

The Intercollegiate Socialist



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The object of the INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY, established September 1905, is "to promote an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women." All present or former students of colleges interested in Socialism are eligible to active membership in the Society. Non-collegians are eligible to auxiliary membership. The annual dues of the Society are \$2, \$5 (contributing membership), \$25 or more (sustaining membership.) The dues of student members-at-large are \$1 a year. Undergraduate Chapters are required to pay 25c. a year per member to the General Society. All members are entitled to receive The Intercollegiate Socialist. Friends may assist in the work of the Society by becoming dues-paying members, by sending contributions, by aiding in the organization and the strengthening of undergraduate and graduate Chapters, by obtaining subscriptions for The Intercollegiate Socialist, by patronizing advertisers, and in various other ways. The Society's Bi-monthly is 25c. a year, 10c. a copy, 15 copies for \$1.

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Literature and the I. S. S.

It is a special gratification to note the splendid contributions to the social and economic literature of the day which have been made during the past year by the members and endorsers of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. On Socialism proper may be cited Jessie W. Hughan's "Facts of Socialism," a remarkably clear statement written especially for use in I. S. S. Chapters and study groups; Morris Hillquit's logical and concise book, entitled "Socialism Summed Up"; William English Walling's exceedingly suggestive and valuable treatises on "The Larger Aspects of Socialism" and "Progressivism and After"; Robert Hunter's gripping and timely book on "Violence and the Labor Movement"; Dr. Floyd J. Melvin's thoughtful volume on "The Sociological Aspects of Socialism" and Dr. I. M. Rubinow's valuable statistical pamphlet on "Was Marx Wrong?," a reply to Professor Simkhovitch's book on "Marxism vs. Socialism." Here also may be mentioned Helen Keller's wonderfully appealing volume, "Out of the Dark."

In the general economic and labor field we have witnessed the appearance of Dr. Rubinow's monumental work on "Social Insurance," "the most competent treatise on the subject in English"; Harry W. Laidler's book on "Boycotts and the Labor Struggle," according to General Otis' *Los Angeles Times*, "a mischievous and misleading contribution to American industrial literature"; Dr. Louis Levene's scholarly dissertation on "The Labor Movement in France; Revolutionary Syndicalism," (just revised); John Graham Brooks' conscientious exposition of "American Syndicalism"; Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich's comprehensive treatise on "Immigration and Labor" and Professor Ira W. Howerth's valuable contribution to "Work and Labor."

In the realm of politics, Prof. Charles A. Beard's epoch-making work on the "Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States," his "Contemporary American History," and "American City Government," are bound to do much to revolutionize thought regarding the political structure of this country, while Walter Lippmann's brilliantly written "Preface to Politics," "in many ways the ablest brief book of its kind published during the last ten years," and Arthur Bullard's "Albert Edward" vivid portrayal of the problems at "Panama" are worthy of attention.

The powerful drama, "The Idol-Breaker," by Charles Rann Kennedy; the stimulating book by Bouck White on "The Carpenter and the Rich Man"; John A. Macy's vital contribution on "The Spirit of American Literature"; John Haynes Holmes' suggestive brochure on "Marriage and Divorce"; Max Eastman's imaginative and delightful volume on "The Enjoyment of Poetry"; Mr. and Mrs. Robert W. Bruère's valuable suggestions on "Home Efficiency" and Alexander Irvine's beautifully sympathetic picture of his mother in "My Lady of the Chimney Corner" indicate something of the variety of themes treated by the Society's members. The versatility of the members is further shown by such volumes as "Electric Circuit" by Prof. V. Karapetoff; "The Gardener's Pocket Manual" by F. F. Rockwell, and "Italy in the 13th Century" by H. D. Sedgwick.

Fiction has not been neglected, and in this line we note Florence Converse's Socialistic novel, "The Children of Light"; Upton Sinclair's "Sylvia"; Mary W. Ovington's "Hazel," and Arthur Bullard's "Comrade Yetta." Other volumes will no doubt suggest themselves. Should we dare to venture back but two short years, dozens of other books, such

as "Socialism and Character" by Prof. Vida D. Scudder and "Henry Demarest Lloyd" by Caro Lloyd—two wonderfully inspiring books—would rush to our pen; should we step just a wee bit outside the definite lines of membership and endorsership to the many intimate friends and co-operators of the Society, hundreds of other volumes, such as those by John Spargo on "Syndicalism" and "Socialism and Motherhood" would cry for attention. Should we attempt to scan a few months into the future, and mention the forthcoming books of Florence Kelley, Ernest Poole, Dr. Louis Levene, Rose Pastor Stokes, Leroy Scott, Dr. Helen L. Sumner and a host of others, or did we attempt to suggest even a fraction of the scholarly output of our members in the country's periodicals, it is feared that space would be left for little else.

By the way, if any member or friend of the Society desires to obtain one or more of these volumes or any other book for his summer reading, the I. S. S. will be delighted to receive his order. Members of the Society are entitled to 10 per cent. discount on all books purchased through the office.

Socialism in the Colleges

A short time ago the I. S. S. sent a questionnaire to the colleges of the country to find out with what thoroughness

Socialism was being taught in the various institutions East and West. A number of interesting replies have been received. One president of an Ohio college took occasion to remark that "so long as she was the head of any school there would be no courses in Socialism given therein."

Replies are still coming in. In 52 of the institutions from which reports have thus far been received, separate courses are devoted to Socialism. In many others, Socialism is discussed at considerable length in connection with courses on "Labor Problems," etc.

A complete statement of the information obtained will be given in the next issue. At Yale, a course was installed this year, in large part as a result of the interest stimulated by the strong Yale Society for the Study of Socialism, Chapter of the I. S. S. Prof. Henry C. Emery, formerly chairman of the Tariff Commission, and a contributor to this issue of *The Intercollegiate Socialist*, is instructor in this course.

International Conference

If you are going abroad this summer and can possibly attend the conference of European and American students interested in Socialism, send us your name. The International Intercollegiate Socialist Conference will probably be held in Vienna on Friday, August 21st, 1915, two days before the meeting of the International Socialist Convention. We want on that occasion as large a representation as possible from the United States. A number of graduates and undergraduates have already signified their intention to be present.

Our Quarterly

This is the final issue of *The Intercollegiate Socialist* for the college year 1913-14. The next number is scheduled to appear in October. We want you to read it carefully and let us know your opinion concerning our venture. If you value its articles, don't stop there. Get your friends to subscribe. Order bundles of the Quarterly for distribution. Patronize our advertisers and let them know where you have seen their notice. Send us contributions.

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An Intimate View of Marx and Engels

By Morris Hillquit

The growth of the Socialist movement has been so fast and its current so swift, that to the vast majority of the Socialists of to-day the twin-figures of its theoretical founders and practical organizers stand in the dim back-ground as mere abstractions, mere historical if not mythological characters. Yet it is barely more than thirty years since the death of Karl Marx, and only twenty years ago Frederick Engels was still active in the struggles of international Socialism. Marx and Engels are practically men of our own generation, and it is important for us to know them in the flesh, to know how they lived and fought and suffered and vanquished. For nothing is a better aid to a true and sympathetic understanding of the thought and the work of a creative genius than an intimate knowledge of the man and his life's story.

Such an intimate insight into the inmost beings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels has just been opened to us by the publication of their mutual correspondence. The work, which was edited by August Bebel and Eduard Bernstein, as the literary executors of Frederick Engels, comprises four bulky volumes, each containing about 500 pages. The correspondence extends from September, 1844, when Marx was twenty-six years old and Engels twenty-four, to January, 1883, two months before Marx breathed his last. The number of letters printed is 1,386, and they make interesting, fascinating reading. They are written freely, frankly, carelessly, sometimes even recklessly. They are intimate, heart-to-heart chats of necessity reduced to writing—gossip about persons, things and movements; house-

hold affairs and personal matters; thoughts, theories, doubts, plans and aspirations; trivial cares and world-moving ambitions. The letters were obviously written with no thought of their possible publication, and that feature constitutes their greatest worth, for only thus could they fully reveal the souls of their authors. The souls revealed in the letters are great and sublime, but thoroughly human nevertheless.

What strikes us most forcibly in the relations between Marx and Engels is the strong bond of personal friendship which united them. It is doubtful whether history affords a single other instance of such perfect friendship. Neither of the two men was in the slightest degree sentimental or demonstrative. On the contrary. To judge from all indications they were rather reserved in demeanor and unemotional in outward appearance. Their correspondence opens with the more or less formal address "Dear Marx" and "Dear Engels." It takes Marx seven years of the closest intercourse before we find him unbending to a "Dear Frederick," and several years more before he adopts the more intimate "Dear Fred" style of address; nor is Engels any quicker in adjusting himself to Marx's family-term of endearment: "Moor." But in spite of the total lack of ostentation, or perhaps largely on account of it, their mutual affection is true, abiding, we almost are tempted to say organic. It is not a mere political friendship, nor is it a friendship springing solely from a similarity of tastes, inclinations or temperament. It is a friendship in which the individuality of each merges in that of the

other. The two men are inseparately blended in one new being, made better and stronger for this blending of the traits and qualities of both.

Within the Socialist movement the impression generally prevails that of the two Marx was the greater man; that Marx was the genius and leader while Engels was merely a talented follower, whose glory was largely the reflected glory of his friend and master. The impression is entirely wrong, and is due in no mean degree to Engels himself. For Engels, who survived his friend by twelve years, never allowed an opportunity to escape without attributing to Marx the lion's share of the credit for their joint achievements. The letters prove conclusively that neither of them was intellectually inferior to the other, but that they were both equal and supplementary parts of one organic whole. Beginning with the Communist Manifesto, which was their first joint work, and ending with Engel's Anti-Dühring, the last important work published by one of them during the life-time of both, neither of the two undertook any work of moment without consulting the other at almost every step. Sometimes one would write a whole chapter for the work of the other, and a great many of the letters sent by Marx to the *New York Tribune* over his own signature were entirely written by Engels. In a few instances Marx and Engels specialized in different subjects, and in such subjects each of them would defer to the other, but they were equals in general culture and erudition. If Marx was the profounder thinker, Engels had the more practical mind and the more lucid power of expression. If Marx was the greater genius, Engels was the greater man. What one would have been and done without the other is impossible to surmise. With each other they were Marx and Engels.

When we read the works of the great Socialist theoreticians, especially the unimpassioned, unemotional and classic pages of "Das Kapital," we are apt to imagine that they were written in the serene atmosphere emanating from a calm, scholarly life, remote from petty cares and tribulations. What a different picture is revealed to us in the correspondence between Marx and Engels! We cannot read the letters without being appalled by the misery, privation of physical discomforts which the "fathers" of modern Socialism imposed upon themselves in order to accomplish their cherished work. Marx came from a well-situated bourgeois family and his wife was a member of the Prussian nobility. Had they maintained their social caste, Marx with his great talents and erudition could easily have assured a comfortable economic position for himself and his family. But he preferred to be a rebel and a social outcast and to suffer the pangs of poverty and privation. And what poverty! Stoic as he was Marx rarely recurred to the subject of his economic misery. But once in a while he cannot restrain himself and there is a plaintive cry of despair. "Since a week," he writes in 1852, "I have reached the pleasant point where I cannot go out because all my clothing is pawned and I cannot eat meat because the butcher refuses me credit," and again, "every day I have to run six hours in order to borrow sixpence for food." Quite heart-rending is a letter written at about the same period by Mrs. Marx to Engels, in which she relates how her little boy had by stratagem obtained three loaves of bread from a baker reluctant to deliver them on credit, and how he had run away with the precious booty in fear of having it recaptured.

And Engels? Engels in the meantime served as a clerk in a Manchester cotton house in which his father had an interest. He despised trade from

the bottom of his heart. His young and enthusiastic soul was wrapped up in science and revolution. The counting room caused him daily psychical tortures. But he made the choice deliberately and unostentatiously, and there can be no doubt but that he thus sacrificed his life and ambitions to his friend Karl Marx. To Marx went a great, if not the greater part of his earnings; to enable Marx to continue his work and studies Engels deliberately enslaved himself. In 1850 the periodical contributions of Engels to the Marx household are about one pound a week, and as his commercial position and his income grow, so grows his help to the friend, until in 1869, when Engels can afford to retire from business, he settles on Marx an annual income of 350 pounds. The fierce struggles with poverty are now ended. The friends are reunited in London, working together in the Socialist movement, which is at last beginning to assume respectable proportions. They are happy. But they cannot wipe out the terrible two preceding decades in their personal lives. Poverty and destitution have ravished Marx's household. Three of his children have died in their infancy for sheer lack of food and air, his noble-hearted wife has been weakened and despirited by the unspeakable sufferings, Marx himself is a sick and broken man. Still Marx had all the time lived the life he loved. Engels had passed twenty years in distasteful, degrading drudgery to help Marx. Which of the two has made the greater sacrifice?

What sustained Marx and Engels in the years of hardship and privation was their unshakable faith in the great cause to which they had consecrated their lives, and their strong mutual friendship. Describing the last illness and the death of his tenderly-beloved young son Edgar, Marx writes to Engels in April, 1855: "In the terrible

tortures which I suffered these days I was supported only by the thought of you and your friendship and by the hope that together we may yet accomplish something sensible in this world."

This sublime and abiding faith of the sturdy pioneers of modern Socialism was not based on revolutionary romanticism or on the hope of immediate fulfillment. Marx and Engels fully and clearly realized that the struggle in which they had engaged was a hard and long struggle, a struggle of generations. They realized that the new proletarian movement for human emancipation calls for a fight of unlimited endurance, prodding, knowledge and organization, and they patiently settled down to forge the weapons for that fight. While the international derelicts of the shipwrecked European rising of 1848, congregated in London and Switzerland, were indulging in spectacular but vain attempts to revive the corpse of the defunct political revolution, Marx and Engels were preparing the basis for the slower but surer and more radical social revolution of the working class of the world. They were well equipped with knowledge for their great task and they never rested in their efforts to acquire more knowledge. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were among the best-informed men of their generation, and when, around 1857, the friends were invited by Charles A. Dana to contribute articles on several topics to a certain encyclopedia which he was then editing for a New York publishing house, Engels could well suggest to Marx that they undertake the execution of the whole work. Between them they practically covered the entire range of human knowledge of their time. They always kept abreast of the latest word in political economy, philosophy, history, politics, natural sciences and general literature, and in all these varied spheres they were not amateurs but masters. Both were hard workers

and enthusiastic students to the end of their days. Nothing was too obtuse or uninteresting to them. In the summer of 1864 we find Marx sick with a bad attack of influenza. He complains to his friend of his inability to do real work. To while away his time he has taken up "the study of physiology, anatomy of the brain and the nervous system, the cellular theory, and such like things." And as an aid to their constant studies they cultivated the knowledge of languages. Both knew all important and several unimportant European languages to perfection. Their letters are curious proofs of their authors' linguistic accomplishments. In their correspondence with each other Marx and Engels unceremoniously mixed languages, using whichever happened to lend itself most felicitously to the expression of a given thought or idea. The groundwork of

their letters is German, but most of them are copiously interspersed with French and English, with occasional incursions into Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Russian, Latin and even Greek.

And so they labored and learned and taught without rest or intermission, without faltering or misgiving, without hope of reward or care for recognition. To Engels it was given in the decline of his life to witness the unfolding of the great international movement whose aims and methods he and his friend had so well formulated. Marx closed his weary eyes on the light of the day before the movement had attained an appreciable degree of power. But neither of them ever flinched in his faith in the cause or relaxed in his efforts. They were prodding and patient and steady, because their aim was great and because they were intellectual giants.

Some Objections to Socialism

By HENRY C. EMERY

Professor of Political Economy, Yale University

My objections to Socialism are so many that in the limits of 1,500 words set to this article it will be possible to enumerate only a few which seem to me most vital.

Before beginning such a criticism, however, I should like to have the Socialist reader understand that I approach the subject in a spirit of sympathy, and appreciate fully the misunderstanding of both his philosophy and his program which underlies many of the popular attacks upon his system. In the history of thought the so-called "scientific" Socialism of Marx and Engels has played a great role and, like many another great system of ideas, it will continue to influence men's ways of thinking even after it has come to be discarded as a false or inadequate "system." I myself have felt its spell, and recognize both Marx

and Lassalle as potent and helpful influences in my mental make-up.

Although fully recognizing that the disproof of a single Marxian proposition, or even a series of them, does not constitute the death-knell of Socialism, I agree with such a writer as Boudin that Marxism is a single system and that the structure either stands or falls as a whole. The value of the individual stones which compose it is a relatively unimportant question.

It may be that both the sentimentalists among the well-to-do and the ignorant among the less fortunate have been led to Socialism through some utopian ideal. The powerful influence it has exerted upon thinking men, however, is to be found in its seeming displacement of utopianism by science. An analysis of the economic structure of society seemed

to many to show an inevitable collapse of capitalism through the inexorable working of laws inherent in its nature. Under the "anarchistic" working of competition such collapse was to come about through the increasing concentration of capital, the disappearance of the middle class, the increasing misery and exploitation of the proletariat, the mad struggle for markets, and the increasing intensity of commercial crises, till the complete disharmony between the capitalistic capacity to produce and the social capacity to consume (at prices yielding a profit) would of necessity bring about the final catastrophe. The economic analysis by which it was purposed to show the *necessary process* of this fatal development was the theory of value and surplus value. Back of it lay the broad theory of economic determinism as a philosophy of history, and the theory of class struggle as the means of accomplishing the final change, as it has accomplished similar great changes in the past.

This truly impressive structure of ideas, on the basis of which Socialism appears as an inevitable social process, may be attacked by two methods, the analytical and the empirical:

The analytical method consists in an examination of the theoretical bases of the doctrine of surplus value. These are the labor theory of value, the exploitation theory of interest and the theory that wages are determined by the labor necessary to produce the laborer's maintenance. Each of these falls before the attacks of critical analysis. The labor theory of value leads to a hopeless circle in reasoning as soon as relative degrees of skill are recognized; interest, on analysis, is seen to be not the result of a peculiar social arrangement, but inherent in the individual's estimate of present and future wealth; while the "standard of life" is only one factor determining wages, and, taken by itself,

neglects the demand side of the equation entirely.

The empirical method consists in submitting the Marxian predictions of economic changes to the test of facts. Here again the verdict is against them. The present tendency to the concentration of capital is less marked than some years ago; the middle class persists; society does not divide itself into the two classes of great capitalists and the proletariat; the misery of the working class does not increase, but is progressively diminished. Finally, though "business cycles" seem inherent in a competitive system, neither theory nor fact supports the Socialistic prediction of catastrophic crises.

It is only fair to Marx and Engels to admit that the prevailing economic doctrine of an earlier date gave greater support to their theories, and the facts of that period greater weight to their predictions, than is the case to-day.

Some Socialists, to be sure, assert that these are non-essentials, and that the essence of the doctrine is found in the theory of economic determinism (materialistic conception of history) and the theory of class struggle. But one may hold these theories and not be a Socialist, or one may be a Socialist and not hold these theories. In themselves they have no content. Economic determinism (according to the Socialist) brought about capitalism in the first place. It *may* perpetuate it. As for the idea of class struggle, I "go the Socialist one better." Even such sturdy individualists as Bentham and James Mill made effective use of this idea. I believe the struggle of classes has been a great factor in history, though not the only one. But I also believe it will indefinitely continue. Socialism will not abolish it. Under any system of society there will be conflicts of interests leading to struggles between different groups or classes.

My conclusion is, then, that "scientific Socialism" is bankrupt. But Socialism

is not dead. Born in utopianism, Socialism returns to utopianism after a period of "scientific" training. This training has made the new Socialism quite different from the old. It is not the dream of a philosopher, but an organized movement to a definite goal. I call it "utopian" only in contrast to its effort to be "scientific." Possibly the word is misleading, but the fundamental fact remains that Socialism cannot now be treated by its adherents as a necessary thing which *will* be established by *inevitable* economic laws, but only as a *desirable* thing to be instituted by human *will*, based on an *ideal*. If such be the case, the burden of proof is changed. The Socialist must defend the working of his "Socialistic state." The shoe is now on the other foot.

So far Socialistic literature is weak in this regard. I have left little space for criticism of the Socialistic ideal and none for a consideration of divergencies of view among Socialists. I assume Socialism to mean social ownership and democratic management of the means of production, and this not on the lines of local communities or industrial unions, but on lines roughly corresponding at first to existing national units. I can only emphasize three points at this time.

(1) The stock argument against Socialism has been that it would remove the motive to effort by abolishing private ownership of income-yielding property. But, the Socialist claims, this motive does not operate with the mass of wage-earners to-day. Here I agree, as did John Stuart Mill, with the Socialist. I may also agree with him that the great captains of industry might work as efficiently for fame and honor and power if they could not work for money as now. But there is a vast middle class to which the Socialist is blind, whose motive is independence for self or family. Members of this class toil incessantly from motives which would not exist if accumulation were impossible

and moderate comfort was assured. I agree with Thorstein Veblen, no gentle critic of our modern system, that the extra strain and effort induced by pecuniary aims more than compensate the vaunted "wastes of competition."

(2) Social prosperity depends as much on the accumulation of capital as on productive endeavor. Under Socialism no *individual* accumulation is possible. The state must provide its own future capital by directly and arbitrarily assigning labor to its production. I cannot imagine that this will take the place of the present automatic system, especially if democratic control prevails. It is one thing for an individual to save for *his* wife and *his* children. It is another thing for society consciously to provide for the welfare of a distant and impersonal future generation. The motive vanishes. Though stated in these words, I believe this one problem alone to be fatal to the Socialistic state.

(3) The present assignment of labor to different fields of production is at least automatic, and so are its rewards. Under Socialism they must both be arbitrary. To-day production is automatically adjusted to the demands of consumption. Under Socialism consumption will be arbitrarily adjusted to the facts of production. Every Socialistic scheme to give freedom of choice in the field of industry, or by centralized action to satisfy the great majority with their relative rewards, breaks down utterly. Authority must decide what shall be produced, where it shall be produced, and who shall produce it. The "industrial army" will become a real army subject to absolute discipline. Spencer was right in holding that Socialistic production must be based on the lines of militarism. It is possible to combine private enterprise and democracy. It may be possible to combine Socialism and despotism. I am convinced that it is not possible to combine Socialism and democracy.

Socialists and the Wilson Regime—Another Viewpoint

By W. L. STODDARD

Writing under the title "Socialists and the Wilson Regime" Mr. C. Hanford Henderson told the readers of this paper a short time ago that:

"It may seem to other Socialists unduly appreciative of the Wilson Administration when I record my belief that our present Socialist danger is not that the Administration will not go far enough along Socialistic lines, but rather that it may go too rapidly, and by some premature social advance may lose the support of a less enlightened electorate and so go down to defeat."

Translated and summarized into the language of the street this seems to me to mean that the Wilson Administration is as radical as it can be and still hold its job. Don't let's shoot the organist: he's doing the best he can. Specifically Mr. Henderson points to reforms proposed by the new government—"reforms which every Socialist has much at heart—reforms in the tariff, in the currency, in conservation, in the suffrage, in farmers' credits, in employers' liability."

I have been in Washington ever since Mr. Wilson took office and have been a reasonably close day-to-day observer of what has taken place in the Government under him. It is impossible for me to agree with Mr. Henderson's theory and with some of his statements of fact. I cannot see any evidence at all that Wilson, his cabinet and Congress are too radical to be successfully radical, and were the entire outfit to go down to defeat I would shed no tears, but instead confidently look to behold a more genuine radicalism enthroned out of the ruins.

Wilson's great achievement has been that he mastered Congress—that Congress does what he desires of it. This fact no one disputes. Due to this

mastery, Wilson secured a revision of the tariff which even his campaign managers do not now pretend has reduced or will reduce the cost of living. Due to this mastery he has, in co-operation with the private bankers, secured the enactment of a currency law the details of which no layman understands; the law, however, makes no pretense of being anything but a convenience for the banks, and clearly does not let out of private hands the control of capital. As I write this the Administration, thanks largely to one man, Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, is trying to force some long-due conservation bills upon Congress. As to the suffrage, I do not understand Mr. Henderson—Wilson is against woman suffrage because he says he can do nothing that his party does not order him to do unless he first orders his party to order him. If negro disfranchisement is meant, I hasten to add that the topic has not been considered seriously. Farmers' credits is still in the air. Employers' liability is on the rocks. The trust bills are still a matter of stupid and impotent dispute, chiefly because metaphysics has displaced common sense and Congressmen are wondering whether monopoly regulated by unregulated competition is worse than regulated competition supervised by George W. Perkins. The only strictly labor legislation enacted in the year was the amended Erdman act—a crying and obvious necessity, and the 8-hour bill for women in the District of Columbia.

One of the most important questions still in stew in Washington is the 5 per cent railroad rate case, now pending before the Interstate Commerce Commission. The railroads have come to the Government for permission to increase their revenue by some \$50,000,000

through advancing freight rates. Mr. Brandeis, special counsel for the Commission, has in effect told the railroads that they must first eliminate wasteful business methods, and as a starter has shown how the cutting out of one of the grafts will save \$15,000,000 annually. His program is evidently to perform the public service of keeping rates down by forcing the roads to run themselves efficiently.

President Wilson is on the wrong side of this case—he has taken the railroads' side. He has "let it be known" from the White House that he believes that the roads should have the rate increase, and these intimations have probably done more to stay Brandeis' progress than any one thing, except the railroad's publicity. If we are to have government ownership of railroads, we must first lick the carriers into shape worth buying. Wilson is plainly standing in the way of this regulatory process.

Much has been made by "radicals" of the overthrow of dollar diplomacy by the Wilson regime. If by dollar diplomacy is meant the furtherance of the interests of American capitalists in foreign countries through the aid of American diplomacy, then, in spite of buncomb statements to the fool farmer, the Wilson Administration has not overthrown dollar diplomacy. I am not saying whether it should overthrow it: I merely point out that the State Department in one highly important instance, secured for \$20,000,000 of American capital a foothold in the Hwai River country—the agricultural heart of China—by using the Red Cross as a catspaw to do its work for it. The facts of this story were not given out with trumpets at the State Department, but they have been published and I can vouch for their accuracy.

It was inevitable that radicals—even Socialists or worse—should be given jobs under the new Administration. They always are given jobs under Administrations, for as a rule radically minded

people have better minds to put at the service of their country than unthinking conservatives. Moreover, a radical in office is safer than one on the soap-box—safer from the conservative point of view. It was inevitable, too, that some one would come along and endorse presidential primaries—a bit of election reform that should have been effected when the Constitution was first drafted in secret caucus. In fact, although I have sincerely tried, I have been unable to get up any enthusiasm for any act of the Wilson Administration, barring the apparent desire of the President to have no war with Mexico.

The Wilson Administration is not radical certainly by its deeds, and since it has taken office its words have lost that former sting which pricked some of us with the hope that a really new deal had come to town. The Wilson Administration is at best a corner grocery store Administration. It may represent the college professors—it does not represent the laboring class, or the professor as a member of that class. In his trust program Wilson did not dare include a bill exempting labor unions from the Sherman law. Though there is talk of child labor legislation, convict-made goods legislation, contempt of court and injunction bills and the rest, this is but the kind of talk that has gone on in Washington these twenty years, and some men are growing very weary. A word from the master of Congress would pass the La Follette Seamen's bill abolishing involuntary servitude and making the steamship trust carry lifeboats for all. That word has not come. It fails to come not because these bills are "premature social advances," but because the Administration is not friendly to the small social needs which these relatively unimportant bills seek to fill.

It is never too late to mend. After the congressional elections in the fall, Mr. Wilson and his party may see a light which their eyes do not see to-day.

The Trend Toward Socialization of Medicine

By P. A. LEVENE

Medicine is an experimental science. Its progress is made not so much by speculation as by manipulation. Mind alone cannot discover the laws controlling life in health and in disease. There is a need for skill, dexterity and precision in mechanical operations. An idea, a priori, most brilliant may fall in the light of a very simple experiment. Experiment is the supreme authority in medical science.

Medicine is interested in the physical functions of the living organism. These are as varied as they are complex. Heat, light, electricity, mechanical energy,—all are produced by the living organism. Medicine should be able to measure most accurately every form of animal energy. Medicine is making use of heat, light, electricity, radioactivity in the treatment of disease. Hence there arises a need for generators of the various forms of energy, constructed in a manner suitable for therapeutic application.

Medicine is concerned with the chemical structure of animal tissues, of animal fluids, of living matter. All these are substances of the highest complexity. Understanding of animal functions in health and in disease is conditioned entirely by the knowledge of the chemical reactions within the organs and within the tissues of the animal body. The most audacious chemical reasoning coupled with extraordinary chemical skill and aided by the finest chemical instruments are required to bring to light the reactions continually displayed in the depth of the tissues.

Medicine is engaged in combatting disease and disorders caused by the intrusion into the system of lower forms of life. One cannot fight a foe without knowledge of his ways and habits;

hence medicine needs the assistance of biology. In fact, it requires the assistance of a host of biologists since the bacteriologist is not in the least interested in heredity and eugenics, and again neither of the older branches of biology can be of much help in producing immune sera.

In reality the matter is still more complicated, because there is no chemical problem in medicine that can be solved without the skill and information of the physicist, and there is no biological query in medicine that can be answered without the assistance of chemistry and physics.

All these recent developments of medicine have shaped the appearance and the organization of the modern medical research institute. This is no longer a building composed of small, individual, poorly equipped rooms, each one accommodating an individual worker who pursues his work unaided, single-handed. The present-day research institution is organized on the principle of co-operation of a body of specializing experts. Chemist, physicist, biologist, physiologist, pathologist and clinician are housed in the same institute and are often engaged in the solution of the same problem.

It may be illuminating to the uninformed to follow all the phases in the development of a new drug aiming at the cure of some infectious disease. A chemical laboratory prepares the drug. When ready, it passes into the hands of the bacteriologist, who tests its action on the virus producing the disease. If it stands the test of this department satisfactorily, the drug passes into the hands of the physiologist who determines whether or not the drug itself is harmful to health. If it has received a

favorable report from the last expert, the drug is delivered to another group of investigators, who test the remedy on animals infected with the disease. Only the drug that has stood the test of all this preliminary scrutiny is taken to the hospital and tested on patients. This is an account of but a few stages in the history of the discovery of a single new drug.

If one stops to think that often a drug undergoes several hundred modifications and reconstructions before it satisfies the requirements of every individual expert, one will realize the hours of work, the number of workers and the magnitude of organization needed for its discovery. Surely the degree of specialization and the collectivity of effort in this sphere of medical activity does not fall far below the corresponding features in the mechanism of industrial production.

In science, as in industry, this mode of operation is the outcome of an effort towards greater efficiency and towards greater security of progress. Further progress of the science will be made through increased specialization and improved organization. There is one point particularly in which the organization of the science of medicine is lacking at the present day. It is a point understood and solved by the industries. Science may well take a lesson. Economy is the prime motive force in industry. One of the greatest foes of economy is competition or duplication of effort. The evil of competition is practically removed from the field of industry by combining producing enterprises, by organizing trusts. Only the person engaged in an experimental laboratory can realize the annoyance continually caused to the investigator by duplication of effort in different laboratories of one town, one country, or even of the entire civilized world. The importance, in experimental work, of mental calm, of peace of mind, can never be overestimated. The spirit of race, the hunt of reward and recognition should have no place on

the horizon of the true scientist. One does not need to resort to the oppression of tyranny in order to do away with duplication of effort. It can be accomplished through an organization based on the fundamental laws of professional ethics. Organization is the one remedy.

Turning our attention from the science of medicine to its practice, one will be readily convinced that there also the search for efficiency has brought about specialization and co-ordination of effort, so that even to-day treatment of disease is performed by the co-operation of a group of specially trained men. If the majority of the sick to-day do not receive the benefit of the most modern methods of treatment, if the most perfect tools are not always accessible to the masses, the fault rests not with medicine, not even with the doctor, but with the general economic conditions.

As the development of industries was founded on science so the modern machinery of practical medicine was molded by science. In the past, disease was recognized only when it became apparent to the practically unarmed ear or eye of the doctor. The tools available for diagnosing a disease were so few that the doctor preferred not to use them at all. The remedies employed by the physician in treatment of his patients were so simple that he could brew them in his kitchen.

To-day a disease can be recognized long before it is visible, long before the organs have suffered an irreparable damage. In this lies the greatest attainment of modern medicine. For if the disease is recognized at an early stage the chances of the patient's recovery are always good, while they are always bad when the disease has been permitted to work the destruction of an organ or of more than one organ.

To-day one can recognize tuberculosis long before the patient has developed a cough, can diagnose weakness of heart, even if there is no organic disturbance of it, disease of the liver, even if there

is no jaundice, etc. All this can be done, but only by the co-operation of a number of specialists, for the methods employed are always quite complicated, and often dangerous in the hands of an unskilled person. Is it not actually marvelous to be able to detect in the thick of an internal organ the presence of a few micro-organisms, each one having the length of one-thousandth of a millimeter? They can be detected, but by means of tests, the application of which is safe only in the hands of an expert.

Disorders of the heart are recognized by measuring the electric currents created in the heart muscle during its contractions. The currents are so minute that special and very complex apparatus had to be constructed for their measurement. Naturally, the instruments can be operated only by a person possessing special skill and special training in the principles of electricity.

Chemical laboratories are required in order that patients with digestive disturbances, or with general constitutional disturbances could be well taken care of, etc. Space does not permit to enumerate all the specialties and all the instruments required in diagnosing the condition of one patient, but the few quoted instances may suffice to convince that the "making of a diagnosis" is the business of a group of men collaborating towards that end. To an equal degree of complexity has grown the therapeutic end of the medical work. For medicine has enlisted into its service all forms of energy, light, electricity, radioactivity. Special knowledge, special training and special costly instruments are needed in order that the physical forces may be applied therapeutically.

All these results of the recent progress in medicine have brought the conviction that the most rational, the most efficient and also the most economic treatment of a patient can be attained not at his residence, but in specially equipped hospitals. As the factory has become the unit in the field of industrial production,

so the hospital is developing into the composite tool of practical medicine. Every passing year brings new factors that add to the advantages of the hospital treatment of disease. As an illustration: The last year added some new knowledge of the nature of infectious diseases. It was established that micro-organisms producing a disease need not all be identical. They may belong to the same species, but be of a distinct race. A vaccine or serum effective in the treatment of one need not necessarily be of identical value in the struggle against the other. Hence it may be advantageous to prepare autogenous vaccines or when possible even autogenous serums, i. e., vaccines or serums prepared by the use of micro-organisms obtained from the system of the patient. It is self-evident that in a well equipped hospital all that may be needed for the preparation of these very individualized therapeutic agents would be nearer at hand, and hence the treatment would be carried out with the greatest expediency and greatest safety. And so every year adds to the advantages of hospital treatment. In fact, already in the present day there are several specialties, particularly those connected with surgery and midwifery, which are practiced exclusively in hospitals. The number of these specialties is continually on the rise.

And so the medical laboratory has grown into a gigantic tool of medical research and the hospital has grown into a gigantic tool of practice of medicine. If space had permitted it could be shown convincingly that the medical school has developed into a gigantic tool of medical education which is operated by collective effort, and that the department of health is the most striking example of collective social work performed by the medical profession.

Monster tools with accumulated potentiality and intensified efficiency—they are not all blessing—either in industry or in medicine, not under the present

social order. The first evil of new machinery is occasioned by its magnitude, which means costliness. To-day the laborer is separated from the ownership of the tool, and so is the physician. The physician who owns a hospital scarcely exists even as a rarity, and the one who is permitted the privilege of it is a favorite of Providence.

The monster tool gave rise to another evil, the inequality of opportunity. The success of a physician, the quality of his work, his skill and intuition depend entirely on his access to the laboratory and to the hospital. And this in turn depends not always on merit but most gen-

erally on accident, accident of birth, accident of social connections, at times of some special gift or worldliness, and at best on the accident of an examination. At best the underlying principle of the existing system is neither just nor rational since he who is least gifted by nature could profit most from co-operation. It is he who is forced to fight his battles unaided. It is the general public who is made to suffer, or rather the masses in it.

It rests with the future to accentuate the advantages introduced by the present development of medicine and to eliminate its incidental evils.

REVIEW OF VITAL BOOKS

VIOLENCE AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT. By Robert Hunter. N. Y.: Macmillan. \$1.50.

In the prefatory apologia for his new volume, *Violence and the Labor Movement*, Robert Hunter confesses that the book is the result of some studies to which he was impelled by the furious controversy between the orthodox Socialists and those who, both from within and without the Socialist movement, oppose parliamentary action.

Mr. Hunter takes the position of Marx and Engels and the vast majority of their followers and interpreters. Appeals to violence are most injurious to the movement of the working class, first, because they tend "to obscure the understanding of the real development of things"; secondly, because such appeals tend to demoralize and destroy the movement by attracting to it professional criminals, opening a fruitful field for spies and provocative agents, wasting revolutionary energies and breeding despair. In support of this position, he marshals a vast and imposing array of

evidence, carefully winnowed from the all too unfamiliar pages of Socialist history. With a fine dramatic sense, free from the slightest trace of the hysteria unfortunately common in such arguments, he piles up the numerous events which justify his contention.

The book opens with a chapter devoted to a sketch of the personality of Michael Bakounin and his theories. The great Russian is chosen as the archetype of the methods of revolutionary-evolution. The portrait of Bakounin—it is a mere sketch—is terrible and fascinating because so terrible. The relations of Bakounin to the abnormal Sergei Nechayeff are recounted, and one wonders how Bakounin in the light of his experience with Nechayeff could have failed to reach a conclusion similar to that reached by Mr. Hunter. Bakounin's portrayal of Nechayeff is typical of the mutual distrust and suspicion inevitable in movements dependent upon terrorism and other violent and lawless forms of direct action.

Valuable as is the record of the sinister part played by the "propaganda of the deed," under the leadership and inspiration of Bakounin, Most, Ravachol, and others, the greater merit of the book lies in the careful presentation of the principal struggles against that method of "propaganda" by Marx and Engels and by such of their followers as Bebel and Guesde. In greater detail than it has ever before been told in English, the story of the titanic conflict of the two opposing conceptions held by Bakounin and Marx is given for our guidance. The value of this story is inestimable. While yesterday's deed may not limit to-morrow's aspiration, it would be foolish, nevertheless, to ignore the experience of yesterday in making plans for to-morrow. Were it only for this one chapter, Hunter's new volume would necessarily hold an important place as one of the indispensable source-books on the Socialist bookshelf.

The chapter entitled "The Newest Anarchism" is a much more discriminating piece of work than its title indicates. From the title it might be inferred that our author makes the usual mistake of confounding Syndicalism with Anarchism, but he does not. He is careful to point out that, unlike Anarchism, Syndicalism is a class movement. The methods of the two are practically identical, however. Anarchism has given to Syndicalism its tactics.

It would be idle to expect that this brilliant polemic will serve to put an end to the despair of political action and the restless demand for the many forms of direct action, among them the methods of violence. But it is to be hoped that all who presume to participate in the stormy discussion will read the book. It will conserve the revolutionary faith of many. Like most of Mr. Hunter's work, the book is brilliantly written and makes reading a pleasure.

JOHN SPARGO.

PROGRESSIVISM AND AFTER. By Wm. English Walling. N. Y.: Macmillan. \$1.50.

"Progressivism and After" is a distinctive book on a subject of pressing interest. It is original among Socialist literature in its adoption of the inductive rather than the deductive method and in its recognition of the importance of non-Socialist forces; yet it is still farther separated from the timid thesis type of conservative economics both in its proletarian view-point and in the fact that the author has no hesitation in setting forth definite conclusions. The more definite the conclusions, however, the more subject to attack, and we shall be disappointed if the prognostications of this book do not call forth a lively and interesting fire from both Socialist and non-Socialist quarters.

Under the title *Progressivism*, Mr. Walling includes the Wilson, as well as the Roosevelt movements, these being the political expression of the small capitalists, and beginning already to lead to us into the next stage of society,—State Capitalism. He defines the latter as "the organization of capital and labor by government—primarily for the benefit of the majority of the owners of capital, *i. e.*, of the small capitalists."

After State Capitalism has run its course, State Socialism, or Laborism, is to succeed, the rule of the skilled laboring class, into which England may be about entering. This period, collectivist in a high degree, will be characterized by the domination of the intellectuals and the aristocracy of labor, and the permanent subjection of the unskilled workers. The latter condition will be brought about by the restriction of immigration and by deliberate limitation of education, shutting out the children of the unskilled from higher competitive positions.

Not until State Socialism has played its part and the unskilled proletariat has become the dominant class, can Social-

ism proper, with "free and equal public education for all children, equal educational and occupational opportunity for youth, and far less unequal incomes for adults," come into being.

The foregoing prophecies as to the future depend directly upon the author's classification of society, not the Marxian division into capitalists and laborers with a vanishing middle class between, but a hierarchy of four classes, large and small capitalists, skilled and unskilled labor, each to have its day as the ruling force. He accomplishes this division by drawing income lines, frankly repudiating Liebknecht's "solidarity of the exploited" and excluding from solidarity of labor all but the lower ranks of the unskilled.

In so far as this volume may circulate among the working masses, its tendency must be toward the weakening of faith in Socialist political action; in so far as it is read by middle-class reformers, it is likely to lead these toward Progressivism as the imminent triumph of their measures. Opposed as both these results may be to the policy of present-day Socialism, there is yet a strain of aggressive Marxism running through the book in the unfailing assumption of economic interest as the one motive of human action. The minimum wage is only the recognition of labor as valuable government property,—popular education merely a method of bringing to the maximum the efficiency of future wage-earners; and from Jane Addams to the Society of Locomotive Engineers the most altruistic sentiment extant is loyalty to one's own sub-class.

"Progressivism and After" is admirable in its careful treatment of facts, its unconventional breaking of new Socialist ground,—vulnerable perhaps in its disregard of idealistic forces and its readiness to build conclusions on original classifications. To both friends and enemies it will amply repay the reading.

DR. JESSIE W. HUGHAN.

AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. By Prof. Charles A. Beard. N. Y.: Macmillan. \$2.25.

There are few books that do much towards making revolutions. One of the few exceptions was Rousseau's "Social Contract." Professor Beard's task—a destructive criticism of the political and legal basis of American society—affords no opportunity for original and creative thought like the task Rousseau set before himself, but history may show that the movement that he has helped to start will turn out to be no less epoch-making. Already it has led to a popularization by Allan L. Benson in Pearson's Magazine that ought to have more influence in creating radical thought than any magazine series yet published in this country, a effect that will be doubled when Benson's articles appear in book form.

To attack the American constitution and its founders effectively is to undermine the very foundations of American society—for there can be no question that the constitution has been more worshipped than all the doctrines of the churches. Since the appearance of Prof. Allen Smith's book, the underlying *principles* of the constitution have already been effectively exposed, as well as the sinister motives that lay behind its most reactionary clauses. But it remained for Professor Beard to attack effectively the Constitutional Convention as a whole, including the overwhelming majority of its members. By showing the entirely selfish economic motives that were chiefly responsible for the constitution, Beard firmly plants the idea in every reader's mind that the whole history of our civilization and system of government has probably been based on the same principles. And I understand that he is now preparing other works carrying his calm but destructive analysis into later periods.

When Ex-President Taft expressed the greatest alarm at the appearance of

this book and its probable effect on existing institutions, he was absolutely justified. For all of our histories, public school teaching, politics, and patriotism, if Beard is correct, have been based on one colossal lie. By demonstrating the true character of those who the governing classes teach us to worship, namely the founders of our government, Beard makes the most telling attack imaginable on the governing classes themselves.

Beard furnishes a certain amount of new information about our forefathers, which enables him to demand the attention of all Americans, however conservative. By far the larger part of his argument, however, is drawn from a calm analysis of facts already known to every educated and thoughtful member of the governing classes. There is, therefore, no doubt that the lies that have been told us, if not altogether deliberate, have been for the most part consciously intended to deceive.

We are moving into revolutionary times. A few years ago Professor Beard would have been howled down. Now he is accepted by the large majority of academic authorities. His book is highly praised by *The American Historical Review*, *The Economic Review*, *The Annals of the American Academy*, *The Atheneum*, *The Nation*—and also by *The New York Times*. *The Journal of Sociology* says it is fair and honest and *The Independent* that no more important work on the constitution has yet appeared.

The constitution is in a period of rapid disintegration. One constitutional amendment after another is being enacted, and a large number of influential men now favor "The Gateway Amendment"—including Senators Owen, La Follette, Norris, Poindexter, Bristow, Chamberlain, Clapp, Ashurst, Myers, and Lea, besides several Governors and a large number of Mayors and Congressmen. By making all further amendments easy this reform practically abolishes the present constitution—the whole

purpose of which, as Beard shows, is to prevent easy amendment, to obstruct popular self-government, and to perpetuate government by the propertied classes.

Constitutions, all modern thinkers are agreed, rest exclusively on public opinion or moral force. Without condescending to discuss more than a few leading constitutional points, Professor Beard undermines our respect for each and every word that holy document contains. It is poisoned at the source. Its chief, if not its sole, aim is to enable the few to govern the many, as far as practicable, without their consent. We may hope and believe that it will have an effect on our constitution as damaging as Thomas Paine's annihilation of the moral basis of the British Constitution before the people of America in 1775 and 1776. Though in this case Beard has merely prepared the ground, while Benson supplies the brilliant literary power that enabled Paine to reach the masses of the people. For, of course, Beard's book, though excellently written, has been addressed primarily to the college-bred.

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.

THE IDOL-BREAKER. By Chas. Rann Kennedy. N. Y.: Harpers. \$1.25.

THE SCENE.

The tired business man is politely requested for the purpose of this description, to consider himself a little Boswellite. He is seated comfortably in the market square he loves so well, contemplating reality at last through a large open Imaginary Window, and waiting to be amused. Around him is a jumble of houses, hucksteries, brothels, a well-built prison, pigsties, libraries, beer shops and a place to worship. It is where he lives: his pride: to apply the touching panegyric to the poet, it is his own, his native Little Boswell. Behind him, dotted with disused lead mines and other marks of ancient toil, rises a lofty hill; the crest of which, formerly a Roman camp—long since gone to dust—now flutters a beautiful new flag. From time to time, the Clock overhead, belonging to the

big Sunday School, vouchsafes—untruthfully—the hour. Above that dawns God's day.

The strain upon his imagination now relaxed, the Weary One will next please look in front of him, digest his victuals, and be amused.

It is the interior of the smithy of little Boswell. A place prodigious with many labors: the womb of things about to be born. The Building is of rough-hewn stones and huge oak timbers.

The Back Wall presents three interests. Glancing from left to right, these are: the Long Window, the Big Door, and the Forge. The Long Window is low, silled and mullioned. The Big Door is Dutch, deeply embrasured, and before daybreak the Porch beyond it caverns it with shadows. The Forge, gaunt, grimy, cowed, has a base of boulders clamped with iron: its chimney clamoring crookedly through augmenting glooms into the roof. The Handle of the Bellows in the corner juts out like a jib-boom.

Through the openings may be seen the Highroad, bounded over the way by a low Cobble Wall: above that, a rise of Green Field; and beyond, a wild of Purple Moors stretching away into the skies.

In the further end of the Left Wall is another door, heavily chained and padlocked. Its approach is cluttered with green and rusty dumps of smelted metal. This is the Door of the Inner Workshop.

In the nearer end of the Right Wall is another window, smaller than the first, though of good size. It is open, hollyhocks and geraniums jostling through it from outside. Let this be called the Open Window, to distinguish it from the Long Window at the back, and the Imaginary Window in front.

The Anvil occupies the middle of the floor. The fierce blue steel gleams in the dawn like anger. Upright beside it, stands the Sledge Hammer—a warrior, waiting.

There are no conveniences for sitting down: but left of the anvil is a Yellow Box, overturned, labelled Empire Mustard. Further on, a Wheelbarrow, laden at one end with Bricks. A Carpenter's Horse by the open window might serve a straddle. Above the mustard-box, a Nail-keg with protruding spikes invites the unwary; and a Ploughshare offers hospitably from the debris below the long low window.

A Butcher's Knife lies on the Grindstone by the bellows. A Leathern Apron hangs by the big door. Beneath the open window is a work-bench, covered with Tools and Diagrams. Nearby, a Scarlet Poster pro-

claims some Socialist meeting. Karl Marx in lithograph decorates the inner workshop door.

The Floor, rugged with lavas, is a record of eruptive throes. Ochres, indigo, emerald, here and there bright splashes of crimson. Along the walls, on the shelves, high up in the rafters, demonic shapes and twistings in steel, in lead, in iron. Things formed and half formed: things in their first imagining: things scrapped and cast aside. Inextricable minglings. Nor metal only. There are bricks, cement, a drain-pipe, implements for digging, quarrying. Tools for carpentry. Paint-pots, flower-pots. Cartwheels and the yoking gear of cattle. Books, even. Books! And a gigantic Hammer swung by chains above the yawning doorway.

Clearly, the litter of some portentous labor: the womb of some impregnate monster, now ripe and big with child.

Here is a fitting scene for a prodigious drama in which live and breathe with remarkable reality Adam (Labor Conscious of its Power); Ellen, his nagging unsympathetic wife (much influenced by Little Boswell); Naomi, the wild free woman, the "gypsy" (Freedom) his true mate; Nathaniel Dank, Lawyer ("Little Boswell's idea of constituted freedom"); Sammy Snark, editor of the *Little Boswell Free Press* ("Penny a line freedom"); Jeremiah Jones, Ironmonger (preacher of brotherly love—outside the Ironmongery, "Makes free with other people's brains"), and Jake—but Jake shall be un-named here; you will know him, too, when you see him, hear him, in "The Idol Breaker."

Charles Rann Kennedy has given us another remarkable play—the strongest of all. I would come many, many miles to be one of the audience at the opening performance.

Will there be an opening performance? Is there a manager wise enough, far-sighted and Big-Boswellian enough to give the play production? If there is, that manager will not be disappointed. Little Boswell is not nearly so little as it was a few years ago, our Sammy Snarks to the contrary notwithstanding. There are Big Boswellites enough, and those who are on the way to becoming,

to make imminently successful the "run" of a strong courageous play that tells Little Boswell the truth about itself.

Sometimes, in *Adam, the Maker (and Breaker)* of Things, we seem to hear the author himself hurling his loving scorn over the footlights, through the Imaginary Window, out to the audience—to those beyond—"our own, our native Little Boswell!"

Charles Rann Kennedy has labored long and given without stint the best years of his life for the awakening of Little Boswell, but what was the outcome? In the last act, Adam and Naomi are alone in the forge; Adam speaks: "And now for the real jubilee to begin. I needn't wait for to-morrow morning." [To hear what the penny-a-liner in the press will say about this new play.]* There's plenty for me to go on with, out there, just now.

A sound comes back at him through the Imaginary Window.

"There! do you hear them?"

Naomi: Ay, they're beginning to wake up. Some on 'em have been wriggling since cock-crow.

Adam: Well, I'm ready for them. Ready for the worst as Little Boswell's heart can offer me.

Naomi: What if it's the best?

Adam: How best?

Naomi: Why, if it's Big Boswell's heart you hear awaking yonder?

Adam: God! I'm ready for that too!

Naomi: Believe it! Don't you hear the sound of it thickening through the air?

Adam: I—don't—know! I've told these people things before. Many times. Why, it was me, six years ago, as called them here, and told them of the brotherhood of man. [Through "The Servant in the House."]*

Naomi: Well, didn't they listen to you, that time?

Adam: Ay, at first, while I was new to them. Then they turned again to idols; and twisted my plain meaning into tracts for Sunday School. I up and spoke again and told them of the lies and hate they lived by. ["The Winterfeast"]* Showed them the death and bitterness of it!—Well, they soon let me know about

that. I preached their own God's gospel to them, and brought Christ's murder to their blood-stained doors. [In "The Terrible Meek"]* They spat upon me. I told them of the lusts as fed their brothels; [Kennedy's last play, "The Necessary Evil"]* and every red-eyed wolf among them said I lied. Even when they didn't speak, I knew the meaning of their leering silence. This time ["The Idol-Breaker"] it's freedom—the thing they're always bragging of; and as long as I'm in the world they will have it dinned into their heads, as freedom isn't all a matter of flags and soldiers' pop-guns. It's something they've got to sweat for. Don't you think they're going to get off easy, once I see them stuck in front of me!"

And we don't get off easy—we of Little Boswell!

We, the spectators, who are transformed by the dramatist into actors without lines—into supers in the play, listen with strange, new stirrings of something big in our souls; something big just awakening, as he tells us things in unmistakable terms out of his own great soul's despair of us.

And for this—for breaking our clay idols for us—what are we going to give him in return? "Dirt and swineyard offal?" or his "wages"?

Adam asks that question of Little Boswell . . . Charles Rann Kennedy asks that question of us. Let the people of Big Boswell answer by support and recognition of "this thing being born to-day" . . . and of the man who has brought it into the world for the love of us.

Little Boswell could turn "The Servant in the House" into a Sunday School sermon, but if it attempts to do the same with "The Idol Breaker" it has a bigger job on its hands than it knows. The play is electric with revolution and so handled that even our "Snarks"—our penny-a-line free-press-ers must be shamed into meanly, grudgingly printing

* Words in brackets are the receiver's.

their approval of the book, or else keep a cowardly silence.

Our bought press perhaps thought through its dishonest disapprovals to force that Maker of Big Plays to make comfortable little plays in future—plays that will please the pleasure loving public! Well, "The Idol Breaker" is his answer; and it is the biggest, bravest answer in print.

We are eager to know what retort, if any, our penny-a-line critic will make eager to see Little Boswell really moved by a big impulse.

ROSE PASTOR STOKES.

THE CARPENTER AND THE RICH MAN. Bouck White. Doubleday Page & Co. \$1.25.

"The Carpenter and the Rich Man" is a companion to "The Call of the Carpenter," enlarging a part of the picture of Jesus shown in the earlier work, which gave a general view of the life conditions of the great revolutionist, and of the problems of the poor which he undertook to solve. In this later book the author gives a fuller treatment of the economic and social message of Jesus.

Beginning with a sketch of Jesus, the poor mechanic, accustomed to every hardship, to danger and want, to the harsh brutality of the civil and religious leaders of his own people, and over them the Romans, it is shown how inevitably such a thinker would couple power with oppression, wealth with wickedness. In those days there was no pretence that wealth was earned by social service. Robbery and extortion, backed by political power, were the undisguised means of accumulation. The workers knew by bitter experience that the wealth produced by them with the aid of tools made by them, and natural resources which were the gift of God, could not

find its way into the treasure houses of the rich by any honest means. With the writings and traditions of the most democratic people in the world to inspire him, it is no wonder that his thinking should have led to the awful pronouncement, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." The wonder is, not that he should have seen the social fraud, or that he should have set himself up as the leader of the poor against the rich, but in the wisdom, the far-sighted policy, with which he built up an organization strong enough to stand alone, to outlive the loss of any leader. "Workers of the world, unite," was his cry, but how? If he had made the contest, Jesus vs. the Roman Empire, the revolt would have ended with his death, as did countless others now forgotten. "The Carpenter against Mammon" was an unequal match, for mammon is an institution, and individuals are powerless against it. Jesus made the line-up, "God against Mammon." And thereby he initiated a combat that outlived his crucifixion, outlived the followers who were inspired by his personality, and that is to-day renewing with a fierceness that promises no peace until one of the two shall have been done to death. By seizing the religion of his fathers, of Moses, the organizer of the bricklayers of Goshen; of David, the leader of a motley band of malcontents; of Elijah, the thunderer against kings and priests; of Isaiah, the preacher of good news to the poor; by rebuilding it upon a broader foundation, better adapted to the needs of his time and the future, Jesus has preserved to the world the advantages so far gained, and has given to the struggles of this generation a historical continuity with the great deeds of the past; a faith-compelling dignity that is a necessary offset to the powerful institution of "Vested Rights." If we cut loose from those who have gone before, we in turn will be cut loose by those who will come after. That the labor struggles of to-day need

the inspiration of Jesus, of the noble army of martyrs, of a burning faith that God is on our side, is the message that White brings us from the ancient record.

The picture is painted with a free hand. The diction is forcefully unconventional. The argument is sometimes based upon obscure interpretations, which, taken by themselves would seem rather to need proof than to afford it. The book is not to be examined in sections, with a microscope. It must be taken as a whole. Read patiently until you have got the swing of it, until some of his outbursts of fiery eloquence have taken possession of you, and do not put it down until you have finished it. Then you will feel the true force of a writer who has the prophetic boldness to speak for God.

A. G. CRAIG.

FINANCING THE WAGE-EARNER'S FAMILY. A Survey of the Facts Bearing on Income and Expenditures in the Families of American Wage-Earners. By Scott Nearing, Ph.D. New York. B. W. Huebsch. 1913. 171 pp.

The reviewer is not aware whether the author of this little book is a Socialist, whether he even has Socialist leanings. But nevertheless he must vote this little book the best primer in Socialist propaganda for a certain class of readers as, for instance, the young college student who is beginning to ask the question: "What is the matter," and who invariably receives from those surrounding him the complacent answer, so dear to the bourgeois mind and soul, that "nothing is the matter," that "this is the best country in the world," that "if there are wrongs, they are the exception only," that "things are righting themselves anyway."

Prof. Nearing's book is not an original investigation; it does not produce any new hidden facts. The basis of it is

found in such well known statistical sources as the Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, the Federal Investigation of the Condition of Woman and Child Workers in the United States, Chapin's The Standard of Living in the United States, and More's Wage Earners' Budgets. But where one sees how often even the most elementary sources of governmental statistics are misused by economists of standing and authority for the purpose of proving the existence of "prosperity," one cannot help recognizing Prof. Nearing's distinct service in telling the truth—as disclosed by figures, telling it in simple, unadorned English, with a happy, telling selection of statistical evidence.

Read this little book, don't skip its statistics; on the contrary, stop and think over them. Try to interpret them in the light of your everyday experience, in the light of the many wants you have, be they ever so modest, all quite necessary for an existence that is at all worth while.

And then try to imagine what life must mean to the millions of American wage-workers—not only to the submerged tenth, not only to those whom extreme adversity forces into the offices of charity societies, not only the sick, the crippled, the widows and orphans—but the entire working class, where "overwork," under-feeding, sickness or unemployment, or the threat of all of these things is an ever-existing accompaniment of life. There is the wonderful world as man has made it; coal mines and waterfalls are harnessed to produce energy; steam and electricity has made the whole sphere into one community; mills and factories produce so many goods that the market becomes glutted with products every few years. And yet for the mass of humanity even in this, the richest country on earth, the gravest problem is still unsolved: How to obtain the necessary minimum of existence out of the possible maximum of wages. Just

glance for instance at page 67, giving "the quantity and cost of clothing for a year according to the minimum standard. Father must spend for his clothes throughout the year at least \$18.75, mother may be satisfied with \$9.25; and yet, with a family of 5, consisting say, of father, mother, a son 12 years old, a daughter of 10, and a boy of six, \$63.18 would be needed for clothing." Perhaps it is true that most American workingmen can afford that and even more. But just try to picture to yourself what it means socially, that mother "can dress on \$9.25—1 shawl (\$1.00), 4 calico waists (72 cents), 2 duck skirts (\$1.80), 2 drawers (28 cents), 2ingham petticoats (\$1.00), 2 winter undershirts (50 cents), 1 fascinator, (*sic!*) (25 cents), 2 pairs of shoes (\$3.00) and stockings (70 cents)." This is a southern standard, where winter clothes are scarcely necessary. And yet when wages are studied in connection with this minimum standard, which requires \$408 per annum for a family, it is found that not rarely they fall below even this. A fair standard in Manhattan requires \$811—and how many earn less than that? Meanwhile prices rise, while the world is becoming richer, and has ever more to offer to those who have the price. The daily newspapers and the public school are bringing to everyone's attention the rapid strides in invention, in national wealth. And all the time the one problem that occupies the minds of more than half the population is the problem of domestic finance: How shall all the wants be met, which of the wants may or must be sacrificed? And what shall happen in case of accident, sickness, unemployment or death?

Let the college chapters of the I. S. S. begin with Nearing's book. It will strike home much more forcibly than even Marx with his wealth of historical material drawn from conditions in a foreign land over a century ago.

DR. I. M. RUBINOW.

ENJOYMENT OF POETRY. By Max Eastman. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

This book made me wish that its author had failed in his college entrance examinations. The alluring title, the fragrant promise of the first line: "The purpose of this book is to increase enjoyment" did not prepare me for a work of science. But such it is, a glorified text-book on the science of poem-making, and temperamentally suited to those who like to take their minds out of their heads and watch them work. It is as if a poet had opened the garden gate, and gathered larkspur and phlox only to tear them into fractional bits; but we stay in the garden because we love the smell and shine of the flowers and because the poet-botanist is so delightful a companion in spite of his microscope. Thus those who love poetry but are not technically concerned with it are led on through the almost invisible discriminations of this book by the exquisite bits of Eastman here and there, by his loving treatment of words, as when he calls the *h* in ghost "a kind of strange, breathless letter," by his art of pat and illuminating quotation.

As a scientific essay, the book has the distinction of approaching the study of literature from a new angle. He endeavors to relate it to psychology, to the soul of readers and authors, to the art of life. He views poetry as a means of bringing joy through a more intense realization of life, both of the senses and the soul. He analyzes the processes by which the poetic mind achieves this end, and declares that the greatest enjoyment at least of the imaginative type of poetry lies not in reading but in creating it. The interest increases as the treatise moves on, and the closing chapters XIII and XV are full of beauty.

The author is one who has taken his stand on the side of democracy. His book falls into line with this as an effort to bring poetry out of a select circle into

the broad avenues of the common life. While it is full of what he calls "over-spectacled scholarship," it yet records his departure from that ideal. Has he not, for instance, said good-bye to synecdoche and metonymy and all the other "long-tailed monsters"? His democracy shines through in patches, as where he speaks of realization as "a flower of leisure" unattainable "to any but degenerates and the best rebels," of how poetry looks to the future for its golden age when it will again be loved by many kinds of people and "rise to its heights on a wide foundation," and that those who cherish it should be ready for "a drastic redistribution of the idle hours."

Mr. Eastman has started with a poet's mind, he has survived education, and his aim is high.

CARO LLOYD.

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A Broader Basis for Socialism

By FLOYD J. MELVIN, Ph. D.

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IN THE COLLEGES

NEW ENGLAND STATES

As a result of the activity of the YALE Society for the Study of Socialism, Dr. Anna Shaw spoke on "The New Democratic Ideal" before 2,000 students and townspeople at Woolsey Hall on March 18th. The meeting was probably the largest suffrage gathering ever held in New Haven. It was held officially under the auspices of the Yale Debating Association. Professor Irving Fisher addressed the Chapter on March 4th in Osborne Hall on "Why I Am a Socialist." Every seat in the house was taken and scores sat in the aisles, on the window sills and in every other available place.

After Easter the Society hopes to have John Spargo and Walter Lippmann lecture at Yale and is expecting that Senator Thomas of Colorado, chairman of the Women's Suffrage Committee, will speak on some phase of practical politics. "The year's course of lectures has been more successful than at any previous time," writes the Secretary. "The subject of Socialism is being discussed in many dormitory rooms and classes." The membership has increased and some excellent material is being developed for next year's work. Henry T. Rogers, Jr., is president of the Society and Alexander Trachtenberg, secretary.

George Lansbury, former member of the British Parliament, spoke in January before the HARVARD and RADCLIFFE Socialist Clubs. The audience was large and enthusiastic. Clinton N. Harrison, Harvard Law School, 1914, addressed the Radcliffe Society on February 12th. This organization is planning to have Professor Vida D. Scudder and Professor Charles Zueblin in April. "We are very much encouraged by the continued interest of the members of the Chapter," writes Ruth E. Fletcher, its secretary.

Rose Pastor Stokes spoke before over 120 students at the MASS. INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY Forum on February 24th, subject, "Labor Problems."

At BROWN University, Gardiner L. Harding, author, war correspondent and Socialist, addressed the students of the Chapter on "The Fight for Freedom in China." Mr. Harding's talk was "one of the most vivid and entertaining given at Brown this winter." A great deal of sympathy is being evinced here among the students on this problem.

Irwin St. John Tucker spoke on "Christianity and Socialism" at WESLEYAN University in February. An animated discussion followed his lecture. Mrs. Florence Kelley addressed the students of WILLIAMS College during February.

Walter Lippmann, Harvard, 1910, author of "The Preface to Politics," will lecture among the colleges of New England the first week of May. Those desiring to arrange lectures for Mr. Lippmann should correspond immediately with Miss Helen R. Hull, 31 Church Street, Wellesley, Mass., secretary of the New England Chapter. The New England Committee of the I. S. S. has added Mrs. Arthur Dakin and Miss Hull to its members.

MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES

One of the most successful trips ever held under the auspices of the Society was the tour of Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes in March through the New York Colleges. Mrs. Stokes addressed a group of over 200 at Barnes' Hall, CORNELL University, on March 9th. She lectured under the auspices of HOBART College, Geneva, N. Y., the next day, and "made a tremendous hit" with the large group of students, members of the faculty and townspeople who crowded the chapel. On Wednesday, March 11th, addresses were given at ROCHESTER University, at ROCHESTER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY and before a men's club in the city, and surprising interest was evinced in her various talks. The students of COLGATE University packed the college chapel to hear "What the Socialists Want and Why They Want It," on Thursday evening. "The hall was crowded with students, professors, their wives and townspeople," writes Morris Hindus, the Chapter secretary. "The professor of sociology acted as chairman. For over an hour Mrs. Stokes spoke on the aims of Socialism. In a simple, dispassionate way she presents the cause of the Socialists. Mrs. Stokes is a wonderful lecturer—there is charm in the manner of her speaking that makes a potent appeal to the hearer's heart; her clear, tense, lucid style and the ring of fervent sincerity in her voice, produce a profound impression upon an audience. She concluded the address with a strong plea to the students, urging them to study the question. We are literally eating, sleeping, dreaming and thinking Socialism. Mrs. Stokes has sowed the seed which will bring a rich harvest."

A lecture before the economics class at HAMILTON College followed. On Monday a talk was given in Poughkeepsie at which a number of members of the student body and of the faculty of Vassar were present. Mrs. Stokes and William English Walling addressed the C. C. N. Y. Chapter in March.

During February the Organizing Secretary made a trip through the colleges of Maryland and District of Columbia. At the University of MARYLAND he addressed over 400 students on the "Achievements and Ideals of Socialism."

A Chapter was formed following the lecture. Provost Thomas Fell presided. Under the auspices of the WASHINGTON College a lecture on Socialism was given before some 100 students and members of the faculty. The lecture was arranged largely through the efforts of Professor Edmund T. Dana. President Cain acted as chairman. At St. JOHN'S College, Annapolis, Md., Mr. Laidler addressed a small group in the college chapel. Rev. Geo. Smiley of Annapolis, arranged the meeting and Vice-President Rippere was the presiding officer. At Washington, D. C., the Organizing Secretary spoke at the chapel exercises and under the auspices of the Department of Sociology before several hundred students at HOWARD University. The head of the department acted as chairman. At GEORGE WASHINGTON University he addressed the economics class and a small group of the students. Mr. Otto C. Gsantner, temporary secretary of the I. S. S. Chapter at George Washington, has recently sent in the names of 53 students as members of the Chapter. Professor Wm. Macon Coleman and Charles Nesbit have been secured as further speakers at that college. While in Washington, Mr. Laidler also assisted in the re-organization of the WASHINGTON Alumni Chapter.

On March 27th Mr. Laidler spoke at ADELPHI College before Professor Fradenburgh's economic class. Twenty-five students joined the Chapter. Miss Jessie W. Hughan will address the Chapter in April.

A large number of students at BROOKLYN LAW SCHOOL, NEW YORK LAW and NEW YORK HOMEOPATHIC have signified their desire to organize a Chapter. Noah Seidman is the moving spirit at Brooklyn Law.

MIDDLE WEST

It is hoped to have a conference of members of the various Chapters in Ohio on Friday and Saturday, April 24th and 25th, at Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. Alfred F. Bosch, 1624 E. 134th St., East Cleveland, Ohio, is arranging for this gathering. Students in the Middle West are urgently requested to assist in making this first Middle West conference a success. Mr. Walter Lippmann, Harvard, 1910, the brilliant author of "The Preface to Politics," will represent the general society. Mr. Lippmann was the organizer of the strong Harvard Socialist Club.

The students at JOHN MARSHALL LAW SCHOOL organized a Chapter in March. Their Chapter was addressed by Rev. Bernard Idings Bell on "The Christian View of Socialism." Sixty or seventy were present. "Mr. Bell gave a splendid talk dealing in fundamentals in such a lucid manner as to place the whole subject within the easy grasp of his

audience," writes Mr. John C. Teevan, secretary. "For over an hour after the lecture questions were put in rapid succession. The lecture has aroused great interest."

An interesting series of lectures was given under the auspices of the Socialist Club of the University of ILLINOIS, from January to April, inclusive. The subjects and speakers were: "Early 19th Century Socialists," by Prof. H. H. Lybyer; "Wilson's New Freedom," by Prof. Dodd and "Socialism," by Prof. S. Litman. "A number of meetings are being planned," writes Roger S. Loomis, secretary, "and attendance at the meetings is steadily increasing."

At WESTERN RESERVE the program of meetings was as follows: "The Quintessence of Socialism and the I. S. S.," by Donna Cope, the organizer of the study club; "Anarchists, Socialists and Opportunists," by Prof. Arbuthnot; "Business Meeting," "Early History of Socialism," "The Socialist Program." The Chapter was entertained by the Cleveland Alumni Chapter February 8th. Mr. Rupel was the speaker.

"Jesus, the Carpenter" was the subject of the lecture delivered February 25th by Frederick G. Strickland, before the HIRAM College Chapter. The meeting was productive of much good. Ella Reeves Bloor and others have been invited to address the Chapter. "We have tried repeatedly to get some anti-Socialist speaker, or even a Reformer," writes Ammon C. Hennacy, secretary of the Chapter. "The Study Class is coming on finely. A goodly number of our members will attend the Convention to be held in Cleveland the 24th and 25th."

The MIAMI Socialist Club reports an interesting lecture by Mr. Hollingsworth on "Why Christians Should Be Socialists," at which 100 students were present. Morris Schneider is secretary. Rev. Irwin Tucker addressed 60 students and townspeople on February 11th at WASHINGTON-JEFFERSON.

SOUTH

A strong Chapter has recently been organized, with a dozen students, at the University of FLORIDA. Frank D. Upchurch is the president and Leon W. Alexander, secretary. The GEORGE WASHINGTON Chapter is most active this year.

ALUMNI CHAPTERS

On March 19th a vigorous Alumni Chapter was organized at BUFFALO, N. Y. Mrs. Nina Bull is the chairman of the Chapter and Glenn Edwards, secretary. Frances H. Ney is one of the moving spirits. The Chapter was formed a few days after a talk given before

(Continued on page 28)

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a group in Buffalo by John Spargo. Walter Lippmann will address the group in April. In FRESNO, Cal., an Alumni Chapter of 32 has been organized. Meetings thus far have been most interesting. The subject and speakers are as follows: "Truth About Socialism-Benson," by T. J. Penfield; "Fish Trust in Washington," by Mr. Cloak of Washington; "Shoe Industry and Influence of Machinery," by Mr. Cloak; "Social Aspect of Crime," by Judge H. F. Briggs. Eva P. Penfield is the secretary of the organization.

The WASHINGTON ALUMNI Chapter has been re-organized. The members of the Executive Committee are Mr. W. L. Stoddard, Miss Mary Forbes, Dr. Helen L. Sumner, Dr. Thomas E. Will, Mr. Julian Leavitt, Mr. Percy H. Skinner, Mr. Laurence Todd, Miss Jeanette Gershanick. They are planning a debate some time in the Spring.

John Spargo gave an exceedingly informative talk on "The Fallacies of Syndicalism" at the Berkeley Theatre on February 22nd under the auspices of the New York Chapter I. S. S. Prof. Roswell H. Johnson also lectured on "Eugenics and Socialism," on March 22nd. The study meetings have continued to be successful. The remaining study meetings will be: Thursday, April 9, 1914, at Miss Stokes' Studio, 90 Grove Street. Chairman: Rene E. Hoguet. Speaker: Mrs. Florence Kelley. Subject: "Political Action and Socialism," to be followed by a discussion on: "Can Political Action Be Depended On As a More Effective Weapon in the Achievement of Socialism Than Economic Action?" Thursday, April 23, 1914, at the Women's Trade Union League, 43 E. 22nd Street. Chairman: Miss Jessie Ashley. Speakers: F. Sumner Boyd and Dr. Louis Levine. Subject: "Syndicalism and Socialism," to be followed by a discussion on: "Should Socialists Work in the Present Labor Struggles With Syndicalists?"

The SPRINGFIELD Alumni Chapter reports good progress. On February 25th the Chapter held a study meeting at which P. F. Thompson, Samuel Jones and Helen D. Chamberlain were the principal speakers. The Chapter is endeavoring to arrange a debate later in the Spring between a prominent Socialist and non-Socialist. John C. Robinson spoke on "Socialism and Democracy." Spargo's "Elements of Socialism" is the text book for the Chapter's study meetings. Edwin A. Field is president.

"Socialism, the Logic of Civilization" was the subject of the address by J. Stitt Wilson before the CHICAGO Alumni Chapter on January 12th.

The BOSTON Alumni Chapter has revived its activities and held a most successful meeting in February with Rev. Grover G. Mills as the principal speaker.

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—“*Denver News*.”

The author has done a great service in making public this careful study of the boycott and answering all possible questions connected with it. . . The book will be valuable to students of social problems and to lawyers and legislators. Both the employer and employee will do well to read this book, and keep it for reference.
—“*Boston Transcript*.”

I have read “Boycotts and the Labor Struggle,” every word from cover to cover. It is scholarly and seems to me to be a statesmanlike presentation of an important subject.
—*Florence Kelley*.

It has a breadth of vision not frequently found in American works dealing with labor problems.
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—*Dr. Edwin F. Bowers, “New York Call.”*

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—*Horace Traubel in “The Conservator.”*

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