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TEN CENTS

# The Intercollegiate Socialist



Commanding the Sun to Stand Still

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# The Intercollegiate Socialist

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

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## THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY

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# THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST

VOL. I.

SPRING-SUMMER, 1913.

No. 2.

## WHY STUDY SOCIALISM ?

PROF. CHAS. A. BEARD, *Columbia*.

(From a letter to the editor under date of March 29, 1913.)

"I have your letter asking me to write an article in support of the proposition that college men and women ought to take an intelligent interest in Socialism. I should be glad to do the article if it were in my power to draw such an obvious statement out into five or six hundred words. In an age when Socialism is admittedly shaking the old foundations of politics the world over and pene-

trating our science, art and literature, it seems a work of supererogation to attempt to prove that men and women presumptively engaged in the pursuit of knowledge should take an intelligent interest in such an important matter. I am unable to appreciate the moral and intellectual outlook of any person who takes the contrary view and I am therefore incapacitated for the task of changing his opinions."

## AN ELEMENTARY SUGGESTION

(Nietzsche and the "Mutton Heart")

H. D. SEDGWICK.

The philosopher Nietzsche is one of the authors that should be on every list of books issued by the I. S. S., for his writings compel an examination of Socialism. His conclusion, as everybody knows, is a complete condemnation of Socialism, Christianity and all the gregarious attempts of the mass of mankind to overthrow their oppressors and raise up the class which, by the accident of birth, lies economically at the bottom of society. Nietzsche agrees with the Socialists on one point—that a correct hypothesis concerning the value of the gregarious instinct in man, and of its workings, is of vital consequence.

We have—unless Pythagoras is right—but one life to live; only once does each human consciousness, as an individual entity, wake upon this phantasmagoria that we call the universe. We all wish to make the best of our one chance. To

Nietzsche and to the Socialist the most important fact of our experience on earth is that each man has a multitude of fellow-men. What shall be his attitude toward them? Each man's answer to that question constitutes his ethical creed. Roughly speaking, there are on this point two opposing theories, one brilliantly expounded by Nietzsche, the other adopted by Socialism. Nietzsche believes that mankind will reach a higher plane of civilization by means of the unbridled development of superior persons, no matter at what cost to the rest; and it seems probable that a certain type of aristocrat, gifted with what we all recognize as virtues—courage, energy, decision, frankness, courtesy—needs for its creation and maintenance an unbridled dominion over slaves or serfs. The social qualities that induce men to protect the weak, to succor those

in trouble, to help the aged, to sacrifice themselves for the sake of others, to forbear from personal advantage, Nietzsche sums up under the general term, *the instinct of the herd*, or as I may paraphrase it, in order more accurately to give his feeling, *the mutton-heart*. Socialism, on the other hand, maintains that the *mutton-heart*, the gregarious instinct, has been the main factor in civilization. The issue can only be decided by an appeal to history, an appeal that Nietzsche himself makes. To the young man, however, who elects to become a follower of Nietzsche on the theory that he is one of the superior persons born with a right to trample on their fellows, it may be suggested that the odds against his theory are a thousand to one.

According to the Socialists the gregarious instinct produced the family and the community. The institution of the family preserves the children of the family, whereas the children of the solitary female perish. The community protects its members against enemies that could overcome them singly. Strong organization enables society to avail itself of the talents of many persons, individually weak, who but for a strong social organization would have been unable to use those talents. In modern life there is an ever increasing need of mental abilities of all kinds; to let any of them be lost through lack of care is partial race suicide. Under Nietzsche's theory those abilities would be wholly neglected unless they happened to be united in the same person with highly developed predatory energy, and such union is rare. The men who busied themselves with inventing language, the use of fire, bronze, bread, the compass, printing, differential calculus and so forth, required the protection of society, so that their minds need not be set on dominating, or escaping from, other men. Thinkers of ancient and modern times, Plato, Aristotle, Archimedes, Euclid, Galileo, Copernicus, Newton, Descartes, Laplace, Kant, Dar-

win, Haeckel, Virchow, William James, Bergson, or whom you will, did not possess sufficient predatory energy to be included in what, following Nietzsche's example, one may call the *lone wolf* type. But one must not be dogmatic; history like everything else looks different to different people.

Every student must make up his mind under which of the two systems he will try his luck in this world. Considering that the chances in every case are against the wisdom of the *lone wolf* choice, it is worth his while to reflect upon the necessary deductions that flow from the postulate that civilization is the result of the gregarious instinct in man. By civilization, I mean not merely food, warmth, houses, churches, schools, hospitals, museums, and such things, but monogamy, loyalty, the exhilaration of being one of a crowd (be that crowd a regiment, a club, a congregation, a mob or a Socialist local), the thrill of that singular emotion, self-sacrifice for another's good, and all the hundred and one matters that the gregarious-minded include under the term, ethical and spiritual life.

Let the student, if he be skeptical about the assertion that the main gains of civilization are due to co-operative effort, consider his college, and count the number of co-laborers who fashioned it. Take Harvard College for instance. John Harvard left his books and some money; but those books and that money were not his creation. Then the government of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, a social organization, added its support. On this slight foundation a long line of college presidents, hundreds of professors, and tens of thousands of students, during two hundred and seventy-five years, have contributed, each in his several way, to make Harvard College what it is. Then there are the people called benefactors, such as Holworthy, Hollis, Stoughton, Matthews, Gray, who have given money in some form or other. It is not necessary to go into a platitudinous analysis that the

moneys so given were due to the labors of a multitude of unknown men; it is enough to remember that the professors, who made the college illustrious, Lowell, Longfellow, Norton, Child, Lane, Goodwin, James, each got his learning from great fountains into which thousands of self-denying scholars had emptied their cruises. Follow the contributors to the making of Harvard College and you track them right back to London, Berlin, Paris, Rome, Alexandria, Athens and Babylon. Every brick in every edifice, physical, mental, ethical, has an interminable social history. Trace back a printed copy of the Iliad, through printing press, editorial office, the scholar's study, back, past Heyne and Porson,

past Boccaccio and the Italian Humanists, past the Benedictine monks, past the Byzantine scribes, back to the wandering bards of Hellas, all the way to old Homer himself.

Is it not a student's business to think carefully whether he has the right to take from the common stock of knowledge, brought together by the great pains and labors of countless men, and apply what he takes to his own personal, selfish use, or whether he should regard his knowledge as a trust committed to him by society to use for the common good?

In any case students, even when they despise the *mutton-heart*, should not follow Nietzsche like sheep, without considering what they do.

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## THE STUDENT'S HERITAGE

Frederick Frye Rockwell

Hark! Have you caught the warning in the wind that sweeps the world?  
Or have your ears been deaf to it, and have your eyes been turned  
So fixedly upon the Past, that round about you whirled  
Unnoticed and unheeded the revolt of the earth's spurned?

You shall not long stay blind to it; they cannot long shut out  
With ivied wall and book and gown *the living world beyond*.  
The stirring tread of marshalled men, the struggle's charge and rout,  
Shall reach you yet, and grip you in its world-inclusive bond!

Your heritage, your heritage—the blood that's led the fight  
For freedom from all tyranny, for human rights, for man,—  
Why leaps it not to battle now, where in the van of Right  
The bugle-call to danger sounds, as since the strife began?

Your heritage, your heritage,—the knowledge of the years  
Poured in your laps unstinted from the myriad-handed dead;  
Abandon not their trust to you while wrong yet re-appears:  
The war for Right still calls, as when your sires and their sires bled!

## SOCIALISM

Ex-Congressman VICTOR L. BERGER

(From a speech delivered April 21, 1913, before the Columbia University Socialist Club.)

Socialism is generally defined as the "collective ownership and democratic management of the social means of production and distribution."

Definitions as a rule do not explain much, however.

This definition explains even less than usual, because Socialism is not a mere theory invented by some learned professor or philosopher. Socialism is the name of a phase of civilization, just as feudalism was a phase of civilization and as capitalism is the name of the civilization we have now.

Many students of history and of political economy say that Socialism must be the name of the next phase, if civilization is to survive.

Man started as a savage and hunter. The next stages of human progress were those of the nomadic herdsman and the agriculturist. Slavery developed in these stages. The feudal system was the next step, followed by the wage system.

The wage system was a step in the evolution of freedom—the wage worker is better off than the laborer of any previous epoch of human society. But the wage system is only a step forward.

The present wage system has evolved to the trust stage. Trusts have been vigorously attacked for their flagrant evils; yet we also realize the great advantages of the trust method of production and distribution on the largest scale. The trust has introduced many economies. It saves labor and effort, concentrates production and produces more cheaply. It eliminates the middle-man, saves expenses incident to advertising and drumming up trade, and saves paying commissions to jobbing houses and small merchants.

The trust thereby has naturally created a tremendous opposition—especially among the smaller business men. Only

the statesmen and politicians of the capitalist system are powerless to cope with the trusts, because when the trusts are trying to make as much profit as possible—or as much as the traffic will permit—they are only doing on a large scale what every small business man does on a small scale.

I have noticed five different tendencies in Congress pertaining to the trust question:

First: There are the stand-patters. They say, "Let well enough alone." They are satisfied with conditions. They want no change. They are afraid any change would be for the worse as far as their special interests are concerned.

Second: There is the group represented by President Taft and his friends. They want to enforce the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Attorney-General Wickersham really brought suit against the Standard Oil Company and against the Tobacco Trust, and secured "favorable" decisions from the Supreme Court. Both the Standard Oil Company and Tobacco Trust were "dissolved" into various component parts. The result in each case was beneficial to the trusts which now, since they are "dissolved," have really, for the first time in their existence, a legal basis on which to do business. The ownership of these trusts, of course, remains the same as before. Their methods are the same and the profits go to the same persons. Naturally enough their stock went up after the decision of the Supreme Court to dissolve.

Third: There is the Democratic party, which wants new laws passed in order to get back to the individualism of Thomas Jefferson and to competition of the old style. That is impossible. These good folks might just as well propose the abolition of the railroad and return to the

days of the old stage-coach. The trust form is the modern way of doing business. Business has learned how to walk and will never creep again.

Fourth: We have the so-called Progressives of the La Follette type. They wish to "regulate" the trusts. But regulation must necessarily fail, because the Government cannot effectively regulate anything it does not own. Moreover, the trusts naturally will try to appoint directly or indirectly the commissioners that are to regulate them, or to influence the commissioners after they have been appointed. It will be a matter of business with them. If they do not succeed, they will simply appeal to the Courts as they have done in similar cases everywhere. And the Courts have to decide by custom and precedent established in centuries gone by. Regulation is, therefore, bound to fail.

There remains only one more proposition, and that is the Socialist proposition. It is the natural solution of the question: namely, the national ownership of the trusts by the nation.

The Socialists contend that complete justice can be accomplished only by the collective ownership and democratic management of the trusts and other social means of production and distribution.

I realize that all this cannot be brought about by a single strike—by one day's evolution. But I know that all legislation, in order to be really progressive and wholesome, must move in that direction.

You will say—how are you going to evolve the new system? How are you going to limit it?

We believe that everything that is necessary for the life of the nation, for the enjoyment of everybody within the nation, the nation is to own and manage. Therefore we shall take over the trusts, railroads, mines, telegraphs, and other monopolies of national scope.

Everything that is necessary for the life and development of the state, the state is to own and manage. There are

certain business functions that the state will have to take care of, like interurban lines, for instance.

Everything that is necessary for the life and development of a city, the city is to own and manage, not only street cars and light and heating plants, but also abattoirs, public bake shops, the distribution of pure milk, and so forth.

Everything that the individual can own and manage best, the individual is to own and manage. That is simple enough.

Important changes are imminent. We see the trusts not only doing away with competition, but also asking for government interference and for government regulation of prices. In other words, we have the spectacle of the trusts surrendering part of their ownership and practically offering that part of the ownership to the government.

Thus the trusts—or at least some of the trusts—are willing to part with their ownership because they feel that their business has ceased to be private concern. The trusts feel that their business has become a public utility—of the most public and utilitarian sort.

But the change is also coming from the other side.

The great majority of the people have no interest in keeping up the present system. The working class especially is bound to become revolutionary as a class.

Our workingmen to-day build a few palaces and many hovels. The workingmen live in the hovels and the few capitalists in the palaces.

Our workingmen in the woolen mills make a small amount of fine clothes and millions of yards of shoddy. The workingmen wear the shoddy and the rich idlers wear the fine clothes.

In former epochs the ruling class was by far the abler and stronger—physically and mentally. In former years a few nobles, clad in iron, and trained and accustomed to warfare, could hold in subjection twenty times their number of common people.

The ruling class was also at that time the only class that was in the possession of the wisdom of the world—whatever wisdom the world had then. The ruling class also had in its favor the belief that this system was God ordained, and that anybody defying it was a rebel to God.

Things are different nowadays.

The working class not only builds the houses, ships and machines—but the working class also teaches in the public schools, writes the papers and books. Not only the man who sets up the type for the papers and books is a working man—but also the man or woman who writes them usually belongs to our class. The capitalist class depends upon us not only for a living, but also for information and defense.

Moreover, we have the ballot. No subjected class in the history of mankind ever before this had the same political

basis as the ruling class. On election day our vote is as good as Rockefeller's and we are many, and the capitalists are few.

This system is not the end of all things—not any more than feudalism was the end of all things. It is, therefore, absolutely false to represent Socialists as intending to overthrow or annihilate society—as appealing to the brute passions of the masses. We agitate for the organization of the masses. And organization everywhere means order. We educate, we enlighten, we reason, we discipline.

The Socialists want to maintain one culture and civilization and to bring it to a much higher level. We appeal to the best in every man—to the public spirit of the citizen, to his love of wife and children.

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## POSSIBLE METHODS OF SOCIALIZING INDUSTRY A SYMPOSIUM

NOTE:—These articles were written in response to the following request: "Will you write a short statement indicating one or two methods which you believe, in view of present conditions and tendencies, should be used by the Socialists, if in power, in transferring industry from private to collective ownership? Your statement will, of course, presuppose that it is impossible for any Socialist to state what methods will actually be employed, as these are generally determined by the temper of the times."

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FLORENCE KELLEY

Socializing industry consists of two elements, acquiring public possession and making that public possession democratic. Certain industries are now coming into public possession, *e. g.*, the postal business, the public library business, elementary education, public lighting, the provision of water, the use of water power for generating electricity, as in the case of the Androscoggin River at Lewiston, Maine. One branch of the legislature of Massachusetts has this

year adopted a resolution in favor of public ownership of mines.

Certain states are acquiring the tools of democracy, *e. g.* Oregon with universal suffrage, the initiative, referendum, recall and direct primaries, all means of enabling the citizens to control the industries when these become public possessions.

The further development and coalescence of these two processes throughout the Republic constitutes socializing industry as I conceive it. The Schenectady city supply of coal for the use of the citizens is a modest example of what can even now be done by a city.

A campaign for promoting this twofold development seems to me the most fruitful task now confronting educators in this country.

As to the manner of acquiring the industries, the Swiss Republic affords a suggestive example. After the people voted to nationalize one of the princi-

pal railways, they twice voted to refuse the terms offered by its owners. When they finally bought the property at their own price, they paid for it with federal government bonds issued in small denominations, and purchaseable by instalments payable at the railway terminals as well as at the usual places for investment.

#### WM. ENGLISH WALLING

1. The present "progressive" capitalist parties in the leading countries of the world may be expected within the next decade or two to carry out, in the interest of capitalism, two policies which will very much facilitate the task that will remain for the Socialists to accomplish: (a) The nationalization of railways, mines and monopolies, (b) graduated income, inheritance and property taxes.

In proportion as private capital has thus been converted into government bonds by nationalization, it will be possible for a Socialist administration, as soon as it comes into power, so to increase the amount of taxation against large incomes, estates, and parcels of property, as to bring about a gradual socialization of all this immense body of capital.

In his "Social Revolution" Kautsky has described his policy as clearly and briefly as it is possible to express it:

"As soon as all capitalist wealth had taken the form of (government) bonds, it would be possible to raise a progressive income, property and inheritance tax, to a height which until then was impossible.

"Such taxes cannot rise above a certain measure to-day even if we had the political power.

*"The situation is completely changed, however, when capitalist property takes the form of public debts.*

"The property to-day that is so hard to find then lies in broad day-light.

"It would then only be necessary to declare that all bonds must be public, and it would be known exactly what was the

value of every property and every capitalist income.

*"The tax would then be raised as high as desired without the possibility of tax frauds.*

"It would then also be impossible to escape taxation by emigration, for the tax could simply be taken from the interest before it was paid out.

*"If necessary it might be put so high as to be equivalent, or nearly so, to a confiscation of the great properties.*

"It might be well to ask what is the advantage of this round-about way of confiscation over that of taking the direct road?

"The difference between the two methods is not so trifling as at first appears.

"Direct confiscation of all capitalists would strike all, the small and the great, those utterly useless to labor, in the same manner.

"It is difficult, often impossible, in this method to separate the large possession from the small, when these are united in the form of money capital in the same undertaking.

"Direct confiscation would complete this quickly, often at one stroke, *while confiscation through taxation permits the disappearance of capitalists' property through a long drawn-out process, proceeding in the exact degree in which the new order is established and its benevolent influence made perceptible.*

"Confiscation in this way loses its harshness and becomes more acceptable and less painful.

"The more peaceable the conquest of political power by the proletariat, and the more firmly organized and enlightened it is, the more we can expect that the primitive forms of confiscation will be softened." (My italics.)

2. When the Socialists get into power, our program calls for the nationalization of all *large scale industries*. As it is possible that some of these industries, even at that time, will not yet have been nationalized, the Socialists will nationalize them. The money for these purposes may have to be secured in part by gov-

ernment loans, but it will be paid off at the expense of the wealthy and the well-to-do as above indicated. It is probable that the market value of the stocks of the corporations to be bought will already have been relieved of its water by the regulation of the issues of stocks and bonds, of prices, wages, etc., contemplated by the "progressives." But if the loans to be raised prove to be very large there is no doubt that the Socialists will use other methods of raising money, such as have been employed by capitalist governments and capitalist financiers in the past. The *Appeal to Reason* has stated in an interesting way some of the possibilities that lie in this direction.

"How much money," asks the *Appeal*, "did Morgan need in order to buy up all the independent steel companies for the steel trust?" And it answers: "Not a penny. Rather than needing money, he issued stock in the new concern in payment for the old independent mills, and after all was done proceeded to almost double his stock." In other words, instead of needing money, he acquired a vast sum in the transaction. . . .

"Socialists are not fools that they should merely fall into the hands of men who think that they can unload on them in such a manner as to saddle a perpetual debt on the people. If the steel trust, after organizing and buying up smaller concerns, could still issue vast series of stocks and bonds, why could not the Socialists issue vast series of stocks and bonds, why could not the Socialists issue all the money they needed to accomplish the same things? And would not the money based on lands and mills be as good security as the money we now have based on nothing under the sun but inflated railroad and trust stocks [securities]?"

ALGERNON LEE

Educational Director, Rand School of  
Social Science

The question as I will discuss it is:  
What methods of expropriation will the

triumphant proletariat probably find it practicable and desirable to use?

That will, indeed, depend partly upon "the temper of the times." But it will depend much more (and, indeed, the temper of the times will depend chiefly) upon the precise degree and direction of economic development—and, incidentally, of political development—which will have taken place before power passes into the hands of the proletariat. The *general direction* of progress we may feel safe in predicting; the *exact rate* of progress, and especially the *relative rates* in different countries and in different branches of economic activity—such as transportation, mining, the various chief manufactures, agriculture, wholesale and retail trade, and finance—can only to a very limited extent be foreseen.

*Confiscation* presents itself as the simplest and most direct method. There is no reason why Socialists should be squeamish about mentioning confiscation as a historic possibility. The bourgeoisie in every civilized country has set us numerous and gigantic examples. On the other hand, there is no reason why Socialists should make confiscation a shibboleth. Its simplicity and directness will by no means be decisive arguments in its favor. It will be much more likely to be used in the event of a violent struggle for power than in the event of a peaceful transfer of sovereign authority. I infer this from past history, and from strategic considerations, not from any abstract principles of ethics.

It seems to me probable that the triumphant proletariat will prefer other methods, if the choice is left to them.

The task of reorganizing the economic life of a great nation—or of several great nations simultaneously, as is more likely to be the case—will be far vaster than that which has confronted the newly established powers in any revolutionary epoch of the past. The proletariat may very likely prefer to take its time about performing this task, to spread it over a generation or two, rather than to at-

tempt its instant and complete performance. It may begin with the socialization of a few of the most important industries, settling them thoroughly on the new basis before taking up the others; in which case it will, of course, have to apply temporary measures to regulate those left for the time in private hands and to assure the workers therein of such conditions as will enable them to await in patience the completion of the work.

In such a case confiscation would have a very objectionable feature. There would be an obvious unfairness in discriminating between the owners of steel mills and the owners of candy factories, depriving the former of their property without compensation while leaving the latter untouched. The bourgeoisie has never been troubled with such scruples; but the proletariat has a sense of fair play much keener than that of any property-owning class.

Aside from this possibility of taking over various industries successively, rather than all simultaneously, there would be another inconvenience about confiscation. The capitalists who are to be expropriated will, of course, be but a small proportion of the people; but their absolute numbers, joined with those of their dependents, will be considerable. Most of these will be unfit for any active employment in the reorganized society. To make humane provision for their needs, and also to keep them out of mischief, it will probably be necessary, in one way or another, to pension them adequately at the cost of socialized industry. The subsidy may perhaps be most conveniently arranged under the form of purchase of their properties.

*Compensation* for socialized capital cannot, of course, be complete without nullifying itself. What the capitalists actually possess, in their ownership of the means of social production, is a mortgage on the product of labor, not only for the present, but for all future generations. To compensate them completely for their capital, to give them its

full equivalent, would be to grant them, in some other form, a renewal of that perpetual mortgage. Naturally, the proletariat is not going to do that. Under the form of a purchase, however, it may guarantee them an unearned income sufficient to tide over the transition period, so that they or their children may be gradually and easily merged into the general population. Even if the terms of purchase were such as to provide all the expropriated capitalists through a period of forty or fifty years with an income equal to the previously current interest rate on the whole amount of their capital, the burden thus temporarily assumed by society would be but a fraction of the burden of rent, interest, profit, and waste from which it would be relieved.

*Taxation* is sometimes said to differ from confiscation only in degree. As Marx somewhere points out, a difference of degree is in many cases in itself a difference of kind. It may not be easy to fix the exact point at which an increase in the tax rate becomes confiscatory, but we all know that the difference between a property tax of five per cent. a year and one of fifty per cent. is a qualitative as well as a quantitative difference. The fallacy, however, like many other fallacies, contains a germ of truth. The truth is that *taxation may be used as a method of confiscation*. It has very frequently been so used in bourgeois society. Its convenience lies sometimes in the fact that it disguises the confiscatory process, thus evading some constitutional provision or some popular prejudice; sometimes in the fact that it renders the confiscatory process gradual and gentle instead of sudden and violent.

The proletarian state may very probably make use of this device. While postponing the actual socialization of many portions of the productive plant, it may in the interim, through property taxes and income and inheritance taxes, appropriate a considerable part of the surplus-value therein produced to various social purposes—perhaps specifically

to the sinking fund necessary for the purpose of complete expropriation by purchase.

Although it may be only distantly pertinent to the subject, I take the liberty, in closing, to remark that uniformity and centralization are by no means necessary parts of the program of socialization as it will be formulated by the proletariat in rising to power. The nation—by which I mean the machinery of national government, taken over and so modified as to fit it for its new functions—will probably be one of the principal organs of social ownership. But I surmise—and my guess is perhaps as good as another's, and no better—that there will coexist with it ownership by municipalities on the one hand and by international agencies on the other, and also ownership by voluntary associations, regional or industrial or both—all necessarily under some measure of supervision and control by the nation.

#### CARL D. THOMPSON

The first consideration in the discussion of this question is the extent to which the public already owns public utilities. Electric light plants, gas plants, street car lines, slaughter houses and literally scores of other public utilities, together with land, site values and even forests are owned by cities. The larger proportion of the railway mileage of the world is already publicly owned, as well as many coal mines, telegraph and telephone systems, land, forests, and innumerable industries. The *extent* of this public ownership is almost astonishing to one who has not been following the development of the last twenty-five years.

Furthermore, this process of socialization is going on rapidly everywhere in the civilized world. All of these public utilities which are already publicly owned, and all that in the future shall be acquired, will fall into the hands of the Socialist administration, wherever and whenever it captures the powers of

government. So much of the problem is then already solved.

The next consideration is to dispose of the erroneous and doctrinaire idea that the Socialist party must not stand for any method but that of confiscation.

The question never gets to the party in any such abstract manner as to require it to take such a stand. The fight for the public ownership of public utilities in the city, for example, comes in certain preliminary measures in which the question of compensation is quite remote. In order that the city may push forward the public ownership movement, it is necessary to make a fight for home rule and to secure some readjustment with regard to the laws covering the debt limit of the city. These and similar issues are already being fought to the finish by various organizations outside of the Socialist movement.

Again, when a city is already committed to the idea of public ownership, whether by the Socialist agitation or otherwise, it finds itself limited for years by terms of franchises already existing, which, whether we will or not, we cannot at once repudiate. It is not a question of what we would *like* to do, nor even what we *ought* to do in such cases, but what *can* be done under the circumstances.

If the question of confiscation and compensation should come up in an abstract form, then be it understood that the Socialist party stands frankly and always has stood for compensation, rather than confiscation, in spite of all that can be said in favor of the justice of confiscation—and very much indeed can be said.

Karl Marx is said to have expressed the opinion to Engels that "if we could buy up the whole crowd, it would really be the cheapest way of relieving ourselves of them." ("Collectivism," by Vandervelde, p. 155.) Similarly, Vandervelde himself writes: "There is no doubt that of all forms of social liquidation, expropriation without indemnity, with the resistance, the troubles, the

bloody disturbances which it would not fail to produce, would be in the end most costly." ("Collectivism," p. 155.) Engels himself has said, "We do not at all consider the indemnification of the proprietors as an impossibility, whatever might be the circumstances." (Ibid., 155.) Karl Kautsky, in his "The Social Revolution," which, by the way, is a very sane and complete discussion of this whole matter, says, "There are a number of reasons which indicate that a proletarian regime will seek the road of compensation, and payment of the capitalist and landowners." (P. 118.)

In discussing the method of socialization in the pages that follow this quotation, he refers to the progressive income tax and inheritance tax and other similar methods and points out that, by compensating capital at its full value, and then through tax legislation deriving the means with which to pay it off, the Socialist movement has taken the wisest, easiest and best method.

Referring to those who will probably purchase the industries, Kautsky says (pp. 113-114): "A portion of the factories, mines, etc., could be sold directly to the laborers who are working them, and could be henceforth operated co-operatively; another portion could be sold to co-operatives of distribution, and still another to the communities or to the states. It is clear, however, that capital would find its most extensive and generous purchaser in the states or municipalities, and for this very reason the majority of the industries would pass into the possession of the states and municipalities. That the Social Democrats when they came into control would strive consciously for this solution is well recognized."

It is often pointed out that the American government confiscated the property of the slave owners, but it cost this nation a hundred times as much in money, blood, tears and terror as it did certain other nations that paid for their slaves.

The method of compensation is the

most obvious and easy way. Every step of that process may be made a gradual relief to those who are suffering from the present wrongs. To take a single illustration, suppose it be proposed that the United States Government buy the railways of this nation. According to the Interstate Commerce Commission, they could have been bought about six years ago for less than \$9,000,000,000. The price now could not exceed \$11,000,000,000 or \$12,000,000,000. Let us take the latter figure as a basis. The government could probably borrow money on bonds at two per cent., certainly not more than three per cent. We will assume the latter. The interest charge then on the debt created, if we paid the \$12,000,000,000 for the railroads and borrowed the money at three per cent., would be \$360,000,000 per year.

But the present net income of the railroads is \$833,000,000. (See Von Wagnen's "Government Ownership of Railways," G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1910. Pp. 46-7.) *On that basis the people of the United States by purchasing the railways would be \$473,000,000 to the good per year from the very outset.* Surely a tremendous advantage.

With these principles in mind, we shall be prepared to work out the various methods by which the Socialists, as they come into power, may and probably will undertake to socialize the various public utilities. The following methods will undoubtedly be used, varying according to circumstances and conditions, sometimes one method, sometimes another, and again a combination of several, or modifications of them all:

1. *Direct purchase.* Already there are movements on foot in cities and states and the nation to get an actual physical valuation of the various public utilities. The actual value having been determined, there is no doubt that many cities and states, and in some cases the nation, will proceed to the direct purchase of certain forms of public property.

2. *Condemnation,* or purchase under the right of eminent domain. It is undoubtedly true that in this process of socialization by purchase there will be many cases of resist-

ance and refusal offered by the capitalists. But the state has at hand the practical, legal and constitutional method by which it can compel the sale of the properties at the proper valuation. In fact the public has been using this method from the beginning.

3. *Building.* In many cases of course the government will build its own plants.

4. *Foreclosure.* This method could be used where the government has advanced money on loans which the companies have not returned. Furthermore, scores of railways in this country have become bankrupt and have fallen into the hands of receivers. Such cases afford an excellent opportunity to clinch public ownership. The Socialists of Wisconsin advanced this idea in resolutions introduced in the state legislature.

5. *"Interpretation,"* or the purchase of stock in existing concerns. This has been used with great effectiveness in Germany in the purchase of the railways. Here the government buys stock in the concern until it secures the controlling interest.

6. *Franchise provision.* Provision is made by this method, for ultimate public ownership

in the franchises at the time they are granted. This is used in the French Republic with regard to the railways. It is the basis of the model franchise drawn by the Socialist administration in Milwaukee. The same process has actually been put into operation in Chicago in the great street car system of this city. (See Reports of the Board of Supervising Engineers, Chicago Traction, Chicago.)

7. *Acquiring possession by securing control of new processes.* The introduction of new processes in manufacture and transportation is going on very rapidly all the time. The government should seek to control these new processes from the beginning.

In this connection we might call attention to the significance of the present movement for the conservation of natural resources, such as water power, used in the manufacture of electricity. The task of socialization involves the entrance of the Socialist party into the tremendous sweep of the present social movements in the nation, and requires that it take part at every possible point in every possible way for advancing public ownership.

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## THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALISTS OF GREAT BRITAIN

ELLEN C. WILKINSON,  
Manchester University.

Away from the busy world of men, in a house on the shores of Lake Denventwater, a group of 25 university men and women met to discuss the problem of "the Universities for Socialism." It was one year since the first meeting of the Federation had been held in the upper room of a Manchester restaurant. Since that time the movement for co-ordinating the scattered Socialist groups in the universities and welding them into an effective organization, had been carried on by a few devoted individuals.

But the time had come when the Federation must cease to exist or be placed on a broader basis, and hence the conference was called, amid insufferable difficulties against which only an heroic idealist like our chairman, Clifford Allen, could have prevailed.

The conference was characterized by a note of serious purpose. We knew that the finance

NOTE:—This conference was held at Barrow House, Keswick, March 31, 1913. The British society differs from the American organization in that it admits to active membership only those who are convinced Socialists. A quantity of the first number of the University Socialist, the excellent organ of the British Federation, is on hand, and may be secured from the I. S. S. for 15c. a copy.

problem was a pressing one and that the university authorities would not look any too kindly upon Socialist societies. But each delegate—and every University Socialist society in the country was represented—realized that an isolated society could do little good, and that the parent Fabian Society, willing as it was to help, could not realize the peculiar difficulties and problems that beset University Socialists, and each went back to his college with a steady determination to help the federation to victory.

After the business of the conference was dispensed with, we tramped over hill and dale discussing the problems, raised in the morning. In the evening, gathered round the smoke room fire, we laughed at the gay stories of the irresponsibles or argued the problems of life of which each had been thinking, and which could now be discussed in all their phases by men and women differing in opinion but united by similar aims.

One unique and encouraging feature was the prominence given to the Women's Movement. There was a formal discussion on this problem, and the women delegates felt that these men, willing to extend the hand of frank equal comradeship, in the happy days of the conference, were prepared to stand firmly on their side in the struggle against a reactionary government, and those university authorities who still regarded women as beings to be kept under lock and key.

But never was the deeper note, the cry of the workers, forgotten. On the last night of

the conference, when the toast of "The Social Revolution" was drunk, and when with religious fervor, we sang "The Red Flag," we felt that our cause was at one with the oppressed; that our culture and education had meaning only as they were used in the service of these our brothers. Comrades of America, here is our hand,

"We'll raise the Scarlet standard high  
Within its shade we'll live and die,  
Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,  
We'll keep the red flag flying here."

## SOCIALISM AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The University of Michigan Chapter is most active this season. Alexander Irvine addressed a meeting before Christmas, attended by 600 students, and created splendid enthusiasm. On January 29th, Prof. Reeves of the Department of Political Science spoke to us on "The Meaning of Democracy." The following meeting was an "amateur night," the speeches being made by the student members. Frederick Bishop discussed the recent strikes; Robert Hess reviewed Berger's career in Congress; Joseph Richards dwelt on the suffrage movement in England and Melvin Case told of the condition of the student waiters in the Ann Arbor boarding houses. After the last named speech a committee was appointed to report on the advisability of launching a movement for a student waiters' union. This action has secured much publicity, and it may be that the university will be treated to a sample of industrial unionism here at home.

"The Uprising of the Unskilled" was the subject of Dr. Frank Bohn's speech in Newberry Auditorium, February 24th. As a result of our use of the telephone (500 people at least were in that way informed of the lecture), the posting of notices on all the campus bulletin boards, and the announcement of a lecture in a number of class rooms, over 400 were present to hear Bohn's address.

The students also came out in large numbers at the Carrie Allen and Samuel Ball lectures under the direction of the Socialist Lyceum Bureau. We are trying to secure Charles Edward Russell, Rev. Algernon Crosey and others. Seventy-five students have signified their willingness to sell tickets for the Russell lecture.

A unique feature is the inauguration of what we call the mentor system. Ten members of the Society, well versed in the Socialist philosophy, are placed in charge of small squads of three or four. These meet regularly to keep their group posted on Socialism and on the current happenings of interest to Socialists.

A course in Socialism is being planned during the Summer Session and next year by Dr.

R. W. Sellars of the Department of Philosophy.

In the recent oratorical contest held at the university, five of the sixteen contestants were members of our Chapter. Louis D. David, who was selected to represent the university in Chicago against representatives of Chicago, Northwestern, Minnesota and Wisconsin, is also a member of the club. His subject was "Social Reformers." A number of the members, including Morris Sugar, Peter Fagan, Robert Hess and Louis Reimann have been doing considerable speaking on Socialism in different parts of Michigan. As a result of the various activities of the club, Socialism is one of the most discussed subjects on the campus.

## THE SECRETARY.

## NEWS FROM COLLEGES

Despite the floods, the inclemency of the weather and the early Spring vacation, the work of the I. S. S. has progressed steadily during the past few months. Perhaps of chief interest have been the Metropolitan conferences around Boston and New York, and the speaking tours of Congressman Berger, Alexander Irvine and the Organizing Secretary. A strong Alumni Chapter at St. Louis was organized through the efforts of Miss Sanford and Miss Stokes, and undergraduate Chapters were formed at the MASS. INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY and SIMMONS COLLEGE. On March 29th, the British Inter-University Socialist Federation held its annual convention and sent its hail to our Society. The result of the election of officers of the Society has just been made known.

Of chief interest in the New England States is the annual dinner and Metropolitan conference held in Boston, April 25th and 26th. The conference was preceded by a dinner, Friday evening, April 25th, in the Twentieth Century Club, at which Congressman Victor L. Berger, Dr. Thomas C. Hall, professor of Christian Ethics at the Union Theological Seminary, were the principal speakers. Harry W. Laidler told about the Society and Grover G. Mills, president of the Boston Chapter, acted as chairman. The session of Saturday was scheduled for the South End House, 20 Union Park, Boston. The program included speeches of representatives from various Chapters in the vicinity of Boston, and an address on the purpose of the Undergraduate Chapters by Mr. Laidler. Ordway Tead (1912) was in charge of the conference. The other members of the committee were Frances E. Dadmun, Secretary; Grace R. Horne and Louise A. Grout. Plans are under way for the formation of a New England Committee which, it is believed, will materially assist the national body in organizing and strengthening undergraduate and graduate Chapters.

Under the direction of Edgar W. Herbert, Chairman of the Extension Committee of the New York Alumni Chapter, a conference was held Saturday evening April 5th, at Codington's Restaurant, 6th Ave. near 44th St., Manhattan, of the undergraduates in the I. S. S. Chapters in New York and vicinity. Among the speakers were Bouck White, S. John Block, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Laidler, S. S. Bobbe, representing Columbia Chapter; Z. Sagal, New York Medical; J. Berman, New York University; Frank Kristal, University of Michigan, and Ida Crouch Hazlett. The meeting was a source of much benefit to the chapters.

#### NEW ENGLAND STATES

A strong study group was formed in March at the MASS. INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, one of the foremost of the engineering schools in the country. Some 150 were present April 17th at a talk given by Organizing Secretary Laidler. Julius Kuttner is president of the group and Harold A. Mayer, secretary. SIMMONS COLLEGE was added to the list of Chapters, following the talk by Mr. Laidler on March 17th. This is the second of the women's colleges of the United States at which I. S. S. Chapters were organized. Seventeen joined, including Gorham W. Harris and Florence C. Sargent, members of the faculty. The group is a most promising one. Five students at the UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT applied for a Charter, March 11th. A most attentive audience listened to a talk on "The Ideals and Achievements of Socialism," by the Organizer at this university on March 11th. A Chapter is in the process of formation. The YALE Chapter has held its usual series of popular and thought-stirring meetings of late. Bird S. Coler, former Comptroller of New York, delivered a vigorous anti-Socialist speech on April 10th.

A big meeting was addressed by Victor L. Berger, April 23rd. On May 8th, Dean Brown of the Theological School will debate George Willis Cooke on the religious and spiritual aspects of Socialism. The most recent public lecture at HARVARD was addressed by John Cowper Powys, March 31st. Powys defended the thesis that the industrial state of the future should be a despotic collectivism. Victor Berger held forth on April 25th. James Mackaye has recently ended an intensely interesting series of talks addressed to the members of the club on some of the deeper phases of the Socialist problem. Mr. Elliot of the Hudson Guild, New York, spoke before the Chapter in April.

Under the joint auspices of the Brown Christian Association and the College Union, BROWN UNIVERSITY, Harry W. Laidler spoke in the auditorium of Rockefeller Hall, on March 13th. C. F. Joslin has been elected president of the Chapter there and C. H. Ricker, secretary. The WILLIAMS Chapter is

continuing to hold regular study meetings. The College Year Book, "Gul", is devoting a page to the Chapter. Two of its members represented WILLIAMS in the triangular debating teams this Spring. Congressman Berger is scheduled for WESLEYAN, April 22nd. The Chapter is trying to secure Prof. Irving Fisher of YALE during April. John Lee Brooks is president of the Chapter; Thorold W. Pell, secretary, and Eli Allison, organizer. Brooks had a splendid article on the club in a recent issue of the Literary Monthly. MASSACHUSETTS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, CLARK UNIVERSITY, WESLEYAN and the AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE were recently addressed by Mr. Laidler. The last named Chapter is especially active. Ordway Tead, Amherst 1912, spoke to the members of the AMHERST Chapter in April. The CONNECTICUT AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE is continuing its study course meetings. The SPRINGFIELD Y. M. C. A. COLLEGE is ever expanding its valuable educational work.

One hundred and twenty-five students at WELLESLEY recently signified their desire to join a Socialist study group. Marie Collins and Anna Kalet are among the most active. A number of students were present at the home of Prof. Hayes, March 16th, and discussed informally with the Organizer various phases of Socialism.

Movements are on foot at TUFTS, WORCESTER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE and RADCLIFFE for the formation of I. S. S. Chapters. Names of interested students have been received recently from MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE and NORWICH UNIVERSITY.

#### MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES

Four interesting public lectures have been given of late at COLUMBIA. Prof. Henry S. Mussey dwelt on the economic aspects of Socialism; William English Walling distinguished State Socialism from Democratic Socialism; Frank Bohn told of the organization of the unskilled; Harry W. Laidler spoke on the ideals of Socialism and Victor L. Berger related the experiences of a Socialist Congressman. Many of the literary lights of the college are actively interested in the club, including Randolph S. Bourne, Simon Borr and others. The club claims the only member of the senior class elected during the winter term to the Phi Beta Kappa Society. Park L. Moon, who has this distinction, addressed the group on "The Class Struggle" recently. Simon Borr will speak on "The Broader Aspects of Socialism."

George R. Kirkpatrick delivered "an exceptionally clear and scientific presentation of Socialism" before 200 students in PENNSYLVANIA STATE on April 21st. Study meetings are being continued at MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL, and a goodly number of the students are attending the course of lectures given at

one of the local theatres. Prof. Doan and Wm. MacDonald were among the leaders of the discussion meeting. The flourishing COOPER UNION group has been addressed this Spring by Edgar W. Herbert and Organizer Laidler. Hubert Harrison addressed the NEW YORK DENTISTS' Chapter on March 7th. This organization held a successful ball during March, and is continuing its valuable monthly.

"There are many indications that the PRINCETON Chapter has been a great help in giving non-Socialists a more sympathetic attitude toward Socialism," writes its secretary. The members have sold many pamphlets and have started a circulating library of modern Socialist books. They were addressed April 23rd by Mr. Laidler. A most promising Chapter at C. C. N. Y. has renewed its activity, with Henry Hankins and Bernard Mayer as temporary president and secretary, respectively. Laidler addressed the group in April, and a number of other lectures are being planned.

"The Socialistic point of view has been kept before the college more prominently than ever before," writes Thomas J. Healy, secretary of the COLGATE Club. "Two members of the club have participated in public oratorical contests, speaking on Socialistic subjects. Many new Socialist books have been secured for the library. Spargo's Socialism is a part of the required reading in the economics course, and the subject is dealt with extensively in the sociology and comparative government classes. The club members have met with much sympathy on the part of the instructors." The Organizing Secretary spoke here during his New York trip.

"The Paterson Strike" will be discussed by Stephen G. Rich at N. Y. UNIVERSITY. Dr. Kennedy of N. Y. U. is giving a course on Socialism. The Chapters at the NEW YORK MEDICAL COLLEGE, N. Y. UNIVERSITY (Washington Square), SWARTHMORE COLLEGE and UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, report progress.

Alexander Irvine spoke at Washington, Pa., before a number of students at WASHINGTON-JEFFERSON COLLEGE in March.

"A Chapter of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society might easily be organized at ST. LAWRENCE UNIVERSITY," writes L. F. Landon, editor and chief of the Laurentian Publishing Company and president of the St. Lawrence University Press Association. The names of a number of interested students have been received. HAMILTON COLLEGE and HAVERFORD COLLEGE have recently been heard from.

#### THE WEST

Alexander Irvine made a number of brilliant speeches at OHIO WESLEYAN and the AMERICAN SCHOOL OF OSTEOPATHY during March. "It will be an occasion long to be remem-

bered by the faculty and student body," writes Glenn Speece of the OHIO WESLEYAN Chapter, in his description of Irvine's visit. "Alexander Irvine was with us for two days last week," asserts Ernest A. Moore of the Chapter at THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF OSTEOPATHY, "and we believe that if he could stay with us a week almost the entire student body would be well on the way to the acceptance of the Socialist philosophy." "The Intercollegiate Socialist is great," adds Moore. The Chapter at this college also listened to a talk by William A. Ward recently.

A keenly interesting debate on "Socialism is the Only Hope," between Ira C. Tilton and James Ryan, who held the affirmative and the negative respectively, brought out an attentive audience of 325 at the VALPARAISO UNIVERSITY Chapter on Feb. 23rd. Ira C. Tilton has addressed from 50 to 100 students each week during February and March. His subjects have been "Poverty", "Slums", "Child Labor", "Crime and Disease", "The Social Evil", "Social Waste", "The Economic Factor in History." The group has recently furnished the Society with a splendid picture of its membership.

Some worth while meetings of the UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS Chapter have been held of late. Among the subjects have been: "Present Conditions", "Foundation of Industrial Democracy", and "Immediate Demands of Socialism", and among the speakers, Dr. Denton and Messrs. Zappler, Zucker, Moore, McInnis and Weston. The UNIVERSITY OF INDIANA reports the discussion of "Socialism in England", "Utopianism", "The Materialistic Conception of History" and "Economic Influences on History as Seen in England", by Prof. Jenkins, Mr. Hornung, Louis Plost and Lou Wilkie, respectively.

"We believe we have been accomplishing excellent results this year," writes Secretary Carruthers of NORTHERN OHIO UNIVERSITY. Prof. Axline recently addressed the club on "Government Ownership."

The following from the UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA: "Dean Ballantine gave a splendid address on Individuality and the Law. The members wish to have meetings every Friday evening and are very enthusiastic. Both non-Socialists and the faculty show great interest." The CHAPTERS at MORNINGSIDE COLLEGE, MIAMI, UTAH AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE send good words of activity. Word has been received that the formation of groups is being considered at WESTERN RESERVE, IOWA STATE, LENOX, RIPON, HURON, HILLSDALE, UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI, FARGO, BETHANY, COTNER, ANTIOCH, OKLAHOMA AGRICULTURAL, LAWRENCE, NEW MEXICO NORMAL UNIVERSITY, and EAST TEXAS NORMAL COLLEGE. The professors of economics in several of these universities have co-operated with the Society in the furnishing of names.

## PACIFIC COAST

"In spite of the fact that the strongest radical sentiment here is given to expending its energy in the direct conduct of outside elections and campaigns, we have held regular weekly meetings with good audiences, usually with an outside speaker or member of the faculty taking a leading part," comes from Vern Smith, secretary of the Chapter at the UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA. An effort is now being made to form a Chapter at the UNIVERSITY OF OREGON.

## THE SOUTH

"Our members have been speaking in the classes and societies and distributing literature. Several members have recently joined and a number of professors are interested. An article on the Society, appearing in the college magazine, has recently called the attention of the student body to both the local and national Society," writes J. C. Duke, secretary of the Chapter at RICHMOND COLLEGE, one of the few of the Southern groups. The article in question was written by Secretary Duke.

Roy H. Trawick of the UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA writes under date of March 3rd: "There are a few Socialists here who desire to get in touch with the Intercollegiate." Interest has also been manifested at HOWARD UNIVERSITY, MEREDITH, TUSCULUM, and LINCOLN MEMORIAL. Several Socialists have given addresses before Howard.

## CANADA

The lectures held by the club this year were as follows: "The Origin of Socialism in England," by Prof. Mack Eastman, of the UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY; "The History of the Working Class Movement in North America," by Chas. O'Brien, member of the Provincial Legislature; "The Guilds of the Roman Empire," by Prof. Alexander. There were several other talks by members.

"The Society is beginning to arouse attention," declares Secretary Seyer. "We have succeeded in having several Socialist papers placed in the library, and have also secured a small space in the university paper to be used by us. It is the intention of the Society to have each of its members study some definite phase of the Socialist movement during the summer, and to give the results of his study in a talk before the club."

## ALUMNI CHAPTERS

A promising Chapter of the Alumni of St. Louis was formed on April 9th through the efforts of Miss Mary R. Sanford and Miss Helen Phelps Stokes of the Executive Committee. Gustavus Tuckerman is the secretary. Most of the members are prominently identified with various civic activities. An alumni Chapter is also in the process of formation

in STATEN ISLAND, N. Y. Henry Willcox, Harvard 1912, and Marie Baer are among the moving spirits. Joshua Wanhope, Walter Lippmann and Harry W. Laidler have been among the speakers to address the group.

The BOSTON Chapter has been particularly active during the past few months. Of chief interest is the Annual Dinner and Metropolitan Conference of April 25th mentioned elsewhere. At the January dinner Dr. Algernon Cropsey, Bouck White, Percy Mackaye and Miss Charlotte Porter were the principal speakers. The study meetings have been as follows: January 5th, Miss Ellen Hayes, "The New Political Alignment"; February 2nd, George Willis Cooke, "Economic Determinism"; March 2nd, Prof. Emily Balch, "What is a Socialist," and April 4th, Mr. Ordway Tead, "Socialism, the End and the Means."

As a result of the election of the New York Alumni Chapter, the following officers have been chosen for the ensuing year: Harry W. Laidler, WESLEYAN, president; Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ph.D., BARNARD, 1st vice-president; Rev. Irwin Tucker, GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, 2nd vice-president; Robert Lee Hale, HARVARD, treasurer; Rene E. Hoguet, HARVARD, secretary; W. Evans Clark, AMHERST, delegate to the National Executive Committee. The following chairmen have been appointed to the Chapter's Committees: lecture bureau, Miss Mary Allan Stuart; music and extension, Edgar W. Herbert, SPRINGFIELD Y. M. C. A. COLLEGE; legal, Leon A. Malkiel, N. Y. UNIVERSITY LAW; teachers, William E. Bohn, Ph.D., MICHIGAN; librarian, Dorothy D. Klein; Socialist Press Section, Press Committee, Clara G. Stillman, BARNARD.

The Lecture Committee has been instrumental in arranging between 80 and 100 lectures by members of the Chapter before Socialist and non-Socialist bodies. Each of the other committees is planning good work for the coming year. The bi-monthly meetings held at the houses of the different members have been marked successes. Those since the first of the year have been addressed by Jessie W. Hughan, Nicholas Kelly, Helen Phelps Stokes, Dr. Anna Ingerman, Robert Lee Hale, Dr. R. J. Brodsky, H. D. Sedgwick, William English Walling, Mary R. Sanford and Dr. I. M. Rubinow.

The PHILADELPHIA Chapter has been steadily at work. Several meetings on current events have been conducted by Paul Hanna. The "English and German Socialist Movements" were described by Joseph Cohen. At the annual election of officers the following were chosen for the ensuing year: President, Jacob Kotinsky; Vice-President, Innes Forber; Secretary, Alice S. Cheyney; Treasurer, Rosa Laddon; Member of the National Executive Committee, Grace Phelps; Local Executive Committee, Dr. Helen Murphy and Mrs. Weda C. Addicks; House Committee, Mrs. Weda C.

Addicks, Dr. Helen Murphy; Press Committee, Edwin S. Potter, Paul Hanna, Grace Phelps; Membership Committee, Dr. Chas. S. Hirsch, Innes Forbes, Emily Newton, Edward Forcythe; Extension Committee, Alice S. Cheyney. The Extension Committee is doing active work in reaching the colleges in Philadelphia and vicinity.

A "Radical Dinner," at the Lincoln Inn, at which 80 people were present, was one of the events of the recently formed CHICAGO Alumni Chapter during February. Dr. John C. Kennedy, recently Socialist party candidate for Governor in Illinois, spoke from the Socialist standpoint; Louis F. Post, editor of *The Public*, presented the single tax point of view; Donald R. Richberg, chairman of the Service Committee of the Progressive Party, represented his particular group, while J. O. Bentall was another of the Socialist defendants. "The meeting was most interesting. Everyone is feeling encouraged and prospects look bright," writes Prof. Gould, the treasurer. THE WASHINGTON, COLUMBUS and PITTSBURGH Chapters report progress.

SPRINGFIELD Chapter held a monster meeting in the Springfield High School, together with the Socialist Party Local, for Congressman Berger for April 24th. The members are co-operating actively with the college groups in and around Springfield. The Chapter was addressed recently by Organizer Laidler.

The members and friends of the Society in Connecticut are planning a meeting in that state.

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### I. S. S. NOTES

The following officers and members of the Executive Committee, I. S. S., have been elected for the ensuing year: President, J. G. Phelps Stokes; 1st Vice-President, Mrs. Florence Kelley; 2nd Vice-President, Ernest Poole; Treasurer, Morris Hillquit; Secretary, Leroy Scott; Organizing Secretary, Harry W. Laidler; Executive Secretary, Miss Alice Kuebler; Executive Committee, Margaret G. Batchelder, Prof. Frank C. Doan, Jessie W. Hughan, Ellis O. Jones, Nicholas Kelley, Paul Kennaday, Harry W. Laidler, Caro Lloyd, Dr. I. M. Rubinow, Mary R. Sanford, H. D. Sedgwick, Upton Sinclair, Helen Phelps Stokes, Wm. English Walling and Bouck White.

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Miss Dutcher dwelt primarily on the organization of the clerks; Miss Schneiderman portrayed conditions in the white goods trades. Miss Barnum and Mr. Cohen vigorously defended the protocol, while Mrs. Stokes pronounced it defective in many respects. The discussion following the set speeches was a most animated one.

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