomas Moore's "Utopia."

The truth is that experiments in practical communism have no more originated modern socialism than they have originated populism, or any other theory for the abolition of competitive industry. Even the individualistic reforms of the day might as well claim descent from these old movements, for in the last analysis they were nothing more than outward manifestations of dissatisfaction with the existing order of things and an aspiration for an order of human brotherhood in its place. Socialism may be said to be one of the many children of those old agitations and experiments, but not the only legitimate heir.

It is noticeable, however, that Mr. Hillquist seems to file a first lien for modern socialism upon nearly the whole

history of social and industrial agitation in America during the past hundred years, until he begins the second part of his book. He then lifts the lien as to the communistic theories and experiments, by observing that these "had but little influence on the formation of the modern socialist movement in the United States"—that "the two movements are entirely different in nature and origin." From this point on the book is devoted to the story of the rise of the existing Socialist party.

The origin of that party is in the old International Workingmen's Association, of Europe, popularly known and amazingly feared as the "International." The first American affiliation with this body was in 1868. It would seem that the author might properly have been a little more full and specific in accounting for the disintegration of the "International," and the transfer of the remnant to the United States. But he does present a considerable mass of information regarding the early organizers and organizations of socialism on this side of the Atlantic. Most of this information must have been gathered at no inconsiderable pains, and it appears on the surface to have been presented conscientiously.

Some of it, however, is not firm enough to be correct; and this naturally tends to cast a cloud over the trustworthiness of the rest. With reference, for instance, to the United Labor party's convention at Syracuse, N. Y., in August, 1887, Mr. Hillquist makes it appear that the socialist delegates were expelled, and that this expulsion was because they were socialists. The fact is that in a contest from one district, based upon several grounds of contest, the decision went against the socialist contestants from that district on the ground that those particular individuals belonged to another political party—the Socialist Labor party—to which they gave their allegiance in preference to the United Labor party, in whose convention they were demanding seats. This decision did not exclude socialists as such. From other districts there were socialist delegates. There was no expulsion of these. But when the decision in the contested district went against the supremacy of the Socialist Labor party in organizations of the United Labor party, the socialists whose seats were not contested voluntarily withdrew. They were not expelled, as would be inferred from Mr. Hillquist's history.

Other errors of partisanship, due for the most part to inadequate, rather than untruthful statement, mar the otherwise good work of Mr. Hillquist as a party historian. It must be conceded in his behalf, however, that in the histories of other parties by partisan historians one would doubtless find ample precedent for any onesidedness

of statement or color of which he may be guilty.

Briefly summarized, Mr. Hillquist's history tells of a variety of political organizations in the United States, more or less socialistic, down to 1877, when the "Socialist Labor Party of North America" was organized at Newark, N. J. On the question of political action sentiment in that party was divided, but "in several places and at several times" the party "alone or in conjunction with its political allies succeeded in polling a comparatively large vote." One of these places was the Tenth Assembly district, New York city, where the party polled annually about 1,000 votes. Its alliances with other reform parties were with a view to infusing into them "as much of the doctrine of socialism as possible." A similar motive governed its activity in labor union movements, notably the Knights of Labor, which it tried to capture. The period down to 1885 was marked by growth, factional controversies, decline, revival. In that year, when its fifth annual convention met, the party was stronger than it had yet been; and in 1886 it went bodily, as a party, into the United Labor party, of New York, and the United Labor party, of Chicago, besides several other reform parties in different parts of the country.

When some of its members were seated, as stated above, at the Syracuse convention of the United Labor party of New York, and the others withdrew, they organized in September, 1887, another party called the "Progressive Labor Party," of which the Socialist Labor party was the unnamed but dominating factor, as it had set out to be in the United Labor party. This new variation of socialistic politics resulted in a vote of some 5,000 in New York city.

After these experiments in making its political warfare in the name of other political movements, the Socialist Labor party did what some of its local bodies had been doing before; it went into politics in its own name. A presidential ticket was nominated 1888, for which the entire vote of the country was considerably less than 5,000. Since then the Socialist Labor party has steadily placed candidates in the field at all elections, and with encouraging results down to 1898, when its national vote had risen to 82,204

But then came the Debs movement. When Debs was in prison for contempt in violating a labor injunction, he became a socialist. But he did not join the Socialist Labor party. He assisted in the organization in 1879 of the "Social Democracy of America," a bolt from which, a year later, resulted in the organization of the "Social Democratic party." Meanwhile factional quarreling in the Socialist Labor

party had inclined many of its members favorably to the new organization; with which, after much difficulty, they united in 1900, under the name of the "Socialist party."

There are, therefore, two socialist parties now in the political arena in the United States—the "Socialist party" and the "Socialist Labor party." The Socialist party polled 100,000 in 1900, while the Socialist Labor party polled only 35,000. In the Congressional elections of 1902, the former polled nearly 250,000, and the latter about 50,000.

Mr. Hillquist is a prominent member of the Socialist party. In so far, therefore, as his history may be influenced by his sympathies and environment, as between these two parties, it doubtless favors the Socialist party. On the whole, however, we are inclined to regard Mr. Hillquist's work as a reasonably successful first effort to deal briefly and fairly with all the data of the subject, some of which is obscure, much of which is conflicting, and not a little of which is still colored by the passions of factional quarreling. Whatever the defects may be—and such a work must, out of the very necessities of the case, have many—it is a readable book on a phase of American history with which Americans ought to be familiar, but about which they with few exceptions know next to nothing.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

From Agnosticism to Theism, by Rev. C. F. Dole. James H. West Co. 30 cents.

The Ancient Lowly, a History of the Ancient Working People, by C. Osborne Ward. Purdy Publishing Co., Chicago. \$2.50.

—The Sale of an Appetite. By Paul La Fague. Translated by Charles H. Kerr. Illustrated by Dorothy D. Devine. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company.

—"American Socialism." By O. D. Jones. Edina, Mo.: O. D. Jones. Price, 25 cents. A discussion of the socialist tendencies in America, not in exact conformity to orthodox socialism.

—Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History. By Antonio Labriola, professor in the University of Rome. Translated by Charles H. Kerr. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company. To be reviewed.

—Life and Teachings of Abbas Effendi; a Study of the Religion of the Babi's. By Myron H. Phelps, of the New York Bar. With an introduction by Edward Granville Browne. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. To be reviewed.

PAMPHLETS.

The most notable political pamphlet that has appeared in many years is an anonymous defense of Roosevelt. "Mr. Roosevelt and the Presidency, by a Spectator." is its title, and it may be had of the American News Co., 39 Chambers St., New York. After making due allowance for the bitterness of ignorance which the writer displays toward Bryan, this pamphlet may fairly be described as one of the most powerfully persuasive political documents with which the electorate of the United States has ever been favored. It outranks every other apology for the new order of things in which Mr. Roosevelt is general master workman; and is all the stronger, no doubt, because its author is evidently a man of ideals who in his heart of hearts deprecates this era of high-class "graft." He is able to plead for Roosevelt because, while Roosevelt's ideals are many of them not his, and although he regards Roosevelt's book on

American ideals as "sometimes thin and meretricious," and his doctrine of the strenuous life as "distinctly tiresome," yet Roosevelt "has ideals and he endeavors to realize them," and those ideals are generous, large and lead to honest work and plenty of it." This distinguishes Roosevelt favorably, in the eyes of his apologist, at a time when he can ask the plutocratic critics of Roosevelt, "where are your ideals who judge him?" and truthfully answer, "Gone with your vanished youth!" The pamphlet is on the whole a wholesome production and may be read with benefit, even if not with satisfaction, by citizens of all shades of political opinion.

PERIODICALS.

One of the evils of war is that it diverts attention from internal social questions. Rulers know that it has this effect. "In such absorption," says the Nation, "in the single subject of war, we see the temptation of unscrupulous rulers hard beset in matters of domestic policy. It is the insidious temptation which Seward placed before Lincoln in 1861—only, of course, to have it quietly pushed aside—to 'change the subject' before the country by getting up a foreign war." J. H. D.

To the February number of The World To-Day, a Chicago magazine which is steadily improving, Francis W. Parker, a member of the Illinois Senate, contributes an instructive article on the machine in politics. A descriptive and critical article on the Chicago Art Institute, by Will H. Low, appropriately supplemented with one on art education, by the director of the Institute, Wm. R. French, both very attractively illustrated, adds much to the value of this issue of the magazine.

The Appeal to Reason charges that its recent edition, dealing with the outrages of the military authorities in Colorado, was held up for inspection. It quotes as follows from the Pueblo Star-Journal: "Under instructions, Postmaster J. H. Mitchell this morning held for examination a large bundle of copies of the paper." But neither in the full quotation from this paper, nor in the Appeal's comments, is there a statement of the result of the investigation. The matter is one of extreme importance, and a clear account of the whole affair should be made public. J. H. D.

Prof John Bascom, of Williams college, writes to the Springfield Republican a letter criticising the Democratic party, and incidentally telling some plain truths about public matters. "Most, if not all," he says, "of the monstrous increase of wealth in the hands of commercial leaders, by which the heritage of the people has been stolen from them, is due to a plain inequality of advantages conceded under law and custom to the few at the expense of the many."

Clubs of Three

To extend the circulation of The Public among new readers, and at the same time to relieve of expense such regular readers, or others, as take the trouble to procure us new subscriptions, we will supply three subscriptions for the price of two, on the following terms:

- A Club of Three Annual Subscriptions (at least two of them new).....\$4.00
- A Club of Three Semi-Annual Subscriptions (at least two of them new).....\$3.00
- A Club of Three Quarterly Subscriptions (at least two of them new).....\$1.00

Any person soliciting new subscribers will be allowed the same terms. For every two new subscriptions for which he forwards us cash at regular rates we will honor his order for a third subscription free.

Make all Checks, Money Orders, etc., payable to

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.,

Box 687, CHICAGO, ILL. 6