

In Two Sections

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# The Intercollegiate Socialist

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Caro Lloyd Strobell, Assistant Editor

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## THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY

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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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# THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST

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## **The Forward March**

This year the work of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society has far outstripped in value and influence that of any previous season. The Society has conducted more extensive trips than ever before among the institutions of higher learning, East and West. From November to April inclusive Rose Pastor Stokes, John Spargo and Harry W. Laidler visited 113 colleges, addressed over 30,000 students, spoke before 22 entire college bodies and lectured in 72 economics and other classes. Dozens of other lectures were arranged by the various college Chapters.

The South was also opened up this Spring for the first time to the work of the Society as a result of the trip of the Organizing Secretary through Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee. Eight Chapters were formed in these states.

Many colleges, never before reached, have come within the I. S. S. fold, during the last year, including the Universities of Iowa, North and South Carolina, Virginia and Nevada, Trinity, Dartmouth, Berkeley Divinity, Rutgers, Johns Hopkins, Beloit, Grinnell, Iowa State, Simpson, Reed, Washington and Lee, Emory and Henry, Randolph Macon and East and Middle Tennessee Normal Schools. Chapters in several other colleges have been reorganized, although some Chapters, on account of our inability to reach them, have temporarily lapsed.

The year has, as well, recorded, as a distinctly new departure, a summer conference, held last Labor Day. So successful was this conference that it seems likely to be the first of a long series to be held under our auspices.

The season has likewise yielded the first real results of the research work

begun by several of our members. Most important of these has been the exceedingly valuable source book on the international Socialist movement, "The Socialism of To-day," the most comprehensive book on the movement printed in any language. (This book will be ready the first part of May. Henry Holt and Co. are the publishers.) The two pamphlets published as supplements of *The Intercollegiate Socialist*, "Who Gets America's Wealth," and "Income and Inheritance Taxes," by William English Walling, are also a part of the research work.

Next season the Society is planning to push its work of education with greater vigor than ever before. An especially promising development is anticipated in the employment of an organizer in the Middle West. To carry out these plans we must have the support of every member and friend of the Society.

There are many ways in which every one who reads this survey can aid. Among them are the following:

(1) By contributing to our budget as liberally as possible.

(2) By joining the I. S. S., or, if a member, by inducing your friends to join, and suggesting possible members.

(3) By organizing alumni and undergraduate Chapters wherever possible.

(4) By sending to us from 5 to 10 subscriptions for *The Intercollegiate Socialist* before June 1st.

(5) By lending your presence to the Summer Conference, and notifying us at the earliest moment of your decision to come.

(6) By helping us in our research work. Will you not let us know without delay whether we may depend on you, this summer or later on, for any volunteer research work on municipal or federal collectivism, the next steps in public ownership, cooperation, etc., or for any other literary, lecture or organizing work for the Society? *This is important!*

**"Ring in the New"**

Every year it happens in many undergraduate Chapters that the seniors who officer the organizations either fail to have the Chapters elect responsible officers for the coming year or fail to notify the Office of such election. On account of this neglect, it is extremely difficult for the Office in the Fall to get into contact with the proper members, and thus many a thriving Chapter lapses.

Let every member see to it that this neglect does not occur in his organization.

**Appeal to Alumni**

To you who are about to leave college and enter into active life, we appeal to join our Society as an active \$2 member. The Society cannot possibly obtain more than a fraction of its financial support from college undergraduates. It must depend upon a faithful band of alumni and others to spread the light among the colleges of the country. If you feel, as a result of your observation, that the Society is performing a needed work in the university world, and desire that work to continue and become ever more effective, we want you to continue to give us your support after graduation. This support is imperative if we are to fulfill the great mission which lies before us.

**Send us Books**

Visits of the organizing secretary this year in the South and in the Middle West have revealed the fact that many of the college libraries have few or no standard books on Socialism. This fact makes it difficult for the I. S. S. to organize permanent groups for the study of Socialism in these institutions—the students are, in many instances, unable to purchase books, and there is no place where they can turn for authoritative information on the subject. This lack also leads to an almost unbelievable ignorance on this subject among students and faculty. The Society therefore urges its members and

friends to send us *standard* books for or against Socialism, or to remit to the Society sums of any size for the purchase of such books. On receipt of same, the Society will see to it that the literature is placed in the proper hands. We have been assured in a number of instances that the colleges would more than welcome additions of this nature to their libraries.

**Summer Schools**

Every summer we have endeavored to schedule our speakers before a number of the summer schools. While we have succeeded in several instances, we have not done as effective work as we desired, partly on account of our inability, in the short session of the schools, to find students or instructors who would become responsible for the arrangement of meetings. We will be glad to obtain the names of our friends who will assist in organizing meetings at these schools.

**The Summer Conference**

In an article in this issue John Spargo has given some idea of the beauties of Sherwood Forest, the location that the Society, through the courtesy of the Sherwood Forest Club, has been most fortunate in securing for this year's summer conference.

The plans for the conference are well under way. The date set is from about September 19th to September 25th inclusive. The prices for lodging, board and incidentals range from \$7 to \$12 a week, depending on the rooming accommodations. Correspondence regarding accommodations should be conducted with Miss Maude Jump, 1531 Munsey Building, Baltimore, Md.

"Social Preparedness—National and International," will be the general subject of the conference. The public ownership, cooperative and trade union movements will be discussed with a view to finding out what contribution each has to offer toward a socially prepared people.



International policies in regard to a "league of peace," military preparedness, immigration, defensive warfare, will also be discussed from the same angle of vision.

The Sunday meeting will be given over to a discussion of some ethical aspect of Socialism.

A list of brilliant speakers will deal with these vital problems.

All members of the Society, and others who ask for further information, will, later in the Spring, receive a com-

plete program of this conference work. While it is hoped that the majority of the guests will be able to remain at the conference the entire week, arrangements can be made for accommodations for a shorter period.

The opportunity offered is a rare one, and will undoubtedly be a source of inspiration during the entire year. Don't fail to make your plans so that you can join with us in making this conference count in the intellectual life of our nation!

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## Sherwood Forest and Our Conference

By JOHN SPARGO

It is proposed to hold the second summer conference of the I. S. S. in September next. Through the generous hospitality of the Sherwood Forest Club, a unique cooperative community, the conference will be held at Sherwood Forest and will last a full week.

Sherwood Forest—the very name is alluring!—seems to me to be an ideal place for the holding of such a conference. A large track of land, several hundred acres in extent, it is thrust out from the mainland like an immense finger. On its north side is Round Bay, an irregular body of water some two and a half miles long and two miles wide. From the bay a narrow channel leads to a land-locked inlet which extends for a considerable distance. On the south side is the Severn River, which is in reality not a river at all, but an estuary of Chesapeake Bay, its only flow being the sweep of the tide. Its water is, of course, salt.

It is impossible in a brief article to convey any idea of the beauty of this delightful forest. The coast line is rugged and broken and romantic. Deep ravines divide it into numerous promontories, the ravines cutting into the land

for various distances, but in no case through it, so that all are connected by a central ridge.

The land is high, so that at times one is standing on a cliff from which there is a sheer drop of nearly two hundred feet to the water below. In other places there is a gradual slope so that it is easy and pleasant to walk to the beach and the water.

Naturally, there is every possible facility for bathing, swimming and boating. The timid bather and the most adventurous swimmer can find what each requires. There are scores and scores of miles of streams for canoeists and broad waters for sail boats and launches. Canoes, rowboats and launches are owned by the Sherwood Forest Club and will be at the disposal of the visitors to the conference.

I have never visited a place which within such an area afforded such a variety of attractive roads and paths to the pedestrian. The main road runs now through open fields, now through dense forest. Branching off from it are numerous winding roads which invite the Rambler to an almost endless series

of voyages of discovery. He turns into one shaded path and finds that it leads to the water's edge. Another, he finds, leads simply to a place on the edge of a cliff from which there is unfolded a view of great splendor. A third path will lead to a deep ravine and solitude, while a fourth leads to a group of members' cottages, and so on.

Much of the forest is quite primeval, only in a few places have clearings been made. There are thousands of magnificent trees—oak, chestnut, walnut, locust, pine, tulip, elm, maple, sycamore, black gum, and many another. What a gorgeous riot of color it is capable of in late September can be readily imagined.

Other recreative features are some extensive tennis courts, a baseball diamond, basket and volley ball courts and croquet grounds—as well as a special playground for children. A nine-hole golf course is in preparation, I believe.

The cottages which are built on sites specially selected for their scenic advantages are scattered all over the place. Here one sees a cottage perched upon the top of a cliff like an eagle's eyrie, there one hidden in a clump of pines. Often one sees that the house has been built around some giant of the forest, for they are very careful of their trees at Sherwood Forest. The cottages are low one-story frame houses with unusually ample porches. Each bedroom has at least 25 feet of side wall that opens outward, thus converting the room into a well-screened open air sleeping porch. Each cottage has its own running water, plumbing system and shower bath. These cottages are to be placed at our disposal by the community in sufficient number to accommodate us, and the system will permit the separate housing of families, the proper grouping of friends and so on.

Meals will be provided in the large community dining halls, of which there

are several. There is also a large central club house which will serve as a common social center and meeting place.

This sylvan paradise lies not far from the railroad which connects Baltimore and Washington with Annapolis. It can be reached in about an hour and a quarter from Washington and in rather less time from Baltimore. It is thus close to the important colleges of Baltimore and also to Annapolis and the National Capital.

When it was first suggested to meet at Sherwood Forest it was felt that it was "two far off"—meaning, of course, too far from New York. But from New York the fare by train is less than it was to last year's meeting place. For nearly all of New York State it is more accessible. It is much more so for all of New Jersey and for most of Pennsylvania. For those living in and around Boston it is a cheaper trip than Hampton was for New Yorkers last year. In addition to which the board will be much less expensive. We believe, therefore, that the conference this year will draw a larger number of people from a wider radius than the one of last year did.

The details of the actual programme have not yet been worked out. It may be said in a general way that the summer conference committee hopes to arrange for quite a number of relatively small group conferences each morning, each to be led by a specialist. Details of these will be announced in time to enable all members to select the groups they desire to join. An "inspirational session" of 45 minutes duration, one-third of which will be given to an address and the rest to singing, is contemplated. The afternoons will be left entirely free for recreation and for the evenings' addresses by men and women of eminence on themes of vital interest and importance, to be followed by discussion, are being arranged for.

## The Farmers' Tools

By A. M. SIMONS

The farm problem is first of all a land problem, then, as with the factory worker, a tool problem. A long and tenuous way after, it is a problem of money and marketing and co-operation.

Yet the farmer has always sought relief in playing tricks with the counters of finance to scale down his debts, or in joining with his neighbors to save a few cents from the village merchant, or a few dollars from the "middlemen," or to find easier and cheaper ways to get into debt. He will listen to loud talk about how he is robbed by "speculators," grain gamblers, "bloated bankers" and similar traditional monsters. He turns his head aside when asked to discuss land values and methods of using modern machinery.

Because relief does not lie through money manipulation, co-operative marketing, or laws against "engrossing" and monopolizing, but because the farmer thinks these are guideposts to the promised land, it has always been easy for demagogues to lead him into dark political corners where he could be robbed. He is following some of these will-o-the-wisps to-day and they will lead him where he has always been led from the days of Shays's rebellion to the latest Dakota organization that promises all the kingdoms of the world to its worshippers.

Land and machinery are the essentials of production and the instruments of robbery on the farm as well as in the factory, although the method used is not always the same. Nor must it be forgotten that some of the instruments with which the goods of the farmer are produced are found in the cities and stretching between them and the farm. Social ownership of transportation and marketing are essential to justice for the producer, but they are not all.

Land has been performing some strange antics in this country during the last fifteen years. In that time the value of farm lands has increased about 150%. If these figures do not lie, and the labor value theory has no exceptions or limitations, then more labor has been put upon the soil of America in these fifteen years than in all the centuries when it was torn from marsh and forest and prairie and made accessible and usable by man.

But those of us who have not forgotten our Marx or made a fetish of second-hand phrases about him know that the labor value theory has one big exception called monopoly. When America's frontier disappeared, and with it the world's frontier, Ricardo's "no rent land" also disappeared as an effective factor in determining land values. Someone should write a whole book on this subject, and perhaps I will some day.

But the practical working out of this fact is that a farm in the upper Mississippi Valley, where about 60% of all the agricultural products of this country are raised, has come to be worth between \$20,000 and \$30,000. In Iowa, for instance, it is much above the higher figure. This makes the farmer a capitalist or a renter. He is rapidly becoming a renter, as we all know, and he is becoming a renter at a ratio measured almost exactly by the value of the land. The better the land, the higher the price, the fewer owners. This point needs another book.

This condition relegates the fine old romance about the hired man who bought his employer's farm and married his daughter to the limbo that has long held that almost forgotten legend about the apprentice boy who continued his master's business and race after a union

with the beautiful daughter of the house. It is not simply that the years that Jacob served for Rachel would not earn enough to make a "first payment" on a present-day farm. The "unearned increment" would be growing so much faster than his savings that the fabled frog who tried to climb out of the well by jumping up three feet daily and falling back four at night would be much more successful in "rising."

While the social yeast has fermented land values until they are overflowing the pan, the tools with which the land must be worked have just entered upon a revolution that will some day be reckoned alongside the great war as the biggest fact of the second decade of the twentieth century. Until a few historical seconds ago the soil had always been tilled by the muscles of animals, bipeds or quadrupeds. Yesterday someone invented the explosive engine. Tomorrow that engine will drive the horse from the farm, just as his clumsier elder brother, the steam-engine, took the place of muscle as a source of energy in the factory.

These new tools will require broad acres. The tools and the acres will require great capital. If individuals furnish this capital, then we will rewrite the story of exploitation, concentration, misery and rebellion which we have already written of factory industry.

If this generation grasps its opportunity, which no generation has ever done, and uses the land still socially owned as the nucleus of an agriculture where land and tools shall be owned and used in common, and spreads from this to other soil as the socially owned industry competes the value out of the

privately operated farms, then the farmer will find a relief from exploitation in this generation. Otherwise he will tread the same fearful path that the factory worker has trodden.

Nor can escape be made through any pretty side path marked "little landers." In spite of "Three Acres and Liberty," and all the fancy stories of the marvelous crops raised on city lots (and on typewriter desks) the cold statistics show that, with scarcely an exception, in all sections of the country and for nearly all crops, the bigger the farm the higher the rate of income per unit of labor and capital employed.

The Single Taxer has one of the keys to salvation, but it is far from being the only one as he fondly believes. Taking away the rental value (as recommended in The Communist Manifesto long before the gospel was preached according to George) would conjure the devil of profit out of the land hog and send him squealing into the market to dispose of his claim upon the earth. This would make the other steps toward socialization of agriculture easier.

The war and agricultural colleges, corporate farms and the organization of farm labor are some of the apparently far divergent forces that are driving on to the same end. To direct how best these forces may be utilized and to bring the conscious political action of the workers on the farm and in the factory to bear upon events in such a way that their movement may be intelligently evolutionary and not the play of blind interests is the biggest task of the Socialist Party in America. And most Socialists never think of it.



## Our American Cities

By FELIX GENDON

Suppose the chief street arteries in New York were suddenly transferred to private ownership, and people had to pay toll, turnpike fashion, whenever they set foot on Madison Avenue or Broadway: a howl would go up from Spuyten Duyvil to the Battery loud enough to prove that even New Yorkers can detect a revolution—when it works backwards. Changes in the forward direction, however, go almost unobserved. That is because each step is taken like a leap into the dark, and, as everybody knows, the way most people leap into the dark is to crawl into it with the utmost caution. Still, a series of small but persistent steps from private ownership to public will end in a transformation quite as complete and revolutionary as the fancied transformation from public ownership to private.

Mr. Zueblin, in his recent book on "American Municipal Progress,"\* makes it convincingly clear that the revolutionary spirit in the United States did not retire from business in 1776. A revolutionist is one who scraps an existing plan, practice, or institution, and tries another. In this sense, American cities have shown more revolutionary zeal between 1896 and 1916 than France showed between the summoning of the Tiers Etat and the crowning of Napoleon.

See how our urban lives are being linked together by a growing web of city-owned services. Schools and libraries, parks and museums, gas and electric lighting, docks and harbors—these are already the merest commonplaces of municipal ownership. In San Francisco you can ride to the Golden Gate on a municipal street railway, in Boston you can do a Harvard foxtrot in the city's

dance halls, in Cleveland you can buy such stuff as dreams are made of, in the public candy shop. Elsewhere, cities own asphalt plants, quarries, bath-houses, theatres, subways, markets, and bakeries; moreover, in the capacity of public firms, they compete successfully with private rivals and give the latter more than a run for their money in the several departments of cleaning, housing, and transportation.

And this beneficent public octopus has plainly come to stay, for it never gets an inch but it takes an ell. Give it a foothold in one kind of civic utility, and its tentacles invariably reach out to another and still another kind, through the sheer force of a higher principle of business organization. In vain do our foremost citizens from the Real Estate League or the City Club group themselves pathetically about the altar of Mammon and swear that Municipal Ownership will never, never pay, and that it must be fought to the last drop of the wage-earner's blood. Even while they clasp one another's hands and pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to resist the great encroachment, municipalities pocket one public service after another, and prove by the returns in dollars and cents, to say nothing of the returns in increased general well-being, that a community can do business as shrewdly and as soundly as any private corporation.

But though our cities have proved beyond demur that they can own and operate almost any service from a fly-catching agency to a social center or a garbage reduction plant, we must not suppose that any single city has gone in for municipal trading on a sweeping scale. Mr. Zueblin points out that the salient feature of city ownership is its sporadic character. Thus, Cincinnati,

\* "American Municipal Progress." By Charles Zueblin. N. Y.: Macmillan, \$2.00.



one of our worst governed cities, owns a hospital unexcelled in its equipment; while Toledo, one of our best governed cities, does not own so much as a single railway track.

These examples might be multiplied indefinitely. Few cities are so backward in collective experiment as to operate no services at all, and few cities are so progressive as to operate many. We Americans have hardly begun to see that the only good franchise is a dead franchise. We have not yet made the principle, that cleanliness is the advance guard of godliness, a prime article of municipal faith. We have still to teach our Boards of Health that modern holy water in the form of disinfectants and deodorizers will not keep a city clean. We have yet to learn that an enlightened city does not fear a municipal debt but actually welcomes it as the best form of municipal capital. We must understand that a collective enterprise pays, even though it foot up to a commercial loss, if it gives the community a total gain in social utility. And we must face the fact that Municipal Ownership, though infectious, has a long period of incubation, a period that cannot materially be shortened unless antiquated state laws, public inertia, and the hostility of private interests are met by an aggressive and determined collective demand.

The long and short of it is that the communal body still lets private initiative put public sloth to shame, and still fails to grasp its opportunities for commanding the systematic expansion and enrichment of urban life. It must be conceded that as yet we find in no American city that noble drive of civic passion that turned the Athens of Pericles or the Rome of Caesar from the huddled penury of an overgrown town into the spacious beauty of a great metropolis. Yet the burst of municipal

enterprise that Mr. Zueblin observes from one American seaboard to the other is surely in the next degree to this classic force. Contrast any large city like New York with what it was fifteen years ago, and deny if you can that the difference amounts to a physical if not to a spiritual metamorphosis. The disgrace of American cities, which staggered Mr. Bryce a generation ago, is no longer the disgrace it was. The city government has ceased to be a powerful brotherhood of local grafters. It is no longer a Tweed-Crocker foundation for dispensing public funds to the little sons of the ward heeler. And it has definitely begun its travels on the long lane of collective management. This is the long lane that has no turning back. For, under the conditions of modern growth, a city without municipal ownership is about as lively and effective as a high explosive without sulphuric acid.

Mr. Zueblin's survey of the functions of the American city will be an invaluable handbook for all students of municipal affairs. It contains enough rows of figures and lists of bibliographies to placate such as yield only to the brute force of statistics, and enough interpretations of this raw material to satisfy those who wish to get at the heart of the matter. The author has boiled down his information without stifling his enthusiasm, and has hit on the ingenious device of clinching each section of fact with an epigram that both humanizes and crystalizes it. Here are one or two of these pithy statements, ripped unkindly from their context: "Common property is becoming common"; "Most Chicagoans believe in home rule for Ireland"; "The polling places in an equal suffrage city have so changed that a gentleman can visit them without offense." "The traffic policeman must be a cross between a city directory and a football referee."

## MARS, HEAR!

By BEATRICE DAW

Bryn Mawr College

Idol of monstrous power,  
 Lord of the raging hour,—  
 Hard it is for our lips to name thee thy  
     rightful name,—  
 Hard, for our hands have wrought thee  
     titles of lustrous fame;  
 Hard, for our dazzled sight has seen  
     thee in glorious guise;  
 Hard, for thy worship rings through  
     ages of splendid lies,—  
 How must the prayer be prayed?  
 How shall thy hand be stayed?

Still must thy breath be drawn of the  
     stench of our offerings?  
 Still must thine eyes be fain of bleeding  
     mangled things?  
 Still must thy thirst be quenched at the  
     open wounds of slain?  
 Still must thy lust be fed with surfeit of  
     innocent pain?  
 Idol of monstrous power,  
 Lord of the furious hour,—

How shall thy might be turned from the  
     path of its ugly play?  
 Wrought of our will thou art, and yet  
     know we not the way!  
 We who have kissed with tears the stroke  
     of thy bloody rod  
 Call to thee, monster-soul we have put  
     in the place of God,—  
 How must the prayer be prayed?  
 How shall thy hand be stayed?

## Social Legislation on the Pacific Coast

By HARRY WEMBRIDGE,

Reed College

The first step toward an evolutionary Socialistic state is the procuring of an efficient and democratic government.

At the very beginning of this century the Pacific Coast States started their fight for good government. The legislatures had grown corrupt and haughty. The people were not represented, and they knew it. Oregon was the first to set her house in order. In 1902 she adopted the initiative and referendum. This only whetted her appetite for more legislation. In quick succession the direct primary, direct election of United States senators, recall, a model corrupt practices act and presidential preference primaries were enacted. Then the

spirit of democracy expanded—absolute home-rule for cities, local single tax, an amendment making possible proportional representation and woman suffrage were adopted. By 1912 Washington and California had acquired in all essential details the "Oregon System," including woman suffrage.

At the same time that these states were remodelling and renovating their political machinery, the more fundamental economic and social questions were not lost sight of. As time went on, the cry for social justice became more insistent. Gradually these states turned their backs on the old idea of government; the theory which said that that

government which governs least governs best. Laws never heard of before were discussed and adopted, until to-day the Pacific Coast has developed collectivism further than any other section of the United States and is only second to Australia and New Zealand. We must remember, too, that the need for social legislation is correlated with the growth and extent of industry. Industry in the West has not reached the same stage of development which it has in other parts of the country, consequently the problems are not so acute. Nevertheless the Pacific Coast states have been quick to see that the right to vote does not make a man free. Here are some of the laws which they have passed to protect the worker — workingmen's compensation, eight hours for all public works, eight hours in mines, eight hours and no night work for women, minimum wages for women and numerous sanitary and protective laws.

Besides these, child labor is not permitted under sixteen. Oregon has a ten-hour law for men and California has a law which provides that one day in seven shall be a rest day. All three states give pensions to mothers.

What distinguishes the Coast States as a collective society is not so much their welfare legislation, but the extent to which they have organized and developed the functions of government. It appears that they have been the first to realize the possibilities of collective effort. From the old maxim that "government should only interfere when absolutely necessary" they have gone to the other extreme. It is by commissions and bureaus that government of this new type is carried on. They seem to be the most efficient and effective means yet discovered. To convey some idea of what government by commission means on the Pacific Coast let me enumerate a few of the commissions of importance: Industrial Welfare, Industrial Accidents, Woman's Welfare, Mother's Welfare, Babies' Welfare, Child La-

bor, Banking, Conservation, Desert Lands, Fish and Game, Health, Highways, Horticulture, Social Hygiene, Mines, Mothers' Pensions, Prison Parole, Pilots, Sailors' Homes, Seed Distribution, Libraries, Taxes, Water, Immigration, Housing, Weights and Measures, and Text-books. Space only limits their cataloguing, California having created twenty-six in the last three years.

But the Pacific Coast has not been content to organize itself merely along collective lines. Now and then it has been discovered that private ownership and the interests of the citizens have been incompatible. As we would expect, it was in the ownership of public utilities that this conflict first arose. San Francisco was the first large city in the United States to own and operate an extensive street railway. So far, its operation has been more than successful, and though hindered on every hand by its private competitor, each year has seen its tracks extended. Hundreds of thousands of visitors at the Exposition were carried over its tracks this last year. Seattle began the operation of her street railway system in 1914. Due to the unfavorable location which it was forced to accept and to some difficulties of management, its operation has not been as successful as that of San Francisco. Most of the Coast cities own their water supply and a number their lighting and gas plants. City employment agencies are frequent but they have had to battle against private agencies. In 1914 the State of Washington voted to abolish all private employment agencies. The State Labor Bureau set about to organize labor exchanges. When the legislature meets this winter, a complete system of labor bureaus will be installed throughout the whole state. From what has been shown, one can hardly say that the Pacific Coast has accepted Socialism, but enough has

been listed to show that they have at least taken definite steps in that direction.

To understand the social and political mind of the Pacific Coast, one must not only become acquainted with the numerous laws which were adopted but also with those defeated. Since all three states show a remarkable similarity, let us consider Oregon. At almost every election there have been one or more single tax measures presented to the voters. Although none of these laws has passed, over one-third of the voters have consistently favored them. At the last election a universal eight-hour law polled over one-fourth of the votes and this was during a period of business depression. Over one-third of the voters were in favor of levying a high graduated inheritance tax, the returns to go toward clearing state lands in winter, thus relieving the unemployed. As a means of rounding out the "Oregon System," a measure to abolish the state senate and another to provide proportional representation in the lower house were proposed, but failed to pass, yet two voters out of every five favored them. A "Blue Sky" law almost passed in 1912. By only a few votes Oregon rejected a sterilization act, although California has had such a law for some years. At the election held in 1914 a measure to provide rural credits and another to make judges non-partisan were defeated by only a small majority.

We have now had a brief survey of legislation on the Pacific Coast. However, the mere enactment of laws means little; it is more important to know how they are enforced, and how they work out in actual practice. As to the enforcement of labor laws it can be safely said that these states lead the country. The reasons for this can be traced, undoubtedly, to these facts: first, the Pacific Coast is more thoroughly unionized, and sec-

ondly, the state governments are more sensitive to public control.

As examples of important laws in actual practice, let us consider woman suffrage and minimum wages. The first question that arises with woman suffrage is: How are women using their vote? Accurate statistical evidence is lacking. However, from the relative size of the votes on the different measures, it appears that they are more concerned over moral issues. With the women voting, prohibition and the abolition of the death penalty were passed in both Washington and Oregon, having previously been defeated by a male electorate. Of course, this does not prove that these measures were passed by the women, yet it does make that conclusion highly probable. California owes its Red Light Abatement Law almost entirely to the agitation and votes of the women. There are numerous examples where the women have taken an active interest in health matters. Women's political clubs are frequent and one or two have considerable influence. As an index of woman's interest in politics, it was found in Oregon that of those eligible to vote, three women voted to every four men.

Turning now to minimum wages, we find that all three states adopted such measures in 1913. A commission composed of representatives from the employers, the employees and general public determines the hours and wages of all the women in the different occupations. In Washington the minimum is \$8.90 per week in manufacturing, \$9 in telephone offices, \$9 in laundries and hotels and \$10 in all stores. Oregon and California's rates are a little lower. Although the laws have not been enforced long enough to warrant a final opinion, so far, they have worked exceedingly well. In the special investigation of the minimum wage in Oregon, the recent report of the U. S. Bureau of Labor says:



"The rates of pay for women as a whole have increased. The average rates of pay of girls under eighteen have increased. The wage determinations have not put men in positions held by women. . . . While formerly 26 per cent. of the women received less than \$6 a week, after the determinations less than one per cent. were paid under \$9.25."

Having now traced the growth of legislation on the Pacific Coast from the first struggles for good government, through collectivism to an embryonic Socialism, and having shown briefly the actual working of woman suffrage and minimum wages, one important question still remains: What is the future for advanced legislation on the Pacific Coast? The outlook does not look as bright as it has in the past for the reason that these states are trying more and more to attract capital. The natural resources are, as yet, comparatively undeveloped. Manufacturing is not developed at all, when compared with the East. New laws are being more and more opposed on the grounds that they are hindering the development of industry. It

is argued that since legislation in the West is more advanced than in those states which compete with the West, why pass more laws only to drive industry to those less advanced states. Moreover, stable industries are needed to alleviate the very serious problem of unemployment made possible by the highly seasonal industries now located on the Coast, as for example, lumber, fruit, and grain industries. Every new law, it is believed, discourages stable industries just that much more. That the voters are getting more and more conservative is shown by the last elections; no radical legislation was adopted and even most of the ordinary measures were defeated. It is hard to predict what will happen in the future to change the economic conditions. At present it looks as if the Pacific Coast would be more conservative. Yet we must not forget that if any people is justified in resting on its oars, it is the Pacific Coast, for it has developed social legislation further than any other section of the country.

## Military Training and the Student

By A. L. TRACHTENBERG

The last convention of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society considered among other things the recent agitation for the introduction of military training into our colleges and universities and urged that the Society give to its members as much light as possible upon this subject.

The committee chosen by the convention sent carefully prepared questionnaires to the secretaries of the I. S. S. Chapters and, in colleges where the I. S. S. has no chapters, friends of the society—students or members of the faculty—were asked to furnish information.

At this writing the committee is not prepared to present a detailed analysis

of the status of the military spirit in the colleges, as sufficient replies have not as yet been received. Representatives of about 70 colleges and universities have given us to date desired information. A perusal of the replies thus far received shows that 21 institutions have military training and drill, while 51 have none.

Until the recent military agitation, very few of the privately endowed colleges and universities considered it necessary to include military training as a part of the regular curriculum. The educational institutions which maintained military instruction were state universities and agricultural colleges which received land grants from the Federal



government under the Morrill Act of 1862. Whether the Morrill Act made military training obligatory in those institutions which received aid from the government is open to question.

In answer to the questions as to whether the practice of military drill has developed the military spirit among the students, 15 correspondents were of the opinion that it did, 14 held the opposite opinion, while the remainder were undecided. In 13 of the colleges and universities from which replies were received, the students have organized regular military troops. While these troops are voluntary organizations, in some instances, as in the case of the Yale battalion of field artillery, they have been attached to the state militia. The 474 Yale men who enlisted in the battery must serve three years, except in case of removal from the militia district—i. e., upon resignation or graduation from the university. Enlistment in the state militia makes the students liable for duty during labor troubles and other emergencies.

Nearly all of the colleges report lectures by prominent officials of the War Department and others in favor of military training and in support of "preparedness."

Various attempts by anti-military groups of students to counteract the influence of the "preparedness" advocates are said to have been made. Representatives of 21 of the 25 institutions which report sending students to the summer military training camps claim that these camps have fostered the military spirit among the students attending them.

In response to the inquiry regarding the attitude of the student bodies toward the increase of the army and navy, it was asserted that 37 institutions were in favor of such increases. Representatives of eight colleges claimed that the sentiment was equally divided, while five reported general opposition to the movement of "preparedness" and the remainder declared that the college bodies seemed indifferent on this subject.

In a number of institutions the facul-

ties on the whole are entirely opposed to military training as a curriculum or extra-curriculum activity among the students. On the other hand, there are faculties who openly favor such military training, in some instances offering credits toward the college degree to those students who drill and attend lectures on military history and tactics.

Many correspondents report that the presidents of their colleges are throwing the weight of their authority and influence toward the organization of military companies, the enlistment of students in summer military camps conducted by the War Department, and in other propaganda for the increase of armament.

The organization of military troops and the provision for military instruction in our private colleges and universities, as well as the increase of such activities in the state universities is often favored on account of alleged benefits derived from physical exercise connected with military training. This argument is challenged by no less an authority in the domain of physical training than Dr. Dudley A. Sargent, director of the Harvard Gymnasium. Dr. Sargent has more than once pointed out that military drill "tends to make one stiff and angular in his movements, as well as to droop and round his shoulders." He also maintains that "the constrained positions and closely localized movements of military drill do not afford the essential requisites for developing the muscles, and improving the respiration and circulation and thereby improving the general health and condition of the system."

Some students suggest that outside influence has much to do in molding student opinion on questions of national defense. The attitude of the press is mentioned as a strong factor. The stimulus has also come frequently from college alumni through articles on "preparedness" in the college publications and talks before student clubs.

On the other hand, students opposed to militarism are also using the college

press and platform against the movement which, in their opinion, is in danger of militarizing the educational institutions. Some of the prominent students in our large eastern universities are leading a fight against the introduction of military training and last year the daily papers of several colleges openly criticized the board of trustees and the faculties for encouraging military agitation in the colleges.

A survey of the answers to the questionnaires sent out by the committee reveals the fact that while the agitation for military training is fostered by definitely organized groups, without the college, the opposition to this movement is, in most cases, spontaneous and largely led by the students themselves. In a number of colleges and universities there are clubs for the study of international relations. These clubs last summer conducted a two weeks' conference at Cornell, with Norman Angell and others as leaders. They have now organized an association of International Polity Clubs, which is scheduling specialists on questions of international relations among the

different clubs. There was also formed last year a Collegiate Anti-Militarism League which was an outgrowth of an anti-militarist movement started by the students of Columbia.

Students from different colleges have kept in touch with each other during the last academic year and have helped to organize a movement to counteract the agitation for "preparedness" in the colleges. When the Ford Peace Expedition was being organized, a delegation of about 30 students, men and women, were secured to go with that expedition. These students came from colleges and universities distributed between New York and California.

A collegiate anti-militarist periodical is being prepared for publication by a group of students who are opposed to militarism and military training.

Though there is thus evinced a virile opposition movement among the students, the advocates of military training and of the study of military history and tactics in our educational institutions can so far claim greater success among the students than the opposition group.

## Cooperation in the United States

By Cheves West Perky

*"The fever to accomplish some great work that will not let us sleep."\**

This paper is a frank appeal for attention from those who are engaged in the struggle for social justice; the struggle which, from certain economic aspects, is broadly called the Labor Movement. It asks you to consider, or to reconsider, the possibilities for social revolution involved in economic cooperation as it presents itself in this country.

Some very earnest Socialists and others discount the cooperative movement on the ground that it is not sufficiently radical; yet what could be

more radical than a movement which has for its goal the complete democratization of industry? Economic cooperation is not militant, and often exhibits a commercial aspect; hence it has been stigmatized as a bourgeois movement. Like most great forces it is silent, obscure and unsensational. But even Mrs. Webb, who understands its insidious and subversive character, has not, we believe, plumbed its possibilities; for she has over-emphasized the permanency of the difficulties with which it contends.<sup>(1)</sup> It is because it is judged in

\* On the business folder of the Tamarack Cooperative Association, Calumet, Mich.

<sup>(1)</sup> B. Webb, "The New Statesman," May 30, 1914.

a state of incomplete development—a phase through which it is forced to compromise with the controlling system—that such narrow limits are commonly set to the potential value of co-operation.

There are, on the other hand, those who grant the potency of the principle but cannot see its practicability, especially in this country, yet the fact that in the United Kingdom it includes one-fourth of the whole population entitles it to some consideration as a revolutionary force. "We have here, it is plain, a genuine and demonstrably successful alternative to the capitalist system, which it behooves us to examine."<sup>(2)</sup> But the capitalist system is so entrenched here, it is argued, co-operation must fail as it has done. The rebuttal to this argument should take the form of a really scientific examination of facts. Such an examination would require an investigator in every section of the country to make a careful study similar to that made by Professor Ford in New England, or a Mrs. Webb with a large committee and funds at hand. An investigation is under way but can only hope for approximate success if all those interested in the problem will help to collect data. <sup>(3)</sup>

#### Agricultural Cooperation

The Department of Agriculture writes that there are at least 7,000 co-operative enterprises in the country, and should we include cooperative credit associations, insurance, telephone and building and loan associations, some of these very important and underestimated forms of coopera-

tion, we should have about 85,000 co-operatives in the States.<sup>(4)</sup>

Cooperative development in agriculture has been great since President Taft's message and Lubin's report upon foreign rural credit associations. Fostered by the government and by thriving societies like the Society of Equity and the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, its growth promises much. Yet cooperation on our western farmland is not always of the soundest. And one looks with some apprehension at a flourishing and organized agrarian movement, when one reads how this organized body has been played off against the Socialists in Germany. In his speech before the National Conference on Marketing and Farm Credits, Dec., 1915, David Lubin said:

"The rulers of Germany foresaw the tendency which the rising tide of Socialism promised to lead up to; the Socialism which was confined mainly to the urban population—to its cities; the Socialism that threatened the destruction of their political status quo. The government, therefore, sought a method for the eradication of this Socialism, and it is believed that that method could be found in the strengthening of its conservative elements—its farming population."

Under this belief "the ruling power of Germany devised and enacted into law the economic systems of rural credits and marketing now operating there. Experience has since proven that the rulers of Germany were in the right."

On the other hand, any one who reads the letters in the "Cooperative Journal," the "Organized Farmer" and the "Equity News" must admit an amount of cooperative feeling and intent, rather surprising from the "conservative farmer." We must remember that cooperation among our farm-

<sup>(2)</sup> Ibid, p. 3.

<sup>(3)</sup> Comrades are urged to send all data, or corrections to C. W. Perky, 110 Morningside Drive, New York City. A bulletin which will attempt accuracy will be issued by the I. S. S. in the Fall.

<sup>(4)</sup> See also J. G. Brooks, "New Republic," Feb. 15.

ers blends the distributive and productive phases of the movement, creating a situation interesting to the student of co-operation. The stores belong to the same farmers who own the elevators and the creameries. The offer of \$1,000 by a farmer to start a fund for cooperation in America is significant. The fund is to be used for education and not for profit. (Amer. Coop. Jour., Feb. 26, '16.)

Also one must pause before the notice of the First National Conference of Producers and Consumers, 1915, where farmer and labor organizations were both represented. Papers were read upon: Practical Cooperation Between Farmer and Labor Organizations; Should Wage Workers Organize as Consumers; How Farmers and Laborers Cooperate at Fort Wayne. Again we note Feb. 24th, 1916, at Fort Worth, Texas, was issued a cooperative number of the "Texas Solidarity" (Socialist paper) as organ for the ten cooperative federations which have formed the tentative organization of the American Organization of Organized Producers and Consumers.

"We want to advise you," this organ declared, "that the National Cooperative Association seeks to combine not only the power of Socialists in cooperation, but the Farmers' Union, the Federation of Labor, the Grange, the Gleaners, Truck Growers and others." Present were leading officials of these national organizations.

#### **The Consumers' Cooperatives**

Whatever this agrarian movement means, for the present we must focus our attention upon the Cooperative Store in the industrial district as most pertinent to our quest. Is there a basis here for a practical movement? Limit of space forces us to ignore the historical problem and confine ourselves to the critical problem of getting a cross-section of the cooperative movement at this time, as difficult to

get as a cross-section of consciousness and as artificial but as essential for a scientific estimate. The present character of the movement is intrinsically fluid. "The mortality of these enterprises is frightful." <sup>(1)</sup> But they spring into being as fast as they die. L. D. Weld of the University of Minnesota made an estimate of nearly a hundred stores in Minnesota alone (1914). We have fairly authoritative statements of the following figures: Washington, 60 (1914); Illinois, 53 (1916); Iowa, 25 (1916); Pennsylvania, 20 (1916); Wisconsin, 90 (1914); New England, 58 (1913); Michigan, 18 (1914); California, 40 (1914); New York, 15 (1916), besides a good many in Texas and Kansas.

These figures, together with the results of two questionnaires issued by the Socialist Party and the I. S. S., lead us to hazard a guess of 500 stores; a fairly stable figure in the United States during the last decade. Professor McPherson of the Department of Agriculture writes that the Department has completed a study of typical co-operative stores in ten different states, and two bulletins are now in the hands of the printers. This appears to us a very wise delimitation of the subject.

Glancing over the entire field one notes that though there is much co-

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<sup>(1)</sup> Dr. Helen Summer, who gave considerable study to cooperation and has kindly put her material at our disposal.

Winfield R. Gaylord, chairman of the Socialist Party committee to investigate co-operation, has worked on it for more than two years with discouraging though interesting results. He also has turned over his material to the I. S. S. The Bureau of Markets and Rural Organization, U. S. Department of Agriculture, has, under the direction of Mr. Brandt, made an extensive survey, which likewise lasted for over two years. It has not yielded as much as might have been expected by those ignorant of the difficulties. Wm. Kruse has also given material.



operative life in Kansas, Texas <sup>(1)</sup> and Oklahoma and the mine regions of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, the main energy of the movement has manifested itself on the western coast, the northeastern coast, and in the region of the grain centers of the north-west states, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan and Iowa. Here have been made attempts at a unified movement, with wholesales and co-operative organs. It is, however, becoming apparent that several of these attempts are now declining: The California Rochdale Organization, the Right Relationship League, the short-lived New Jersey American Cooperative Alliance, and Pennsylvania State Association have disintegrated, to a greater or less degree, within the last few years. The Consumers' Cooperative Union of New York is struggling bravely. Space-limits again force us to postpone for the bulletin a discussion of their interesting problems and histories.

A recently-formed propagandist organization called the Co-operative League of America hopes to be able to give a timely stimulus to the Consumers' Cooperative Union and other failing cooperative groups. Also in the Northwest there are agents for encouraging cooperative stores. Besides the University of Wisconsin, and the Wisconsin Board of Public Affairs, two new organizations were formed in Chicago in 1914 to build up the movement, federate stores, and procure needed legislation. These were the National Committee on Co-operative Federation, formed from The National Cooperative Consumers, proposing to organize all the consumers' bodies in the United States; and the American Cooperative Organization Bureau, which held a conference of twelve

stores planning to study, teach and promote cooperation.

But still more promising is the Illinois Cooperative Society composed of thirty miners' stores, seventeen Farmers' Education and Cooperative Union Stores and six others; supported but not financed by the Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of Illinois, and Illinois Federation of Labor. A wholesale is under consideration, and "wherever the workers are charged the most unreasonable prices, factories, flour mills and packing houses will be established" with union standards.

We see then that there has been, and still is, a cooperative movement in the United States, though it has lacked cohesion and force. It is apparently still in the preliminary stages, where the movement in England and Germany was before it got necessary protective legislation. Our next question is, what relation does this scattered but obviously virile movement bear to the Socialist and labor organizations in the United States?

#### Socialist Attitude Toward Cooperation

The Socialist Party in national convention 1912 adopted the report of the Committee on Cooperation which reads in part as follows:

"Just as the labor unions fight for industrial self-control for the working class, the Socialist party for political self-control, and the labor and Socialist press for intellectual self-control for the workers, so the cooperative movement fights for an increasing degree of economic self-control for the workers through the ownership and use of industrial and commercial capital by organized groups of the workers.

"The development and successful operation of the cooperative movement in connection with the international labor movement is an historical fact, which cannot be disputed. While in some countries it may seem for the time being to have checked other lines of working class activity, it seems to be true also that 'the economic power of a class at a given stage of development turns into political power.'

"The value of the cooperative movement to the working class has been recognized by the Socialist party, though reluctantly at

(1) As early as 1885 Texas had a state federation of 150 stores and a wholesale. In 1901 Kansas had a state federation of 15 stores.



first. It was recently so recognized at the Copenhagen Congress in 1910, the American delegates voting for the resolution.

"Following the path of other national organizations of the Socialist Party, the Socialist Party of America must recognize the fact of the existence on the American continent of a successful cooperative movement, though it has not as yet been brought into any unified form.

The proceedings of the 1912 convention mentioned above include a significant discussion of co-operation from a Socialist point of view. The chairman of the committee on cooperation, Winfield R. Gaylord, says in his report to the convention:

"Your committee does not ask nor recommend that the Socialist Party of America here to-day shall endorse the cooperative movement. The cooperative movement does not care whether you endorse it or not, any more than the labor union cares. That is the fact. If you oppose it you will concentrate the energy of those who favor it."

Again, in a letter to the writer:

"The Socialist Party is, of course, a political organization. As such it cannot undertake directly the organization of cooperative enterprises, any more than it can undertake properly the organization of labor union bodies. But the Socialist Party would be foolish indeed not to recognize the vital connection which has always existed between any development of economic power or control and the inevitable and corresponding development of political control which follows the former."

#### Socialist Activity in Cooperatives

Not only in the Socialist convention has Socialist interest manifested itself but a great many stores all over the country, and what few industrial enterprises we have, are practically Socialist. (1) Everywhere Socialists have led and inspired the movement. This is markedly so in the states of Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Illinois, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The Socialist stores of Charleroi and Philadelphia and the cigar factory and store of Reading are remarkable examples. The Reading

(1) Carl D. Thompson has been listing these.

factory turns all its profits into the Socialist party. The cooperative factories at South Charleston, Salem and Star City, W. Va. (2), are mostly both Unionist and Socialist, "but the enterprises are not operated as a joint Socialist and Unionist venture." Most of the members are foreign born, and those of Belgian descent largely predominate. The Central Labor Council of Charleston has under consideration the building of a labor hall, pool rooms, reading rooms and rooms to rent. They also have a cooperative grocery store, which they plan to extend into a chain of stores. Huntington had a cooperative printing plant, but it perished in the wake of a great strike. Wheeling has a cooperative newspaper, "The Wheeling Majority." The Charleroi Progressive Association, one of the oldest and most prosperous of Socialist stores, is modelled after the Belgian plan. It spends a large amount on education, and for medical services as well as for sick and death benefit funds. It operates three stores and publishes the "Cooperative Herald." (3) The North American Cooperative Association of Philadelphia turns 25 per cent. of its products to the Socialist party. For the remainder they have under consideration a lyceum and a bail fund. Another store modelled on the Belgian plan is at Altoona, Pa.

Three of the most notable cooperatives in New Jersey are Socialist. The

(2) How many are truly cooperatives we have been unable to ascertain as yet.

(3) Charleroi has extended its influence in the mining towns of Pennsylvania and West Virginia. A recent letter from Pittsburgh tells of a dozen or more living cooperatives in that district: Altoona, Uniontown, New Eagle, Hendrickstown, Meneses have cooperative stores; Butler and McKeesport two each. Stores are also mentioned in letters situated in Allentown, Coaldale, Wilkes-Barre, Harrisburg, Nanticoke, Bethlehem, Avoca, and Elwood City. Sunberry, Washington, and Punxsutawney were in 1913 expecting to organize stores. Nearly all these have Socialist influence.

West Hoboken Store had for its purpose a social center. It sells Italian groceries and conducts a bakery. All profits are used for collective purposes. It gives strike benefits, and distributes working-class publications. It has a club house, dance hall, pool room and buffet (non-spiritous drinks). Somewhat similar is the Haledon Cooperative. "With the exception of a very few all our members are among the strikers. We helped them with credit and cash." Hundreds of dollars were advanced. The Purity Cooperative of Paterson has an equally idealistic record. (\*) Another cooperative modelled on the *Maison du Peuple* is the Cooperative Franco-Belge of Lawrence, Mass. "It affords evidences of a cooperative idealism peculiarly unalloyed." (†) Ten per cent. of the net profits were apportioned to Socialists and cooperative propaganda.

When blocked by an attempt to get the municipality to supply ice at cost the Socialists of Schenectady formed the Citizen's Cooperative. It has at present no connection with the municipal grocery, or the ice and coal business, yet a majority of its members are Socialists. Another thriving Socialist store is the Milwaukee Cooperative Co.

The Socialist Supply Co. of Iola, Kansas, distributes half of its net profits as dividends on purchases; 10 per cent. to employees equally, 10 per cent. reserve fund, 10 per cent. to extension fund, 10 per cent. to party press, 10 per cent. to education. At Mount Park, Oklahoma, the Consumers' Cooperative Society of Oklahoma is composed mostly of farmers, but there is no dividend on capital. Capital can

be increased only by new membership and cannot be decreased for any purposes. "We can furnish the workers with eggs, chickens, cream, butter, fruit, and vegetables at a great saving to them and at the same time get a better price for them. At O'Brien, Texas, the Socialist farmers own a Farmers' Union cooperative drug store, two cotton gins, a merchandise store and a wheat mill. The Land League proposes to organize on the O'Brien plan, finding that the cooperative stores cement their league organization. Other Socialist coining stores in the country are Socialist.

The Socialist Finns are the most successful cooperators. They have a wholesale at Duluth and a Finnish college at Smithville, Minn., which is a cooperative institution. They own three cooperative Socialist publishing companies, putting out a daily paper besides sending out a monthly and a semi-monthly magazine and most of the books read by the Finns.

The Cooperative movement in Illinois and Wisconsin owes much to Socialists. Nor has the interest shown by organized labor been slight.

#### Cooperatives and the Labor Unions

It will be noticed that our most promising group of stores (Illinois) is one in which labor has interested itself; but as a recent venture of labor into cooperation it does not stand alone. The great Cooperative store in Indianapolis, which has just dissolved, was controlled by labor unions. Members used it as a sort of clubhouse to discuss their union plans. It had 5,000 share holders, \$200,000 capital and 35 departments.

The labor unions at Wisconsin, Penn., have a co-operative store. The Farmers and Consumers' Cooperative Co., Sheridan, Wyoming, is largely represented by labor unions. The miners at Albia, Iowa, own a co-operative hospital, and the unions at Lucas,

(\*) A Paterson cooperative called the Consumers' Cooperative League has just been incorporated with 35 per cent. reserve fund, 10 per cent. want fund, 5 per cent. labor lyceum.

(†) Cooperation in New England, p. 38, Prof. Ford.

Iowa, made a great success of a store until the mine was worked out. We cannot here touch upon cooperative products, a number of which have been started by unions within recent years. We have heard from five other labor organizations that have tried cooperation recently; three others that have appointed committees to study the subject. Quite a number of letters from labor union men have expressed great interest in cooperation. The labor unions of Minneapolis strongly favor it. The "National Labor Picket" of Indianapolis has offered its columns as a national labor cooperative paper. Not strictly cooperative but very interesting is the Brooklyn Union Label Department Store, "a cooperative organization of union men" for the sale of union-made goods.

#### Cooperatives and Strikes

Many cooperatives have been started during strikes, and some have helped very much during the course of strikes. The Purity Cooperative Association of Paterson, New Jersey, supplied most of the bread used by the relief store of the strikers, and donated \$50 a week to the strikers, besides \$50 to the Socialist Campaign Fund. The Franco-Belge Cooperative at Lawrence, Mass., furnished the strikers with soup, rooms, and hall, and supplied bread at cost. In 1904 at Trinidad, Colorado, the Co-operative Store did valuable service to the striking miners, but through mismanagement proved costly to the union. Stores established by the Western Federation of Miners at Cripple Creek and Victor during the strike of 1903-04 proved such a tremendous success that they were destroyed by the soldiery and gunmen. Stores at Louisville and Fayette, Colorado, begun during the miners' strike of 1910, kept expenses down for four years. We understand that they have interesting histories.

The cooperatives which played so

large a part in the copper miners' strike at Calumet, Mich., 1913-1914, were under the leadership of Finnish Socialists and owned by the Western Federation of Miners. "The problem of feeding so many strikers and their families was extremely difficult. . . . To ease the burden somewhat, the Federation management adopted the plan of establishing commissary stores on the plan of that of cooperative enterprises. . . . These stores began at once to do a very large business, estimated at present at about \$37,000 a week. The loss of so great a volume of trade was instantly and acutely felt by the local merchants. It gave to the strike a very different aspect. . . . The strikers were interfering with business. . . . They were largely foreigners and in a short time they became to a part of the business community the objects of an extraordinary and violent hatred." (1)

#### The Significance of Cooperatives

We have seen how trade unionists and Socialists ever and again resort to this mode of economic warfare. But the sporadic character of our cooperative growth is patent. On the other hand it is also obvious that its seed is in the minds of the workers and that it is not the product of a propaganda nor a press-imposed idea. It springs spontaneously and, unfostered, makes a steady growth despite every difficulty. Have we not here something vital? That we are behind foreign countries in this as in other labor developments is significant but not damning. The country is large and heterogeneous and capitalism has got the start of us—these are truisms which point to difficulties but do not set limits. Economic cooperation has been endorsed by some of our clearest thinkers: "Therefore it is only through the development of free co-

(1) Socialist Campaign Book, 1914.

operation within a state, which in a general way, is controlled by industrial democracy, that we may expect to see a relatively perfect realization of the two most cherished dreams of both Socialists and cooperators; namely, a considerable diminution of the present wastes of the competitive system, and a complete transformation of the wages system; and all without endangering social stability or destroying individual freedom." (Giddings: *Democracy and Empire*, p. 124.) <sup>(1)</sup>

"Sooner or later in every country, alongside the trade-union battle influencing the conditions of production, alongside the struggle of the proletariat for power in municipality and state, alongside the efforts of the municipality and state for the extension and multiplication of the branches of production to be controlled and administered by them, the cooperative movement is called to play no inconsiderable part in the emancipation of the proletariat." (Kautsky.)

Marx, though writing, "To save the industrious masses cooperation ought to be developed to national dimensions, and, consequently to be fostered by national means," yet admitted, "It is impossible to think of the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth without its being preceded by strong cooperative societies (both producing and consuming societies) all over the world."

There is still, however, a hitch in the minds of many of us in regard to the consumers' cooperative movement. We would back productive cooperation, were it not futile, but we balk at the consumers' organization. This is due to a natural fear of parasitism. "The workman should enjoy the fruits of his labor." But the idea is built on a logical fallacy. It is not true that the human organism works to possess.

<sup>(1)</sup> See also report, Mass. Bureau of Labor, 1886, pp. 78-105.

No student of child activity could grant that for a second. The logical relation exists between work and consumption: the human creature must consume in order to work; but work is a social function and its product belongs to society—or, if you please, to the organized consumer.

The weak spot in the consumers' organization is, of course, that it has not yet solved the problem of individual control of work, which is ultimately more important than democratic control of business or raising the standard of living. The reasons for the failure of this control analyzed by Mrs. Webb, are all too well grounded in the present psychology of the workingman. But we must remember the shifting nature of mental states. Habits of mind are distinctly alterable. There is great motivation in an idea, and the real gain from every form of cooperation is education. By the time the consumers' movement has gained sufficient control of the market to allow it a greater margin to devote to its employes, we may fairly hope that the consumers' organization may have developed a social point of view equal to its opportunities. Certainly the consumers' cooperation has proved itself capable of almost infinite expansion.

We believe in a unified labor and Socialist cooperative movement; unified in spirit, but not in form; supporting one another but not involving each other in disaster, to their mutual ruin; which sometimes happens when they belong to the same organization. We believe that helpful legislation is essential; and wish that we could include here a comparison and discussion of the cooperative laws of the 30 states that have enacted them. Moreover, the movement would probably not lose, but gain, by idealistic propaganda. Were dividends converted into funds for class action the workers would soon feel the power in cooperation.



## The Social Side of an I. S. S. Alumni Chapter

By HARRIET L. JONES,

Wilkes-Barre Alumni Chapter

In a report made at the recent I. S. S. Convention, I described a supper given by our group at the end of its last year's study course. I told how democratic a gathering it was, and what enthusiasm and satisfaction were expressed by all present at our fine social evening. We had eaten together, sung together, and together listened to an address worldwide in its bearings and yet concerned with our town and our individual attitude toward industrial freedom.

Do you know how it feels when you are in a fine chorus singing without accompaniment, if you ever reach the point where you are aware of a perfect blending—one voice in various color tones? It's exhilarating, inspiring; there's nothing like it. Our I. S. S. supper party reached that point on the evening described. All were aware of it. It was our first realization of something looked for at the beginning of the Chapter. It was the prophecy of a greater future.

Perhaps it may interest other members of the Society to learn how our Chapter began and what the need was that seemed to us in progress of being realized on that evening of the supper.

It happened somewhat in this way: One of our members had been attending meetings of the Socialist Local—herself a member of the Party. On many occasions the meetings had been inspiring—good thoughts, true brotherhood feeling. But Socialism was a great theme, and sometimes the thoughts were very crude indeed, or members would lose patience with each other, and the fact that they were weak in numbers and unpopular made them too timid to go ahead and make the town hear their cause. And then she would attend meetings of the Woman's Civic Club

and the Woman's College Club, and every now and then in connection with economic subjects—unemployment, the minimum wage, progressivism, and what not—Socialism would be touched upon, and no one appeared to know anything up-to-date about it, much less the necessity for knowing about it. The public-spirited women needed to get down to common life, and see and balance and think—and study Socialism. The workingmen needed the encouragement of seeing the leaven of their great idea expressing itself through the medium of the more favored ones—of women with trained intelligences or with time to spend in the service of the community.

What could be done about it? In *The Call* she read an account of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, and immediately wrote to Mr. Laidler describing her problem. He understood, and suggested an alumni chapter of the I. S. S., with its nucleus of college members, for the city of Wilkes-Barre. On a certain date he himself could be there and organize a group.

The outcome was, he came. It was our first meeting; there were fourteen of us, and after Mr. Laidler's talk everyone present joined the Chapter.

From that time on we held study meetings on alternate Friday evenings, twelve in all, and at the close of the season gave our famous supper.

The existence of our organization in Wilkes-Barre, and especially its social side, may hasten the day of mutual understanding between all the citizens, and in the coming industrial struggles some of us, because of our thoughts together on the subject of Socialism, will know more clearly where we ought to stand.



## Review of Books

**SOCIALISM IN AMERICA.** By John Macy. Garden City, L. I.: Doubleday Page. \$1.00.

This is an interesting and stimulating book for the perusal of the seasoned Socialist. As a guide for the non-Socialist, however, an "authoritative" book, as the cover proclaims it, Mr. Macy's volume is in many points regrettably misleading, the more so perhaps because of its vigorous and attractive style.

The author discusses with keenness and clarity many details of Socialist faith and practice, such as economic interest, the process of socialization, and various specific demands of the party platform. The misleading character of the book to the seeker for information lies in two circumstances.

In the first place, Mr. Macy directs us for further instruction to only two writers, Wm. English Walling and Helen Marot, who, however brilliant, are avowed free lances in Socialist theory and tactics. He furthermore fails to explain in most cases whether the opinions he expresses are his own or those of the Socialist Party.

These opinions, it is obvious to the Socialist, though not necessarily to the outside reader, are throughout those of the party minority, in revolt against the central authority,—a minority who are indeed a salutary leaven among us, but in no sense representative of American Socialism. The I. W. W. is to the author of more significance than the political party, and "The chief use of Socialist organizations is to distribute revolutionary literature and to support the workers in industrial battles." He belittles mental workers as parasites, parliamentary action as "mere progressivism," and gives forth the dictum "Nothing could be sillier, more inept than what is called Christian Socialism." Most unfortunate of all is his descent to personal depreciation of several widely honored and trusted leaders of the party.

Regarding the burning issue of war and militarism, Macy voices again the radical minority. While the majority of American Socialists are declaring themselves unmistakably against "preparedness" in the present campaign, the reviewer realizes with regret that the point-blank opposition of Mr. Macy to *all* war is not "authoritative." There is brilliant reasoning and clear statement throughout the chapters on War. "Whether or not," says the author, "*any* section of the working class *ever* benefited by *any* international war is a debatable question, probably to be answered in the negative." He is strictly logical where many antimilitarists fail; he refuses to be caught by "the league of peace" or "the citizen army," and argues very effectively, from an entirely non-ethical viewpoint, against the use of violence in the industrial struggle.

To those of us who belong to the minority of the party, in our opposition to parliamentarism on the one hand or war on the other, Macy's book is welcome and full of ammunition. As an authoritative statement of Socialism for the outside inquirer, however, it must be taken with far more than a grain of salt.

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN.

**SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT AND LABOR.** By Robert H. Hoxie. N. Y.: Appleton. \$1.50.

Just as the advent of the steam engine and the giant mechanical tools marked the opening of the 19th century, so scientific management seems to hold out the promise of great achievements with the opening of the 20th.

Just as the introduction of improved labor-saving machinery was accompanied by ruthless displacement of labor and the elimination of the skilled craftsman with a supreme indifference on the part of society for the fate of the displaced workers, so has the first application of scientific management been

marked by displacement of labor, the gradual elimination of the skilled worker and complete indifference on the part of those responsible for the new regime to the possible effects on the human factor in industry.

The English workers early in the 19th century opposed the new regime by destroying machinery, burning down factory buildings, and pitting blind force generally against superior cunning and economic power. While this kind of struggle against industrial progress has long been given up by the workers of all countries, the English workman to the present day has retained an attitude of hostility to labor-displacing devices and insists on such restrictions as his union enables him to impose upon industry in the protection of his own interests.

The American trade union does not, as a rule, impose any restrictions, nor require any direct compensation for the unrestricted introduction of improved machinery, such as the German unions require. But the introduction of scientific management has met with decided hostility on the part of the American trade unions.

The controversy between the scientific managers and the unions has become so acute that the United States Commission on Industrial Relations found it necessary to make a special investigation into the workings of the new system. The investigation was carried out by Prof. Hoxie who was assisted by Mr. Robert G. Valentine, representing employing management, and John P. Frey, representing labor. Prof. Hoxie's conclusions, based upon a study of practically all the important plants in which so-called scientific management prevails, are presented in the book under consideration.

The legitimate aim of scientific management is the constant reduction of the cost of production through the elimination of all lost motion, not only on the part of the individual worker, but also on the part of the management. This includes:

"The installation of the best available machinery and tools so far as compatible with economy, or at least the overhauling and improvement of the existing equipment; the careful study of the materials of production and the determination of the speed and feed of the machines calculated under the circumstances to be most effective; the rearrangement of the material equipment so as to avoid the delays and expense of unnecessary carriage of materials and partly finished product, and to secure, as far as possible, continuous, straight-line production; the introduction of new and known devices for convenience and expedition in the handling of materials and product; the careful study and analysis of detailed processes and methods of production looking to the elimination of waste motions, the improvement of accessories and the most effective application of force and co-ordination of effort"; etc. (Pp. 27-28.)

Every saving in cost thus achieved resulting in the cheapening of products and bringing them thereby within the reach of the masses is a socially useful act which contributes to the progress and well-being of society.

So far as labor is concerned, the claim of Taylor, the father of scientific management, has been that scientific management aims to increase the efficiency of labor not by speeding it up to the limit of endurance, but by teaching the individual worker to do his work in the most efficient manner.

From a Socialist point of view scientific management has a peculiar fascination. It represents the first attempt to substitute system and unbiased scientific regulation in industry for the rule of thumb and arbitrary domineering of the boss of the gang, which unfortunately characterizes individual shop management in most cases. Scientific management is possible only in large scale factories and mills. It is the product of concentration of industry. Without it, economical production in a state-owned

industry would be impossible. It is the means which large-scale production is evolving to take the place of the watchful eye of the individual owner of the small workshop or factory of an earlier period.

Unfortunately, its application being entirely in the hands of the owners of industry, the scientific manager has been compelled to apply the system in a one-sided manner tending to give all the benefits of increased productivity to the owners and reducing the gain to the worker to the minimum necessary to insure maximum application to his task. Trade union leaders complain, moreover, that scientific management is hostile to collective bargaining, brooks no interference from the trade unions, and tends to break up the skilled crafts by reducing and narrowing the work of the individual operator to the fewest possible simple operations.

Mr. Hoxie examines every claim of the leaders of scientific management and every objection on the part of labor with minute care and in most cases comes to the conclusion that the objections on the part of labor are justified. He finds, moreover, that the methods of "time study" (which is the basis of scientific management) have a tendency to "speed up" the worker; that the methods of payment, while aiming to increase the earnings of the individual worker, with the increase in his output, do not make the increase at all commensurate with his efforts, so that the more efficient he becomes, the less he receives per unit of output; that the basic rates of the workers are not allowed to rise above the general level of wages prevailing in the neighborhood, and that the general tendency is "to shift workers into lower-paid grades"; that scientific management is autocratic in its application and "tends in practice to weaken the power of the individual worker as against the employer" (p. 104); that it tends throughout to "the strengthening of the individ-

ualistic motive and the weakening of group solidarity" (p. 106).

In short, the author's conclusions are that scientific management, as at present applied, is anything but scientific in its methods, is, to a large extent, crudely empirical and one-sided. But it appears that in its ideal formulation it holds out great possibilities, as it substitutes certain definite standards for the arbitrary rule of the foreman or boss.

Prof. Hoxie's analysis irresistibly leads to the conclusion that scientific management, as at present administered, without a most thorough control by the trade unions or society over its methods of application and over the division of the products of increased efficiency between capital and labor, is a menace to labor. There is enough scattered material, however, to be found in the book to justify the belief that if the unions were to change their attitude of unconditional hostility to scientific management in favor of one of toleration, subject to its application under the joint control of the employers and the unions, that it might open the way to a utilization of this new labor-saving device for the greater benefit of labor, as a partner of the employer in industry. The system is in its infancy. As it forces its way into a larger and larger number of establishments and industries, owing to the superior advantages it offers to the employers, it will compel the trade unions to revise their attitude, just as they had to revise their attitude toward the introduction of machinery by accepting the inevitable and seeking to gain an ever larger share of the resulting increase of wealth.

No student of economics, no one who desires to gain a thorough insight into the workings of modern industry can afford to go without reading the book, which is a model of thoroughness and dispassionate analysis of a most complex and live situation.

N. I. STONE.

**SOCIALISM AND THE WAR.** By Louis Boudin. N. Y.: New Review Publishing Co. \$1.00.

Louis Boudin is recognized in Europe and America as the leading Marxist in the United States. His new book is undoubtedly the most valuable work on the war by any Socialist writer. Its scholarship is fully up to the high level that has given the German Socialist writers a world-wide prestige—even among non-Socialists. And it is altogether superior to most of their work in style, clarity and human interest.

Boudin regards the present war as being nationalistic as regards Russia and Servia, imperialistic as regards England and France, and finds a mixture of the two motives in the case of Germany and Austria. Economically nationalism means a better access to the sea. So that Russia's policy in the Balkans and Turkey is similar to Germany's desire for more ports in Belgium or Holland. Imperialism is a demand for the opportunity to make profits in developing economically backward regions. It is necessarily exclusive since it is based upon monopolistic "concessions" as to railroads, mines, etc.

But economic imperialism does not show itself for what it is. Each nation claims monopolistic privileges in backward regions on the pretext that it represents a culture superior to that of all other nations competing for this same privilege, and that the increase of its power is for the benefit of all mankind. Against this the Socialist replies that there is only one civilization in the world, that all peoples are able to acquire it, though some are less advanced on this road than others. Boudin answers further that it is not desirable that nations should develop distinct cultures. As long as nations continue to exist economically independent of one another wars will necessarily continue. If progress is to be through distinct national cultures, then the nationalists are right in their dictum, "My country, right or

wrong"—for every war is likely to diminish the influence of some national culture.

Nationalism, whether in the old form or the new form of economic imperialism, is the enemy—and not militarism. The pacifist, like Bryan, who is unwilling to assent to any combination of nations for the purpose of assuring peace, on the ground that he "will not abate one jot of American sovereignty" is just as responsible for war as the militarist. Boudin shows that Socialism is opposed to this bourgeois or nationalistic pacifism. Yet the Socialist movement has more and more tended in that direction, largely on the ground that the people of no country can gain from outside pressure. They forget that Bebel said in his Memoirs that any people in an unfree condition like those of Germany gained from military defeat, and that the overthrow of Napoleon benefitted France—since the French had proved themselves ready for a better government.

Boudin concludes that Socialism demands the support of some but not of all defensive wars. For example, even if a nation is attacked, but is merely defending conquests made in recent wars, the Socialists should not help the defense. But Socialism absolutely demands that all nations should be kept free from alien domination. For this there are two reasons: such alien domination stimulates nationalism among the oppressed peoples and thus both prevents the development of the class-struggle and of Socialism and increases the danger of future wars. Therefore, *the working-class of the entire world* should rally to the defense of the nation whose independence and liberty are attacked. This means that the working-class of all countries should carefully weigh the question whether their governments should intervene in such struggles—where the cost is not too high. Undoubtedly every war—no matter how justified—has extremely serious reactionary effects, and these must be con-



sidered. But there is a certain form of neutrality which says: "Any nation may rob, pillage, destroy, or subjugate any other nation, without it being the least of our concern, so long as our national interests are not in any way injuriously affected." This is sheer nationalism, "a monumental monstrosity." Socialists have substituted for this nationalistic neutrality the principle of international solidarity, "an injury to one is the concern of all." This principle will not justify the initiation of war, but when a war is begun it may justify the support of the Socialists not only of the nation affected but of the entire world.

This duty to internationalism and the working-class is not affected by the much-quoted Stuttgart resolution that the Socialists should try to bring a European war to the earliest possible close. This referred to a war that had been previously disapproved. On the contrary the Socialists have always declared it the international duty of a people, attacked as the Belgians were, to wage a war of defense. Boudin adds that it may have been, and may still be, the duty of the Socialists of other nations to help them—even to the extent of consenting to their countries engaging in the war.

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.

**ANTHRACITE: AN INSTANCE OF NATURAL-RESOURCE MONOPOLY.**  
By Scott Nearing, Ph.D. Phila.: The John Winston Co. Price \$1.00 net.

In his study of natural-resource monopoly, Dr. Nearing, as he himself says in his preface, "does not aim to set forth any new hypotheses." He merely hopes that after the reader has been confronted with all the most carefully presented data about one natural-resource monopoly, that of anthracite, and has learned of the enormous profits appropriated from the workers, and the plundering of the consumers, under the present system of private ownership of natural re-

sources and the tools of production, he will make his own deductions.

Not that Dr. Nearing fails to help him make his deductions, for near the end of the book, after discussing what courses the consumer can resort to, in order to get coal at a just or "cost" price, he frankly says (p. 239):

"The logic of the situation seems to force the conclusion that as long as the owners of the anthracite fields retain their present monopoly power, the consumers are helpless before them. There is, then, only one thing for the consumers to do, and that is to eliminate the monopoly power of the anthracite interests, which lies in their ownership of a natural resource."

And the last sentence of all in the book reads as follows:

"The change which seems most likely to benefit both workers and consumers is an economic reorganization that will make the community the owner and director of the anthracite field and of its administration."

Of course it is in what will benefit the worker rather than the consumer, as such, that the Socialist is interested. For, since the wages of the working-class as a whole remain largely at the subsistence level; that is, are determined by what it costs a worker to maintain life and multiply his kind (so avidously desired by the capitalist class), the fact that the monopolists force out of the consumers "all that the traffic will bear," does not inflict any unusual burden on the workers.

Of importance to the Socialist, therefore, is the fact that the miners at present receive less than one-tenth of the value of their product. "The anthracite miner," said Dr. Nearing, "enjoys no economic advantage . . . because he is employed on a wonderfully rich natural resource. He receives no share in all the prosperity which goes with natural-resource monopoly." In fact (Dr. Nearing works out the actual figures in great



detail), the vast majority of anthracite workers receive a yearly wage considerably less than the minimum which health and decency require for a family in the anthracite region—a minimum of \$718 in villages and \$768 in cities.

Dr. Nearing's book, with its mass of carefully compiled statistics, is particularly interesting and valuable at this time when the anthracite coal miners are demanding a 20 per cent. increase in wages. It should arouse the public to help them get that 20 per cent. increase. But it should also do more, and that is make the public see that the workers are entitled to the full social value their labor creates, and that private ownership in natural resources as well as in all the means of life must go.

ANITA C. BLOCK.

**THE PILLAR OF FIRE.** By Seymour Deming. Boston: Small Maynard & Co. \$1.00.

Those who read Seymour Deming's "Message to the Middle Class" have looked with great expectations for more from his pungent pen:—some to enjoy his refreshing and often inspiring way of expressing what they themselves feel; others, because, though disagreeing, they cannot resist the temptation to listen to his challenge, even though, at times, it turns to chastisement.

In the "Pillar of Fire" Mr. Deming hammers the white-hot metal of fine-tempered revolutionary spirit where it most needs shaping—on the altars of our Alma Maters, those cherished institutions, themselves born of revolutionary principle and "dangerously radical" schemes of popular and higher education. And, in his smithcraft, he takes little heed where the showering sparks from his effectual hammering may fall: they light up the "book mellowed glooms," they burn holes, at times, in classic hangings and in dust covered, worm-riddled traditions, until there is a stench that

leaks out of the windows, but the glowing metal takes on an edge . . . .

I regret that lack of space does not permit as long a review as this splendid and out-of-the-ordinary work merits. A fine enthusiasm runs through it, reaching, frequently, to poetic heights of Whitmanesque beauty. From the introductory pages, entitled "Exodus," the following:

"First we trod the beaten path, deeming it the Main Road, etc. But we met people coming back, empty-handed, empty-hearted. Could it be that the Main Road led nowhere? . . . We were as people running to a fire, not knowing where we ran.

"So we forsook the Main Road. We struck across country, through dense undergrowth, into deep woods. Where we would have said, no foot had ever trod. Yet it was not so. For here were ashes where a fire once burned; nay, not ashes, but embers, deep smoldering. Then foot-prints; then a path. The path broadened; it became a trail; a road. Shouts rang out through the forest of other path-finders breaking through the undergrowth, remote but drawing nearer. . . . Old friends and new. . . . The surprise of finding them here. The joy of knowing that all alone they, too, had adventured on the same quest."

This spirit of broad comradeship is held throughout, and, its appeal, while highly passionate, is never narrow gauged.

At some points, Mr. Deming's style is slightly involved, and, at others, strained a bit in a conscious effort at Biblical and Shakespearian effectiveness. But it would be a carping critic who would emphasize this trace of imperfect technique, when the book, as a whole, is so finely conceived and effectually done. It is full of passages and epigrams well worth quoting, if space permitted. And throughout, there is a broad sense of humor which saves it always from dullness and pedantry.

We can but hope that this "profane baccalaureate"—which is profane only in that it treats with irreverence the stereotyped platitudes and banalities of the usual baccalaureate—may be read by a great majority of the youth or our Alma Maters, in order that they become

stronger and better sons and daughters. While addressed primarily to them, however, it will prove of even greater interest to the graduates.

FRED. F. ROCKWELL.

**THE RESEARCH MAGNIFICENT.** By H. G. Wells. N. Y.: MacMillan. \$1.50.

In "The Research Magnificent," Mr. H. G. Wells has written of aristocracy in a way that suggests Carlyle and Ruskin. But no one need fear that this is a defection from democracy. When the heir, Benham, has finished explaining his idea of aristocracy, his companion, a young American, says: "I have never heard the underlying spirit of democracy, the real true thing in democracy, so thoroughly expressed."

In the past aristocracy has been the result of physical, political or intellectual power; characteristics which in each case might be accidental. Benham, Mr. Wells' hero, advocates an aristocracy which is an achievement to be gained by each one for himself. But this achievement is social as well as individual. When it dawned upon Benham, as it did, that one cannot be noble, so to speak, *in vacuo*, he set himself to discover a Noble Society and spent the greater part of his life studying the possibilities of man. All of the intense and even tragic interest of the story is based upon the quest for personal and social nobility.

Benham's failure is the failure to realize an ideal and is not without hope. But the other characters fail also: Lady Marayne, Benham's mother, and Amanda, his wife, both ambitious and both without vision; Prothero, his nearest friend, possessed of knowledge and a willing spirit but without the ability to sacrifice, all of these types of different kinds of failure, of which the worst is failure to pursue an ideal.

ROBERT A. CONOVER.

**SOCIALISM, Compiled by E. C. Robbins. A Debater's Handbook.** White Plains, N. Y.: H. W. Wilson Co. \$1.00.

The Hand-Book of Socialism is disappointing when compared with the excellent hand-book on Preparedness by the same publishers. At first sight the bibliography appears extensive and useful, including both books and magazine articles by Socialists and non-Socialists, with a number of excerpts on Utopian, Marxian and other so-called varieties of Socialism.

Further investigation, however, shows important lacks; with the exception of "Capital" and the "Manifesto" there are no references to any complete scientific expositions of the general subject, Spargo and Hillquit, for example, being represented only by books on specific details or popular propaganda. Among the magazine articles there are none from Socialist publications, and the reader is often referred to discussions dating to the eighties and nineties, when the present Socialist Party was not in existence.

While among the limited number of excerpts space is given to unknown communist experiments and to the long defunct "Nationalist" movement, there is no platform of the S. P. except that of 1908 quoted in a speech by Debs two years afterwards. Although the Hand-Book is dated 1915, it contains only one excerpt as late as 1913, the Milwaukee administration, for instance, being treated as a thing of the future.

Most serious of all, by the generally confused arrangement of the Socialist articles, by the prominence given to the negative discussions of Walling, Bernstein, and Simkhovitch, and by a final article entitled "An Attempt to Define Socialism," the impression is given that Socialism is an elusive, ill-defined movement, given chiefly to heavy discussion and controversy, and waiting to be molded into a consistent whole. The last Socialist platform would form a far better hand-book of Socialism.

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN.

### "PREPAREDNESS"—A REPLY TO MISS HUGHAN

Sir:

In her article on "Preparedness" in the March "Intercollegiate Socialist," Miss Hughan has apparently neglected to take into account several fundamental considerations.

She says "Germany has sacrificed her democracy to militarism." Now there is no antithesis between democracy and militarism as defined by her article. Germany has not sacrificed her democracy to militarism, but has sacrificed both to autocracy. Democracy has won some of its greatest victories by force of arms, and the end is not yet. The English, French, and American Revolutions, and the American Civil War, are among our greatest milestones of history, and we look back with pride upon our ancestors who were not "too proud to fight."

That there is no need of a preponderant military power for protection is amply shown by the two European States of Switzerland and Holland. There can be little doubt that these two countries would be overrun and form part of the battlefield like Belgium if it were not for their sturdy little armies on the frontiers. And who will accuse these two of militarism?

As long as there are nations in the world with different ideals, different standards of living, and different degrees of democracy, it will be most improvident for any to neglect the defense of its nationality. As the world grows more democratic and more international in its viewpoint, the chance of conflicting interests will ever grow less, but there are still abundant signs of the predatory nation, as there are still of the predatory individual. And who of us is willing to recommend the discharge of our city police force, and the general unlocking of doors? Would such a measure relieve us from the tramp and the thief, as some would have us believe, in the national sense?

It appears, as Miss Hughan says, that "democracy and military efficiency cannot go hand in hand." This perhaps is one of the most promising signs of the times. It indicates that the democracy realizes that war is unprofitable and that a state of co-operation is superior to cut-throat competition. But this seems to be so self-evident to such a community that by an unfortunate error of judgment, it thinks that outsiders must also have seen the light. Consequently it fails to ensure itself against attack, and may fall a victim to a nation which is still in the last century of thought, and which believes in the benefits of national exploitation. The liberty gained by the blood of past generations may thus be

thrown away by the shortsightedness of their descendants.

England and France are not fighting militarism in Germany. They are fighting the autocracy which is using the military power of the people for its own ends. It is impossible for any nation believing in democracy to exploit another. England cannot exploit Canada any more than she can exploit the United States. If there were any question of serious moment at issue between two such countries, a moderate amount of preparedness would suffice to prevent war, since the cost would appear too great to offset any material gain possible.

However, since there are still nations of imperialistic ideals in the narrow sense, the United States has only two courses of action open. Either she must be as strong as any combination of such nations whom she is likely to find as enemies, or she must form an alliance with one or more of the democratic countries with similar ideals for the mutual defense of human liberty. And in the latter case she must be *prepared* to do her share.

As Socialists we are extremely weak in constructive suggestion. Instead of mere negative destructive tactics, why not in our platform call for preparedness on a sound national democratic basis. Something akin to the Swiss system is needed—and above all—conscription, so that each and everyone shall be educated in the idea of state unity and the necessity of co-operation and social service. It will hurt no one to give a few weeks of his time during a few years of his life to working with his fellows for the common good, and such an experience should be one of the greatest incentives towards the growth of Socialism.

Since, however, such an organization of citizen soldiery will take a long time to be effective, in the meantime it is necessary to acquire in the quickest way, by an extension of our present system, an army and navy which will be a real defense of our progressive ideals of liberty.

G. M. J. MACKAY.

### MISS HUGHAN'S REJOINDER

Sir:

Instead of replying directly to the contention of my article on "Preparedness," namely, that of the three choices, adequate preparedness, inadequate preparedness, and no preparedness, the last is the least objectionable—Mr. Mackay has mentioned "several fundamental considerations." I will therefore try to touch upon each of these, though well aware that a sufficient treatment would require hours and volumes.

1. "Germany has not sacrificed her democracy to militarism, but has sacrificed both to autocracy." In this and other sentences, Mr. Mackay makes clear the fact that he is not averse to militarism, even of the German type, as long as it is not connected with autocracy. In this matter of taste, I differ from him.

2. Following out this idea, he says "it is impossible for any nation believing in democracy to exploit another." The Athenian democracy, far more perfect as a type than any modern nation, exploited other communities most shamelessly.

3. The English, French and American Revolutions, and the Civil War, are indeed "among our greatest milestones of history," but milestones are made to be passed. Their greatness, moreover, lay not in the fact that they were wars, but in the great principles for which they were fought, principles which on other occasions in history have triumphed without any wars at all.

4. "Switzerland and Holland would be overrun, and form part of the battlefield like Belgium, were it not for their sturdy little armies on the frontiers." Battlefields are chosen, not from pure malice, but for convenience, and for Germany to invade France by way of Holland or by way of the Alps would not accord with what we know regarding German efficiency. Moreover, the reflections on the Belgian army are hard to understand, when we consider that its peace establishment in 1912 was 46,500 as compared with Holland's 24,500, and its military budget 2,594,000 pounds as against Switzerland's of 1,720,000, and Holland's of 2,522,918 (aside from colonial forces).

5. In order to defend our *ideals, standards of living, and democracy*, we must defend our *nationality* by means of war, says Mr. Mackay. Please prove first that these excellent things are dependent on nationality in the political sense, and second that, even if they are, they can be preserved by such crude means as war. Please use as illustrations the Hebrew and Greek ideals, the standards of living among the Colorado miners and Pittsburgh steel workers, and the effect of the present war upon British democracy.

6. The old police analogy. The locking of doors is not the shooting of the burglar; the city police force of New York does not fight the police force of Boston, and the predatory nation is a sociological impossibility in the present age of industry.

7. After acknowledging that "democracy and military efficiency cannot go hand in hand," Mr. Mackay urges us nevertheless to attempt to combine them in order to "insure ourselves against attack." He speaks of this insurance as glibly as if it

were like the Prudential, as firm as Gibraltar. Has a single nation yet succeeded in insuring itself by military means against attack? And in case of attempt and failure, what is the penalty?

8. Then, we must be as strong as any combination of nations which is likely to be made against us, namely, we must become an American Prussia, or we must form an alliance with several other countries, that is, give up our American independence and make war at the behest of England, France, or Russia. Again, it is a matter of *de gustibus non disputandum*.

9. Last of all, *conscription*, as a *constructive* suggestion, in order to *preserve liberty*. When the Swiss Socialists are protesting against their "citizen army," when the Australian boys are serving prison terms rather than submit to military training, when 10,000 men of Great Britain are refusing compulsory service, shall we take our stand with Germany and Russia?

From a militarist point of view, Mr. Mackay, your argument is consistent—from a Socialist point of view, it is hardly so.

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN.

## I. S. S. NOTES.

Mrs. Stokes spoke this Spring to enthusiastic audiences comprising in all nearly 4,000 students at the Normal College of Cleveland, Oberlin, Ohio Wesleyan, Ohio State, the St. Louis School of Social Science, the University of Illinois, Albion and the University of Michigan, and in addition conducted a series of most successful meetings in St. Louis, Bloomington, Kalamazoo, Detroit and Toledo. At Ohio Wesleyan and in the Cleveland Normal, Mrs. Stokes spoke at the college chapel exercises. In Ohio State nearly 600 listened intently to her message. Her clear, winning and effective presentation of Socialism did much everywhere to stimulate interest in the subject.

In February, Mrs. Stokes addressed several hundred at Yale.

John Spargo, this college year, has visited in all some 44 colleges, has addressed about 14,000 students and 8,000 townspeople and has created a profound interest in Socialism wherever he has gone. In the Spring trip, Mr. Spargo spoke at Springfield, Amherst, Smith, Mt. Holyoke, Dartmouth, Wellesley, Tufts, Massachusetts Tech., Boston University, Hunter College, Rutgers, Clark, Harvard and Columbia, addressing in all some 4,800 students. Harold Coryell, chairman of the New England Committee, writes most enthusiastically about Mr. Spargo's visit to Boston and vicinity, and similar letters have been received from other sources.



During the Spring the Organizing Secretary made the first attempt, conducted by the Society, to reach the students of the southern colleges. During his trip Mr. Laidler spoke before 6,000 students in 21 colleges and universities, addressed nine college bodies in chapel and spoke before about two dozen classes. Groups for the study of the subject were formed in eight of the colleges visited, and everywhere Mr. Laidler found an enthusiastic response. Among the colleges visited were Randolph Macon, North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College, Wake Forest, Trinity, University of North Carolina, Guilford, N. C. State Normal, Wofford, University of South Carolina, Agnes Scott, George Peabody School for Teachers, Ward Belmont, East and Middle Tennessee Normal, Emory and Henry, Virginia State Normal, Virginia Polytechnic, Washington and Lee, University of Virginia, Johns Hopkins, Howard, and a few of the colored colleges of the South.

Those most active in the formation of groups in the colleges visited were W. F. Shryock, Randolph Macon, V. W. McGhee and S. H. DeVault of University of North Carolina; W. C. Mann and O. F. Crow of Univ. of South Carolina; Jennie Buquo and Professor A. M. Souby of Middle Tennessee Normal; Earl Fields and E. Claude King of East Tennessee Normal; W. M. Stem of Emory and Henry; Bruce F. Woodruff of Washington and Lee; H. A. Inness Brown of Univ. of Virginia, and Broadus Mitchell of Johns Hopkins.

In a number of instances the entire college body suspended a study period in order to listen to an explanation of the philosophy of Socialism. In an agricultural school, the drill of the day was dispensed with and the 600 uniformed college students marched into the chapel to listen to the lecture.

Mr. Laidler also organized a Chapter at Rutgers College on April 10. Harry Janeway is the chairman of the group. On April 12, he spoke at Princeton on "The Socialist Challenge to the College Man," and reorganized the Chapter. Over 50 students joined. He is scheduled to speak at Cornell, April 24 and 25, and later in some of the Pennsylvania colleges.

The CHICAGO ALUMNI held a successful dinner with John Spargo and William English Walling as speakers. About 300 were present.

The PORTLAND ALUMNI Chapter is steadily increasing its membership. Meetings were held with Erma Wold on "Biology and Socialism," and J. B. Gearity on "Philosophy and Socialism." SEATTLE is also increasing its membership. In December a meeting was held on "Seminar on Militarism."

WILKES-BARRE has held nine meetings, addressed by Harriet L. Jones, Olive Van Horn, John Spargo, Mrs. Charles Long, Harriet S. Fisk, Dr. Samuel Slavin, Edith Boower, Charles N. Loveland and Emily S. Johnson. Miss Harriet L. Jones writes: "At our meeting of February 4th the work of the Y. M. C. A. among the prisoners of the concentration camps of Europe was described to us by Miss Hecker, a Russo-German, at present a teacher of German at Wyoming Seminary. Through clippings from Socialist papers the Society keeps in touch with the work of Meyer London in Congress. On the evening of February 26th, for the sake of variety and stimulation, we dropped our formal program and invited Miss Emily Johnson, author, active Suffragist, and non-Socialist, to talk to us about some of her "adventures," as she called them, "for the public good." As a result we had a prize evening—full of wit and humor and human pathos. To those among us who were Socialists, every adventure described to us seemed to show the necessity of a government for the people and of the people, and an earnest discussion followed in which the clever humor of the speaker was proof against all arguments hurled against her stand on individualism.

The NEW YORK Chapter will close a successful season by a meeting on Cooperation April 13. The plan of leaving the programs of several meeting dates open so as to take advantage of developments as they occur has proved a good one, thus on February 17th a meeting was held on "War and Revolution," at which the speakers were John Reed, Madeline Z. Doty, Albert Williams, with Inez Milholland Boissevain, chairman, and on March 16th the subject of "What Will Constitute a Sane International Program for the United States," was discussed by Wm. E. Bohn and James W. Alexander II., and Nicholas Kelley, chairman. The regular program for the season included, "My Conception of a Co-operative Commonwealth," by Jessie W. Hughan; Professor Scott Nearing on "The New Economics and Socialism;" John Spargo on "The Development of American Socialism from Dogma to Reality;" Harry W. Laidler on "Academic Freedom;" Morris Hillquit on "The Collegian and Socialism."

#### NEW ENGLAND STATES

The AMHERST Society for the Study of Socialism reports continued success. Professor H. W. Hamilton, Dr. Harry W. Laidler and John Spargo have been among the winter's speakers. Hilmar Rauschenbusch is president and Owen S. White, secretary.

The BERKELEY DIVINITY School Chapter, which enjoys the distinction of being a chapter

whose membership includes every student of the School, in its private study meetings is using Spargo and Arner's "Elements of Socialism." In its December public meeting Jessie W. Hughan spoke on "Socialism and Radical Peace," and in January, John Spargo spoke on "Principles of Socialism." The Chapter arranged a meeting for Mr. Spargo at Trinity College and Hartford Theological Seminary. W. B. Spofford is the president, Horace Fort, secretary.

The year's work of the HARVARD Society, as well as of several others, was omitted from our last magazine because of lack of space. The speakers from October to March have been, Mr. Harrison, on "Why I Am a Socialist;" Scott Nearing on "Working and Owning for a Living," at which the attendance was over 300; Mrs. Florence Kelley on "The Current Task of American Socialists;" Harry W. Laidler on "Socialism;" Wm. H. Packer on "The Blood on Our Hands," and P. Blanchard and John Spargo spoke to a large gathering in March. Chapter secretary, Boris Stern; A. C. Binder, president.

The MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY Chapter has had as speakers Miss C. Crowley, Walter Hinkle, Bouck White, George Grover Mills, George W. Roewer, Jr., Reverend Mr. Hill, Professor Ward of Boston University and John Spargo. A discussion was held on "Is America Really Neutral?" Kebe Toabe is the president of the Chapter.

Three hundred came out to a meeting of the YALE Chapter, addressed by Scott Nearing. Excellent meetings were also held with John Spargo and Rose Pastor Stokes. At the April public meeting the Chapter is to have its first Anti-Socialist speaker, Professor Wm. B. Guthrie, of C. C. N. Y. The Chapter reports difficulty in getting college audiences. More townspeople than collegians attended Mrs. Stokes' meeting. It is co-operating with other college societies in securing a better system of debates, some to include questions relating to Socialism and Internationalism. Ray Bridgeman is president and Robert W. Dunn, secretary.

#### MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES

CARNEGIE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY heard George R. Wallace in February on "Civic Ideals," and in March, J. Koettgen on "Militarism and Internationalism," and Robert Minor on "War Stories," with an attendance of 300. Harry Horelick is the secretary.

Two debates were arranged by the NEW YORK UNIVERSITY OF COMMERCE Chapter on "Resolved: That there is sufficient incentive under the present system;" "Resolved: That only under Socialism can the ethics and morals

of society be advanced." Lectures were also arranged with Juliet S. Poyntz and Jessie W. Hughan as speakers on "Socialism and Suffrage" and "Socialism" respectively.

The PITTSBURGH Chapter is flourishing according to the secretary, Isabel Porter. H. C. Kidd lectured on "Economic Interpretation of History," and R. H. Johnson on "What is Utopian and What is Scientific." The president of the Chapter is A. Epstein.

The membership of the SIMPSON Chapter is growing. In December Professor A. W. Goodenough discussed "Why We Should Study Socialism." Meetings were also held with Professor Weir on "Misconception in Regard to Socialism," and I. S. McCrillis on "Modern Socialism." Joyce Miller is the leading spirit. The class has aroused an interest in Socialism among the faculty and in the community at large, and very good press notices are received.

The VASSAR Chapter is looking forward to a lecture from Morris Hillquit on April 17th, reports Ruth M. Lamb, secretary.

John Spargo lectured on "The Real Meaning of Socialism" at WASHINGTON-JEFFERSON College, writes the secretary, S. V. McClelland.

#### MIDDLE WESTERN STATES

One of the encouraging Chapters formed as a result of Mr. Laidler's trip in December is that of STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA. Two December meetings were held on "The Purpose of the I. S. S." and "The Plans of the Iowa I. S. S." In January Professors Jones and Haynes addressed the Chapter. Jennie Bedrick is secretary and I. Rubinstein president.

The LA CROSSE NORMAL Chapter has been meeting faithfully every other week since the new year. "We have had no speakers," writes the secretary, Earl Tainter, "but have been studying \* \* \* a course of twelve lessons from the Rand Correspondence School." The same plan of study meetings on Elements of Socialism, with an open discussion, led by a member, is followed by the MIAMI Chapter. "It would have been of great benefit to us to have had speakers here. In the future we intend to bring any good Socialist speaker, who comes to Hamilton or vicinity, to Oxford," writes Anne Brilliant, the secretary.

The University of MICHIGAN Chapter reports through its secretary, Adelia W. Adams, a Debs meeting of 600 in January, and two lectures by Rose Pastor Stokes in March. A class is being organized for the Rand School course. Harold J. McFarlan is the president.

The VALPARAISO Chapter held a debate between Arthur M. Lewis and Reverend J. W.

Newsom on "Is the Human Will Determined?" and heard John Spargo in December, reports the secretary, Theodore Salta.

The University of Wisconsin Chapter also heard John Spargo. Dr. Kallan of the University addressed them on "Socialism and Nationality." Howard O. Eaton is the secretary.

### SOUTH

Another promising Chapter is that of Howard University. Some of the speakers during the year were Charles Edward Russell, John Spargo, Rose Pastor Stokes and Dr. H. W. Laidler. The secretary is Edward Frazier. William H. Foster is the president.

From February 3rd to March 7th, inclusive, the BUFFALO ALUMNI Chapter carried out the most ambitious education program yet undertaken by any of our Alumni Chapters. Two classes were organized—Class A, consisting of beginners, and Class B, of more advanced students. To the first John Spargo gave a course of six lectures on the "Elements of Socialism;" to the second twelve on the "Practical Problems of Socialist Society." Each lecture occupied one hour and was followed by a question period of equal length. These classes were supplemented by a good deal of personal work. In addition Mr. Spargo gave numerous lectures and addresses before many different audiences. The total number of addresses and lectures was about one hundred. Few speakers have ever been privileged to reach so many different groups as Mr. Spargo reached in Buffalo and vicinity. These included The Woman's Suffrage Club, Calvary Church Forum, several branches of the Socialist Party, The Niagara Falls Lecture Course, Buffalo Woman's Investigating Club, Rochester City Club, Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester People's Sunday evening, Buffalo Executives Club, West Side Business Men's Association, Buffalo Protestant Ministers' Association, Church of the Messiah, Central Park Methodist Church, a lecture on "Preparedness" for the benefit of "The New Age," etc.

All these lectures and addresses were arranged for by the Buffalo I. S. S., so that in addition to the education of its own members, through the classes, the Chapter did a great deal of outside missionary work.

## FINANCIAL REPORT

April 1, 1915, to March 31, 1916

### RECEIPTS

Dues .....	\$1,022.70
Special contributions.....	6,444.39
Literature .....	56.99
Intercollegiate Socialist .....	252.98
Profits on meetings, etc.....	189.12
Miscellaneous .....	6.99
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	\$7,973.17
Balance from last year.....	101.36
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	\$8,074.53

### EXPENDITURES.

Rent .....	\$500.00
Telephone .....	102.04
Printing .....	408.75
Postage, Express, etc.....	518.52
Literature .....	41.43
Salaries .....	3,714.06
Organizers in field.....	1,431.04
Office furniture .....	56.92
Office supplies .....	174.06
Intercollegiate Socialist .....	627.11
Expenses of meetings, etc.....	131.40
Miscellaneous .....	113.62
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	\$7,818.95

Balance to 1916-1917, \$255.58

The above report speaks for itself—both of the increase over former years in special contributions and of the increase in expenditures thus made possible. The increased expenditure over last year was in field work. But that work only points the way to what the Society can do and must do if it is to fulfill its mission. More money—much more—must be raised.

An organization that can "cover"—with only three field workers, during a few weeks of the year—113 colleges, reaching 30,000 students and 12,500 townspeople, lecturing before 72 economic classes, is deserving of liberal support by all who believe in the object of this Society—"To promote an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women." We should have at least \$2,000 more in special contributions, between now and October 1st, 1917, than we have ever had in any year.

Mary R. Sanford,  
Treasurer.

Order at once "THE SOCIALISM OF TO-DAY," the service book of International Socialism, prepared by an I. S. S. committee. This book is absolutely indispensable to all Students of the social problem. It brings one into close touch with the great Socialist personalities at work in parliaments and congresses. It portrays the amazing vitality of the movement as nothing else has done. It is truly epoch making.