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The Western Federation of Miners.

AT THE present time it appears that the trial of the officials of the Western Federation of Miners will begin about the first of June. The intervening time should be crammed with efforts to educate the laborers of the United States to the character of the murderous conspiracy which is being hatched against these men.

It is well, just at this time, to sum up the evidence that exists concerning the guilt of the parties concerned that we may be the better able to meet those whose minds are filled with the tales of the capitalist press.

Although the records of the court have entered this case as that of "The State of Idaho *vs.* Haywood, Moyer, et al," yet if that record told the truth it would read "The Standard Oil Co. *alias* the Mine Owners' Association *vs.* the Western Federation of Miners." At the bottom it is a civil, not a criminal case. The object of the persecution is not the punishment of crime, but the increase of profits and the decrease of wages.

In such a case as this the record of both parties is pertinent to the merits of the case. I shall not go back into the story of the Standard Oil Co.; but shall deal only with its western representative,—the Mine Owners' Association. Neither shall I attempt to do more than enumerate the crimes of which it is so notoriously guilty that no denial can be offered.

What, then, has been the record of these two parties? During the decade that the battle has been going on between these contending forces it is a matter of common and undisputed knowledge that the Mine Owners' Association has displayed an absolute disregard for all law, justice and decency. Its members

have corrupted elections or defied the will of the voters when corruption did not suffice. The present acting governor of Colorado was placed in his position with a violent disregard of the will of the electors of that state. In other cases legally elected officials, who have not shown themselves sufficiently subservient to the will of the Mine Owners' Association, have been forced to resign at the point of the revolver or with nooses about their necks. Mobs of thugs, "bad men," gun fighters and toughs have been imported to terrorize workingmen who dared to ask for a larger share of the wealth they were digging from the mountains, or some slight improvement in the conditions under which they labored. Miners' Co-operative stores have been looted and their stocks destroyed or thrown upon the streets to waste. Men whose only crime was organizing for the protection of themselves and their class have been rounded up like wild beasts by brutal soldiers and herded in open stockades, forced to work upon the streets with ball and chain, without being convicted, or indeed charged with any crime, and finally deported from their homes and the states of which they were citizens, under the guard of soldiers paid by the Mine Owners' Association. Newspapers that dared to defend the cause of the men so outraged have been looted and their property destroyed. A telegraph and mail censorship was established to prevent the news of these deeds escaping to the outer world. Courts have been defied, when they have not been rendered completely subservient. All these things have been done openly and defiantly, and are not to-day denied by anyone living in the locality where these battles have been waged.

General Bell, who had charge of the militia while they were thus outraging justice and decency, showed his respect for "law and order" by declaring, "To hell with *habeas corpus*, we'll give 'em *post mortems*," while another official engaged in the same work announced his platform to be, "To hell with the constitution." And these are the ones who are invoking the machinery of law in the name of justice.

All this says nothing of the bribery of legislatures to defeat the will of the voters for an eight-hour day, which was the first blow in the Colorado battle. No reference is made to the buying and selling of the states of Montana, Idaho and Colorado as geese are bought and sold in the market, by the warring forces of copper, gold, silver and cattle. Enough has been told, however, to show that one side in this controversy comes into court as Marx has told us Capital came originally into the world "dripping with blood and dirt at every pore."

How about the other side of the controversy? What is the character of the Western Federation of Miners? This is no ordinary organization of labor. This will be admitted at once. To begin with, it has a breadth of character and depth of outlook

unknown to the average eastern trade union. It does not look upon every member of all other labor organizations as interlopers, nor is it even indifferent to their efforts. It is the only labor organization in America that welcomes to its ranks as full-fledged members any man who can show a card of membership in any other union, and who is employed in or about a mine or smelter. No additional admission fee is charged. This union makes no restriction upon output, places no obstacle in the road of any man who wishes to enter the trade of mining. It asks no assistance of the employer in collecting dues, signs no contracts, demands no closed shop. At first sight it would seem to be the "model union" for which preachers of capitalist morality to workmen have long been looking. But we find that this union has another characteristic which, in the eyes of the exploiting class, damns all its other virtues. It refuses to be humbugged, intimidated, bought or cajoled. It insists that there is no common ground between the capitalist and the laborer but a battle ground. The officials of the W. F. M. did not sit at scab banquets with Standard Oil magnates, and so Standard Oil having found it impossible to bribe, corrupt or crush them, seeks their blood.

Worst of all, from the capitalist point of view, they recognized their brotherhood with the working class of the world and joined with them to secure the victory of their class. They refused to deliver their ballots into the hands of their masters, but insisted upon using them in their own interest. They demanded that the machinery of government should be controlled by those who do the work of the world, and that the instruments of wealth production should be owned by the producers of wealth. In short, they recognized the truth of the socialist philosophy, and urged those truths upon their membership. This was the culminating crime that loosed all the bloodhounds of capitalism upon their track.

Yet this acceptance of socialism is in itself one of the strongest proofs that they are not guilty of the crime with which they are now charged. As socialists they impute no responsibility to individual tools of capitalism, such as Steunenberg was. On the contrary, they direct all their attacks upon the system which produces such as Steunenberg. They know full well that the killing of any individual would have no effect upon the great struggle in which they are involved, and they would have been the first to have denounced any suggestion of assassination.

It has been an old rule of fighting tactics with capitalism to impute all its own sins to its enemies. So it is that capitalism, which has reduced present family relations more nearly to a basis of promiscuity than society has seen since the primitive horde, shrieks about socialism "destroying the family"; after having turned men into cogs in a machine it accuses socialism of attack-

ing "individuality," and so on. Consequently we are not surprised to learn that the Mine Owners' Association has sought to cover up its own criminality by shouting "stop thief" at the Western Federation of Miners. Having at its disposal the entire executive and judicial machinery of the community it would have been an easy task for the Mine Owners' Association to capture and convict any members of the W. F. M. who should commit any crime. Indeed conviction under such circumstances would be but slight proof of the commission of a crime. When we recall the frontier conditions of the society in which this struggle was waged, and that every deed of violence naturally committed in a frontier society has been charged against the W. F. M. and that their officials have been arrested literally hundreds of times, and considering the conditions, the character of the work, the society in which the events took place and the courts before which they were tried, it would have occasioned no surprise to learn that a large number had been convicted. But the records show that while the courts are in the hands of their bitterest enemies, and the juries generally drawn from a non-mining population fiercely hostile to the miners, not one single conviction has ever been secured of a member of the Western Federation of Miners for any crime committed in connection with that organization.

So much for past records establishing the natural imputation of suspicion. On the one side we have a band of convicted and confessed criminals,—the Mine Owners' Association. On the other side we have an organization whose principles and method of organization are impossible of reconciliation with murder and assassination. Moreover their record shows that the most merciful and powerfully prejudiced prosecution and persecution has failed to fix the slightest taint of criminality upon them.

In determining guilt the question of motive always plays an important part. Who would gain by the murder of Steunenberg? To be sure some members of the W. F. M. had suffered at his hands. He was the principal tool utilized by the Mine Owners' Association in the perpetration of a series of horrible outrages upon the Miners of the Coeur d'Alene district in 1899. It may be possible that some man who had been brutally beaten or bayoneted by the beastalized negro soldiery at that time, whose home was destroyed, or wife insulted, or who saw his comrades shot down like dogs because they had dared to be men, might have revenged himself upon the man who directed the conduct of these outrages. But the W. F. M. as an organization was little injured by these criminal abuses. The men who suffered in the Coeur d'Alene, and who were driven out from their homes in that locality, became active missionaries preaching the gospel of organization, while the story of their wrongs served but to illustrate and emphasize their preaching. Moreover Steunenberg had been

defeated for re-election, largely through the efforts of the W. F. M. He no longer held any official position, but had become a sheep owner, and was engaged in an armed battle with the cattle men for the right to use land which neither owned, and it is easily possible that he was but another victim added to the thousands that have already fallen in this fight between cattle and sheep rangers. One thing is certain—while he lived he was not only powerless for further harm to the W. F. M., but he served as a shining example of the political power of that organization.

The Mine Owners' Association, on the other hand, had used him and cast him aside. While he lived there was always the danger that he might reveal the criminal secrets of that organization. He might sometime dare to tell the truth concerning the powers responsible for the murders and outrages of the Coeur d'Alene. He could not under any conditions be of any further use to them since he was politically powerless. But if his death could be made to throw suspicion upon the W. F. M. it might be possible to judicially lynch the officials of that organization.

To sum up on this point of motive. Living he was of value to the W. F. M. as an illustration of their political power. He was powerless to do them further evil. He had really done no injury to the organization as such. To the Mine Owners' Association, on the other hand, he was a constant menace while living, powerless to longer serve them and might prove of great value dead if a means could be found to throw the odium of his death upon officials of the W. F. M.

So much for the indirect evidence which might go to show probable guilt. Now for what has been offered as direct proof of the guilt of the men under arrest. This consists almost exclusively of a confession of one "Orchard," who claims to have committed a score or more of murders, including that of Steunenber, at the behest of the W. F. M. It is pretty fair to assume that a professional murderer is also a liar, and a slight examination of the published portions of his confession shows this assumption to be true, and that the "confession" is a tissue of lies. One of the murders which "Orchard" boasts of having accomplished by means of a dynamite bomb was said to have been committed in San Francisco. "Orchard" described the character of the bomb at length, told how and when it was made, how he placed it in the place where it exploded and who was the intended victim. Unfortunately for the coherency of his "confession" he had not read the later San Francisco papers, subsequent to the ones describing the occurrence of the explosion. Had he done so he would have found that the owner of the apartment house in which the explosion took place, having no particular interest in arranging events to fit "Orchard's" confession, had demanded damages of the gas company, and that the latter, after an examination by

their own experts, at once admitted that the explosion was due to a leaky gas main ignited by a lighted cigar, and in accordance with this report of their expert the gas company paid the owner of the building \$10,000. Another crime to which he "confessed" as having been instigated by the W. F. M. was a train wrecking, which had already been proven in open court to have been the work of a spy in the employ of the Mine Owners' Association. This spy, by the way, has never been punished for this crime, a fact that incidentally throws a strong light upon the character of the courts of that locality.

It was upon this flimsy evidence that the last step in the affair was taken. This step, like all others taken at the instigation of the Mine Owners' Association, was marked with a complete disregard of all the forms of law. The men were taken at dead of night, denied all right of extradition proceedings and all benefit of the writ of habeas corpus, loaded upon a special train, furnished by railroad companies, controlled by the same Standard Oil forces that dominate the Mine Owners' Association, and hurried away to Idaho, into a locality where a jury could be secured whose minds had been filled with hatred for the threatened men by the press of the Mine Owners' Association.

It was thought that in this way these men could be judicially assassinated, and thereby the W. F. M. would be crippled when wages could be reduced, the cause of industrial revolutionary unionism and political socialism would receive a deadly blow, and profits be increased and the system of exploitation granted a new lease of life.

But there was one element in the situation which the conspirators failed to take into consideration. This was the existence of a widespread solidarity of revolutionary labor, that refused to submit quietly while this black deed was being consummated. The daily press was prostituted to the purpose of the murderous capitalist band, but a host of socialist papers sprang into the breach, and, as always with a working class movement, drawing strength from the very excess of the terrible demand upon them, made the country ring with denunciation of the conspirators. Thousands of Socialist locals and labor organizations sent out calls for great protest meetings. Every day that passes sees the tide of protest rise higher, sees new periodicals forced to give utterance to the truth, new localities stirred with the sound of protesting voices. Now the Socialist Party has sent out the call to transform the great May Day celebration, the international holiday of labor, into a demonstration against this proposed judicial lynching. Tens of thousands of leaflets and copies of periodicals have been poured into the county where the trial is to take place, that the men who are to act as jurors may at least know something of the truth along with the mass of poisonous false-

hoods that are being poured into their ears by the plutocratically controlled press of the locality.

The battle, however, is not yet won. Capitalism does not yield so easily. The untold millions which are at the disposal of the prosecuting side of this case will not surrender without a fight, unless it is absolutely certain that a fight spells ignominious defeat. For these reasons there must be no relaxation of effort on our part. As the time for the trial draws near there comes especially a pressing need for funds. To tell a lie, or even to swear to it, is cheap and easy. To disprove it often means long and expensive investigations. This is particularly true in this case, where the nature of the evidence which will finally be submitted in court is carefully kept secret by the prosecution. Up to the present time the sums that have come in have been painfully inadequate to do the work that must be done. It must not be said that these men were murdered for lack of the few dollars necessary to adequately defend them. Such a disgrace must not rest upon the working-class of America. Let special efforts be put forth in the next few days to collect the needed funds. If they are forwarded to the National Headquarters of the Socialist Party they will be promptly transmitted to the proper authorities.

There is but little time now to act. The trial will probably begin the first of June. Every moment between now and then should be filled with agitation and action. Let mass-meeting succeed mass-meeting, with parades and propaganda material telling the truth of this proposed outrage.

No argument, no quoting of law, no preponderance of evidence alone can prevent this legalized, blood-thirsty mob from glutting its vengeance. The only thing that will stop them in their murderous purpose and save the lives of our imperiled brothers is evidence that the hanging of these men, so far from stopping the organized revolutionary movement of the workers, will but give it new impetus. It is this alone that they fear.

It was because these men were socialists, because they were demanding that the workers legally and peacefully through their ballots take possession of the powers of government, and through this of the wealth of the earth which the workers create, that they were feared and hated. Because they were Socialists they were tireless, incorruptible, uncompromising, intelligent champions of working-class interests. Because they were Socialists they recognized the solidarity of their interests with those of the entire working-class. For that reason the entire working-class is interested in their fate. Their battle is our battle, their cause our cause, their murder would be a deadly blow at the heart of every labor organization in America.

For these reasons their lives can only be saved by the action

of the laborers of America. If from one corner to the other of the United States there arises a cry of protest, a demand for justice coupled with the vow that their judicial murder will mean the beginning of the end of capitalism—if the industrial kings of America are made to realize that they will buy the blood of these our fellow-workers only at the price of losing all industrial and political rulership, and with it the opportunity for exploitation of the producers, then our brothers will be saved.

IT IS FOR US TO DECIDE.

A. M. SIMONS.

The Railroad Situation in the United States.

THE importance of the railroad to the economic, social and political life of a modern nation need hardly be dwelt upon in an article written for the readers of this magazine. Of all the factors which have contributed to the wonderful development and economic expansion of the Nineteenth Century, the railroad probably played the most important part. Without it, the extensive geographical division of labor, not only within a country, but on an international scale as well, would be impossible. By furnishing a cheap means of communication and of transportation of bulky as well as expensive merchandise, the railroad has provided a ready outlet in remote localities for the products of any region which can produce at a comparatively lower cost by reason of natural advantages, such as abundance of cheap fuel, proximity of the source of raw material, or climatic advantages, or a peculiarly skilled labor population.

The railroads have thereby brought about an extensive geographical division of labor, resulting in a concentration of industries in particular localities within each country, and a similar geographical concentration on an international scale in so far as it is not prevented or hindered by the protective tariff legislation of various countries.

In no country has this economic effect of railroads been so strikingly felt as in the United States. Within a territory as large as European Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain and Ireland, Italy and Switzerland combined, every state in the Union has enjoyed complete free trade in the interstate commerce of the country which far surpasses the entire foreign commerce of all the European nations, while the freight carried by the railways in the United States is larger than the combined freight carried by the countries of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France and the United Kingdom.

This untrammelled commercial intercourse on an enormous scale favored the wonderful concentration of industries whose gigantic proportions have compelled the admiration of a marveling and envious world. But the division of labor once brought about has made each section of the country dependent upon all the rest to an extent not dreamed of by the founders of the republic. At the time of the formation of the Union, the thirteen original states represented practically independent, self-supplying commonwealths whose mutual trade relations were

confined mainly to products indigenous to each, owing to climatic and geographical causes. To-day, the people of California are more dependent upon the products of the State of Pennsylvania, 3,000 miles away, than the neighboring state of New York was one hundred and twenty-five years ago.

To all practical purposes, 80,000,000 people constituting the population of the United States to-day depend upon Chicago for their meat, upon Massachusetts for their shoes, upon Pennsylvania for their steel and iron products, upon New York for their ready-made clothing, upon New England for their textiles, etc. An interruption in any of these industries affects the whole country. The railroad strike of 1894 brought about a meat famine in the East and South, and a coal famine in the West, compelling the shutting down of the factories and mills, not to speak of the shortage in numerous other products, necessary for the sustenance of the people. The railroads have come to be the arteries of the nation, and any irregularity in their operation is as fatal to the life of the nation as an interference with the free circulation of blood in the arteries of a body is to the life of an individual. It is this important part played by the railroads in the economic life of the nation which makes them the object of so much concern on the part of our law-makers, and compels government interference in the affairs of the railroad companies, in spite of the general *laissez faire* policy which is so characteristic of American statesmen.

But, in order to understand the issues involved in the present railroad agitation, it is necessary to review briefly the chief events in the railroad history of this country.

THE RAILROAD CORPORATION.

The first railroad built in the United States, the Baltimore & Ohio, was open to traffic in 1830. In that year the railway mileage of the country did not exceed twenty-three miles; by 1840 it reached 2,818 miles; and in 1850, the year following the discovery of gold in California, it exceeded 9,000 miles.

The decade following this important event in the industrial history of the country was marked by great expansion of the country and its people westward, which was accompanied by a corresponding extension of the railway system west of the Mississippi river. By 1860, the railroads of the United States measured 30,635 miles. Although the Civil War greatly retarded further railroad building, yet the lavish inducements given by the government and the people of the United States to the railroad companies in order to provide continuous railway communication with the Pacific Coast, hastened the completion of the Central Pacific Railroad which reached the Pacific

in 1869, the railroads of the United States measuring nearly 53,000 miles in 1870.

The forty years which witnessed the building of the principal trunk lines of the country may be said to have constituted the "Golden Age" in the history of the railroad companies, or rather for the promoters and financiers who built them. During that time there was practically no attempt upon the part of the legislative powers to regulate the operation of the roads or to exercise any supervision or control over the railroad companies. Although no railways could be built without obtaining first a charter from a State or the United States, these charters were readily granted without imposing any obligations upon the companies in return.

Unlike the European governments, which usually tried to safeguard the interests of the people by detailed regulations and supervision of the service of the road, as well as by provisions for the charges to be exacted from the people and the profits to be shared with the State treasury, the American communities were only too anxious to get the railroad companies to extend their lines into their territories. Instead of exacting payments from the railroads, they offered as a rule liberal inducements to the latter in the form of large land grants as well as cash advances.

States and municipalities vied with one another in offering the most liberal inducements to the railroads in order to attract them. The railroad promoters were shrewd enough to play off one community against another by laying out alternate surveys to rival cities and extending their lines to the one offering the most liberal terms. The latter usually took the form of cash purchase of bonds or stocks of the railroad company, subscribed to by manufacturers, merchants, owners of real estate, and other citizens whose interests were to be benefitted by the building of the railroad. There are no exact statistics showing the amounts thus paid out to the railroads, but that they reach into *hundreds of millions of dollars is certain*. That much of this liberality on the part of the local "statesmen" was due to a liberal recognition of their services by the railroad companies, is a matter of history, as there is hardly a single industrial or financial interest in the United States which has a more disreputable record of political corruption and bribery of public men in municipal, state and national legislatures, or of unscrupulous manipulation of the funds of the public.

None of the States which advanced enormous sums of money to the railroads (e. g., the State of Missouri spent \$32,000,000, Tennessee \$20,000,000, etc.) got all of their money back. In most cases the promoters of the railroad companies, left free to conduct their affairs to suit themselves, spent the

money obtained from the legislatures and the people in constructing the railroads in such a manner as to enrich themselves and to leave the road bankrupt.

As a rule, they issued to themselves a sufficient amount of bonds to enable them to take hold of the road as creditors for little or no compensation, after it had been bankrupted. After robbing the people both of their money and of their shares in the railroads, the railroad promoters took possession of the roads to go through a new series of similar manipulations. With the exception possibly of the recent insurance and trust promotion scandals, the financial manipulation of the railroads constitutes the classic example of highway robbery on a gigantic scale in conformity with up-to-date stock exchange methods.

But the lavish advances in money were not the only aids given to the railroads by the people. Far more valuable and costly gifts were given away to them in the form of free land-grants. In 1850, the first large land grant of 4,000,000 acres was given to the Illinois Central and the Mobile & Ohio Railroads to aid them in constructing the line from Chicago to New Orleans. In the next twenty years about eighty such grants were given to various railroads. An idea of the extent of these free gifts which were scattered with a most liberal hand will be gained from an acquaintance with the terms of this first grant, which served to a large extent as a model for future grants. The Illinois grant provided for a right of way two hundred feet wide for the entire length of the road in addition to alternate "sections" of land on each side of the road for a distance of six miles from the road; the latter provision was equivalent to a *free gift of six square miles of land for each mile of track built*.

The land grants given to the Western roads which crossed the Rocky Mountains and extended to the Pacific were even more liberal. By the acts of Congress of 1862 and 1864, the railroad companies which were to connect the Missouri river with the Pacific Coast were granted *ten square miles* for each mile of road. The land given to these companies under the act comprised 33,000,000 acres, an area larger than that of the State of Pennsylvania. The grants given away to the various roads by Congress in the two decades following 1850 comprised about 155,000,000 acres, an area equal to five times that of Pennsylvania, and considerably larger than that of the German Empire.

Evidently afraid that the empire thus freely given away to the piratical companies which were to sell the land later on for hard cash to the plain people, would not suffice, Congress hastened to shower a rain of gold upon the companies to enable them to build the lines. Some sixty-five million dollars was advanced by Congress before the roads were brought to a completion. The recital of the robberies and unscrupulous manipu-

lations which accompanied the building of these roads would fill a good-sized volume.

In spite of these liberal contributions by the people to the resources of the railroad companies, the latter conducted their affairs with an extravagance that ruined the companies and made their stock worthless. As a rule, the bankers who advanced the first necessary sums were given bonds whose nominal value was greatly in excess of the cash contributed by them. In addition to that, they were given large blocks of stocks as bonus. The promoters usually issued to themselves large issues of stock, which they disposed of to credulous people through whose towns the road was to pass, at very low prices as compared with the nominal value of the stock. They then formed private construction companies which offered to build the road. Acting at the same time as officers of the railroad, they awarded contracts to these construction companies (i. e., themselves) upon extravagant terms. Usually the construction companies were paid partly in cash and partly in bonds, with a liberal bonus of stock, added for good measure. After exhausting the funds in the treasury of the railroad company, they very often left the road unfinished, throwing it into bankruptcy owing to its inability to meet financial obligations. Then as bondholders and creditors of the company, the bankers and the promoters would step in and take over the control of the road, leaving the people out in the cold. Such was the process by which many of the great fortunes were made in the early days of the railway history of the United States. As a concrete illustration of this statement, the financing of the Southern Pacific Company may be mentioned. Although the actual cost of construction of that road was \$6,500,000, no less than \$15,000,000 was paid to the construction company, and \$40,000,000 worth of securities were issued to the bankers' syndicate on account of the money advanced by them. It must be added that these methods have not changed much in later years. The issue of watered stock, i. e., shares whose nominal value is far in excess of the real value of the property of the road or of the capital actually invested therein, has been a regular feature of railroad consolidation as well as of the consolidation of industrial plants in the recent trust movement.

The issue of watered stocks and excessive bond obligations was practiced with a double purpose. First, to attract the credulous "public," i. e., the small investors and speculators who are caught, like fish by bait, by the glowing prospect held out to them by stock exchange jobbers of buying a \$100 share at a low figure, in the hope of selling it later at par or even above par. The money thus obtained from the public goes to swell the pockets of the promoters and bankers' syndicates. The latter, how-

ever, always manage to hold a sufficient amount of shares to retain control of the company in their own hands. The next object is to deceive the legislative authorities as to the real profits made by the companies. If the actual capital invested in railroad is, say \$10,000,000, and the profits are \$1,000,000, this would constitute 10 per cent on the investment. But, if the promoters have watered the stock and issued for the \$10,000,000 of capital actually invested 5 per cent bonds of a nominal value of \$10,000,000 in addition to \$20,000,000 of stock, \$500,000 will be required to pay the interest on the bonds, leaving \$500,000 to be distributed as dividends on \$20,000,000 of shares, or only 2 per cent. If the people complain of high rates charged by the railroad company for carrying passengers and freights, it can point to its low dividend as proof that its charges are barely sufficient to yield any profit at all on its capital stock.

THE BUSINESS MANAGEMENT OF A RAILROAD.

Having looked at the financial operations which marked the construction and organization of most of the railways in this country, let us consider briefly the peculiar economic conditions which distinguish the railway business from ordinary industrial or commercial enterprises.

In the first place, the railroad requires a greater proportion of its total capital to be invested in fixed forms than probably any other industry: numerous railway stations, tracks stretching for thousands of miles, an expensive rolling stock in the form of costly locomotives which require frequent repairing, and several thousands of passenger and freight cars, warehouses and several other things too numerous to mention, absorb the greater part of the capital of the company. As in most cases the money required to furnish this equipment has been obtained by American railways in exchange for bonds, on which interest has to be paid whether the road is earning any money or not, this has resulted in piling upon the roads a heavy burden in the form of high fixed charges, i. e., expenses which have to be met no matter how much or how little business the road is doing.

The operating expenses of a railroad are also to a large extent independent of the amount of business it is doing. A manufacturing concern can shut down the plant and lay off the workmen when business is slack. A railroad must run its trains at stated intervals, no matter whether the number of passengers or the quantity of freight are sufficient to pay the cost of carriage or not. This is even more true of the American railways than of the European, since most of the important centers in the United States are connected by two or more railway lines competing with one another, and therefore compelled to run *more*

frequent trains than would be necessary if each one had a monopoly of the traffic on its line.

The result of these peculiar conditions is that the factors governing the cost of production (in this case—the cost of carrying goods or passengers) in the railroad industry are subject to somewhat different economic laws than in the manufacturing industry. The greater part of the expenses of the railroad being fixed and independent of the amount of business it is doing, it is apparent that the greater the traffic carried, the less will be the cost of carriage per unit.

The difference between carrying a train, say, from New York to Chicago, nearly empty or full of passengers is so small that it can hardly be estimated. The same number of conductors, engineers, firemen, switchmen, brakemen, station masters, ticket sellers, office employes, etc., have to be employed in either case. The only difference will be in the quantity of coal used up by the engine and that will be exceedingly small, since the greater part of the weight pulled by the locomotive is in the train and not in the passengers carried. It is therefore plain that it will be more profitable for the railroad to carry one hundred passengers at ten dollars each than twenty-five passengers at twenty-five dollars each. At the former rate, the railroad will take in five hundred dollars more, while its additional expense may not amount to one-tenth that amount. The railway manager who has to provide sufficient revenue to meet the enormous fixed charges of his road, seeks, therefore, in each passenger, and in each additional ton of freight an additional *net* income, since the expense of carrying this additional traffic is negligibly small. These few simple facts must be borne in mind to understand the peculiar policy of the American railways that landed so many of them in the throes of bankruptcy and lay at the bottom of the great evil of discrimination which facilitated the formation of some of the most formidable monopolies in the world.

In 1869, four railroad companies, the New York Central, the Pennsylvania, the Baltimore & Ohio, and the Erie established direct connection between the Atlantic coast and the City of Chicago. Each of these roads having enormous expenses to meet, fully three-fourths of which would go on whether the road was doing any business or not, it will be apparent that all of them were very anxious to secure as much traffic as they could. The fact that there were four of them depending on the same traffic made them the more anxious in their attempts to secure their respective share. It is natural that an intense competition should have sprung up among them. When competition arises under similar circumstances among manufacturers or merchants, they will gradually lower their prices until they will come down to the "cost price." Should they go below that point and sell

at a loss, the weaker concerns will sooner or later be compelled to go out of business, whereupon the competition will become less severe, and the remaining concerns will restore prices to a profitable level. Not so with the railroads. In the first place, it is more difficult to say what rate is profitable. Several cheap, bulky commodities, such as coal, iron, etc., are usually carried at a low rate, which if applied to all goods carried by the road might not be sufficient to pay all the expenses of the railroad. But, since under a high rate of freight they could not be carried at all, it pays the railroad to transport them at a low rate and thereby increase the revenue of the road out of which current expenses have to be paid. So under stress of competition the low rate applicable to cheap commodities is gradually extended to other goods as well. In the second place, even after the rates have reached such a low level that they are plainly unremunerative, each road is compelled to meet the reductions made by its competitors, since a failure to do so would leave it without any business whatever, while its expenses would still go on practically undiminished. In the competition which broke out among the four roads mentioned, freight rates were reduced from \$1.83 per 100 pounds to twenty-five cents, and passenger fares were reduced at one time to one dollar from New York to Chicago (the present rate is from \$16 to \$20).

Of course, continued rate-cutting leads inevitably to bankruptcy for the weaker company. But unlike a bankrupt manufacturing or commercial concern, a bankrupt railroad does not go out of business. It is taken over by a "receiver" — i. e., a representative of the creditors, who manage the railroad with a view to securing enough revenue to pay interest to the creditors. Since a bankrupt railroad does not have to pay dividends, a receiver can afford to cut down rates even lower than they were and compete successfully with the solvent railroads until the latter are also brought face to face with bankruptcy. All of this is not mere theory, but based on the actual experience of the American railroads, which could be illustrated by numerous examples and from American railway history, if space permitted. This was the experience that compelled the American railways at an early date in their career to come to a common understanding to prevent ruinous competition.

In Europe it was realized from the outset that railroads were different from other business enterprises, and even where the governments did not build their own railways, they gave a monopoly to the private railway company in the territory covered by its line. Instead of trusting to competition to keep down transportation charges, the European governments safeguarded the interests of the people by reserving to themselves the right to regulate the rates charged by the railways. In the

United States it was thought that best results would be obtained by allowing free play to the natural economic forces, and the building of parallel railroads between the same cities was encouraged in the hope that competition would keep down railway rates.

The railways were the first to learn from experience that unrestrained competition between them inevitably led to bankruptcy and unproductive waste and losses, not only to the stockholders of the road, but also to the community at large which had to pay for it in the end.

The first railway combinations formed were known as "pools." The main object of a pool was to prevent cut-throat competition; the means for carrying out that end differed. At first the pools tried the simple expedient of prescribing the rates to be charged by each member of the pool. The economic forces governing the railway business proved stronger, however, than the "gentlemen's agreements" between the railroad presidents, as they were sometimes called.

Human nature is about the same everywhere, and even great capitalists can not always withstand the temptation of gold. A railway president is confronted by a large shipper of grain, or the owner of one of the gigantic meat-packing establishments by which Chicago startles the world, or a large coal mine owner, who offers to turn over his entire shipments to that one road, if he can get a reduced rate. The railway president may argue with him that he is bound to treat all shippers alike, but the big shipper insists that he is entitled to a lower rate than his competitors because he is going to furnish the road with a greater volume of business,—train-loads at a time—so that the road can really handle his shipments at a lower cost than those of his competitors who may ship only in carload lots, or less. Besides, if Mr. Jones does not care to get his business on these terms, there are other roads which may be more anxious for traffic. Mr. Jones may or may not yield the first time. If he does not, he will find that the shipper really transferred his business to the rival road, which is also represented in the pool. It is possible that the shipper did not get any concession with the other road either, but Mr. Jones, the president of the first road, has no means of finding it out, and when the next opportunity offers, he grabs the chance and allows a *secret rebate* to the big shipper. Once the break has been made, the big shippers continue to play off one road against another to secure bigger and bigger rebates. Such practices could not, of course, go on very long without becoming known to all the members of the pool. Attempts to collect damages from unfaithful members of the pool through the courts proved futile, as the courts held pools

to be illegal under the common law doctrine against combinations or agreements in restraint of trade.

The railways then sought to straighten the pools by requiring each member of the pool to deposit a large amount of money, which was forfeited in case of violation of the agreement; but even that was not always successful. The next step was to pool the traffic or earnings. That is to say, if there were four roads in the pool, it was agreed that each member was to receive a certain share of the total traffic of that territory in proportion to its importance and the amount of traffic it had been carrying in the past. Each road carried all the traffic that was brought to it, but at the end of the year, the roads that carried more than their allotted share had to turn over the excess of the receipts to the roads that received less than their share. Under these conditions it was believed that there would be no inducement for any road to reduce rates below the level agreed upon, since the additional volume it would secure from an increased traffic would have to be turned over to the other roads. But even this device did not prove successful, since each road was anxious to increase its traffic, in order to be able to claim an increased allotment when the agreement would be renewed for the following year, and therefore frequently gave secret rebates to large shippers.

It was through this weakness in the railway organization that some of the greatest monopolies in the United States were built up. It is well known that the Standard Oil trust owed its early success chiefly to the ability of Rockefeller to handle the railway managers in such a manner that he not only paid lower rates for transportation of oil than his competitors, but that the excess charges paid by them to the railways were turned over to him by the railroads. The same is true of the beef trust, which still continues to get rebates under the disguise of icing charges, of the anthracite coal trust owned by the railroads themselves, and of several other of the biggest trusts in the country.

RAILROAD LEGISLATION.

While the roads vainly struggled with the rebate evil, the people, especially the farmers and small business men in the middle west, were getting restless. To the old resentment which so many among them nursed against the railroad companies for the manner in which they had been swindled in the early days of railroad organization, was now added the new injustices of being discriminated against when shipping their products to the market in favor mainly of the big eastern capitalists, who were associated in the minds of the people in the West with the bank-

ers and schemers that had robbed them of their railway holdings. In 1873 came the great financial panic and industrial crisis. Prices greatly declined, thus reducing the farmer's earnings. Yet railways continued to be built during the seventies, but the more competing lines there were added, the greater, to the surprise of the farmer, seemed to be the discrimination in rates in favor of the big capitalists and corporations. In their exasperation the farmers began to talk of revolt, which soon found its expression in the organization throughout the West of the "Patrons of Husbandry" or "Granger Societies," which advocated a good many radical measures for the relief of the "common people" from the oppression of the "money power." One of the first practical results of the Granger movement was the enactment of railway legislation by several states in the middle West.

The Granger laws, as they came to be known, had for their object the control of the railway companies with a view to prevent discrimination in favor of large shippers and of large cities to the detriment of small towns. The same causes that compelled the railroad to give the large shipper more favorable rates than to the small, also made it necessary to discriminate in favor of large cities. As a rule, there are several, or at least two, lines entering a large city. In the competition for business the railways reduce the rates to those cities by the process already described. As the loss caused to the railroads by these reductions must be made up somewhere, the small towns and villages located on the line between the cities are made to pay not only large enough rates to cover the normal cost of service, but over and above that to make up for the loss in operating the service to the large cities. This is known in American railway practice as "the long and short haul" charge, by which a merchant residing in a town located, say between New York and Chicago, is made to pay a higher rate for the same article that is charged for carrying it the entire distance from New York to Chicago.

This, by the way, is one of the principal causes which has contributed to the growth of large cities at the expense of the small. Hundreds of cases in this country could be cited in which the railways have caused towns to spring up in the wilderness (incidentally allowing the magnates in control of the railways to enrich themselves by buying land for a song and selling it to the people at "boom" prices), and then wiping them off the face of the earth by the simple device of manipulating the freight rates, first in favor and then against the town.

The Granger legislation aimed to do away with this abuse. But, as the jurisdiction of a state ends at its boundary lines, and all the large roads extend over several states, the latter

found it impossible to exercise any effective control over the railroads, except in some of the minor matters which came within their jurisdiction.*

The failure of the Granger laws led to a strong movement for federal legislation. As the constitution vests Congress with the authority to regulate interstate commerce, the representatives from the Granger states in Congress began to clamor for Congressional legislation for the regulation of railways. After twelve years of agitation, and in the face of fierce opposition from the railroads and their representatives in Congress and in the Congress lobbies, the Interstate Commerce Act was finally passed by Congress in 1887. The law prohibits unreasonable or extortionate charges, discriminations between persons, localities or kinds of freight, and provides for an Interstate Commerce Commission of five persons appointed by the President, charged with the enforcement of the law. Unfortunately, neither the people nor their representatives have the final say about the laws of the United States, as is the case among other civilized nations. The United States Congress or a state legislature proposes and the Supreme Court disposes. No law in the United States is safe until it has been contested before the Supreme Court and declared constitutional. Any law, no matter how important and how much desired by the people, may be abolished if five judges out of nine composing the Supreme Court of the United States declare it unconstitutional.** But not only can the Court wipe a law off the statute books of the country, it can by the peculiar logic of legal casuistry give the law such interpretation as not only to defeat the original object of the law, but to protect with it the very abuses which the law makers sought to abolish.

The Interstate Commerce Act proved no exception to the rule. By a gradual process of interpretation, the Commissioners have been shorn of every vestige of power until they became the laughing stock of the railways which they were supposed to control. For ten years they exercised their power to prevent extortionate rates, by ordering the railroads to lower rates whenever they found a shipper's complaint just. In 1897, the Supreme Court decided that the Commission had no such power, and thereby reduced the Commission to a condition of helplessness. One illustration may give a clearer idea of the present status of railway legislation in the United States than a volume of discussion.

*) Very little in connection with this legislation was done to protect the interests of the working people employed by the railways. They still continue to be overworked to the point of exhaustion and to be slaughtered like sheep as in no other country, with the exception perhaps of Russia.

**) Such was the case, for instance, with the Income Tax law a few years ago.

In 1894, the railroads centering in Chicago advanced the rates on live stock by adding to the existing freight rate a "switching charge" of \$2.00 per car. The live stock dealers, who found this rate exorbitant, appealed to the Interstate Commerce Commission. The latter, after a thorough investigation of all the circumstances and after hearing both sides, found the complaint justified and suggested to the railroads as a compromise that they reduce the charge to one dollar per car. The railroads refused to abide by the decision of the Commission, and the case had to be carried to the courts, as the Commission has not the power to enforce its decisions. Although more than ten years have now been spent in litigation, the case has not been decided yet, and the live stock men still continue to pay the charge of two dollars. This does not exhaust, however, the capacity of the railroads for evil. If the case should be decided by the Supreme Court in the near future in favor of the Commission, the railroads will have to reduce their charges in the future, but if the live stock men should wish to recover damages unjustly caused to them by the railways in the last twelve years, each one of them will have to enter a suit against the railways which may take a few more years to decide, and may cost in some cases more money than the amount to be recovered. Finally, even if the shippers should recover their losses, this will by no means restore the money to the consumers, including the working people, who in the last instance had to pay the railway's extortion in the shape of higher prices for meat. As a matter of fact, the price of meat has gone up from twenty-five to fifty per cent in the last few years as a result of the extortions of the beef trust as well as the railways.

The courts have virtually emasculated the law so that none of the important objects sought by it could be accomplished. The only provision of the law which they sustained was that against pooling. Although, it should be added, the decision of the Supreme Court against the Trans-Missouri Freight Association in 1897 was based not so much on the anti-pooling clause of the Interstate Commerce Act as on the anti-trust law of 1890.

It goes without saying that this decision did not stop the railways in their attempt to control rates by agreement. None of the "Traffic Associations," by which the combinations of railroads came to be known, ceased to exist. The railway rates of the country continue to be controlled by three traffic associations, known as the "Official," controlling the territory north of the Ohio and Potomac rivers and east of Chicago; the "Southern," which includes the railways south of those rivers and east of the Mississippi, and the "Western," controlling the large territory west of the Mississippi river. The "Classification Com-

mittee" in each of the territories mentioned consists of the representatives of the roads covering that territory and prescribes the classification of the commodities. Each road is left to charge such rates as it sees fit for each class of commodities so prescribed. It is well known, however, that though officially the members of the Committee only discuss the subject of rates and refrain from prescribing them, since "that would be against the law," as the secretary of one of the Committees stated to the writer with mock seriousness, the "discussions" lead to a remarkable unanimity of opinion among the members of the Committee so that all railroads actually charge the same rates.

However, the big interests in the railway world were not satisfied to leave the further course of events to any such flimsy arrangements. They realized very well that sooner or later other laws might be passed more stringent in character which might interfere with their freedom of action, and as a result the great railway kings of the United States set about the gigantic task of consolidation of the great railway systems of the country into common ownership by a few interests.

RAILWAY CONSOLIDATION.

The concentration of railway ownership in the hands of a few powerful financial interests is one of the most important elements in the recent so-called trust movement which marks the closing days of the old competitive order and the transition to a system of production on a national scale. It would be an error to regard railway consolidation merely as a result of anti-pooling legislation; the latter no doubt contributed to that end by hastening the process in some cases. But the concentration process commenced long before any federal legislation took definite shape. As has been pointed out above, railways naturally tend to monopoly. But while the consolidation of parallel competing lines has largely been effected in the past ten years, the growth of railway systems may be traced back to the middle of the last century.

Originally, the roads built were very short, connecting nearby towns. In the fifties, the first consolidation of short roads into more or less extensive systems commenced. The New York Central was the pioneer in this movement under the aggressive management of Vanderbilt, who united eleven contiguous lines into one line connecting the City of New York with Buffalo. By a similar process, the powerful Pennsylvania system was consolidated at the same time. This process went on, the stronger lines absorbing the weaker ones. Yet, up to 1870, there was only one road exceeding one thousand miles in length. The panic of 1873, which brought on so many railroad

bankruptcies, facilitated the absorption of the smaller lines by their stronger rivals. Thus, the Pennsylvania road had grown to about 4,000 miles in 1880, and some other systems had grown to similar proportions, but no road exceeded 5,000 miles previous to 1890. The industrial and financial crisis of 1893 had a similar effect as the one of 1873. Several roads went into the hands of receivers and ultimately found their way into the hands of the powerful railway kings. The Pennsylvania and the New York Central lines each approached the 10,000 mile limit, extending their control over railroads west of Chicago.

The growth in length of railroads is thus summed up in the Report of the Industrial Commission: In 1867, only one road exceeded 1,000 miles, constituting about seven per cent of the total mileage of the country; in 1877, eleven roads exceeded this figure, constituting twenty per cent of the mileage; in 1887, twenty-eight companies, with forty-four per cent of the mileage of the United States, were over 1,000 miles in length; and in 1896 forty-four companies or 56.9 per cent of the mileage exceeded this size, and in 1900 this grew to sixty per cent of the total mileage. The process of concentration is still more apparent from the following comparison of conditions in 1880 and 1900: In 1880 there were 2,085 railroad companies, owning 93,000 miles of railway. In 1900, the mileage was nearly 200,000, while the number of companies declined to 2,023; but even that does not give a correct conception of the extent of concentration, since of the 2,023 companies which owned these roads on paper, only 847 companies actually operated their railways, the rest of the companies having lost their independent position and leasing their roads to the larger companies. The full significance of these leases in the process of consolidation will be brought out further on.

The year 1898 marks the opening of the era of tremendous agglomerations of capital in all lines of industry, commerce and transportation, popularly known under the name of trusts. In the railway world, that year marked the first complete recovery from the depression which set in in 1893, and also the maturing of a definite policy on the part of the railway magnates to overcome the difficulties created by the anti-pooling decision of the Supreme Court in the preceding year. While a legislature may try to limit the scope of activity of capitalistic corporations in so far as their policy is contrary to public interests, no body of lawmakers believing in the sacredness of private property can consistently prohibit a capitalist to buy with his money whatever is for sale. Congress and the Supreme Court declared pooling, i. e., agreement of a certain kind between independent companies illegal. It did not nor could it prohibit the stock-

holders of one company to buy up the shares of another. This, then, was to be the guiding star, the sign by which the railroad magnates were to be led to victory. The New York Central, whose ownership hitherto terminated at Buffalo, took over the Michigan Central, the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, and thus landed at Chicago. As the latter road had already controlled the New York, Chicago & St. Louis and a number of other lines, all of them *ipso facto* became the property of the Vanderbilts. Later followed the absorption of the New York, Lake Erie & Western and a few other roads. A similar campaign was inaugurated by the Pennsylvania system, so that before long the length of the roads directly owned and controlled by each of these two systems came close to 20,000 miles.

But the direct purchase of rival lines was by no means the only way of extending the consolidation process in the railway world. This method, while most thorough, has several disadvantages; thus it requires the use of considerable amounts of cash capital; another more serious difficulty is that certain states prohibit the purchase of one railroad by another competing line. There are several other legal difficulties which need not be considered here. The American financiers who dominate the railroads of the country have never been accused of lack of resourcefulness in getting around the law or any other difficulties. Accordingly, one of the other methods used is the "lease" system, which is only a disguised form of purchase. An illustration of this is the lease of the Chesapeake & Ohio railroad by the Pennsylvania. The lease was made for the brief space of time measured by 999 years, the owners being paid in lieu of rent a stipulated per cent on the inflated value of their stock. As the lessee assumed not only the operation of the railroad, but naturally the keeping up of its physical equipment,—stations, tracks, rolling stock, etc.,—the difference between this lease and outright purchase is reduced merely to legal fiction.

In the progress of consolidation thus outlined, there were more than one powerful interest bent on the same purpose. As long as each operated in a distinct field, they did not interfere with each other; but as their respective fields of operation proceeded to extend, they soon came into conflict. The difference between the stock exchange wars or the battles of the millions, as the American people characteristically name these conflicts of financial giants, and the old-fashioned wars of European kings is that they are not waged by means of gun and powder. But that they are no less serious, involving complete dominion over areas greater than many an old world empire, with far more absolute control over the destinies and lives of the people that inhabit them, than any monarch "by the grace of God" is able to wield—is beyond doubt. The "Northern Pacific corner,"

which came near bringing on a panic in the financial markets of the world in May, 1901, in the stock exchange struggle between J. Pierpont Morgan and Jacob Schiff, the two most commanding figures in Wall Street, is a case in point. The settlement of that war illustrates the third method of consolidation now in vogue, known as the "community of interest" plan. Both J. P. Morgan, who together with J. J. Hill, controls the Great Northern railroad, and Jacob Schiff, the head of the Banking House of Kuhn, Loeb & Company, who together with E. H. Harriman controls the Union Pacific railroad, tried to obtain control of the Northern Pacific road. The three roads run parallel to each other from the Mississippi river line to the Pacific coast, the middle road, viz., the Northern Pacific, being in a position to compete with either of the other two.

When, after a hot battle on the Stock Exchange, it became apparent that neither of the magnates would be able to get absolute control over the rival road and a continuance of the struggle threatened to precipitate a crash in the financial world, a compromise was reached by which the control was divided between the two, i. e., each of the opposing parties retained part of the shares of the Northern Pacific railroad, and representatives of the Morgan-Hill group and the Schiff-Harriman group were elected to the Board of Directors of that road. By this method, the three formerly rival roads became unified, not by absolute ownership, but through an alliance based on common ownership, or, as Wall Street calls it, "community of interest." This community of interest extends now to several other roads and marks a new stage in the process of consolidation, viz., *the welding of large independent systems into a gigantic combination which is rapidly tending to embrace the entire railway system of the country.*

Of the 212,000 miles of railroad which were in operation in 1904, the following were either owned or completely controlled by the most powerful railway kings of the United States:

1—Vanderbilt Group (New York Central and allied groups).....	21,000 miles
2—Pennsylvania Group	17,500 "
3—Morgan-Hill Group and other groups dominated by Morgan.....	48,500 "
4—Harriman-Schiff Group	16,500 "
5—Gould Group	17,500 "
6—Moore ..	14,000 "
7—The Pennsylvania-Vanderbilt	4,000 "
	<hr/>
	139,000 "

Thus practically two-thirds of the entire railroad system of the United States, equal to the combined length of all the railways of Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France and Great Britain and Ireland, including all the important strategic trunk lines of the States, i. e., those commanding the approaches to every section of the country are under the absolute control of the Six Great Powers of the financial world. The remaining railroads are partly in the hands of a few lesser powers and partly consist of small "feeders" to which the Great Powers have not had time so far to pay attention. It should be added, however, that each of the powers mentioned above has considerable holdings (though not a majority of shares) in the smaller lines as well. The figures given above are, of course, in round numbers, and show the field in which each of the powers is predominant. But, in reality, there is much closer co-operation between them than may be gathered from the above table. Almost each of the powers has a greater or less share in the lines of the other. An illustration of this may be found in the anthracite coal roads. As is well known, the anthracite coal industry is now completely in the hands of the four railroads which pass through that mining region: the Philadelphia & Reading, the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, the Lehigh Valley, and the Erie.

All the four roads are jointly owned and controlled by the Vanderbilt-Pennsylvania-Morgan interests. How such control is ramified may be seen from the following graphic illustration of the ownership of the Philadelphia & Reading:

New York Central (Vanderbilt),	Pennsylvania,
Lake Shore,	Baltimore & Ohio,
Philadelphia & Reading.	

By the system of controlling one railroad through this ownership of another, the great financiers of the United States have hit upon a scheme of extending their control over vast territories and immense properties without great outlay of capital. This is the way the trick is done: Say, there are five railroad systems, of which A has a capital stock of 100 million dollars, B 75, C 50, D 25 and E 10, making a total of 260 million dollars. A financier like Morgan, with a few of his friends, may own 51 million dollars' worth of stock in road A. Owning a majority of shares, he has a majority of votes in the election of the board of directors, and thereby controls it as completely as though it belonged exclusively to him and his friends. They now start out to capture the remaining roads without investing a single additional penny. A campaign is started first against road B. With the funds in the treasury of road A considerable stock of road B is bought in the market and represen-

tation is secured on the Board of Directors of Road B. Then, by negotiation, threats of competition and promises of good things if they agree to come into the combination, the stockholders of road B are induced to sell to road A 38 million dollars' worth of their stock, i. e., enough to insure absolute control to road A. Very little cash money is required, as the sellers are quite willing to receive in exchange for this stock the shares or bonds of Company A. The same policy is now adopted toward Company C, and later to D and E. With each new acquisition, the process of absorption of other roads becomes easier. Thus, our financiers, with a capital of 51 million dollars, absolutely control roads worth 260 million dollars just as surely as though they invested the entire amount.

This was the way the \$400,000,000 combination was effected in 1901, by which Morgan-Hill and Schiff-Harriman were to take joint possession of the great Western systems, which guaranteed them complete sway and uninterrupted railway communication from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The capitalists dominating the Pennsylvania system secured complete control of the Baltimore & Ohio, when the Pennsylvania railroad bought \$40,000,000 of the \$105,000,000 stock of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad. As the Baltimore & Ohio had already been in possession of the Norfolk & Western, Chesapeake & Ohio, and the Philadelphia & Reading, the Pennsylvania came at one stroke into possession of all these systems when it obtained control of the Baltimore & Ohio. Many other illustrations of the same kind could be given; in fact, the recent history of railroad consolidation is to a great extent a repetition of this scheme.

The grip which the financial oligarchy has upon the life and business of the nation is very strikingly shown in the report submitted by the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, just published. By tracing the names of the men acting as members of Boards of Directors of the various railway systems, it is found that thirty-nine men virtually control the approaches to the most important eastern ports on the Atlantic coast, such as New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston, and a considerable part of the export traffic on the Gulf of Mexico, such as passes New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, etc. It is within the power of these men by raising or lowering the rates on different commodities to build up or destroy the export trade of any industry—a power before which that of the United States Government is utterly insignificant.

Adding to this group of thirty-nine men, eighteen more persons, we get a group of fifty-seven persons having similar control over the ports of the Pacific Ocean as well as the Atlantic. If to the above are to be added the few large lines which still remain independent, the total number of directors holding sway

over the strategic line of the country would be ninety-three. These ninety-three persons control more than seventy-five per cent of the railway mileage in operation in the United States, more than eighty-one per cent of the gross earnings and more than eighty-two per cent of the commercial value of the railway property. Yet these ninety-three persons are not by any means all independent capitalists. A great many of them are either directly employed on a salary or otherwise dependent upon the great magnates like Morgan, Schiff, Gould, etc., and in each case carry out the wishes and the orders of these railway kings.

To show how far-reaching is the power of these men over the economic life of the country, the following quotation from a speech by Martin A. Knapp, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, delivered before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, may be of interest:

“Shall coal be taken to Chicago from Indiana or from West Virginia? Shall iron and steel products be manufactured in Pittsburg or in Cleveland? Shall export traffic leave the country by way of New York or New Orleans? Shall wheat be made into flour at Minneapolis or Buffalo? Shall certain localities be supplied with oranges from California or from Florida? Shall sugar be made from beets grown north of the Ohio and Potomac rivers, or from cane in Louisiana or Hawaii, or Cuba and Porto Rico? Will the Pacific coast jobbers who are reaching out for the trade of the Orient get their supplies from the Mississippi Valley or from the Atlantic seaboard? Will those supplies be carried by rail or by water? These and a thousand similar questions will be largely answered by the rates for carrying the traffic.”

THE ROOSEVELT POLICY AND THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

It goes without saying that having taken possession of the railway system of the country, the financial powers which happen at the same time to control some of the largest trusts in the industrial field turned their new control to good account. Competition between railroads ceased, and rates could be raised without fear of the business man or farmer transferring his traffic to a rival road. At the same time the railroads naturally charge lower rates on products belonging to trusts, which have a direct or indirect control over these roads, than they do to independent producers. The authorities in most cases are powerless to enforce the law even when they try. Yet the abuses of the railway monopolists are reaching such proportions as not only to arouse the indignation of the people, but to upset one of the best established policies and institutions of the country. Their

power of control over the export trade of the nation has just been pointed out. Their ability to interfere with the import trade is no longer a matter of theoretical speculation, but has been forcibly demonstrated by the roads in upsetting no less venerable and sacred an institution than the protective tariff. In a recent speech during the debate on the railroad bill, a member of Congress from Ohio cited a long list of articles on which the railroads charged a lower freight rate on goods shipped from Europe to Ohio (including steamship transportation) than they did on the same articles coming from New York and other cities in the United States to Ohio. The difference in favor of the imported article was in each case greater than the import duty provided for in the high protective Dingley tariff now in force. By this simple device the small clique of capitalists in control of the railroads undertook virtually to abolish the tariff adopted by the United States Congress in those industries where they choose. One illustration will suffice. The freight rates on hooks, buttons and hosiery from Liverpool to San Francisco, via New Orleans, is \$1.07 per 100 pounds. For carrying the same articles from New Orleans to San Francisco the same railroad charges \$2.88 per one hundred pounds, i. e., two and a half times as much for a much shorter distance.

President Roosevelt must be given credit for having lent the weight of his official and personal influence to the agitation for government control of railroad rates and for the sagacity he displayed thereby as a statesman who is opposed to government ownership of railways. But for his efforts the bill that has just been passed by the House of Representatives and is now pending in the Senate would not see the light of day for a long time to come. But as Roosevelt has well remarked (and in this he displayed his political foresight), unless the railroads submit to some kind of efficient government control of rates, the people will sooner or later take over the railroads. This is undoubtedly true, and therein lies the importance of the present movement from the socialist point of view. While government ownership of railways under the present system and without a strong working class representation in Congress can not, of course, be considered a socialist institution, yet the evolution the popular mind is undergoing under the influence of the transformation in industry and transportation described here has a greater educational value in preparing the country for socialism than thousands of speeches and years of socialist propaganda could have. The people are coming to learn that the choice between unlimited private ownership and public ownership is that of a few capitalists owning the nation or the nation owning its industries.

Briefly stated, the object of the legislation advocated by the President is to endow the Interstate Commerce Commission with

power to set aside any railroad rate which, upon complaint of a shipper, it may find unjust or unfairly discriminatory; it is also to have the power to prescribe a lower rate which is to take effect in thirty days. It is left to the railroads to appeal to the courts against the decision of the Commission, but pending the decision of the courts, the rate prescribed by the Commission is to remain in force. Under the proposed law the burden of proof and litigation is thus to fall upon the railroad, while under the existing law it falls upon the Commission. Furthermore, the people would no longer have to pay extortionate rates (provided, of course, the Commission will be made up of fair and honest men true to their duties), while the railroads try to drag the case for years in the courts.

From the alignment of contending forces in the Senate, it is already apparent that the new law—if it is passed—will have a number of loopholes which will enable the courts, always friendly to the railroads, to strip the Commission of a great deal of its effective power, as they have done in the past twenty years under the old law. If that happens, President Roosevelt's prediction of a movement for the nationalization of the railways will no doubt be realized.

No less eminent and conservative an authority than Martin A. Knapp, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, concludes his above mentioned speech with the following warning: "If [railroad] abuses continue and chronic evils prove incurable by methods we much prefer to use, then there will be no alternative except to acquire and operate the railways as a Government function. If regulation fails public ownership will be the next and early resort."

In fact, the rumbling of the approaching storm can already be heard by those who have ears to listen. Railroad legislation in several states is getting more strict and has been instrumental in preventing many abuses by the railroad power, in so far as they could be brought under the jurisdiction of the individual states. In 1890 there were only seven states in the entire union which passed legislation creating state railroad commissions with power to prescribe rates to the railroads within the state. In 1902 the number of states giving such power to the commissions increased to thirteen. This, of course, does not include the numerous states which have some kind of railway regulation or supervision, but do not give such broad powers to their commissions. Recent legislation in the states of Wisconsin and Indiana is even more radical, and the triumph of municipal ownership movements in the last elections in such large cities as Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Toledo, Cleveland and many others are symptomatic of the change in the minds of the people, and show that the word

socialism can no longer be used by the politicians as a scarecrow with which to frighten the timid voter into indiscriminate support of the old parties.

The change in the economic conditions of the various sections of the country is gradually bringing about a geographical and political displacement of the elements from which the old parties have hitherto drawn their strength. So far the Republican party has found its main support in the north and the Democratic in the south. The Republicans had no adherents in the south outside of the negroes and the few white officeholders who received their appointments from the Federal Government. In the north the Democrats have been in the minority and have drawn their support largely from the Irish and German voters and from a more or less radical minority of the working class. In addition to that they had some following among the exporting and shipping interests as well as the old surviving idealist champions of the doctrines of free trade, state's rights, etc. The chief line of division, hitherto the question of protection vs. free trade, secured to the Republican party the support of the manufacturers and farmers in the north, and the cotton exporting states to the Democratic party in the south.

The decline in prices which accompanied and followed the crisis of 1893-96, and aroused the farmers more than any other class, projected a new question into the arena of political discussion, viz., that of silver coinage. It was the first upheaval that caused a serious strain in the old party structures, which began to give way. It divided the west and the east into two hostile camps, instead of the traditional north and south division. While the south voted solidly for the Democratic party, it was done purely out of tradition and under loud protests of the southern planters and business men. On the other hand, the western farmers, who were mostly accustomed to vote the Republican ticket, suddenly found themselves deserted by their old party and their interests championed by the Democrats. Here, too, there was much voting for the Republican party through tradition, but at the same time a great number went over to the Democratic camp.

The capture of the Democratic party in 1896 by the radical faction headed by Bryan, who advocated a number of measures of special importance to the working class, brought large numbers of workmen to the Democratic banners who formerly voted the Republican ticket on account of its policy of "protection to home labor." Eugene V. Debs, the socialist candidate for President in the last two elections, stumped the country in 1896 for Bryan. Having lost the support of its old-time wealthy supporters in 1896, the Democratic party, under the leadership of Bryan and the western Democrats, has been forced to seek sup-

port more and more among the workingmen and the dissatisfied elements of the middle class, while the Republicans abandoned some of their former radical leanings inherited from Lincoln's days and threw in their lot with the plutocracy and the manufacturing interests which had been built up under the protective tariff.

But the facts cited here only helped to bring about a shifting of the centers of gravity in each party and to create a *tendency* in the direction indicated, but have not had time to complete the revolution. As a result of this, each party now has both radical and conservative elements.

The "conservative" Republican party has its Roosevelt and his western supporters, the first Republican president since Lincoln who has dared to advocate measures in the face of hostile opposition by the plutocracy in the east. He finds his most ardent supporters for anti-railroad legislation in Congress among the Democrats of the Bryan school, and is opposed by the conservative Republicans and Democrats in the Senate who are known as railroad senators (Foraker, Elkins, Depew, etc.), express company senators (Platt), sugar trust senators (Gorman), Standard Oil senators (Aldrich), etc.

The "radical" Democratic party has its Cleveland and Parker, backed by Wall Street interests and represented in Congress by conservative Democrats, side by side with the radical middle class elements from the west, headed by Bryan, and the still more radical Hearst (of New York) and Jones (Mayor of the City of Cleveland, Ohio), who are supported by the working class as well as by the middle class. The capture of the machinery of the Democratic party by Bryan in 1896, under the banner of free silver, robbed the People's party of its reason for existence and caused its disappearance and absorption by the Democratic party.

However, the sudden preponderance of the western element in the councils of the Republican party, which was facilitated by Roosevelt's adherence to their interests is causing a movement within the old party which may upset the present balance of power in the political arena of the United States. If Mark Hanna, the trusted representative of the capitalistic interests, had not died on the eve of the last presidential election, he would have undoubtedly entered the White House as the Republican President. The reorganization of the old parties, started by Bryan in 1896, would have in that case gone on, driving all the middle class and radical element into the arms of the Democracy, and gathering the capitalistic forces, including those of the south, within the Republican fold.

The new policy of Roosevelt has stopped this process of disintegration, or rather changed its direction and multiplied the

confusion prevailing in the ranks of both parties. This is seen in the case of every important measure coming up before the country. As already pointed out, the Roosevelt railroad policy is supported by the radical Democrats and Republicans, and opposed by the conservative Democrats and Republicans. The same is true of the movement for tariff revision. The tariff, instead of being a measure of protection, has come to be a means of extortion of tribute by the trusts from the manufacturers and farmers. The steel trust, protected by unparalleled high duties, is able to exact a tribute from every manufacturing industry using its products; this strikes the manufacturers of all kinds of machinery, the building industry and the farmer, who buys agricultural implements. The beef and leather trusts, along with the coal trusts, have compelled not only the Massachusetts shoe manufacturers but entire Massachusetts, the old hot-bed of protection, to take up the leadership in the struggle for tariff revision; and so it goes all the way down the list. In this movement we find again the President aligned with the western and other middle class Republicans in opposition to the corporations and trusts, which so far furnished most of the campaign funds of the Republican party.

What effect is this likely to have on the coming alignment of parties? It would be hazardous to venture any prediction under such circumstances. Should the radical wing capture the Republican party in the next Presidential campaign, as Bryan did with the Democratic party in 1896, the plutocracy would in all probability concentrate all its strength and resources on recapturing the Democracy under a conservative leader from the east or the south. And we might then witness a political somersault of the Republicans revising the tariff in opposition to the Democrats.*

Whichever way the political center of gravity may shift, the change is bound to have a favorable effect on the fortunes of the Socialist party. It loosens old party ties, destroys old party traditions, compels the inert masses to seek the road to safety in the political storm which has swept from their moor-

* As a matter of fact, when the Democratic party came to power under conservative leadership in 1894, it went back on its pledges and retained the tariff on a protective basis. On the other hand, both parties reversed their former positions on the money-question. The Republicans, including McKinley, gave up their old demand for bimetallism which they used to advocate for the sake of the farmer, and became monometalists, while the Democrats ceased to be gold-men, and came out for free coinage of silver. The possibility of these somersaults is explained by the fact, that we have in the United States a large body of professional politicians whose material interests are not backed up directly with any class or with this or that economic policy. Their only interest is to retain public office, and, like the mercenaries of the Middle Ages, they are ready to take up the fight for whatever cause promises immediate success.

ings old party standards handed down from generation to generation. And when the people begin to think, the socialists have a chance to get a hearing.

The people of the United States are in a more receptive mood for radical reforms than they have been for a long time. In spite of the comparative prosperity which the country is enjoying, dissatisfaction is wide-spread. The revelations made by the recent insurance investigations, which opened before an astonished people the depth of infamy to which some of the most respected pillars of church and society could stoop in robbing widows and orphans in order to enrich themselves and to debauch and corrupt senators, legislators and public officials generally, have shaken the confidence of thousands of voters in the integrity of the "respectable" element that controls the wealth and the government of the United States.

The sensational disclosures by Lawson, a millionaire broker, of the practices of the guiding spirits of the Standard Oil Company and their far reaching grip upon the vital industries of the country, have been followed with bated breath by millions of people of all classes.

All of this has had its effect in preparing the public mind for a change. It was a useful work of destruction of old gods and old faiths. It remains for the Socialists to come and build up a new faith and new ideals.

More significant even than the almost half a million votes for the Socialist candidate for President in the last election, is the triumph of the radical demagogue Hearst, who was elected Mayor of New York on a municipal ownership platform last fall, but was cheated of his votes by the combined conspiracy of Wall Street magnates and corrupt politicians. But stealing votes from the ballot boxes is not the most statesmanlike way of allaying popular discontent. Nor can socialism be held back by corrupt judges who uniformly render decisions in favor of the railroads, and use their Czar-like power in crushing and throwing leaders of the unions into jail.

In the last elections, several Socialists were elected to municipal councils in different sections of the country. The Congressional election next fall will, in all probability, result in the loss of several Republican seats in favor of more radical candidates, and if the Socialists will take a more active interest in the burning questions of the day, we may see before long some Socialists in the United States Congress. LAFIS.

The Idlers.

Idle within the market place he stands,
Jostled and pushed aside by hurrying throng;
With brooding brow, and clenching, nerveless hands,
A soul enshrouded in its sense of wrong.
Plenty for busy people high and low;
The chink of gold always beyond his reach,
While hunger gnaws, and chill winds pierce and blow,
The human agony that has no speech;
The tragedy that mocks our social plan,
Robbed of his birthright, work,—due every man.

Beside the hearth another crouches down
With sinking heart and dulling sense of pain,
With patient helplessness that meets the frown
Of busy, hustling lives who rule and reign.
A spirit that could soar to epyried height,
A vision that could range horizons bold,
An ear for song stars tuned to sensuous night,
Yet in a century gauging men by gold,
Fettered to earth, galled by a crushing bond,
Useless and blinded, hoping naught beyond.

A parasite that saps and sucks, that clings
To others bounty, caring but to feed
Whether others sow and plant, a hand that wrings
As if by right, what others hoard by greed.
A waif without a country, home or friend,
A life devoid of purpose, seeing naught
But each day's food, and fire, and death to end
The little rounding of his narrowing thought;
Sinking below dumb brutes that drag and plod;
A blot upon the universe of God.

With narrowed brow, and cringing, sneaking mien,
Or loud bravado and half-muttered curse,
And drunken swagger, is another seen,
Who stalls existence with his horse,—and worse,
Feeds on his husks yet boasts his titled line,
Whose name once rang with martial deed or joust,—
A nothing, fit for herding with the swine,
Without a tithe of manhood, but its dust,
Worthless and foul in thought, and speech, and ear,
Whose very breathing taints God's atmosphere.

Mistaken souls, who work life's sovereign rule
Of love,—demand its law, each circling sun,
All things in time and space are yours,—the tool
Within your grasp, or pressing on each one;
The earth is yours, the seed, the germ, the soil,
The dawn, the song, the rain, the seasons call,
God given honor to all honest toil,
And manhood's crown of living, best of all.
We make all wrong. God's plan is just and true,
To make man Christlike means so much to do.
Why, stand ye idle, laborers are so few?

—EMMA PLAYTER SEABURY.

Engels—Thirty Years Afterwards.

(Being an Introduction to the Anti-Duehring.)

WHEN Dr. Eugen Duehring, privat docent at Berlin University, in 1875, proclaimed the fact that he had become converted to Socialism, he was not content to take the socialist movement as he found it, but set out forthwith to promulgate a theory of his own. His was a most elaborate and self-conscious mission. He stood forth as the propagandist not only of certain specific and peculiar views of socialism but as the originator of a new philosophy, and the propounder of strange and wonderful theories with regard to the universe in general. The taunt as to his all-comprehensiveness of intellect with which Engels pursues him somewhat too closely and much too bitterly could not have affected Herr Duehring very greatly. He has his own convictions with respect to that comprehensive intellect of his and few will be found to deny that he had the courage of those convictions.

Thirty years have gone since Duehring published the fact of his conversion to socialism. The word "conversion" contains in itself the distinction between the socialism of thirty years ago and that of to-day. What was then a peculiar creed has now become a very widespread notion. Men are not now individually converted to socialism, but whole groups and classes are driven into the socialist ranks by the pressure of circumstances. The movement springs up continually in new and unexpected places. Here, it may languish, apparently; there, it gives every indication of strong, new and vigorous life.

The proletariat of the various countries race as it were towards the socialist goal and as they change in their respective positions the economic and political fields on which they operate furnish all the surprises and fascinations of a race course. In 1892 Engels wrote that the German Empire would in all probability be the scene of the first great victory of the European proletariat. But thirteen years have sufficed to bog the German movement in the swamps of Parliamentarianism. Great Britain, whose Chartist movement was expected to provide the British proletariat with a tradition has furnished few examples of skill in the management of proletarian politics, but existing society in Great Britain has none the less been thoroughly undermined. The year before that in which Herr Duehring made his statement of conversion, the British Liberals had suffered a defeat which, in spite of an apparent recuperation in 1880,

proved the downfall of modern Liberalism in Great Britain and showed that the Liberal Party could no longer claim to be the party of the working class. Not only that, but the British philosophic outlook has become completely changed. The non-conformist conscience grows less and less the final court of appeal in matters political. A temporary but fierce attack of militant imperialism coupled with the very general acceptance of an empiric collectivism has sufficed to destroy old ideas and to make the road to victory easier for a determined and relentless working class movement. (Note the recent elections.)

But if thirty years have worked wonders in Europe, and disintegration can be plainly detected in the social fabric, the course of social political development in the United States has been still more remarkable. In 1875 the country was still a farming community living on the edge of a vast wilderness through which the railroad was just beginning to open a path. Thirty years have been sufficient to convert it into the greatest of manufacturing and commercial states. The occupation of the public lands, the establishment of industry on a hitherto undreamed of scale, the marvellous, almost overnight creation of enormous cities, all these have resulted in the production of a proletariat, cosmopolitan in its character, and with no traditions of other than cash relations with the class which employs it. The purity of the economic fact is unobscured. Hence a socialistic agitation has arisen in the United States the enthusiasm of which vies with that in any of the European countries and the practical results of which bid fair to be even more striking. This movement has arisen almost spontaneously as the result of economic conditions. It is a natural growth not the result of the preaching of abstract doctrines or the picturing of an ideal state. The modern American proletariat is, as a matter of fact, given neither to philosophic speculation nor to the imagination which is necessary to idealism. Such socialism as it has adopted it has taken up because it has felt impelled thereto by economic pressure.

Hence, apart from all socialistic propaganda, a distinct disintegration process has been proceeding in modern society. Each epoch carries within itself the seeds of its own dissolution. "Things have just this much value — their transitoriness," says Engels in his paraphrase of Hegel, and this is in fact the central idea of his dialectic philosophy.

He criticises the work of Duehring from this standpoint. He labors not so much to show that Duehring is mistaken in certain conclusions as to prove that the whole method of his argument is wrong. His conclusions, though the subject matter of his argument requires him to attack the Berlin tutor, are directed chiefly against all absolute theories. "Eternal truth," in the realm

of science, equally with that of philosophy, he scouts as absurd. To interpret the history of the time in terms of the spirit of the time, to discover the actual beneath the crust of the conventional, to analyse the content of the formula which the majority are always ready to take on trust, and to face the fact with a mind clear of preconceived notions is what Engels set out to do. It cannot be said that he altogether succeeded. No man can succeed in such a task. The prejudices and animosities created by incessant controversy warped his judgment in some respects and tended on more than one occasion to destroy his love of fair play. The spirit which is occasionally shown in his controversial writing is to be deplored, but it may be said, in extenuation, that all controversies of that time were disfigured in the same way. He pays the penalty for the fault.

Much of the work is valueless to day because of Engels' eagerness to score a point off his adversary rather than to state his own case. But where the philosopher lays the controversialist on one side for a brief period, and takes the trouble to elucidate his own ideas we discover what has been lost by these defects of temperament. He possesses in a marked degree the gift of clear analysis and of keen and subtle statement.

He socialist movement everywhere arrives some time or other at what may be called the Duehring stage of controversy. There are two very distinct impulses towards socialism. The individuals who are influenced by these impulses must sooner or later come into collision, and as a result of the impact the movement is for a time divided into hostile parties and a war of pamphleteering and oratory supervenes. This period has just ended in France. For the last few years the French movement has been divided upon the question of the philosophical foundation of the movement and the parties to the controversy may be divided into those who sought to justify the movement upon ethical grounds and those who have regarded it as a modern political phenomenon dependent alone upon economic conditions. The former of these parties based its claims to the suffrages of the French people upon the justice of the socialistic demands. It proclaimed socialism to be the logical result of the Revolution, the necessary conclusion from the teachings of the revolutionary philosophers. Justice was the word in which they summed up the claims of socialism, that and Equality, for which latter term as Engels points out, the French have a fondness which amounts almost to a mania. Hence one party of the French socialist movement chose as a platform those very "eternal truths" which Engels ridicules and which it is the sole purpose of the present work to attack.

To kill "eternal truths" is however by no means an easy

matter. Years of habit have made them part of the mental structure of the citizens of the modern democratic or semi-democratic states. Not only in France but to an even greater degree in the English speaking countries these "eternal truths" persist, they form the stock in trade of the clergyman and the ordinary politician. Bernard Shaw directs the shafts of his ridicule against these "eternal truths" and smites with a sarcasm which is more fatal than all the solemn German philosophy which Engels has at his command. But Shaw is not appreciated by the British socialist. The latter cannot imagine that the writer is poking fun at things so exceedingly serious and so essential to any well constituted man, to a well-constituted Briton in particular. The British socialist is as much in love with "eternal truths" as is the stiffest and most unregenerate of his bourgeois opponents. He therefore toploftily declares that Mr. Shaw is an unbalanced person, a licensed jester. Precisely the same results would attend the efforts of an American iconoclast who would venture to ridicule the "eternal truths" which have been handed down to us in documents of unimpeachable respectability, like the Declaration of Independence, and by Fourth of July orators, partly of person and of phrase.

The "eternal truth" phase of socialist controversy seems to be as eternal as the truth, and must necessarily be so as long as the movement is recruited by men who bring into it the ideas which they have derived from the ordinary training of the American citizen.

The other side of the controversy to which reference has been made derived its philosophy from the experience of the proletariat. This modern proletariat, trained to the machine, is a distinct product of the occupation by which it lives. The organisation of industry, in the grasp of which the workman is held during all his working hours, and manufacture, by the machine-process, the motions of which he is compelled to follow, have produced in him a mental condition which does not readily respond to any sentimental stimulus. The incessant process from cause to effect endows him with a sort of logical sense in accordance with which he works out the problems of life independent of the preconceptions and prejudices which have so great a hold upon the reason of his fellow citizens who are not of the industrial proletariat. Without knowing why, he arrives, by dint of the experience of his daily toil, at the same conclusions as Engels attained as the result of philosophic training and much erudition. The Church is well aware of this fact, to her sorrow, for the industrial proletarian seldom darkens her portals. He has no hatred of religion, as the atheistic radical bourgeois had, but with a goodnatured *non-possumus* says, by his actions, what Engels says by his philosophy.

Revolution is an everyday occurrence with the industrial proletarian. He sees processes transformed in the twinkling of an eye. He wakes up one morning to find that the trade which he has learned laboriously has overnight become a drug on the market. He is used to seeing the machine whose energy has enchained him flung on the scrap heap and contemptuously disowned, in favor of a more competent successor whose motions he must learn to follow or be himself flung on the scrap heap also. This constant revolution in the industrial process enters into his blood. He becomes a revolutionist by force of habit. There is no need to preach the dialectic to him. It is continually preached. The transitoriness of phenomena is impressed upon him by the changes in industrial combinations, by the constant substitution of new modes of production for those to which he has been accustomed, substitutions which may make "an aristocrat of labor" of him to-day, and send him tramping to-morrow.

The industrial proletarian therefore knows practically what Engels has taught philosophically. So that when, in the course of his political peregrinations, he strays into the socialist movement and there finds those who profess a socialism based upon abstract conceptions and "eternal truths" his contempt is as outspoken as that of a Friedrich Engels who chances upon a certain Eugen Duehring spouting paraphrases of Rousseaun by the socialistic wayside. Engels simply anticipated, by the way of books, the point of view reached by the industrial proletarian of to-day, by the way of experience, and by the American machine-made proletarian in particular. This is a matter of no mean importance.

For their popular support classes and governments rely upon formulae. When the cry of "Down with the Tsar" takes the place of the humbly spoken "Little Father" what becomes of the Tsardom? When the terms "Liberty" and "Equality" become the jest of the workshop, upon what basis can a modern democratic state depend? This criticism of "eternal truths" is destructive criticism, and destructive of much more than the "truths." It is more destructive than sedition itself. Seditious may be suppressed cheaply in these days of quick-firing guns and open streets. But society crumbles away almost insensibly beneath the mordant acid of contemptuous analysis. So to-day goaded on the one side by the gibes of the machine-made proletariat, and on the other, by the raillery of the philosophic jester, society staggers along like a wounded giant and is only too glad to creep into its cave and to forget its sorrows in drink.

As for 1875, "Many things have happened since then" as Beaconsfield used to say, but of all that has happened nothing could have given more cynical pleasure to the "Old Jew" than that lack of faith in its own shibboleths which has seized the

cocksure pompous society in which he disported himself. The rhetoric of a Gladstone based upon the "eternal truths" which constituted always the foundations of his political appeals would fail to affect the masses to-day with any other feeling than that of ridicule. We have already arrived at the "Twilight of the Gods" at least so far as "eternal truths" are concerned. They still find however an insecure roosting place in the pulpits of the protestant sects.

If blows have been showered upon the political "eternal truths," in the name of which the present epoch came into existence, social and ethical ideals have by no means escaped attack. Revolt has been the watchword of artist and theologian alike. The Pre-Raphaelite school, a not altogether unworthy child of the Chartist movement, raised the cry of artistic revolt against absolutism and the revolt spread in ever widening circles until it exhausted itself in the sickly egotism of the *art nouveau*. Even Engels with all his independence and glorification of change, as a philosophy, can find an opportunity to fling a sneer at Wagner and the "music of the future." The remnants of early Victorianism cling persistently to Engels. He cannot release himself altogether from the bonds of the bourgeois doctrine which he is so anxious to despise. He is in many respects the revolutionist of '48, a bourgeois politician, possessed at intervals by a proletarian ghost, such as he says himself ever haunts the bourgeois. The younger generation without any claims to revolutionism has gone further than he in the denunciation of authority and without the same self-consciousness. The scorn of Bernard Shaw for the mogul of the academies and for social ideals is greater than the scorn of Engels for "eternal truths." Says Mr. Shaw. "The great musician accepted by his unskilled listener is vilified by his fellow musicians. It was the musical culture of Europe that pronounced Wagner the inferior of Mendelsohn and Meyerbeer. The great artist finds his foes among the painters and not among the men in the street. It is the Royal Academy that places Mr. Marcus Stone above Mr. Burne Jones. It is not rational that it should be so but it is so for all that. The realist at last looses patience with ideals altogether and finds in them only something to blind us, something to numb us, something to murder self in us. Something whereby instead of resisting death we disarm it by committing suicide." Here is a note of modernity which Engels was hardly modern enough to appreciate and yet it was written before he died.

Nietzsche, Tolstoy and a host of minor writers have all had their fling at "eternal truths" and modern ideals. Thus, the battle has long since rolled away from the ground on which Engels fought. His arguments on the dialectic are common-places to-day which it would be a work of supererogation to ex-

plain to anyone except the persistent victim of Little Bethel. The world has come to accept them with the equanimity which it always shows to long disputed truths.

The sacred right of nationality for which men contended in Engels' youth, as a direct consequence of political "eternal truths" has been ruthlessly brushed aside. The philosopher talks of the shameful spoliation of the smaller by the larger nations, a moral view of commercial progress, which an age, grown more impatient of "eternal truths" than Engels himself simply ignores, and moves on without a qualm to the destruction of free governments in South Africa. Backward and unprogressive peoples jeer, it is true, and thereby show their political ineptitude, for even the American Republic, having freed the negro under the banner of "eternal truth" annexes the Philippines and raids Panama in defiance of it.

And so since the days of 1875 the world has come to accept the general correctness of Engels' point of view.

The enemy which Engels was most anxious to dislodge was "mechanical socialism," a naive invention of a perfect system, capable of withstanding the ravages of time, because founded upon eternal principles of truth and justice. That enemy has now obeyed the law of the dialectic and has passed away. Nobody builds such systems, nowadays. They have stopped their building, however, not in obedience to the commands of Friedrich Engels, but because the lapse of time and the change in conditions have revolutionised the revolutionist. With the annihilation of "eternal truths," system building ceased to be even an amusing pastime. The revolutionist has been revolutionised. He no longer fancies that he can make revolutions. He knows better. He is content to see that the road is kept clear so that revolutions may develop themselves. Your real revolutionist, for example, puts no obstacle in the path of the Trust, he is much too wise. He leaves that to the corrosion of time and the development of his pet dialectic. He sees the contradiction concealed in the system which apparently triumphs, and in the triumph of the system he sees also the triumph of the contradiction. He waits until that shadowy proletariat which haunts the system takes on itself flesh and blood and shakes the system with which it has grown up. But this waiting for the development of the inevitable is weary work to those who want to realise forthwith, so they, unable to confound the logic of Engels, attack the "abstractions" on which his theory is founded. They still oppose their "eternal truths" to the dialectic.

Thus, in England, where the strife between the two parties in the socialist movement has lately been waged with a somewhat amusing ferocity, Engels is charged with a wholesale borrowing from Hegel. In any other country than England this would

not be laid up against a writer, but the Englishman is so averse to philosophy that the association of one's name with that of a philosopher, and a German philosopher in particular, is tantamount to an accusation of keeping bad company. A glance at the pages of the Anti-Duehring should tend to dispose of so romantic a statement, which could in fact only have been made by those who know neither Hegel or Engels.

That Hegel furnished the original philosophic impetus to both Marx and Engels is true beyond question, but the impetus, once given, the course of the founders of modern socialism tended ever further from the opinions of the idealistic philosopher. In fact Engels says, somewhat self-consciously, (not to say boasts) that he and his followers were pioneers in applying the dialectic to materialism. Whatever accusation may be made against Engels, this much is certain that he was no Hegelian. In fact both in the Anti-Duehring and in "Feuerbach" he is at pains to show the relation of the socialist philosophy as conceived by himself and Marx to that of the great man for whom he always kept a somewhat exaggerated respect, but from whom he differed fundamentally. Engels' attack upon the philosophy of Duehring is based upon dislike of its idealism, the fundamental thesis upon which the work depends being entirely speculative. Duehring insisted that his philosophy was a realist philosophy and Engels' serious arguments, apart from the elaborate ridicule with which he covers his opponent and which is by no means a recommendation to the book, is directed to show that it is not a realist philosophy, but that it depends upon certain preconceived notions. Of these notions some are axiomatic, as Duehring claims, that is, they are propositions which are self-evident to Herr Duehring but which will not stand investigation. Others again are untrue and are preconceptions so far as they are out of harmony with established facts.

Much of Engels' work is out-of-date judged by recent biological and other discoveries, but the essential argument respecting the interdependence of all departments of knowledge, and the impossibility of making rigid classifications holds good to-day in a wider sense than when Engels wrote. Scientific truths which have been considered absolute, theories which have produced approximately correct results have all been discredited. The dogmas of science against which the dogmatic ecclesiastics have directed their scornful contempt have shared the same fate as the ecclesiastical dogmas. Nothing remains certain save the certainty of change. There are no ultimates. Even the atom is suspect and the claims of the elements to be elementary are rejected wholesale with something as closely resembling scorn as the scientist is ever able to attain. A scientific writer has recently said, "What is undeniable is that the Daltonian atom has within

a century of its acceptance as a fundamental reality' suffered disruption. Its proper place in nature is not that formerly assigned to it. No longer *in seipso totus, teres, atque rotundus* its reputation for inviolability and indestructibility is gone for ever. Each of these supposed 'ultimates' is now known to be the scene of indescribable activities, a complex piece of mechanism composed of thousands of parts, a starcluster in miniature subject to all kinds of dynamical vicissitudes, to perturbations, accelerations, internal friction, total or partial disruption. And to each is appointed a fixed term of existence. Sooner or later the balance of equilibrium is tilted, disturbance eventuates in overthrow; the tiny exquisite system finally breaks up. Of atoms, as of men, it may be said with truth *Quisque suos patitur manes*.

The discovery of radium was in itself sufficient to revolutionize the heretofore existing scientific theories and the revolution thereby effected has been enough to cause Sir William Crookes to say, "There has been a vivid new start, our physicists have remodeled their views as to the constitution of matter." In his address to the physicists at Berlin the same scientist said, "This fatal quality of atomic dissociation appears to be universal, and operates whenever we brush a piece of glass with silk; it works in the sunshine and raindrops, in lightnings and flame; it prevails in the waterfall and the stormy sea" and the writer already quoted above remarks in this connection "Matter he (Sir William Crookes) consequently regards as doomed to destruction. Sooner or later it will have dissolved into the formless mist of 'protyle' and 'the hour hand of eternity will have completed one revolution.' The 'dissipation of energy' has then found its correlative in the 'dissolution of Matter'."

The scope of this revolution may only be gauged by the fact that one writer ("The Alchemy of the Sea," London "Outlook," February, 11, 1905) has ventured to say, and this is but one voice in a general chorus, "To-day no one believes in the existence of elements; no one questions the possibility of a new alchemy; and the actual evolution of one element from another has been observed in the laboratory—observed by Sir William Ramsay in London, and confirmed by a chemist in St. Petersburg." Helium being an evolution of radium and it is expected furthermore that radium will prove to be an evolution of uranium and so there is a constant process as the writer points out of what was formerly called alchemy the transmutation of one metal into another.

It is clear that in face of these facts the arguments of Engels possess even greater force at the present day than when they were enunciated and that the old hard and fast method of arguing from absolute truths is dead and done for.

Only statesmen see fit to still harp on the same phrases

which have become as it were a part of the popular mental structure and by constant appeals to the old watchwords to obscure the fact of change. Were one not acquainted with the essential stupidity of the political mind and the lack of grasp which is the characteristic of statesmen, it might be imagined that all this was done with malice aforethought and that there was a sort of tacit conspiracy on the part of the politicians to delude the people. But experience of the inexcusable blunders and the inexplicable errors into which statesmen are continually driven forces the conclusion that they are in reality no whit in advance of the electorate and that only now and then a Beaconsfield appears who can understand the drift of events. Such a man is the "revolutionist" which Beaconsfield claimed himself to be. But what shall we say of the President of the country that has attained the highest place in industrial progress among the nations and whose whole history is a verification of the truth of the dialectic and who can still appeal to individualism as a guiding principle of political action? It is a wanton flying in the face of the experience of the last quarter of a century and such rashness will demand its penalty. "Back to Kant" appears to be the hope of reactionary politicians as well as of reactionary philosophers.

AUSTIN LEWIS.

Why Revivals No Longer Revive.

IN THIS country and in protestant Europe attempts have recently been made to awaken the old-time fervor of the religious revival. Perhaps there has never been attempted a religious movement upon a larger scale and with so thorough concert of forces. Last winter nearly every large city had its evangelistic campaign in which nearly all of the protestant denominations joined.

In spite, however, of the most thorough organization on the part of the religionists and every available device of the professional evangelist, automobile street performances, the appealing pathos of music, the tearful words of preachers, the personal testimonies of the faithful and the climacterical sensationalism of a midnight march of the religious, including men, women and children, through the red regions of the tenderloin districts; in spite of all the unction and hurrah enthusiasm that a traveling troop of evangelists, well groomed and well paid, could put forth, there has been manifest no mighty outpouring of the Holy Ghost, no awakening, no revival. Why? Some will reply that the people are becoming spiritually degenerate. As a matter of fact, the opposite is the real truth. It is because the people through the influence of economic development and scientific discovery have become ethically intelligent, and have caught glimpses of higher social laws, possibilities and destinies, that the crude conception of life and the gross interpretations of the teachings of Jesus can no longer awaken genuine and normal emotion. Religion, like everything else, cannot escape the process of development. Real religion, if it is anything, is life at its best. It is written of Him in whose name this revivalistic campaign is waged, that He said, "I came that ye might have life and that ye might have it more abundantly." Now life means unfoldment, continuous revelation through the process of evolution and revolution, growth and birth. That conception of life which was natural and moral in the yesterday of history may be unnatural and immoral to-day. Outgrown ideas are not living ideas that take hold upon the world to inspire and renew it.

There are two distinct reasons why this old-time revivalism must fail. In the first place it is individualistic. Its formula and habit were born at the historical period of intense individualism. As yet the controlling factor in social evolution is the economic evolution. Providing for the body is as yet in real life the chief concern of the race. Most time and most energy is so

consumed. Religion, politics, social customs and ethics are all incidental to this chief concern, and hence develop in conformity with it; and this will continue to be true until such time as the processes of wealth-production and distribution are so organized that we may seek first the kingdom of life, taking no anxious thought of our material welfare for the morrow.

Individualistic politics and individualistic religion were both born out of that period of economic revolution which witnessed the passing of a collapsing feudalistic system and the birth of individualistic industrialism with its free political, religious and educational institutions.

When land was free and tools were rude economic relations were not complex. Social relations were free and voluntary, primitive and communal. Individual independence was a possibility. Each could employ himself. Individual self-reliance was the supreme virtue and the "self-made man" the ideal hero. So the individualistic appeal to a man to seek a personal salvation for his own soul was in a very real sense a true appeal. The attitude towards life was largely an individualistic concern, and so also the attainment of character.

But the single-man method of producing wealth has passed away. The gigantic machine has come. The great factory has come with collective capital, collective operation and collective labor. The economic evolution is rapidly approaching completion as a world-industrial process. Life is no longer independent but interdependent; no longer simple but complex. And so it happens that henceforth there can be no liberty and no salvation of life, except through the religious and political recognition of these collective relations. A man cannot economically survive except he find some way to relate himself to the industrial machine. And with this development of the collective physical basis of society is born also the idea of the collective destiny of the race. In direct conflict to this idea is the appeal to men to seek salvation for themselves. That personal salvation which makes us willing to enjoy, while others suffer is, in the light of modern conditions of life, the most selfish and immoral conceivable. It is a doctrine abhorrent to the new sense of the social nature of immorality and pain and virtue. It is true now as never before that whosoever would save his life must lose it. The time has come when the individual can only realize his utmost life by finding some way in co-operation with his fellows of giving all he is to society and of receiving all he has from society. Inasmuch as he cannot now live physically except by that labor product which comes to each of us for personal use by means of the combined labor of millions, so neither can we any more find our life except through and in the life of all.

The dualistic idea of two worlds and two lives no longer

commands the respect of ordinary sense. The universe is one; life is one. There is no division of things heavenly and things earthly; things divine and things profane. All is divine; all is profane. Evil is but the perversion of the good.

And then there is a general consciousness of the fact that there is an irreconcilable conflict between individualistic ethics and business principles. The practical impossibility of living the Christian ideal until business is socially transformed compels indifference to the old religious appeal on the part of all who prefer reality to hypocrisy.

In the second place, the people know who is paying the religious pipers. They do not believe that that class which is so willing to rob them of the means of life on the economic field is sincere in the hiring of professional pietists to save their souls. The expenses of the church are more and more paid by the very few. But why do the very rich want religious revivals? As the religion of individualism was preached by Emerson, Channing and Whittier it stirred within men a love of liberty, but as it is preached to-day in a perverted form it is a moral opiate administered for the specific purpose of counteracting the social discontent. The teaching that poverty and misery are the result of moral depravity, and that to be contented with what we now have is to secure all we may desire on some other planet, are doctrines conceived and used by the ruling industrial class for the purpose of economic exploitation.

This then is the meaning of "the great revival wave" (?) that is sweeping the country. On the part of the capitalist class it is an instrumentality; on the part of the professional custodians it is but a sham pretense at life by the shaking of the skeleton of a dead religious formula before the people and crying, Behold! Look! Everybody sing!

But among us there is coming a new religion. Beneath the wreckage of decaying forms and systems there is felt the throb and thrill of new and wonderful life. The world is to be reborn and a new heaven and a new earth to unfold. An evolutionary period is about to complete itself in one of those historic transitions which mark the end of one social cosmos (translated "end of the world" in the gospels) and the beginning of a new.

G. E. ETHERTON.

Kansas City, Mo.

“The New International.”

THE MEETING of the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels on Sunday and Monday last was scarcely so well attended as had been hoped; while the absence of Dr. Adler and any representative of either Spain, Italy or the United States, was certainly unfortunate at this juncture. It is obvious that the various nationalities have not yet taken the Bureau as seriously as it ought to be taken, and fail to understand that here in Brussels is the centre which may give the great and growing Socialist party in all nations an ever-increasing influence on the affairs of the world. The old International was merely an idea. There were a few generals without an army. To-day there is an important army of Socialists in every civilised country, and if they were properly organised as an international force and their delegates were sent fully instructed to the Bureau, as they ought to be, they would be far the greatest power on the side of peace and goodwill that is to be found in the world. Moreover, the interchange of information and the personal acquaintances made are also most important, and could avert many misunderstandings. We talk a great deal about internationalism and international action, but so far there has been very little of it put into action in such wise as to impress the hostile ruling classes in Europe.

There were, however, 13 nationalities represented by their delegates at this meeting of the Bureau, and the presence of Bebel and Kautsky for Germany, of Jaurès and Vaillant for France, would alone have sufficed to make the gathering notable. The first business taken was Vaillant's resolution in favor of all efforts being made by Socialists to establish and maintain peace. This gave rise to a very interesting discussion, and Jaurès in particular gave some details in relation to recent French policy which put the policy of the French Socialists in a very favourable light. Unfortunately, no definite plan of action was discussed or formulated. It was very difficult for delegates outside France and Germany to suggest any specific steps which might be taken by Socialists in those two countries before the outbreak of war in addition to what is already being done. When war should once break out, it was also felt that then also no general rule or policy could possibly be laid down. Bebel gave some remarkable figures as to the actual cost to Germany of the first mobilisation, apart from the expenses of war itself, which showed that even the most successful campaign

must be financially well-nigh fatal to the victor nowadays. Eventually, Vaillant's motion was carried unanimously. Keir Hardie proposed, on the part of the British delegation, that the next meeting of the Bureau should be held at an early date in London. This was opposed by the Germans and others, but a suggestion that the members of the various National Assemblies should be convoked in London in June next was accepted and referred to the Executive of the Bureau to arrange. Consequently a gathering of this kind will probably be held in London. The proposal that a resolution should be brought forward simultaneously in all Parliaments against the official massacres in Russia, and demanding that diplomatic relations should be broken off with this barbarous Government, was rejected on the ground that such an arrangement is impossible at the present time.

The proposals of Van Kol, supported by the Executive of the Bureau, for the re-organisation and representation of the national delegation on the Bureau, gave rise to a long and practically bootless debate. Nothing was really settled, and the modifications sent forward by the British National Committee were referred on to the meeting of the Bureau in October. It was understood, however, that, at Stuttgart, invitations and representation should be upon the same basis as at Amsterdam, but that each nation should be responsible for its own delegation where a national committee existed. At this point Bebel moved a resolution in regard to the admirable manner in which the business of the Bureau had been conducted by the secretary, which was carried unanimously. There is no doubt that the work of our comrade Serwy—and now, since Amsterdam, the admirable system of our comrade Huysmans, have put the Bureau upon an admirable footing. It is hoped that the national secretaries will endeavour to follow this excellent example of business-like correspondence. Already, too, the Bureau has become the centre of historical information in regard to the movement. Documents hitherto unprocurable in relation to the earlier development have been secured and arranged, valuable libraries have been acquired, and there are now in the *Maison du Peuple* no fewer than 15,000 volumes bearing upon the Socialist development. Unfortunately, funds do not come in to support the Bureau properly. Upwards of 10,000 francs of arrears were read out, and it was pointed out that under existing circumstances the Bureau would have a current deficit of at least 4,000 francs a year. A new arrangement was made in regard to payments which it is hoped will cover all necessary outgoings.

On Sunday evening a great meeting was held at the *Maison du Peuple*, to which upwards of 10,000 people came, and rendered overflow meetings necessary. A series of moving addresses

were delivered, the most important being by Jaurès, who throughout spoke on a very high level and aroused indescribable enthusiasm in the great audience by his strong appeal to the peoples to break asunder for ever the bonds of a degrading capitalism which held them in its grip while carrying on its nefarious proceedings in Morocco and elsewhere. Bebel did not appear. As he had been announced and advertised to speak, all our Brussels and the other delegates fully expected him to come; his absence occasioned great disappointment and regret.

Monday's meeting was chiefly taken up with detail work, and the delegates separated with the impression that if such gatherings were held more frequently and less time were devoted to elaborate arguments, a great step towards international organisation would be taken.—*From "Justice," London.*

EDITORIAL

Roosevelt and the Muck Rake.

There has been no more striking expression of economic conditions in the literary field for a generation than the so-called "literature of exposure." It was the last despairing kick of the small exploiter who, seeing the entire proceeds of the capitalistic raid being gobbled up by a few, determined to kick the table over and give the entire game away.

In the beginning this exposure was largely confined to pointing out those minor derelictions which have come to be known as graft; but soon there arose a competition of "the exposers." It was discovered that the closer the writer got to the heart of the matter, the more lurid his description and the more comprehensive his denunciation, the faster his matter sold. But the only person who is able to give a truly comprehensive exposure of capitalism is a Socialist. It was therefore inevitable that sooner or later these writers would begin to run perilously close to Socialism. Finally came Comrade Sinclair with "The Jungle," combining the most far-reaching and powerful exposure of industrial conditions ever published, with a plain declaration of the remedy. We hope in our next number to give a somewhat extensive description of Comrade Sinclair's work and the conditions in the stock yards which called it forth, and therefore shall not do more than mention it here. This work, however, started the strenuous occupant of the White House into action.

With much blaring of trumpets, it was announced that Roosevelt was going to flay "the men with the muck-rake." Fearsome pictures of what would happen to the modern prototype of Bunyan's character were painted in the capitalist press. Finally the speech appeared. Seldom has there been so striking a case of the mountain laboring and bringing forth a mouse. To say that the speech was flat and insipid would be to put it very mildly. Had it been given as a high school essay a few weeks later, it would have been taken to be a natural part of the youthful desire to reconstruct the universe which sweeps over the country with each recurring June.

Only two points in this address are worthy of attention. It is suggestive, at least, that both of these points derive their importance from

their relation to the Socialist movement. The first of these is the disreputable slur at Comrade Debs in particular and the Socialist movement in general contained in the comparison between "the wealthy man who exults because there is a failure of justice in the effort to bring some trust magnate to account for his misdeeds" and the "so-called labor leader who clamorously strives to excite a foul class feeling on behalf of some labor leader who is implicated in murder." It does not require an elaborate key to determine that this is an attempt to arouse prejudice against the officials of the Western Federation of Miners. It is an effort on the part of Roosevelt to shield his rough riding Bell in securing the legal assassination of Comrades Haywood, Moyer and others.

The other point was his mild suggestion of the inheritance tax. The capitalist papers were quick to call the President's attention to the fact that he had stolen this point from the Socialist platform. It is very safe to threaten retribution or restoration for the next generation. This does not much disturb the present owners, who long ago made up their minds that *apres nous le deluge*.

* * *

A bulletin just issued of the Massachusetts census of 1905 furnishes one more instance of the growing concentration of wealth. The number of establishments in the state shows a positive decrease of almost 2 per cent, with an increase of over 23 per cent in the capital invested. The value of goods made has increased 24 per cent., while the number of persons employed increased but 11 per cent and the amount of wages paid 19 per cent. A suggestion as to where a portion of this increase of wealth has gone is shown in a 34 per cent increase in salaries paid out, but the major portion even then must have gone into the omitted classification of "dividends received."

* * *

We regret to announce that owing to illness Comrade Boudin was unable to prepare the installment of his articles on Marxism for either the April or the May number. We hope that he will have sufficiently recovered to prepare the June installment. These articles have been commented upon not only in this country but throughout Europe as being the ablest exposition of Marxism ever published, and we trust that their continuance may not be long delayed.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

CHINA.

The following from a socialist now living in China presents another view of the situation in that country. Comrade Clowe has agreed to act as correspondent for the REVIEW in China and to keep us posted as to affairs in that country.

"Having noticed some passing references in the party press to certain supposedly great advances in the movement in this empire, and fearing that the comrades will be led astray in their estimate of things Chinese, I think it timely to address you on this topic.

"The fact is that there is no Socialist movement in China at all, and what these few muddled Chinese reformers, who have been vapping to the party reporters in America, have reference to is the usual middle-class reform movement, which has the historic mission of preceding and heralding the true proletarian struggle to follow.

"The only Socialist newspaper published by Asiatics is that sent out by our Japanese comrades in Tokio, called the 'She Hui Chu I,' giving the written characters the sounds according to the Chinese rendering.

"The native papers published in this empire are merely reform papers and not by the wildest stretch of fancy can be credited to our world-wide movement.

"The struggles of the laboring classes over here have never risen beyond the "pure and simple" trade-union; but these are well developed, and in places wield great power, which has been shown on many a stricken field of industrial contest. It appears, however, that though so compactly organized on trade lines, strictly on the 'autonomous' methods of the A. F. of L., they have never been successful in raising wages above the mere subsistence level of mere animal existence.

"The best they have ever done for their members has been to prevent overcrowding of numbers, and reducing the number of apprentices in the several guilds. Craftsmen's wages will average fifty cents Mexican, which means about twenty-five cents U. S. coin.

"Another wild statement I have seen in the party press is that credited to some of these peripathetic reformers who have from time to time visited America and been interviewed, is that there is no acute misery over here, that all are happy and contented, and that wealth is more equally distributed than abroad.

"To a resident over here this is amusing, or would be if the subject was not dealing with the awful misery of the masses here. The truth is that nowhere in the world is the misery of the submerged masses more appalling than here. Seven-tenths of this people never know where their next day's food is to come from. Chronic starvation is the ordinary lot. This frightful condition is not of recent origin. Since the reign of

Chien-Lung, in the eighteenth century, this has been the ordinary condition of the country, so much so that it long ago ceased to excite remark, or incite the governing classes to efforts to relieve the stress. Is now accepted as the decree of fate; a destiny which comes as the winds come, and is to be accepted with resignation to the will of Heaven (?). The masses are sunk in this apathy, and will never save themselves. It will be the historic mission of our Japanese comrades to rouse their brothers of the yellow race from their degradation. This arousal will follow on the commercial exploitation of China, which will now set in more intensely than ever, with Japanese from now on in the lead.

CLARENCE CLOWE."

Tientsin, China.

ENGLAND.

The labor representatives in Parliament continue to be the only live portion of that body, and to make things interesting for the remainder of the members. It is safe to say that more has been accomplished in a legislative way for the working-class of Great Britain by these few men *inside* Parliament in the last month than the A. F. of L. has been able to accomplish with its millions of members *outside* Congress during the past twenty years.

Scarcely had the furor over the fact that the Duchess of Warwick had become a Socialist and had sold her diamonds for the Socialist propaganda died away, than the news came that H. G. Wells, the famous novelist, had joined the Social Democratic Federation, and now aristocratic Eton has been invaded by the formation of a Socialist club, with the "Hon. Charles Alfred Lister, son of Lord Ribblesdale," as its leader. Oh well, let them come. "While the lamp holds out to burn," etc.

GERMANY.

The German Socialists have recently taken steps to form an organization of the youths who have not yet reached the age required for entrance into the army. A convention for this purpose was held at Kailsruhe, at which delegates were present from a large number of German cities.

The organization which was founded will have as its object the preparation of the young for activity in the trade-union and Socialist movement. It will also carry on an educational propaganda to meet the defects of the instruction in the capitalist schools. A monthly magazine, called *Die Junge Garde*, was founded as an organ of the new movement.

DENMARK.

The elections held at Copenhagen showed the regular increase in the Socialist vote to which that city has been accustomed for the last generation. An alliance exists between the Liberals and the Socialists against a ticket which is commonly known as the anti-Socialists. At this location 20,000 votes were given for the Socialist ticket against 16,000 for the anti-Socialist. This is an increase of about 1,000 in the Socialist majority since the last election.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

While the number of miners on strike in the bituminous fields is not as great as was originally believed would be forced to suspend work, and which condition is due to a split among the operators and the new policy adopted by the miners' convention of permitting the men to return to work wherever the 1903 scale was signed restoring the reduction of 5½ per cent in wages, the indications are that the struggle will be the most stubborn that has ever taken place in that industry. Intense bitterness has developed between the factions of operators led by I. H. Winder, who opposed the wage advance, and Francis L. Robbins, who signed the scale. The Winderites threaten to operate their mines with non-unionists in various parts of the country and to keep others closed indefinitely. By thus declaring a lockout and their determination to starve the workers into submission, the operators hope to break the ranks of the unionists and drive them back to work at their own terms, which would also mean the complete demoralization of the union in many important districts. It is claimed furthermore that the railroads are in collusion with the Winder faction, of which J. Pierpont Morgan is the actual head, and the fear is entertained by operators who signed the scale that they will be discriminated against in obtaining cars and having their coal delivered. Mr. Robbins and his friends are working hard to cut into the opposition and encourage both combine and independent operators to sign the agreement, and they are having some success. It begins to look as though the contest will continue all summer, and it is not improbable that the union-smashing coal barons will adopt the old and familiar methods to worst the men. It need cause no surprise if the Winder people send a carload or two of thugs and Pinkertons into some district, not for the purpose of working in the mines, but to goad the miners into committing some act of violence, which will be duly magnified by the capitalist press, and pave the way for the entrance of the militia on the scene. Then a few genuine scabs will be sent in from West Virginia or some other unorganized section, spies will be sent among the union people to discourage them or work some dynamiting scheme for which the strikers can be blamed, evictions will take place and store orders refused, and all in the hope of breaking the backbone of the organization and enslaving honest laborers. One would imagine that after all the experiences of the past that the miners were wise and would take the lead in the matter of standing together as a class and elect men to power who would neither truckle to or hobnob with capitalistic politicians. There are any number of districts in which they could elect men to Congress and State Legislatures, but instead of getting together in the Socialist party and conquering the governmental powers they divide themselves between the Republican and Democratic machines, and then get the horse-laugh from Morgan, Baer & Co. Of course, this is also the case in other industries, and the miners are really no more to

blame for the hard knocks that they are compelled to endure from capitalism than their fellow-workers. In the anthracite field there is little hope of a settlement at this writing, although the miners have withdrawn nearly all principal demands except an increase of wages and offer to arbitrate all differences. Baer & Co. evidently aim to destroy the union, and even if a settlement could be patched up it would only postpone the day when the struggle for mastery must be made.

The indications are that before this number of the REVIEW reaches its readers the strike on the Great Lakes foreshadowed in a previous number will be in progress. Only a complete backdown on the part of the longshoremens, who are espousing the cause of the pilots, will serve to maintain peace. During the month the longshoremens and seamen tried to come to an understanding in a conference at Erie, but were unsuccessful, and the jurisdictional dispute between the two organizations was referred to President Gompers as arbitrator. It is a question whether the two unions will accept his award when it is made. On the other hand, the vessel owners refuse to recognize the mates, the deadlock continues, and everything points to a battle royal. The longshoremens have a splendid organization, formed on industrial lines, and the contest will be watched with keen interest by the trade unionists of the country. Whether or not the seamen will be dragged into the fight only the future will divulge.

It has been pointed out in the REVIEW on several occasions that it is becoming quite the proper thing to hear of dynamite explosions as accompaniments of strikes and lockouts, and in all such instances the blame for the outrage is laid at the doors of the union people. We have heard about these explosions in street railway strikes, in the long struggle in which the Western miners are engaged and in other sanguinary battles. In the Saginaw-Bay City interurban railway strike several imported thugs working for the corporation were caught red-handed in trying to blow up the track, and one Farley was sent to jail for a brief term. In Colorado several other strike-breakers were caught and perjured themselves on the witness stand. Recently an incident occurred in Cleveland that is only one more illustration of the infamies to which the capitalists and their hirelings stoop to destroy the good names of innocent men and drag them to prison if possible. As is generally known there is a national contest on between the American Bridge Trust and the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union. The latter have tied up the trust pretty thoroughly in many cities. In Cleveland a big arcade building is being erected. Work was at a complete standstill for months. Then the trust gathered a number of strike-breakers from various parts of the country and began construction in a manner. Suddenly one evening several sticks of dynamite exploded on the roof of the hotel in which the scabs were quartered. But fortunately, as though all had an omen of coming trouble, the strike-breakers were conveniently absent—at the theaters, seeing the sights of the city, etc., the papers said. No great damage was done; plastering was loosened by the shock, and people in the neighborhood were scared; a horse ran away and the stray dogs barked. But the finger of suspicion was pointed at the union, and several members were caught by the trust's detectives two blocks away, severely beaten, thrown into a patrol wagon, kept in jail all night, and discharged in court next morning. A few days thereafter another outrage was perpetrated. One of the dailies in chronicling the occurrence stated:

"Enough dynamite was found under a hoisting engine in the Taylor Arcade in Euclid avenue to wreck that building as well as a half-dozen skyscrapers which cluster about it. Had the explosion been fired during the day the loss of life would have been appalling."

One Turney Claypool, a night watchman in the employ of the bridge trust, found the dynamite. The police got busy, and the community was

soon startled by the announcement that none other than Claypool had confessed that he himself had placed the dynamite where it was discovered. And Claypool, it was further developed, was a nephew of Superintendent Starr, of the bridge trust. He made some flimsy excuse of trying to scare the corporation and force the re-employment of several scabs who were said to be have been discharged. He was bound over to a higher court on nominal bail, and it is doubtful whether he will be sentenced to the penitentiary. Had Claypool been a union man the whole organized labor movement of the country would have been denounced in double-headed editorials, and the thieving Walshes would never tire of howling for "law and order." The matter has been seriously discussed by some of the labor officials of organizing a detective bureau of their own to hunt down the dastardly scoundrels who are constantly perpetrating crime while in the pay of plutocrats and casting the blame on organized labor.

The occurrence that has aroused the greatest interest in the minds of the working people next to the troubles of the coal miners and long-shoremens during the past few months was the imprisonment of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. From one end of the country to the other the labor class has become aroused as it never was before. Protest meetings have been held by the hundreds, resolutions by the bushels have been adopted, and funds have been and are being collected in every branch of industry. The most conservative organizations vie with the most radical in giving substantial evidence of uncompromising opposition to the villainous methods that have been adopted by the tyrannical mine-owners and their Cossacks and Black Hundred to railroad men to the scaffold because they dared to dedicate their lives to the uplifting of their fellow-workers. The readers of the REVIEW have undoubtedly kept themselves informed through the daily papers of the developments that have taken place from time to time in this Western drama, from the night that the men were kidnaped through the connivance of two governors owned body and soul by the mine-owners to the recent decision of Chief Justice Gabbert, of the Colorado Supreme Court, in which he declared that "the governor of the state has the power to suspend habeas corpus at his discretion and that the courts cannot review the action." Thus at one blow this eminent jurist has invaded the sanctuary of American liberty and seeks to drag us back into the Dark Ages to keep company with the brutality and inquisitorial methods of tyrants whose names stink in oblivion. It has been asked, Is Colorado in Russia? Judging from the autocratic manner in which the plutocrats and their politicians corrupt courts, override constitutions, laws and every semblance of decency, and the supine, cringing way in which the voters of that state swallow every insult and accept every blow, it begins to look as though Colorado is several degrees deeper in slavery and monarchy than the Russians. Even when Lincoln suspended habeas corpus as a war measure the thoughtful men of his time expressed grave doubts regarding the wisdom of enforcing such a drastic measure. But in Colorado there is no war to overthrow the state, and no necessity for government resorting to such extreme means to perpetuate itself. Gabbert promulgated his edict because he was morally certain that the people of Colorado did not possess sufficient moral stamina to drive him from office and drag him, as well as his masters, before the bar of justice and place them on trial for committing high treason. The plutocrats have become blind drunk with the power they possess, and, knowing all about the rottenness and corruption that exists in the political life of the Centennial State, no methods are too vile that will not be eagerly seized to destroy the last vestige of freedom and enthrone the usurping multimillionaires whose insatiable greed and thirst for power causes them to resort to every scheme to wreck the Republic. Either habeas corpus is

as much a right principle now as when it was wrested from King John at Runnymede or it is wrong and persons may be seized and imprisoned and tortured in dungeons or be deported to Siberia or Idaho without let or hindrance. It is improbable, however, that the great mass of people of this nation will accept as final the decision of the Colorado Jeffries any more than they agreed to regard the Dred Scott decision as the law of the land, or permitted any one or number of states to secede from the union. The widespread interest manifested in Colorado and Idaho affairs at this juncture, as reflected even in daily newspapers, is a safe indication that the Western Tories and conspirators are being carefully watched and that the people will stand for no martyrdom. Enough blood has been shed to gain and perpetuate this Republic and its free institutions without making more sacrifices, and those who start to dig graves for others should preserve a due amount of caution for fear that they may fall into the pit themselves. It is my firm conviction, after personal observation of the manner in which the country has become awakened to a realization of the outrages committed against workingmen in the West by the profit-mongers, that Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone will not be convicted of any crime, no matter how many alleged confessions may be prepared by hired assassins or what the political perverts now in office may say or do.

BOOK REVIEWS

EVOLUTION, RACIAL AND HABITUDINAL, by John T. Gulick, *Carnegie Institution of Washington, D. C.*; paper; 269 pp.

Those who are familiar with biological terminology will find this elaborate monograph on the factors of evolution of great value as a basis for an understanding of the relation of some biological laws to sociological problems. The various conditions essential to the process of evolution are classified as follows: Variation, Heredity, Isolation (the prevention of free intergeneration between groups) and Diversity of Selection (securing the survival of the divergent forms which arise).

The main emphasis of the work, however, is laid on the factor of isolation, and the possible alterations which may arise from the pursuit of different habits, with practically the same environment.

He shows that the methods of isolation are very many. Plants may bloom at different seasons, animals may exercise sexual selection, peoples may be divided by caste or class, etc. Considerable importance is given to the social character of many of the forces which are analyzed, and it is shown that many characteristics produce very divergent results according to the social environment which they are called upon to meet.

The diversity of any complex organism—especially so extremely a complex one as man—arises to a large degree from the countless generations of inherited characteristics which are latent in each individual. This gives to man at present a marvelous power of adaptation, and also lays the foundation for divergencies as soon as isolation from any cause arises.

It will be at once evident to the social student what a wealth of explanations are here opened up to account for the different psychological and even physiological diversities which arise in modern society, and how these are accentuated by the isolation into class lines, and finally, how these may react upon the entire social structure. It should make possible, for instance, a much more accurate analysis of the proletarian and capitalist mental attitude, and should furnish a scientific explanation of many phases of modern social evolution. We are glad to say that Mr. Gulick has kindly consented to contribute an article to the REVIEW at an early date, elaborating these points somewhat further.

AN EYE FOR AN EYE, by Clarence S. Darrow. *Fox, Duffield & Co.*; cloth; 213 pp.; \$1.50.

A strange, almost ghastly story of the last night of a condemned murderer, who tells an old friend the tale of his life, the details of his crime and how he came to commit it. Taken as a story alone it is a remarkable although scarcely an attractive production. But it is primarily a discussion of criminology and a condemnation of the present methods of treating the criminal. We see that having committed a crime

does not make the guilty one any different from the rest of us. He did not do it because he was worse or better than other people, but because a long series of circumstances, largely beyond his control, culminated in this one deed. Yet the court would take no notice of all these other matters, but considered the crime as an isolated fact. Everywhere the part which economic conditions play in causing crime and hunting down the moneyless criminal is emphasized. The cheerless, hopeless boyhood, the overworked manhood, the hasty marriage with the girl illy-prepared for the duties of wife or motherhood, the deadly disrupting power of poverty on the family, the countless irritations of the workingman's home, turning at last love into hate,—all these are a part of the story told in Cook County jail while the sounds of the carpenters erecting the scaffold penetrate the thick walls of the cell. The strange power of the book,—its theme and method of treatment, remind one constantly of "The Ballad of Reading Gaol." Both are powerful literary indictments of present judicial and penal machinery.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

THE INTERNATIONAL LIBRARY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

This new series, the first volume of which was published in January of this year, is beyond comparison the most valuable library of books on social science from the viewpoint of International Socialism that has yet been published in America. And these books are not published for profit, but for propaganda; the price to stockholders represents the bare cost of printing, advertising and circulating, and the profit on copies sold at the retail price is used not for dividends but to increase the circulation of Socialist literature.

Mechanically these are the handsomest books that our co-operative publishing house has yet issued. They are bound in extra silk with tasteful, uniform stamping; the paper is of excellent quality and the type of every volume is clear and attractive. The price including postage to any address, is a dollar a volume,—to stockholders sixty cents postpaid or fifty cents by express. Seven volumes are now ready and three more nearly ready. The titles are as follows:

1. *The Changing Order*. By Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph. D.

This is a study of democracy,—that is, of the new industrial democracy that is driving capitalism from power. In this work Dr. Triggs deals especially with the ways in which the new democracy will modify the intellectual life of the people,—their art, literature, work, play, education, philosophy and religion. This book rounds out the literature of Socialism on a side where it has been weak, and we commend it to every one who desires to arrive at a broad and clear understanding of the Socialist movement.

2. *Better-World Philosophy*. By J. Howard Moore, Instructor in Zoology in the Crane Manual Training High School, Chicago.

This work is a study of human relations in the light of modern science. Starting with the proved facts of evolution and economic determinism, and keeping always on verifiable ground, the author develops a theory of morality unusually bold and profound. The book is written in a clear, vigorous and original style, and is highly endorsed.

3. *The Universal Kinship*. This book is also by J. Howard Moore.

The first half is one of the clearest and most convincing statements yet published of the evolution theory, with complete proofs of man's kinship to the lower organic forms and to the rest of the universe. In the concluding portion, these data are applied to the social and ethical problems of to-day. As the London Leader says of the author, "his style is trenchant, sane, and yet many-colored."

4. *Principles of Scientific Socialism.* By Rev. Charles H. Vail.

This standard work is too well known to need description here. It has run through many editions, and is generally accepted as one of the most satisfactory statements of Socialist principles yet published. It is particularly to be recommended for beginners.

5. *Some of the Philosophical Essays on Socialism and Science, Religion, Ethics, Critique of Reason and the World at Large.* By Joseph Dietzgen, translated by M. Beer and Th. Rothstein. With a biographical sketch and some introductory remarks by Eugene Dietzgen, translated by Ernest Untermann. Edited by Eugene Dietzgen.

The work opens with a sketch of Joseph Dietzgen's life, by his son, Eugene Dietzgen, who also contributes an illustration of the proletarian method of study and world-conception in an essay on "Max Stirner and Joseph Dietzgen." This is followed by a collection of articles written by Joseph Dietzgen during the early stages of the German Socialist movement for some of the first German Socialist papers. In the article on "Scientific Socialism," Dietzgen gives a philosophic explanation of the principles of Marxian Socialism. In his six sermons on "The Religion of Social Democracy," he follows out the idea that the teachings of Socialism contain the material for a practical regulation of human life in accord with scientific principles. In the following two sermons on "The Ethics of Social-Democracy," he shows that morality is based on common needs, and that standards of ethics change with changes in the material conditions of peoples. The following essay on "Social-Democratic Philosophy" demonstrates that human salvation depends on material work, not on theological moonshine, and that Socialists, therefore, look for salvation not so much to religious or ethical preaching as to the organic growth of social development. In "The Limits of Cognition," "Our Professors on the Limits of Cognition," and "The Inconceivable," he draws the veil from the contradictory and immature notions of official theology and science concerning the nature of the human faculty of thought and shows that this faculty has only natural, not supernatural, limits. In the following "Excursions of a Socialist Into the Domain of Epistemology," he takes issue with the bourgeois Darwinians and belated followers of the 18th century materialism, and shows that even the most advanced scientific materialist of the bourgeoisie, Haeckel, fails to apply his scientific method uniformly (or monistically).

6. *Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History.* By Antonio Labriola, translated by Charles H. Kerr. Second edition.

This work is beyond comparison the best statement in any language of the Socialist principle of historical materialism, first briefly outlined in the Communist Manifesto. Labriola's opening essay, "In Memory of the Manifesto," is a historical study which first explains the economic and the resulting political conditions which made possible the writing of the Communist Manifesto; followed by an analysis of the way in which the ideas of the Manifesto, as they spread, acted upon the movement of the working class and aided in the evolution of International Socialism as it exists to-day.

7. *Love's Coming-of-Age.* By Edward Carpenter.

This work is without doubt the most satisfactory work that has thus far appeared on the relations of the sexes under the coming social order, and on rational sex ethics during the period of transition. Those who imagine that socialism is a propaganda against the family and in favor of promiscuity will be disappointed in this book, since they will find nothing in it to confirm their notion. But those who wish to find a rational rather than a conventional basis for their convictions on a very important part of the life of men and women will welcome what Carpenter has said.

8. *Looking Forward: A Treatise on the Status of Women and the Growth of the Family and the State.* By Philip Rappaport.

While Carpenter's work is poetic and literary in its character, that of Rappaport is logical and scientific, so that the two supplement each other admirably. See table of contents on last page of cover of this month's REVIEW.

9. *The Positive Outcome of Philosophy.* By Joseph Dietzgen, translated by Ernest Untermann.

This volume contains, besides the work from which it takes its title, the author's treatise on "The Nature of Human Brain Work" and his "Letters on Logic." Ready in August.

SPECIAL COMBINATION OFFER.

To introduce this series and to secure new readers for the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, we make this special offer, not good after May 31, 1906: For \$1.60 we will mail to any address *The Changing Order*, *Better-World Philosophy*, and the REVIEW for one year. The subscriber may substitute *Principles of Scientific Socialism* or *Love's Coming-of-Age for Better-World Philosophy* if desired. No substitution will be allowed for *The Changing Order*.

MARX'S CAPITAL—NEW EDITION.

We have closed a contract for making our own plates for the first volume of Marx's *Capital*, to be followed a little later by the second and third volumes, never yet published in the English language. This means an outlay of over twelve hundred dollars. We have been handling the imported edition for years at a loss for the accommodation of stockholders. We now ask that every intending purchaser of this great work wait for our own edition. It will be superior to the imported one, and will be exactly uniform in color and style with the later volumes that are to follow. The price will be two dollars postpaid: to stockholders \$1.20 postpaid or \$1.00 by express at purchaser's expense. The sale of two thousand copies will pay for the plates, and there will then be a steady income to the co-operative publishing house from the steady and increasing sale of the book. A large advance order for the first volume will hasten the publication of the later ones.

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR APRIL.

The book sales for April were \$1,407.10. The receipts from the sale of stock were \$256.95. The donations were \$2.00 from William Olson of Idaho and \$10.00 from N. O. Nelson of Missouri, besides which Eugene Dietzgen of Germany contributed the electrotype plates and translation of the Philosophical Essays of Joseph Dietzgen, representing an actual cash outlay of over \$600. Several loans were received from stockholders, including \$1,000 without interest from Jacob Bruning of Chicago. We have thus been enabled to pay up all but \$300 of the six per cent loan previously mentioned in these pages.

Our new location at 264 East Kinzie street is a decided improvement over our former location, while the rental is lower. The one weak point in the month's record is the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Its receipts for the month are \$119.48, considerably less than the month's expenses. It can not be repeated too often that those who wish the REVIEW continued will need to increase its subscription list.