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THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST

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Our 1918 Autumn Conference

No activity of the I. S. S. has ever met with such unanimous and enthusiastic support as has our Autumn Conference. These annual six-day gatherings, affording as they have an unusual opportunity for healthful recreation and sociability, combined with the discussion of vital problems, have proved an inspiration to all who have been privileged to attend.

The Society is fortunate this year in securing for its Fourth Annual Conference a location which vies in beauty with the surroundings of its former autumn "meets." This location is "The New Kittatinny," Delaware Water Gap, Pennsylvania. The Conference will be held from Tuesday, September 10th, to Monday, September 16th.

The New Kittatinny hotel (an Indian name for "endless mountain"), is situated in a private park, directly overlooking the headwaters of the Delaware. The location of the hotel is high, cool, and devoid of fogs, dampness, and mosquitoes, while surrounding it are hundreds of acres of virgin mountain forest. Superb views are afforded from nearby points, and numerous delightful tramps may be taken on picturesque paths and trails through the park, diverging from the hotel. During the Fall months, when the leaves are turning, the mountains are a scene of beauty and splendor.

The New Kittatinny, with a capacity for 500 guests, is the leading modern high-class hotel in this mountain region. The sleeping rooms, which are especially large, are arranged either singly or en-suite, each room having two or more windows, commanding unobstructed views of mountains, valleys, and river. The hotel is architecturally designed on large and generous proportions, with spacious lobbies, parlors, and dining rooms, and possesses 20,000 square feet of porches and sun parlors. The table is constantly maintained at a high standard, and is supplied daily with fresh vegetables, poultry, eggs, milk, etc., from the Kittatinny farms, greenhouses and dairy. Very special rates have been secured for the guests of the Society at this time.

On the grounds are golf courses, clay tennis courts and croquet grounds, while boating, canoeing, bathing, fishing and water sports may be enjoyed at nearby points. Motorists find good roads all the way to the hotel. Delaware Water Gap is approximately 85 miles from New York and from Philadelphia, and can be reached from both cities in between two and three hours.

RECONSTRUCTION

The Conference will deal with the question of "Reconstruction during and after the War." The subjects tentatively suggested for discussion under this general heading are, "Reconstruction in Great Britain, Russia and on the Continent," "The National Minimum," "The Use of the Social Surplus," "Industrial Democracy," "Reconstruction in Education," Reconstruction and the Farmer," and "Labor in Politics." As last year, the subject and speakers of one or more of the important week-end sessions will be left open until shortly before the Conference, so as to take advantage of the latest developments. The speaking will, without doubt, measure up to the same high standard as that of former years.

All forward-looking men and women, whether members of the Society or not, are cordially invited to attend this gathering and to help make it a Conference long to be remembered in the annals of our Society and of the intellectual life of America. Those desiring full details concerning the conference are asked to communicate with the Society, 70 Fifth Ave., N. Y. City.

KARL MARX

By CARO LLOYD

One hundred years ago, Karl Marx was born in Prussia. On both sides he was descended from three centuries of rabbis. His father, a successful lawyer, was imbued with the liberal ideas of the eighteenth century, and both he and his wife became Christians. Karl was ardent, gifted, lovable, called by his mother "the Fortune Child." He loved to play with Jenny, the daughter of his father's friend, Baron von Westphalen, a descendant of the Earl of Argyle, beheaded by James II., and a man of wide culture. While the father read Voltaire and Racine to Karl, the Baron read Homer and Shakespeare. No wonder he was always scribbling, especially to Jenny, and now planned to be a great poet.

Of course, he went to the university, first to Bonn, then to Berlin. He took little Jenny with him in his heart. This disturbing element, together with his habit of wandering into independent study, delayed his degree. His father described him as one "who finds a new system every week and has to destroy all the work he did on a former one." But he won Jenny and, after paternal prodding, his sheepskin too.

In Berlin he associated with the Left of the Hegelians, of whom Bruno Bauer and Feuerbach were leading spirits. They became devoted to "the black personality," or "Mohr," the Moor, as Marx was called. Here we see the soil from which he drew sustenance in, for instance, Hegel's conception of truth as growing, of man's evolutionary climb and Feuerbach's idea that man is the product of his environment.

BEGINNING HIS LIFE'S WORK

Happily the forces of reaction prevented his attaining his wish to be an instructor at Bonn. He became editor of a new daily started by the bourgeois radicals. In it he bitterly attacked the government for frauds upon the peasants, "the poor dumb millions," and the paper was suppressed. Then Arnold Ruge invited him to come to Paris to help revive the French-German Year Book. So he and Jenny were married and started on their beautiful life journey. Here Marx met Heine, Bakounin, Cabet, often talked all night with Proudhon, studied St. Simon and was impressed by his interpretation of the French Revolution as a class war between possessors and non-possessing masses and his belief that politics are based on economics. In the only number of the Year Book which appeared Marx showed the first steps toward his materialistic conception of history. At this time the son of a wealthy German cotton spinner passing through Paris met Marx and there sprang up that wonderful cooperative friendship between him and Frederick Engels, so fraught with service to mankind.

Engels working in his father's Manchester factory knew the English labor movement and soon took Marx for a trip to England, where he "gorged himself" with writings of the Ricardian school. Meanwhile because of his attacks upon the government in the "Vorwärts," the organ of the German exiles in Paris, Marx had been expelled. How easy now would have been the path to the kingdoms of earth. Jenny's brother was on the high road to his goal as Minister of State. A little compromise with his conscience and Marx might have returned like the revolutionary comrade Bucher, the traitor, who became Bismarck's right hand man. Out into exile went Marx and Jenny and never faltered. They settled in Brussels where Marx wrote his famous reply to Proudhon, "Le Misère de la Philosophe," and founded The German Workingmen's Club.

FOUNDING THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Radicalism in all countries was then unorganized, lacking leadership; on one hand utopias were planned, on the other conspiracies and violent revolts. Marx, Engels and Liebknecht refused to join either. Groups of workers all

over Europe were full of deep resentment. But it was anger without a program. Marx, who already saw that a long process of economic evolution must precede any possible change, advocated for the present the education of the workers and the organization of a proletarian political revolutionary movement. "Educate, agitate, organize," said Marx. "You will have to go through fifteen, twenty, fifty years of civil wars and wars between nations not only to change existing conditions, but to change yourselves and make yourselves worthy of political power." He and Engels were appealed to for leadership. The result was the founding of the Communist League and the publishing on Feb. 24, 1848, of its declaration, the famous Communist Manifesto written by Marx and Engels. On the same day came the revolution in France, followed later by abortive uprisings in England and Germany, as Marx had prophesied. As the workers began to experience the futility of violence, the manifesto, with its ringing slogan, "Workers of the World, Unite," called upon them to enter upon the long road of emancipation through political action, and through the capture and transformation of the state.

In a few days, after the outbreak in France, Marx was expelled from Belgium, going with Engels to Paris and then to Cologne. He was conferring at this time with Liebknecht, Lassalle, Brisbane, and quarrelling famously with Bakounin. In Cologne the story was repeated, attacks upon the government, suppression of his paper, the selling of his furniture to pay honorably his debts, and expulsion by "the long Prussian arm." The little family, now including three children and the faithful nurse Lenchen, fled to Paris. Within a month they were again expelled and Marx took final refuge in London, "the mother of exiles," in 1849.

Here their resources were soon exhausted. Marx's literary work was not of a remunerative kind, Engels in his father's factory was unable to help. Living in two rooms in dingy Soho, they suffered such dire poverty that it is heartbreaking to read of it. Often there was only bread and not enough, so that Marx did without. Jenny pawned the ancient Argyle silver, which brought upon them the suspicion of the police. The landlord seized all their furniture, even the new baby's cradle and the toys from the crying children. Marx, who adored children, and was known to those in the neighborhood as "Daddy Marx," saw his own die of privation. But there was always love in the home and devotion to the cause. When Marx threatened to give up and go into business, Jenny always said no. So he kept on, working on "Das Kapital," lecturing to poor workingmen, and refusing any fee and receiving in the little rooms great men like Robert Owen, Liebknecht, Louis Blanc. Relief came, when through Freiligrath and Longfellow, he received five dollars weekly for letters to the *New York Tribune*. Years of comparative calm followed, although several times they were nearly on the street. There were small legacies and Engels later became his father's partner. In 1859 Marx published his "Critique of Political Economy," the year of Darwin's "Origin of Species," of which Marx said: "His wonderful work makes my own absolutely impregnable. Darwin may not know it, but he belongs to the Social Revolution." During the American Civil War, Engels and Marx, to whom Lincoln was a hero, led English workers to their endorsement of the North.

The International

In 1864, Marx threw all his soul into the attempt to unite the European working class by founding the International Workingmen's Association. It was to fulfill the appeal in the Communist Manifesto. He wrote the Inaugural Address, accepted in preference to Mazzini's, and its program—the emancipation of the workers from bondage to the owners of the tools of production. For this emancipation, which was to be social and international, there was needed a brotherly bond between workers of all countries, and a study by them of national and international politics. The

English trade unions were the backbone of the movement. For seven years Marx worked with it, writing its declarations, planning its campaigns, at the same time publishing the first and beginning the second volume of "Capital." In spite of recurring illness, he often worked eighteen hours a day.

In '68, Bakounin, always the bitter antagonist of Marx, professing conversion, was admitted. From that moment the International became a battlefield between the Marxists and their advocacy of the conquest of political power and Bakounin, who, with what Liebknecht described as "hyper-revolutionary dress-parade oratory," advocated immediate abolition of the state by violent insurrections or by purely economic action. This continuous fight, forced by Bakounin, necessitated incessant work on Marx's part, absorbed all the energy of the International, and prevented any advance along its program. At a leaders' conference in London in '71, a resolution adopted reaffirmed the International's faith in political action. "In the militant state of the working class," it said, "its economic movement and its political action are indissolubly united." The Commune, followed by insurrections and strikes in many countries, now became linked in the public mind with the International, and although a politically powerless and disunited group it loomed large as "the Red Spectre" of Europe. At its congress at the Hague in 1872, after a long debate and an exposure of Bakounin's disruptive tactics, he was expelled, the political action section of the London resolution adopted, and at Marx's suggestion the seat of the International transferred to New York. Through the four years of debate, ideas had become clarified, and two distinct divisions emerged, anarchist and socialist, having no common ground either in method or philosophy.

In 1868 the International had issued a pronouncement against war as systematic murder, urging a general strike in case one was declared. The Franco-Prussian war caused for a time a serious disruption in its ranks. German radicals and Socialists stood in divided camps. Bebel and Liebknecht were among those refusing to vote for the war loans. In July, 1871, its General Council issued a manifesto, written by Marx, says Spargo, declaring the war to be one of defense, and warning the workers of Germany against its becoming one of offense, to the great injury of the proletariat of both countries. In two months, September 5, Marx sent to the German working class a manifesto urging an immediate peace, since the war had become one of conquest. On the 9th the General Council addressed a second manifesto to all sections of the International protesting against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and the policy of conquest. Many leaders were imprisoned. Mass meetings in many countries followed, and as the war progressed, the Socialist members of the Reichstag all voted against the war credits, and the members of the International were again united. After its transfer to New York, the International survived only four years, being disbanded in 1876.

The main part of Marx's work was now done. Although in the years following he advised on every phase of policy in the growing Socialist movement and worked on his book, he was terribly ill and broken. In 1881 Jenny died, cheerful and unregretting to the end. "Mohr is dead, too," said Engels. In fifteen months Marx too was gone. The brilliant, modest Engels faithfully finished "Das Kapital."

Marx's Contribution

Marx is now regarded as one of the great thinkers of all time. In social science he accomplished what Darwin did in biology. He formulated into a theory the idea of the materialistic conception of history. This is described thus by Engels:

> "In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

Since this idea had appeared in various writings even as far back as Aristotle, the Marxian claim to originality has been questioned. On this point Prof. Charles A. Beard writes:

"To my way of thinking Marx's most important contribution to social science is to be found in his analysis of machinery and machine industry and in his study of the process of capitalist accumulation. As to the economic interpretation of history, associated with his name, it should be said once for all that he did not originate it or make significant contributions to it. It is set forth clearly in Aristotle's Politics (especially Book V) and in the writings of John Adams and James Madison. Perhaps the best statement of it is to be found in the 10th number of "The Federalist" written by James Madison thirty years before Marx was born."

But Prof. E. R. A. Seligman says:

"If orginality can properly be claimed only for those thinkers who not alone formulate a doctrine but first recognize its importance and its implications, so that it thereby becomes a constituent element in their whole scientific system, there is no question that Marx must be recognized as in the truest sense the originator of the economic interpretation of history."

The most vehement attacks on this theory have come from those who claim that it excludes in its scope the many other factors in human progress. But Engels wrote in discussing this criticism:

"It is not that the economic situation is the cause, in the sense of being the only active agent, and that everything else is only a passive result. It is, on the contrary, a case of mutual action on the basis of the economic, which in the last instance always works itself out."

From this theory emphasizing the economic as the basic force in social evolution arises Marx's second theory of the class struggle, that each economic system has generated its two hostile classes, exploiter and exploited, each class and its struggle being necessary steps to a succeeding system. A further contribution was the doctrine of the fall of capitalism, to be followed by the seizure of power by the proletariat and the socialization of the means of production. These tenets form the foundation stones of modern Socialism. Marx concerned himself little with the details of the new social order or the means of attaining it, believing that an evolutionary process prepares its own way, but confined his efforts to the organization and education of the workers. Yet, while deeply revolutionary, he was also opportunistic, and attached great importance to the "immediate demands" for the betterment of conditions of labor.

In addition to these contributions to the revolutionary movement, Marx worked out in "Capital" a system of pure economics. The American Socialist movement, like that of other countries, is full of controversy over his economic theories. While his main theories have formed the basis for the Socialist movement of the world, making clear the pathway, many Socialists are ready to agree to a modification of his secondary theories. They claim that the facts of economic development have not entirely justified his belief in the rapid coming of a proletarian revolution; they take exception to his theory of increasing misery and the proletarization of the middle class, as well as to his analysis of recurring crises. The theory of surplus value has been most vigorously attacked. But the controversy is resolving itself more and more, as Miss Hughan points out, not into the question, "Is the profit of the capitalist a surplus value extracted solely from the product of labor?" but, "Is there social advantage in the private ownership of capital, which has the power to create value without exertion on the part of its owner?"

Non-Socialist economists, who ten years ago in rejecting his minor theories were rejecting also his whole Socialist position are today coming to acknowledge that the movement toward industrial democracy cannot be denied and are doing homage to his prophetic utterances of seventy years ago.

Today, on the centennial of his birth, many are bringing laurels to his shrine. Professor Seligman says:

"Whether or not we agree with Marx's analysis of industrial society, and without attempting as yet to pass judgment upon the validity of his philosophical doctrine, it is safe to say that no one can study Marx as he deserves to be studied—and, let us add, as he has hitherto not been studied in England or America—without recognizing the fact that, perhaps with the exception of Ricardo, there has been no more original, no more powerful, and no more acute intellect in the entire history of economic science."

Because of his splendid double service in formulating theory and in ap-

plying the theory to the upbuilding of the labor movement, leading it in the path of "revolutionary evolution," Marx has become the acknowledged founder of modern Socialism. As in nature one finds poison and antidote growing side by side, so in human nature. Thus out of Prussia, there has come a mighty impulse toward ridding the world forever of the evil known as "Prussianism."

In searching Marx the man, we find the springs of his life to be noble and illuminated by a spiritual ideal to which he was always true. The man, both in mind and soul, is one to be cherished forever. As he builded on preceding philosophies, so must those who would truly be his followers. Our best tribute to his life is to go onward from him to new protest, new theory, new organization.*

* See, among other works, "Karl Marx: His Life and Work," by John Spargo (Huebsch). "Economic Interpretation of History," by E. R. A. Seligman (Macmillan). "Marxism vs. Socialism," by V. Simkhovitch (Holt). "Was Marx Wrong," by I. M. Rubinow (the Marxian Institute). "Violence and the Labor Movement," by Robert Hunter (Macmillan). "The Theoretical System of Karl Marx," by Louis B. Boudin (Kerr). "Socialism; a Critical Analysis," O. T. Skelton (Houghton). "American Socialism of the Present Day," by Jessie Wallace Hughan (John Lane Co.). "Memoirs of Karl Marx," by Wilhelm Liebknecht (Kerr).

THE REAL GOAL OF SOCIALISM

ROBERT J. SPRAGUE

Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Agricultural College

The real goal of Socialism is personal individuality, not mechanical socialization of the world. Social organization is only a means for securing stronger individuality and self-realization, but Socialists talk so much about the machinery that their listeners can not idealize the product.

The goal of true Socialism is a fuller, deeper, better developed manhood and womanhood whereby everyone may have opportunity to realize the whole cycle of the highest human life.

In order to make myself clear let us compare.

INDIVIDUALISM VS. INDIVIDUALITY

Individualism concentrates the desires, interests and efforts in self-determined ends. The individualist insists upon having his own way. He may not be selfish in a material sense, but he is self-centered and usually egotistic. He does not cooperate with others and would often rather go the wrong way than give in to better opinions. He would be self-sufficient and fight the battles of life alone causing more of them than are necessary and in the end losing many of the material gains and spiritual blessings.

On the other hand, individuality signifies self-development, self-realization rather than self-will, the fulfillment of implanted possibilities, until the individual stands above his neighbors in the evolution of powers and virtues which nature has made possible for him. "A" may be musical or mathematical, while "B" is athletic or mechanical, both have developed high individuality but neither may have much individualism. Persons of great development and individuality among their fellows may be just the opposite of the individualist. They may work and produce in harmony with the great social organism, seeking cooperation with their fellows and surrendering their material interests for the common good. A man's great individuality may be manifested by his willingness to suppress individualism and cooperate with the community for the good of all, even at the sacrifice of his own material interests.

The goal and hope of both the individual and society should be the highest development of all the people, the fullest expansion of every individual to his

greatest possibility, his highest individuality. The fulfillment of the individual life is the one great goal for which all creation should be made to strive; the social organism, the church, the state, the family should exist for this one purpose and not for themselves; they are means to the larger end. Individualism, Socialism, Anarchism and all other "isms" must be judged at the bar of individuality.

If they help Jones, Smith and the others to grow, expand and realize their natural possibilities, if they create equal opportunities for education, travel, economic welfare, inventive genius and intelligent happiness, then they are useful instruments and methods for securing human progress and greater individuality, but if they subordinate Jones and Smith to some restricted and specified system of life, preventing their growth for the system's sake they are bad.

The individual self does all the thinking, feeling and conscious realizing of the world and God; he is everything and there is nothing else to work for. Society as a goal should not exist.

Too much individualism defeats individuality, for the average man attains the highest self-realization in close cooperation with his fellows. He comes to understand himself and others and finds better conditions for the development of his talents in human institutions if they are run for the best interests of all.

Communism vs. Socialism

In the Amana communistic villages of central Iowa the village government owns all the land, houses, mills, tools and every form of capital. Every citizen of that Communism works for its government, eats at its community "kitchens", attends prayer meetings, dresses according to the dictates of the selectmen, abstains from musical instruments, profane language and American ice cream in the same faithful way, and is finally buried in the community cemetery with his little headstone just like all the others.

This is Communism, this is equality without the opportunity. Amana tries to equalize men in work, habits, thoughts and feelings but does not equalize the opportunity and leave men free. Men must be free to work under equality of conditions. Human nature is so constructed that we do our best in competition with others under equality of opportunity. The greater the number of competitors that enter the race on equal conditions, the faster the time and the higher the records made. The rapid movement of the modern world as compared with the medieval times is due to the freedom of millions today where there were thousands then, or the development of equality of opportunity.

Edward Bellamy wrote "Looking Backward" a generation ago in which he pictured a national communism where the government managed everything and everybody worked for and depended on the government. It was miscalled "Socialism" and the Anglo-Saxon world read it and cried out "none of that in ours, if you please," and Socialism has been tăboo in America ever since. So most of the so-called socialistic agitators of the street and the city parks are blindly preaching a vapid communism and defeating the progress of the only real Socialism which can ever get a hearing outside of the I. W. W. and Bolsheviki exotics, in this Anglo-Saxon civilization. American Socialism must make it plain that it is after the equality of opportunity, the preparation and fertilization of the ground so that every member of society may grow to the limit of his possibilities and realize his own individual genius. The aim of all government must be to prepare conditions for development of the people, not to attempt to equalize men.

Socialism must overcome the old Bellamystic handicap that it would be a system for reducing men, fortunes and conditions of life to the hopeless level of a communistic society.

No man should be allowed to inherit a legal right to rule over others or the ownership of great blocks of the wealth of the world, but every man should inherit from society the open opportunities and means for his fullest individuality.

In the present war America is fighting the imperial systems of inherited power over men in order that the world may be safe for democracy, but she must

also fight down within her own realms the inheritance of concentrated wealth which creates castes, prevents equality of opportunity for all the people, and makes democracy unsafe for the world. Bolsheviki revolution will ultimately come to America as a result of the war unless the imperialism of concentrated, private wealth in America is crushed along with the "divine right to rule" in Europe.

Why can not American Socialism be shorn of its Communism and Anarchy and stated in such a way as to appeal to all the reasonable, progressive and unprejudiced classes in America? Let me try a definition for this purpose:

American Socialism must be a progressive policy for the socialization of the great economic and civic interests of the American people as rapidly and as far as sound sense, experiment and experience shall show such methods to be practicable and desirable; the purpose being that all citizens may have equal opportunities for securing the best education, developing the completest individuality, rising to the highest social levels and enjoying the greatest material comforts, without being handicapped by the concentration of wealth in private hands and without the possibility of handicapping others.

It is evident already that the most of the public service industries should pass at once under government ownership and management, that great natural resources of coal, iron, forests, and water power should be owned and controlled by the people and exploited for their common benefit and that land ownership and use should be so regulated as to prevent its monopolization and keep this source of life open for the real workers and the benefit of all. It is also evident that some of the standardized articles of common use can be produced under government management and supplied to the people of better quality and at lower prices than they are now paying for them. Standardized meat packing and food storage on a great scale should pass at once under government control and forever close one of the worst chapters of private greed and governmental insufficiency.

These and many other things are plainly in sight as immediate needs under a progressive policy of the socialization of the common interests of all the people.

American Socialism must make a few points clear to the American people before it can get a fair hearing.

1. It must aim at the liberty and highest opportunity of development of all the people, its goal must be individuality rather than Socialism. Socialism must become the means by which the individual may rise, not the goal for which he is sacrificed. Socialist leaders will say perhaps that this has always been their belief, but they have not made it clear to the people.

2. American Socialism must be a progressive policy rather than a cut and dried program with exact specifications of small details. The whole course of Anglo-Saxon and American history shows this to be necessary.

3. It must be freed from its Communism and Anarchy of which it now has an undesirable mixture. More or less Communism may come along with the development of Socialism, but it is not a part of it or one of its important aims. Anarchistic methods in socialistic programs can make only delays, strife and confusion.

4. American Socialism should be idealized and organized according to the nature of the American people and not attempt to follow after the Europeans or depend upon them for so much support. The times are ripe for a powerful socialistic movement in America if we could get it purged of objectionable foreign features and based upon the facts of American life and problems. Give us a party incorporating these features and the whole future of Socialism in America will be changed.

5. Socialistic organization must pass beyond the secret, pledged type of movement which is anti-American in its method, and move in the open political field with great flexibility of opinions and more subject to results of open discussions.

The Negro: His Present Status and Outlook

By Eugene V. Debs

The leading article in the *Intercollegiate Socialist* for December-January 1917-18 on "The Problem of Problems" by Prof. W. E. B. Du Bois, dealing with the negro question in the United States, deserves wide reading and sympathetic consideration. It presents the negro question to the American people from the standpoint of the negro himself and as an issue of commanding importance which the nation can no longer ignore or palter with save at its own peril.

In speaking for the negro Dr. Du Bois stands squarely upon the negro's rights *as a human being,* which rights have been shamelessly outraged from the day the first African natives, stolen by pirates from their native land, set foot upon American soil and were sold into slavery by their brutal captors.

The whole history of the American slave trade and of African slavery in the United States, clear down to the present day, is black with infamy and crime against the negro, which the white race can never atone for in time or eternity. Most of this revolting history has never been written and little of what has been written has been allowed to reach the people. Not one person in a thousand knows the facts about the stealing of the negroes by the pirates that supplied the American colonies with their black slaves; about how men, women and children were driven aboard the pirate ships, corralled like beasts, in filth, half-starved, naked, their backs scarred and bleeding from the cruel strokes of the keeper's lash, and half or two-thirds or even more of them dying from torture on the voyage and their dead bodies cast into the sea as so many dead dogs.

This was the beginning of the monstrous crime against the African negro by the white settlers of the American colonies—the crime that lay at the foundation of the infinitely greater crime of chattel slavery which grew out of it and which had to be expiated in rivers of blood drawn by the sword from white men's veins—the crime of three centuries without a parallel in history.

But only a minor part of this crime of crimes committed against a race has ever been atoned for, complete restitution for which can never be made.

Never do I see a negro but my heart goes out to him and I feel like apologizing abjectly to my black brother for the crime and outrages perpetrated upon his race by the race to which I belong. I look into his starved, brutalized features, his dumb despair, and I read the tragic story of his foul betrayal and shameless spoliation of body and soul, traced there by the hand of the Almighty as the ghastly indictment of the white man for his unspeakable cruelty toward his black brother.

But I am not to deal with the past in this writing, save only as a background for the present status and the future prospect of the twelve million negroes now in the United States. Professor Du Bois has made an initial contribution to this great question which places the issue squarely before the American people, and he insists that they shall face it and deal with it as an enlightened nation should deal with a national problem which has become so grave as to menace its very existence.

Professor Du Bois speaks out with becoming courage and candor. There is none of the apologetic spirit of Booker Washington in his attitude. He is admirably conscious of the rectitude of his purpose and the righteousness of his cause, and every word in his stirring appeal in behalf of the negro merits hearty approval and appreciation.

Dr. Du Bois has just cause to find fault with all the various schemes for

ending the great war and bringing lasting democratic peace to the world, which schemes have nothing whatever to offer to the negroes and other races despoiled and held in subjection by the white race. Says Mr. Du Bois:

"In the peace proposals that are now being made continually, the future of the natives of Africa, the future of the disfranchised Indians of the Eastern and Western Hemisphere, and the disfranchised element of the negroes of the United States has not only no important part but practically no thought. What you are asking for is a peace among white folk with the inevitable result that they will have more leisure and inclination to continue their despoiling of yellow, red, brown and black folk."

Quite right! There is thought for the Belgians, the French, the Italians and even the Germans but none for the twelve million American negroes who are nominally citizens of the republic, yet most of whom have been stripped of their franchise by the rape of their constitutional guarantees and who, in the general reckoning of those who prate about war for humanity and democratic peace, are to remain "damned niggers," or at best "niggers" merely, on a dead level with other beasts of burden.

Freedom of speech is another phase of the question which takes little heed of the rights of negroes to the treatment due to human beings, to say nothing of free men, as Professor Du Bois so pointedly and pertinently says:

"You are taking up the problem of the freedom of speech. Many of you are vastly upset by the increasing difficulty which you have in discussing the war in America; but I should be much more impressed by your indignation if I did not realize that the greatest lack in freedom of discussion of American problems comes not in problems you are not allowed to discuss but rather in those which you are free to discuss but afraid of. I know and you know that the conspiracy of silence that surrounds the negro problem in the United States arises because you do not dare, you are without the moral courage to discuss it frankly, and when I say *you* I refer not merely to the conservative reactionary elements of the nation but rather to the very elements represented in a conference like this, supposed to be forward-looking and radical."

These words are as true as they are courageous and commendable. Even among Socialists the negro question is treated with a timidity bordering on cowardice which contrasts painfully with the principles of freedom and equality proclaimed as cardinal in their movement.

There is but one way for Socialists to deal with the negro and that is to regard him as a human being, the equal in point of rights and opportunities of every other human being on earth. If he is less cultured it is because he has been robbed and despoiled by the more cultured, and this instead of militating against him but accentuates his claim to decent consideration.

The negro asks no favors; he seeks no privileges; he spurns the white man's supercilious airs and patronizing cant. As a matter of fact he owes the white man little but his contempt. The very crimes he commits spring from the seed sown in his brain and heart centuries ago by the white thief who stole him from his native land, lashed him as if he had been a beast, exploited him to the marrow of his bones, and did all in his power to sink him to the level of a brute.

All the negro requires is that he be recognized as a human being and treated as a man. That is absolutely all. Nothing less will and nothing less should satisfy him; and nothing less will ever solve the problem and remove this growing menace to the nation.

The Socialist who will not speak out fearlessly for the negro's right to work and live, to develop his manhood, educate his children, and fulfill his destiny on terms of equality with the white man misconceives the movement he pretends to serve or lacks the courage to live up to its principles.

The negro is "backward" because he never had a chance to be forward. He has been captured, overpowered, put in

chains, plundered, brutalized and perverted to the last degree. That is why he is backward. All he needs is environment, opportunity, incentive, the rights of a human being, the treatment due a man, the chance to do his best—and he will take care of the rest, and when final accounts are cast up he will have no reason to blush when comparison of results is made with his erstwhile white "superior."

The negro is entitled to exactly the same economic, political, social and moral rights that the white man has, and until these are fully recognized and freely accorded all our talk about democracy and freedom is a vulgar sham and false pretense.

The negro is my brother. The color of his skin is no more to me than the color of his hair or eyes. He is human and that is enough. I refuse any advantage over him and I spurn any right denied him, and this must be the attitude of the Socialist movement if it is to win the negro to its standard and prove itself worthy of his confidence and support.

Professor Du Bois touches briefly upon the summary execution of the negro soldiers of the 24th Infantry at Houston and the infamous massacre of the black innocents at East St. Louis, the former to placate the anti-negro sentiment of the South and the latter to glut the savage lust of corporate greed and incidentally to put a foul blot upon the American labor movement.

The cowardly attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the negro during the last twenty-five years explains in a large measure the barbarous massacre at East St. Louis.

Only within a few months has the American labor movement opened, reluctantly enough, a back door through which the negro may now meekly enter and take a back seat, and even this door had to be forced by the stern logic of events of which the appalling tragedy at East St. Louis is a chapter written in the blood of negro women and children slain by their murderous white neighbors. Had the labor unions freely opened their doors to the negro instead of barring him out and, in alliance with the master class, conspiring to make a pariah of him and forcing him, in spite of himself, to become a scab and strike-breaker, the atrocious crime at East St. Louis would never have blackened the pages of American history.

The negro is just as responsive as the white man to decent treatment; just as susceptible to the touch of kindness; just as eager to prove himself a man possessed of character and honor, if but given the chance.

Some twenty-five years ago I was on an organizing trip in Kentucky. At Louisville I appealed to the white railroad men to admit the negro shop and track laborers to their union. They refused. A few days later the white men struck. The negroes, though insulted and repelled by the union, *came out to a man.* The white men, fearing the strike might be lost, rushed back to their jobs and defeated the strike. *The negroes stayed out and lost their jobs.*

This proves conclusively, without a doubt, that negroes are a degenerate race; that they lack character and are depraved; that they ought to pay first class fare and ride in cattle cars; that they are fit only for menial service such as blacking white men's boots, emptying their cuspidors, and waiting on them as lackeys; that there should be rejoicing in the community when one of them is lynched or burnt at the stake, even if innocent, and that the vilest creature in a white skin is still immeasurably the superior of an enlightened, cultured and self-respecting negro.

In closing let me say to these black brethren of ours that their salvation, after all, lies with themselves. The overwhelming majority of them are working people and they represent more than one-tenth of our entire population. They need to get together, to stand together and assert their united power industrially and politically in behalf of their class. Like the white wage-slaves they need the light, the light of education; they require power, the power of knowledge, and this light they must generate and this power they must develop within themselves. They will progress and command respect in pro-

portion as they are enlightened and organized, and have unity of purpose and the power to enforce their demands. Then and then only will they take their rightful place in society and have equal voice with all others in the control of the nation and in realizing the ideals of civilized humanity.

LABOR'S PART IN THE SETTLEMENT

By W. Harris Crook

For some three years Labor and Socialism were content to leave the problem of the war settlement to their various governments. International Socialism seemed dead and buried, to the vast relief of its opponents in each land. The "burial," however, was but the covering of the seed of revolt, and today the crop is well on its way to harvest. Labor in home and foreign politics is waxing more powerful than ever before, and international Socialism is once more the hope of the peoples.

The Russian revolution broke the spell of silence most effectively. The publication of the secret treaties and their repudiation by the Russian people led the way to a new foreign policy on the part of the Allied peoples; though as yet their (European) governments have not seen that light. Since the revolution constant and growing pressure has been exerted by Labor upon the present rulers of Europe. A brief survey of the several nations will prove this statement.

Labor in the Teuton Alliance

The peace resolution in the Reichstag last summer, the resignation of two chancellors, and the rapid rise in numbers and power of the Independent (anti-government) Socialists in Germany are the significant events of the past year. The great cities of Berlin, Leipzig, Essen (the Krupp center!), and Frankfort are, electorally speaking, in the hands of these anti-government Socialists. The Tirpitz-Krupp forces bitterly complained of a Chancellor who had fallen so far from the spirit of Bismarck as to be "led by the majority," an allusion to Hertling's attempt to seem favorable towards the Reichstag peace resolution. Only extreme pressure of the militarist clique prevented a peace offer by the German Government in September, 1917. During the early fall mutinies at Kiel, and strikes in the munition shops (the strikers demanding peace without annexation or indemnity) were ruthlessly suppressed by the military. Severe food scarcity for the poor and heavy profiteering by the rich led the Berlin Socialist paper "Vorwärts" to warn the Government at Christmas of a "collapse even worse than Russia, within a month." No heed was paid and the "collapse" came in the form of the great strikes in Austria and Germany. In spite of military success in Italy the Austrian Socialists in conference at Vienna had demanded peace without annexation or indemnity, the return of captured territory in Belgium, France and Serbia, and freedom for the Peoples of the Russian border to full "self-determination." The Brest-Litovsk negotiations dragged, and the strike resulted. This vast, political upheaval came from the rank and file, and was not originated, but only controlled, by the Socialist leaders. For a week the Hapsburg Empire rocked to its foundations. Then Count Czernin declared against one meter of annexation or one kreutzer of indemnity from Russia.

The strike reached Germany a week later, in spite of rigid censorship of news. Again the rank and file organized, while the leaders simply acted as a brake on the wheel. The "Vorwärts" staff denounced the strike, whereupon the "Vorwärts" printers struck against the staff! Close on a million workers came out from factories and shipyards, demanding internal liberties and reforms and peace on the Russian terms. Martial law and siege regulations were enforced and the workers' council or Soviet of 500 delegates (from all over Germany) at Berlin was dissolved.

Deputy Dittmann, strike and Reichstag leader of the anti-government Socialists, was given a five years' prison sentence, while hundreds of lesser leaders were arrested.

As a counter blow in tactics the Junkers swept into Russia, the source of their troubles, "making and breaking" treaties faster than the telegraph instrument! The Austrian premier has been forced to declare that Austria has no hand in this new invasion, a statement apparently belied by facts. Today even Majority Socialist leader Scheidemann attacks the Kaiser, and repudiates the government policy in Russia. A new series of general strikes is being organized and revolution is predicted openly in the Reichstag speeches of anti-government Socialists.

Inter-Allied Labor Takes Action

Pressure from the rank and file in Italy, France and particularly in Britain, has caused the forces and the leaders of Labor in Allied lands to take action. In Britain the engineers and shipbuilders of the Clyde and elsewhere have refused to accept further conscription of their skilled men for the army, and have called for prompt steps to gather together a world conference of labor to settle the present war. Arthur Henderson, ex-Cabinet Minister, one-time government delegate to Russia, now head of the British Labor Party, has warned the Lloyd George government that "at no period during the war has the industrial situation been so grave and so pregnant with disastrous possibilities as it is today." The Labor Movement in Britain, that now includes the Trade Unions, the great cooperative societies (both producing and distributing), and the political Labor Party, has adopted a radical foreign policy at its Nottingham Conference in January, 1918. A League of Nations, with legislative and administrative powers; the abolition of all secret treaties, with direct responsibility of the Foreign Secretary to his particular (popularly elected) parliament; the abolition of private manufacture of armaments (conceded as far as Britain is concerned by Premier Lloyd George), and compulsory military service in all lands; the control of all "dependent" colonies in Africa by international administration; the full reparation and restoration of Belgium; the free "self-determination" of Alsace-Lorraine under the League of Nations; the repudiation of any economic war after the peace is made. Such are a few of the outstanding points in the demands of their program. Following closely on its adoption by British Labor an Inter-Allied Labor Conference was held in London, at which American Labor alone was absent . . . because of Samuel Gompers' refusal; here the aims of British Labor were accepted by the delegates of European Allied Labor. An International Labor Conference to meet in Switzerland is the next step, to which enemy labor delegates will be invited, with the proviso that the Anti-Government Socialists must be given equal facilities with the Majority Social Democrats. Vandervelde of Belgium asserts that the presence, at that conference, of American Labor is essential, and a delegation from the Inter-Allied conference is coming to interview President Wilson (whose aims are so similar to those of British Labor) and President Gompers. The Inter-Allied resolution has been sent to the enemy lands by the hand of M. Branting of Sweden. Meanwhile a vigorous campaign is being waged to force the repudiation of the secret treaties from the present Allied Governments in Europe . . . for the moment with little success. Lloyd George's approach to the views of our President are almost wholly due to Labor pressure, and were in fact made public to Labor in conference rather than to the British Parliament!

The Outlook for the Future

The forces of Labor are at present the only forces that possess a common platform of settlement among the belligerents. Once the International Conference comes to a final agreement whereby an honorable and a democratic peace may be assured by the peoples, "these terms will be pressed upon the several governments with the resolute declaration that peace must be made at once on those terms and on no other" . . . so speaks Arthur Henderson. It is not by any means inconceivable that the

near future will see such men at the head of their respective nations as Henderson in Britain and Albert Thomas in France, answering the call of President Wilson for a peace that will actually "make the world safe for democracy."

The Development of the Guild Idea*

By Ordway Tead

The development of the "guild" idea has been greatly stimulated by the war. Of the several significant books which give it formal expression, only that of Mr. Orage appeared prior to August, 1914. The others have in their several ways given evidence of the war's enormously energizing effect upon the whole fabric of English thinking concerning the industrial future. Criticisms of the collectivist emphasis and of the syndicalist position, which before the war were offered tentatively or timidly, are now boldly espoused; and the critique is made the basis of new synthesis of ideas, which aims to steer a clear course between any possible fallacies in the two extremes. The development is intellectual in the sense that national guilds are not yet specifically advocated by even a large minority of the working-class movement. But in the sense that the guildsmen have made vocal hopes and fears which are obviously in the forefront of the English workers' minds, the extension of the idea is only typical, representative and reflective of the inner consciousness of people not trained to speak accurately for themselves. Fundamentally, the development of the guild idea marks a clarifying in the radical intellects of England as to what they are after in industry and as to how they are to get it. The guild program supplies to the industrial movement the same concrete statement of method which the Labor Party's reconstruction program supplies in the political field. In that lies its interest and vitality. Guild socialism is most assuredly not to be construed as another sect or dogma or infallible guide to justice or happiness. It is a group of ideas calculated to give definiteness and reality to an already widespread aspiration toward communal control of common industrial enterprises.

The dangers of the servile state were beginning to be visualized by a few thinkers—who thereby became unpopular with many Socialists—even before the days of war. Messrs. Belloc and Chesterton were clear that the Fabians had gone a bit far in parcelling out the future of the world on too tidy and too bureaucratically managed a basis. Unquestionably the democratic aspects of public ownership were too largely ignored and even when attention was called to them by such strident voices as Jim Larkin, Ben Tillets and Tom Mann the zeal of the collectivists was little assuaged. They inclined rather to assert the more vehemently regarding the inevitable necessity of "nationalization" and "municipalization." It took the dockers' strike of 1911—which was carried through on an industrial rather than craft basis—to make any sort of welcome possible for the syndicalist proposals. And it cannot be said that even thereafter the idea became at all popular with the organized craft workers. They were, to be sure, in an uneasy state of mind about the failure of the Labor Party to achieve substantial results in the political field. But they were not yet ready to take up with the philosophy of the one big union and the general strike.

It took the war to crystallize much of the unsettled and perplexed think-

* See "National Guilds," A. R. Orage; "The Guild Idea in Peace and War," S. G. Hobson; "Old Worlds for New," A. J. Penty; "Authority, Liberty and Function," R. de Maezt; "Self-Government in Industry," G. D. H. Cole.

ing of the pre-war period. On the one hand, there was the tendency toward bureaucratic collectivism. There was the obvious failure of the Labor Party in the parliamentary arena. And there was the weakening effect of the trade union inter-craft disputations to overcome.

Collectivism and bureaucracy were simultaneously given a sudden boost by the war. The number of workers in government plants multiplied almost over night. The powers of governmental officials and departments were unbelievably broadened and extended by the Defense of the Realm Act and by the Munition Act with its compulsory arbitration and determination by officials of wages, working conditions, discipline and tenure of employment. The Labor Party, although it had nominal representation on all sorts of boards—even in the Cabinet itself—found to its chagrin that in a crisis, as for example when delegates to Stockholm were refused passports, their official positions gained them little. And the weakening influence of dealings on a craft basis—especially in the engineering trades where jurisdictional disputes have been numerous—was a matter of profound concern to all who realize that the workers act with maximum power only when they act as one in dealing with employers and the government. It is these circumstances surrounding labor's activity during the war which explain the point of the guild idea, even if they do not testify as to its origin.

Briefly, the thesis of guild socialism is that there are certain functions in the community which in common sense are the concern ot people in their capacity as consumers; that there are other functions which are naturally those of producers; that the producing function will be carried on most successfully by guilds of head and hand workers organized by industries on a national basis, subject to state control over capital and price, but internally autonomous to the utmost possible extent.

There are in this idea the germs of several definite conceptions or principles which, if the above statement is to carry its full content and conviction, require separate formulation. And of these perhaps the most fundamental is the idea of *organization by function.*

The guildsmen point out that it is not sufficient that a job be done. Successful execution is impossible unless there exists for the performance of any function an organization adapted to and suitable for the performance. In plain English, the only way to get a job done well, is to have it done by an organization equipped to do it. The present state, for example, when it assumes industrial responsibility is pouring new wine into old bottles, unless it creates some corporate body especially designated for the task. And even then, as the English found in their Munitions Department, that corporate body does not function successfully unless all parties at interest in the performance are given voice in determining the way the job is to be done. Organization by function means two things: It means that an organization is always being tested to see whether it is the logical body to carry on the work it is doing; and second, it means that in carrying on its proper work a successful management must give representation to all conflicting interests involved in the performance. Applied in the world of industry, the guildsmen find this idea to require that where an organization is for certain productive purposes it should be established around the producers of that commodity; but in the carrying out of that purpose, the function will be smoothly performed only as consumers are represented in controlling those factors which vitally interest them, to wit, the amount of total production and quality. Similarly where there is a function such as the provision of water or public education, there is wellnigh universal interest in its performance. It is to that extent a consumers' function to be undertaken by them in the first instance; although even here the workers in the water department and the school teachers have obvious interests which must be accorded full represen-

tation in the operation of their respective tasks. If, then, the question arises, how is an irreconcilable conflict of interests between any group of consumers and producers to be adjusted; the answer is to be sought in the guildsmen's conception of the state.

Accepting frankly the idea of plural —or at least dual—sovereignty, the exponents of national guilds profess to leave room intentionally for an irreconcilable difference of interests arising. Their argument runs that the absolutism of the state is intolerable even though it will be that of the most democratic majority in the most democratic state conceivable. Once admit that there is one ultimate power residing in one organization, and the possibility of abuse and supererogation remains. The individual is safe in the last analysis only when this absolutism has been removed. It can be removed, is the claim, only by granting powers of last resort on a functional basis: sovereignty in industry to the guilds, sovereignty in civic affairs to the state. And when the two come to an issue we must recognize that we are frail human beings and admit the inevitability of a strike, a lockout or passive resistance in the event of no adjustment being immediately possible. In other words, the second essential idea of guild Socialism is that the state is not one, that sovereignty must be divided up in order to insure safety for the individual, that in placing between producers and consumers—in a sort of buffer state—the final appeal, the interests of both are best safeguarded.

Naturally out of this idea grows the third, which carries with it the espousal of individual initiative, freedom and personal development, and the consequent emphasis upon the greatest degree of decentralization of control and local autonomy which is consistent with smooth functioning. It is not too much to say that the guildsmen have again enthroned the idea of personality, have again recalled us to the simple truth of the sanctity of the individual. And in so doing, they have called attention with unerring wisdom to the true sources of efficiency and craftsmanship. For it is only as the conditions and requirements of the enriching of personality are understood, that any hint is obtained as to the place of the creative impulse in human nature, and as to the necessity for giving it play in industry. The consensus of guild opinion (of which Mr. Penty's book is quite unrepresentative) is that the machine system can be so adjusted as to contribute to ends of personal happiness and to the satisfaction of this creative tendency. It is clear that interest in work is maintained only when there is a considerable measure of self-direction at work and of self-determination over the disposition of product. In fine, industry must consciously operate to subserve human ends, to contribute to the development of personality; and the distribution of power, authority and control over all social enterprises has, therefore, to take place with this purpose in view. "Measured by this criterion," say the guildsmen, "the guild system gives greater promise of success than any proposed reorganization yet advanced." In fact, it is, they believe, the only one which takes account of fundamental facts of human nature and observed principles of human organization. It is in pursuance of this humanizing purpose as well as in conformity to the idea of organization on a functional basis, that the administration of industry must be drastically rearranged.

The emphasis of the guildsmen upon the word "national" does not imply the use of industrial units to further selfishly nationalistic ends. It implies rather that for a practical administrative purpose there has to be a wieldy unit of operation, and that for the present this unit is most conveniently on a national basis,—where national functions are primarily involved. From this point of view the guild idea simply takes up with and carries over with more avowedly social motives the idea of the German cartel. In any given industry the distribution of plants and of amount of output would be dictated by a national plan as to national needs. But once this determination is made,

the control of affairs within that industry would be left almost wholly to the workers themselves in their several plants. The first part of this last idea is not new. Socialists generally have insisted that production should be organized and carried forward in direct relation to a known demand. It is in the turning over of the enterprise to the syndicate or guild that the novel factor enters. But the antithesis of the two prospective methods of control is complete. The collectivists have assumed that the consumers were to organize industry and concede to the workers only that amount of control which was necessary to secure their co-operation. The guildsmen have recognized that the consumers naturally and functionally should determine what and how much should be produced; but they have insisted that beyond that the operations of industry are no proper concern of the consumers—but should on the contrary be under complete control of head and hand producers.

Coming, finally, to problems of international organization we find that here the guildsmen are less precise and definite as to the way their plans should apply. Clearly, however, if the economic side of life is strongly organized and animated by social purposes, the requirements of industry will—still on a basis of function—build up international guilds which will draw the national guilds into a strongly interdependent super-national economic structure. Today such organizations minus the social control are increasing in strength and extent. Encouragement of them is demanded by the obvious desirability of interdependence and peaceful interpenetration—provided that we move simultaneously in two directions. We have yet to exercise control internationally from the consumers' point of view over the world's industrial organization. And we have, secondly, the task of organizing these huge industrial units from the bottom up with the fullest possible measure of decentralized control and autonomous action. Only as these two steps are taken is there any guarantee that the development of industry through corporations exerting international influence will not disrupt nations and continue to breed wars and national jealousies.

In this very cursory survey of the central guild ideas, considerations centering about the organized workers have preponderated. The guildsmen see, therefore, in the trade union movement of today both the germ and the potential material from which the guilds will gradually develop. For this reason they look with the utmost anxiety upon the struggles of the unions, and seek in every conceivable way to strengthen them and bring their members to a desire and capacity for fuller control over the whole economic structure. The political world is not ignored; it is not looked upon with disfavor. The guildsmen simply feel that in carrying forward the cause of individual freedom and personality they can be of greatest service in stressing the need for progressively increasing control by the workers in the shop and in district and national industrial units. This for them is the strategic problem of the generation: sound economic reorganization requires the assumption by the workers as rapidly as they can secure and utilize it of the control of the whole industrial enterprise.

But the guildsmen are neither extravagant in their immediate hopes nor extraordinary in their immediate demands. Indeed their beliefs are less to be violently assailed or endorsed on a basis of our own current radical theorizing, than to be understood in relation to the influences which the war has set in motion. For all of us—regardless of previous predilections—the world after the war is to be a new and different place to live in; and this means that new and different ideas are destined to survive. The task of radicals is to think flexibly, realistically, daringly—and to let the meaning of no new fact be twisted or ignored by the loyalty of the too familiar and cherished ideas.

COOPERATION IN WAR TIME

By E. RALPH CHEYNEY

Cooperation has stood the test of war. While many other organizations of an international nature have failed, it has prospered, and, in addition has preserved a splendid international spirit.

The movement of organized consumers has not only not proved a financial failure; but has actually thrived. Indeed, the war and the consequent rise in prices have tremendously enhanced the need of the solidarity of labor's purchasing power; and have also given a new impetus to its growth. In 1910, the combined sales of the twelve principal European cooperative wholesale societies were about $210,000,000. In 1915, they were a little over $360,000,000. In 1916, they were $500,000,000. The cooperative societies almost without exception show a decided increase in the volume of business done and in the amount of money either given back to members pro rata on purchases or devoted to various forms of social insurance or, in many cases, spent on Socialist propaganda. For instance, Switzerland's increase in cooperative wholesale trade in 1916 was 25 per cent. Denmark's 25 per cent., Sweden's 30 per cent., Norway's 35 per cent., Holland's 44 per cent, and Finland's 106 per cent.*

Even in Belgium, the cooperative movement has grown. Before the close of the first year of the war, the following item appeared in the Berlin *Vorwärts:* "The large cooperative society, 'Vooruit,' in Ghent, has enrolled 1,350 new members since the beginning of the war. A wholesale depot has been opened in Ghent to supply the Flemish societies. Latterly, the society in Dinant, in the valley of the Meuse, has opened a new distributing center amid the ruins of the town." In fact, five months after the beginning of the war, a new Festival Palace was opened. And a sum of $54,000 was added during the same year to the provident funds for members and employees. In devastated Poland, too, the movement has survived and succeeded. In 1913, there were one thousand cooperative stores, the same number as there now are in the United States. In the beginning of 1917, there were one thousand, five hundred.

The progress of the movement in Russia has been spectacular. In 1905, the total number of cooperative organizations in Russia was 5,709. In 1917, there were 47,000. In 1915, about ten thousand cooperative distributive societies were in existence. In 1916, there were fifteen thousand; in 1917, twenty thousand. In 1913, the trade of the Moscow Wholesale was but $4,000,000. It is now over $50,000,000. The members of the Russian cooperative movement now number thirty million members, who with their families, comprise one-third of the population. The success of the revolution was due in no slight measure to this profoundly revolutionary force.

So capable has this commercial democracy proved itself to be in dealing with food problems, that it has been recognized and utilized by virtually all the belligerent governments. In Austria, the war ministry appealed t the labor unions and the cooperatives to assist in the distribution of food. Together they organized "The Victualling Union," most of the work of which is performed by the cooperative wholesale. The Union provides for a third of the population of Vienna. In southern Austria, one million war workers draw their supplies from cooperatives. In France, so serviceable have these microcosms of the Cooperative Commonwealth been that the Chamber of Deputies has passed protective laws and granted them credit of $400,000. The French Cooperative Federation has been given charge of the sale of cold storage meats. It has taken over hundreds of Maggi milk stations, taken charge of municipal kitchens, created workshops for the unemployed, and established cooperative distribution in the very trenches, fitting motor-lorries out as food stores.

* In considering this increase, due account, of course, should be taken of the higher prices which the war has brought in its wake.

In Germany, before the outbreak of the war, the government barred all civil servants from membership in cooperatives. During the first year of the war, this restriction was removed. In Hamburg there had been a tax of 8 per cent. on all cooperative sales. This too was stopped. The Imperial Food Control Board, however, has greatly restricted the cooperatives, with the result that the German is the only cooperative wholesale that shows a decrease in sales during 1916; while this Board has not succeeded in curbing such firms as Krupps from exploiting their employees by selling them rations at prices invariably higher than those legally fixed as maximum. Despite this discrimination, there has been a steady and unprecedented increase in membership, in the trade of local societies, in cooperative production, and in the savings deposits entrusted in the wholesale.

England, however, mother of the movement, has so grossly discriminated against this "state within a state" that embraces one-fourth of her population, that the cooperators have been forced to affiliate for protection with the Labor Party and to go into politics for themselves, thus welding the British workers as consumers, as producers, and as voters into one mighty force for social justice. Despite the opposition all the way from local draft boards to Lloyd George himself, the English Cooperative Wholesale Society reports a record turnover in 1917 of $288,120,000, an increase of $26,970,000 over 1916. The sales of the Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Society for 1917 were $85,447,200, an increase of $12,952,000 over 1916.

The supreme victory that the cooperative movement has achieved is that it has preserved its internationalism. In the preface of "Les Societés Cooperatives de Consommation," Professor Charles Gide states that, in the invasion of France, the German troops observed so strict a care not to hurt the cooperatives that the people in the bombarded towns would seek sanctuary in them, much as in the middle ages fugitives flocked into the churches. The 15th Congress of German Distributive Societies which met last June in Nurnberg extended its sympathy toward all who want to end "this wholesale murder and continued destruction of the work of civilization." In this January's issue of "The International Cooperative Alliance Bulletin," published in English, French, and German, a contributor comments: "We cooperators may be proud that the war has not estranged the cooperators of the various countries, and that the bonds which bind the members of the Alliance together have withstood the persistent efforts to break them." Under the stimulus of the International Cooperative Alliance, a fund has been raised in England for the relief of German and Austrian women stranded there, and German cooperators have reciprocated. The attitude of all cooperators—struggling, as they are, for industrial democracy and the end of the cause of this war and most wars—is summed up in this sentence: "We must strive madly to develop the movement to such dimensions that we shall have the power to forbid a repetition of this slaughter."

The Collegian—In Warsaw and Chicago

By Samuel P. Gurman,

President of the I. S. S. Chapter, University of Chicago

A comparison between the two general student bodies of Warsaw* and Chicago brings forth many striking differences in intellectual behavior and attitude. While the bulk of the student body of the University of Chicago takes no interest, directly or indirectly, in the spiritual or social life of the community, outside of matters relating to baseball and football, the stu-

* There are more Russian than Polish students at the University of Warsaw.

dent body of the University of Warsaw not only participates in the intellectual and social life of the community, but moulds and partially leads it. The American collegian is prone to separate learning from life. The Warsaw student combines learning with life. This characteristic distinction in behavior is largely due to a different mental attitude toward education on the part of these two groups of students.

The majority of the Chicago students take the American business man's viewpoint of life and learning. Until they graduate and begin to earn money — real money — they regard themselves, happily for the Chapel preachers, as mere school boys and school girls. Even to themselves their opinions and ideas are not important, since these are not the opinions of men of pecuniary standing in the community. Students are merely preparing for life; their activities and world lie in the future. They need, as everybody does, to mind their own business. To prepare themselves for successful professional careers is their business and nothing more. Consequently the students of Chicago are very studious insofar as giving attention to their lessons is concerned. Diligently they do their work of preparing themselves to become successful men. Both student and business men have their respective compensations for difficult work. The business man's compensation is money, the student's, "honor points." The one always talks about the amount of money he and his friends have made; the other, of the number of "points." But one thing is certain, neither has time for the affairs of the community. Both leave these affairs to the people who "make public affairs their business"—the politician. If they should succeed, they might have time for public service.

It is because of this attitude that the students of Chicago do more reading than thinking; that they feel no need of coordinating information received in various class rooms; that they are timid and modest about their learning; that they store up their knowledge in classified pigeon-holes for future reference; that so many people, graduated from colleges and universities, complain that they have learned little or nothing in these institutions.

The majority of the students of the University of Warsaw, on the other hand, take a social attitude toward life and learning. They regard their professional training as a side issue when compared with intelligent social citizenship. Their standard of success is not financial. The successful man to them is one who improves social conditions, who educates public opinion. After the Russian students obtain a gymnasium education, which is equivalent to a high school training, they feel themselves compelled to do social work, they consider themselves as intelligent as the mediocre business man and workingman is who participates in social affairs and casts a vote. They do not postpone their social activities for the future. They are citizens as well as students in the present. Therefore they utilize the present. They are not compelled to attend class. They have no system of compensation. Yet they pass their "exams," and there is no suspicion of "cribbing." In addition to all that, they are the heralds of new ideas and ideals of the Warsaw community. In fact, they are a part of the intellectual fighting force of the whole Russian nation. To the students of the University of Warsaw, as well as to those of the other universities, the autocratic Russian government sent its police to suppress new ideas. Can we imagine the people of this country sending policemen to investigate the students of the University of Chicago, or any other university in this country, on account of their radicalism?

It is a fact that in Russia, as well as in all European countries, the educated class is looked upon as the cream of the nation, the source from which the nation gets its leaders and its ideals. In the United States, however, the general public is inclined to look upon the educated class as unable or afraid to take chances necessary for success in the business world; as the one aristocratic and consequently possibly dangerous element in a democracy; as the one

European order that was not eliminated with the expulsion of the English authority by the American revolution.

Even some doctors and lawyers hold a similar view of the "highbrows," and of education, while an educated man who has not been in business will find that his education is looked upon as a serious obstacle to holding a public office. People who are in disagreement with President Wilson generally say: "Well, he is a professor." Some go further and add: "From a professor you could not expect anything more." An examination of the men in the city and state offices and even to a considerable extent in federal offices, will disclose the fact that the educated man is inadequately represented in them. On the other hand, in Russia, the first recommendation for a man for office is a liberal and broad education. An examination of the men that were sent to the Duma and Soviet even by the most ignorant classes will reveal the truth of the above statements.

These varying notions prevailing in the two different countries of the value of education, then, constitute, in the final analysis, the reason for the different attitude of the two student bodies. This is why the student of the University of Warsaw looks upon his study as so much a part of his life that a failure in the examinations will often drive him to suicide. Such a failure means to him a loss of social position. On the other hand, to the student of the University of Chicago, a failure in the examination means only a loss of a few grade points, or honor points, but no loss of his standing in the community. In fact, the American student does not live yet for the community, and the community is not going to judge him by what he knows and does, but by what he has.

HEALTH INSURANCE

The Cooperative Means of Meeting Sickness Costs

By Olga S. Halsey

The advocacy of health insurance by the New York State Federation of Labor is one of the indications that our present *laissez-faire* policy in providing for sickness among the nation's wage-earners will be thrown on the scrap-heap at the close of the war. Draft rejections for physical defect ranging from 30 to 40 per cent, two-thirds of which were for preventable defects, have shown up the shortcomings of our policy of private philanthropy and individualistic provisions. Private philanthropy from a sense of pity has provided free medical relief and financial aid for those willing or driven to accept charity; the state, too, acting upon poor law motives of its responsibility for the sick poor has made some provision in the way of hospitals and almshouses, but in the main the responsibility of laying by from scanty earnings something for the rainy day has rested upon the sick individual.

The defects of this method are twofold. First, the worker in his constant effort at economy postpones his visit to the doctor, allowing the defect or disease to gain headway and thus diminishing the possibilities of correction or cure. Medical care among wage-earners is anything but preventive. Second, the worker experiences great difficulty in saving enough to tide him over a period of illness involving absence from work and cessation of his income. This difficulty is reflected in the records of the relief societies which find that sickness is the most frequent cause of seeking charity.

The workers have realized the extravagance of meeting sickness on the basis of individual savings; they have recognized that where only a small number of a group will be sick in the course of a year, it is economy for the group as a whole to set aside enough to meet the expenses of those sick. This method of cooperative saving to protect a group against some hazard to which all are subject is the essence of the insurance method. The workers have adopted the

principle of collective saving or insurance in their trade union benefit funds, in the fraternal orders and the variety of nationalistic and local benefit funds. Unfortunately this insurance is not developed sufficiently to cover all workers; only the best paid, those who have least need of cooperative saving have availed themselves of it. The Social Insurance Commission of the State of California found that but 41 per cent of the organized workers of the state, or but 3.8 per cent of all the state's wage earners were members of trade union benefit funds. The fraternals offered protection in time of sickness to a large number—to nearly a third of the state's wage-earners. But the workers can afford to pay for only a small cash benefit and for the cheapest sort of medical care.

Even this method of cooperative effort places the entire burden upon the wage-earner. It lays no share of the cost upon industry. Exposure to poisons, gases, dusts, noise and the fatigue of strained positions, of speed and of long hours are all contributing factors in the sickness of the worker. As a matter of fact it is probable that industry is responsible for practically half of the sickness among wage-earners. Such responsibility for sickness should be a charge against industry. This is but a corollary of the principle recognized in workmen's compensation legislation that the expense of accidents to the workers should be reckoned as part of the cost of production. As a matter of justice industry should assume its share of the cost of sickness as well as of accidents as an item in its human repair bill. Some employers have already recognized this responsibility and are defraying part of the expense through so-called "establishment funds" created for their own employees, often, however, with a double purpose of tying the worker to his job. But the employers who are most careless in protecting the health of their employees will be the last to assume this duty.

The solution of the problem lies in bringing insurance protection to all workers, and in placing upon industry its just share of the burden. This can be done by legislation such as the New York State Federation of Labor advocates. Its bill proposes that health insurance shall be universal among practically all employees. It provides first and foremost medical care to the insured employee and the dependent members of his family. This consists of medical, surgical, and nursing attention, medicines and supplies, while in addition the wage-earner is entitled to hospital treatment and dental care. For his wife it provides special medical care at childbirth. Doctor's bills, paid on the economical basis of insurance, will no longer deter the insured worker from consulting his physician in the early and the curable stages. Second, the bill provides for the insured worker a cash benefit of not more than $8 a week for twenty-six weeks of illness in any one year, and for the insured working mother a weekly cash maternity benefit of not more than $8 payable for eight weeks. These cash payments will partially offset the wages lost during illness, thus diminishing poverty due to sickness. Finally in case the insured wage earner should die it grants a funeral benefit of $100.

The cost of these benefits amounting on the average to 4 per cent of wages is to be divided equally between the employer and the worker, each paying 2 per cent. Where the employer pays less than $9 a week which is certainly less than a living wage in these days of high prices and where he thus increases liability to sickness, he should pay a larger proportionate share. For example, a worker earning but $8 a week would pay only 8 cents a week and the employer 24 cents. For the purpose of the bill that portion of wages in excess of $12 a week is disregarded and contributions as well as benefits are based on wages up to $12. By this arrangement the higher paid workers who receive but $8 in weekly cash benefit will not be paying contributions out of proportion to their benefits. The State, also responsible for the health of its citizens, contributes as its share the cost of central supervision and administration. This division of the cost among those responsible for sickness while a matter of simple justice is also of great benefit to the worker, for it will enable him to receive far more liberal benefits than he could purchase single-handed.

The administration of these benefits

and the collection of premiums is to be through mutual associations under the democratic control of employers and workers and subject to state supervision. These associations, called "funds," are to be organized on the basis of locality, of an industry or of a factory with equal representation of employers and workers. Insurance in the local fund will be the automatic result of employment in a given locality; workers employed in an industry for which a trade fund has been established will be insured automatically in the fund for the industry. Thus competition and its costs will be eliminated, reducing management expenses to about 10 per cent of premium income. What competition costs in writing insurance may be judged fom the experience of Massachusetts with the stock companies carrying workmen's compensation. These companies spend on management expenses 40 per cent of their income derived from premiums. This competitive system in four and one-half years cost Massachusetts between $2,500,000 and $3,500,000 or about enough to have met all the compensation claims for the accidents of 1915. The inclusion in a health insurance system of private insurance companies would necessitate competition and all its expenses, unless some one company were given a monopoly. Their participation would permit private profits to a few to increase the cost of insurance required by law. All this of course is most undesirable. To eliminate the cost of doing business on a competitive basis, it is necessary to exclude the private insurance companies.

Excluding private companies has aroused keen opposition to health insurance from this group of vested interests. For example, Frederick Hoffman, the well-known statistician of the Prudential Insurance Co., has reversed his position. Whereas in 1915 he stated, as showing the need for health insurance, that there was a vast amount of ill health due to the unwillingness or the inability of the wage earner to incur the expense of medical care and that he believed the majority of our wage earners had not a single week's wages ahead, he now declares when health insurance has become a practical issue that "My own investigations have conclusively shown that, broadly speaking, the needs of our wage-earners, during even prolonged periods of sickness, are adequately met." Where this opposition does not take the form of outright attacks upon the principle of health insurance legislation, it takes the form of opposition to the specific proposal and of advancing alternative plans which would embrace the private insurance companies, thereby preserving the heavy cost of competitive insurance.

Insurance company opposition notwithstanding, health insurance has made legislative progress. Bills have been introduced in the legislatures of leading industrial states, nine states have authorized official investigating commissions, and four commissions have already reported, the first three reports recommending obligatory, contributory health insurance. In California an active campaign is under way for a popular referendum on a constitutional amendment to overcome peculiar constitutional difficulties, thus enabling the legislature to enact health insurance. Among the workers there is a growing sentiment for health insurance; an increasing number of national and international unions and state federations are approving the principle. The New York Federation of Labor summarizes the situation in its report saying, "The volume of opinion and support to health insurance has grown wonderfully in the three or four years that this subject has been before the American people . . . . Health insurance is going to come just as sure as workmen's compensation came . . . . There can be no question of that in the minds of any of us who devotes much time to reading public documents and who understands the vast volume of public opinion that is forming day in and day out in favor of health insurance. We and the people of New York State are not going to sit idly by much longer and see our citizens afflicted by poverty due to sickness . . . We are proposing something that will take him (i. e. the worker) out of the poor master's clutches and put him on the basis of self-supporting, independent and upright citizenship, free from the taint of pauperism because he will be paying for something to which he is

entitled and because industry will be paying its share."

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The Prospects of German Democracy

By Wm. E. Bohn

The only hope for an early end of the war must be based on the prospect of a psychological breakdown in Germany. There are pacifists and Socialists who are urging American statesmen to work for "peace by understanding." By that they mean some sort of a negotiated peace which the German government may agree to at the present time. They may as well spare themselves the pains of writing and speaking. During the past few weeks, I have covered a good part of the Middle West and have discussed the war with thousands of people. Whether we like it or not, the rank and file of our people have quietly made up their minds to see this war through.

By "seeing it through" they do not mean merely the beating of Germany. They want democracy and peace—and they are beginning to understand that neither the one nor the other is possible without world-federation and disarmament. The German government has stood in the way of these things and therefore it must be defeated. Those who are interested in the restoration and preservation of peace must take into account that this conviction is very firmly fixed in the American mind.

It behooves all of us, and especially those of German descent, to consider well the meaning of this. On the basis of economic determinism it is evident that in the long run the *Entente Allies* will win the war. Their predominance in men and minerals and food will be decisive in the end. After three years, four years, five years of bitter fighting, the physical forces of the Allies will beat down the physical forces of the German government. What then?

A defeated Germany will not be despoiled or crushed. It is possible that the people of Germany would rise up against a defeated monarch, as the French did in 1871 and the Russians in 1905. It is conceivable, however, when the external forces are withdrawn the autocratic German government may rehabilitate itself and begin again preparations for an assault upon the world. That would mean a new period of preparedness and militarism for all of us.

It is evident, then, that the German people hold the key to the situation. They are the only people in the world who can defeat the Hohenzollerns quickly and decisively. They are the only ones who can make that defeat the basis of a new world order. If the German autocracy is defeated by the German people, the defeat will be permanent. It will never rise again to break its treaties and threaten our safety. Other nations will have the German people to deal with, a people as honorable and trustworthy as any under the sun. Then the way will be cleared for international federation and international justice.

Reports from Germany are unanimous. All who have come out of the Central Empires within the last three months tell the same story. The Germans are underfed; they are sick; they are discouraged. "Practically all the working people and most of the middle class are against the government in their hearts," says one witness. But they dare not, they can not rebel. Every riot is put down instantly right where it starts.

When will they rise? When the German army is defeated. That is the best reason for fighting the German army.

One thing we can do to help the German rebels. We can make it clear to them that the autocracy is our real enemy, that we will welcome the help of anyone who will help us to beat the autocracy. What holds the Germans in line is fear of what a victorious enemy may do. But a democratic Germany will have nothing to fear. Once get this fact into German heads and the hope of dividing the Kaiser and the people will have a real basis.

SOCIALISM AND MEN

By ELLERY F. REED*

The Socialist should welcome the eugenist as a comrade. An ideal democracy such as is contemplated in the Socialist commonwealth will require a high type of citizen. The Socialist movement today draws its strength from the most intelligent portion of the laboring class.

How can Society improve its personnel so that the new order may be built on the firm foundations of human integrity? Modern biologists are in substantial agreement that racial stock is not improved by environment, but only through selection and heredity. A good environment will make the most of the human material subjected to it, but it cannot turn out a first-class product from a poor grade of raw material. No grindstone, however fine, can make the chisel hold its edge, if the chisel itself be made of poor steel. We must, therefore, concern ourselves with the eugenic control of heredity.

We limit our attention to one aspect of this important subject; namely, the effect of war on racial stock. War reverses the process of selection.

Modern war is more destructive of racial soundness than the conflicts of earlier times. There was then nothing comparable to the modern physical examination, and the mental tests in the army. Any man who appeared able to bear arms was likely to be marshalled into battle. The fight was carried on with simple hand weapons such as the spear, the battle axe, and the bow and arrow. Man fought man, and the victory was to the strong, the skillful, the quick and the cunning. These on the whole survived and became the progenitors of the race.

How is it in modern war? A man of mediocre endowments operating a machine gun can mow down by the score men who may be his superiors in every way. In a charge on an enemy trench, the college valedictorian and the stevedore stand about equal chances of survival. Neither is there any law of selection in the bursting fury of a high explosive shell.

War is thus the great destroyer of the very foundations of social advance. There are many tendencies in connection with the present war that are hastening the development of a new order, in some respects socialistic. But should that justify us in the belief that war is a safe or effective means of ushering in the Socialist commonwealth? Till the battle fields of the earth shall cease forever to be drenched with human blood, we must oppose the forces of militarism and work for internationalism and permanent peace.

*Mr. Reed, a graduate student of Clark University, was awarded the second prize in the Prize Competition at the I. S. S. Convention, in December, 1917. This article briefly summarizes Mr. Reed's interesting address.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK. Edited by Alexander Trachtenberg. Published by the Rand School of Social Science, New York, 1917. 60c.

The second American Labor Year Book is a noteworthy advance over the first. It is more inclusive, more thorough, and more broadly conceived. It conveys a real sense of energy, potency and achievement in the radical movements of the country. Its rapid survey and wide range give an impression of multiform activity.

Perhaps in this respect the volume is too accurately representative of American conditions. We are a miscellaneously minded people; we are living in the present very eagerly, energetically and confusedly. We have on the whole a deep sense of social responsibility and humanity, but we are not fore-handed, not intellectually patient and painstaking,

not clear as to life's major purposes. And it would be presumptuous for radical intellectuals or "labor" to claim that they are free from these national characteristics. Indeed this volume shows that they are not. Criticism of the Labor Year Book is therefore criticism of ourselves.

One can in such a miscellany of contributions only single out one for special mention at the peril of being accused of a failure to read the rest. Nevertheless, Mr. Douglas' discussion of apprenticeship and industrial education is in itself so admirable and it so well illustrates the deficiencies of many of his co-contributors that it deserves notice. Its chief virtue in comparison with the rest is its constructive note. It looks ahead —without dogmatism, without confusion in the light of all the facts about the problem. There is satisfactory exposition but there is more,—the more which we so sorely need, the presentation of a plan and a method. The mind is left with something to fasten upon. The door is opened into a future toward which we can at once step forth on solid ground.

The absence of this impression in reading the Year Book as a whole is, perhaps, less the fault of the contributors than of the proportions and emphasis of the compilation. It is, when all is said, the product of a party organization dominated by a party purpose. That is neither to praise nor to condemn; but it does explain the character of the volume. It is not a "labor" document in the sense that the English Labor Year Book is; it is a radical year book into which curiously enough a good deal of "bourgeois reform" matter has crept. The idea of including in each volume the history of one or two labor organizations is a splendid one, but the treatment of the two here considered could profitably add more of interpretation to the facts so elaborately set forth, and neither narrative is successful in portraying the real fascination of modern labor's activities. Indeed the volume as a whole lacks the triumphant, audacious quality which in such a year should be the prevailing note of a truly "labor" volume—even in America. It breathes rather the air of earnest but still overwhelmingly minority propaganda. True, the book was written last fall—and today the world moves rapidly, but here again where is the gift of prophecy which should animate such a document?

On its material side the volume has for sufficient reasons sacrificed quality to cheapness. But the use of better paper, larger type, and wider margins would undoubtedly have secured for the work wider, more careful and more sympathetic reading.

The editor whose difficult work has been done with great ability invites suggestions in his preface for future guidance. The reviewer can only venture to hope that in succeeding years it may be possible to secure further financial and editorial support in directly labor circles to make the annual completely representative of its name. The true year book of American working class liberalism will be a cooperative venture. Meanwhile the Rand School has every reason to be encouraged by the warm reception of its second volume. O. T.

FIFTY YEARS AND OTHER POEMS. By James Weldon Johnson. With an Introduction by Brander Matthews. Boston. The Cornhill Company. 1917. $1.25.

Who can now doubt the contribution which the negro race promises to make to the arts? If all doors of opportunity are opened to them, including those of sympathetic understanding and comradeship, some great poet, some new "Bobbie" Burns will spring out of the joy, the music, the imagination, the language gift of this race. Poets are from time to time arising who prefigure this hope, among them the author of "Fifty Years," who is undoubtedly travelling with a sure step along the high road.

These sixty or more poems are excellent in craftmanship, full of melody, of spiritual aspiration, and poetic emotion. There are lyrics which move with musical feet through the grace of love songs as in "Her Eyes Twin Pools", or with the endearing charm of negro dialect as in "You's sweet to your Mammy Jes the Same." But it is in the small group where he voices the aspirations of his race that Mr. John-

son reaches distinction. There is eternal beauty and pathos in "Oh, Black and Unknown Bards" and in the lofty appeal of "Fifty Years." Of the latter poem, Mr. Matthews writes:

"In the superb and soaring stanzas of 'Fifty Years' . . . he has given us one of the noblest commemorative poems yet written by any American. . . In it we are made to see something of the soul of the people who are our fellow citizens now and forever . . . In it we are glad to acclaim a poem which any living poet might be proud to call his own."

Although Mr. Johnson has described himself as an "ex-colored man," the excellence of these poems must be placed to the credit of his race. In this first volume we welcome him as a real singer for whom we shall keep listening. C. L.

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Year Book Society of the Chagres, 1916 to 1917. "Builders of the Panama Canal." Edited by Fred. G. Swanson.

THE SECRETARY'S MIDDLE WESTERN TRIP

The first stop made by Dr. Laidler during his four week's trip to the Middle West, which began on March 9, was Pittsburgh, Pa. At the Carnegie Institute of Technology, he spoke before Professor Willet's class in economics on the "Labor Movement," and at the University of Pittsburgh, under the joint auspices of the I. S. S. Chapter and the International Polity Club on "Federal Control of Industry." In the city, on Sunday and Monday, Dr. Laidler addressed two branches of the Socialist Party; spoke on "The Trend Toward State Socialism" before the Hungry Club, the most important of the business and professional men's luncheon clubs of the city, and was the guest of the Pittsburgh Alumni Chapter of the I. S. S., reorganized that evening at a supper given in the Fifth Avenue Hotel.

The next stop was at Ohio State, where Dr. Laidler addressed a joint meeting of the alumni and college Chapters of the I. S. S. The interesting discussion following the lecture was here cut short by the order of the fuel administrator of the college that the lights in meeting halls be out by 9.30. From Columbia the Secretary went to Ohio Wesleyan. Here a meeting was arranged by some of the faculty and attended by a large number of the faculty and students, on "Economic Readjustments during and after the War." The faculty here are studying the problems of reconstruction, and the interest on these questions is a live one.

The next morning Dr. Laidler spoke at 7.45 before Professor Wolfe's economics class on "Socialism During and After the War;" at 9.20, before Professor Aronson's sociology class on "The City"; and at 11.10, before Professor Wolfe's and Professor Hill's joint classes on "The Labor Movement." That afternoon he helped to reorganize the I. S. S. Chapter, which here calls itself "The Reconstruction Club," and is ably led by Miss Reddick and Miss Wilson.

From Ohio Wesleyan the Secretary went to Oberlin. On Friday, March 15, he addressed the college body in the college chapel on "Socialism—its Ethical Significance." That afternoon he lectured before Professor Miller's sociology class, and that evening addressed the Oberlin Round Table, the I. S. S. Chapter at Oberlin, on "The Challenge of Socialism to the College Bred." Next evening a group of members of the Round Table gathered at the home of Devere Allen and discussed Chapter problems, and objections to Socialism.

The following week, Dr. Laidler spoke in St. Louis before the St. Louis City Club, dealing with "Economic Readjustments During and After the War"; and the Chicago Alumni Chapter in Sheldon Hall. George E. O'Dell, who this year has charge of the Ethical Culture Society in St. Louis, presided at both of these meetings. Dr. G.

Lippmann is president of the Chapter here, and Clore Warner, secretary.

The latter part of the week was spent at the University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, where Dr. Laidler gave three lectures under the auspices of the I. S. S. Chapter, the Women's Citizen Club, and the Y. M. C. A.

From Missouri the Secretary travelled to Blackburn College, Carlinville, Illinois, where he spoke on Monday, March 18, in the college chapel. Dean McClusky, who presided, urged the organization of a group for the study of Socialism, and after lunch more than a dozen joined the newly organized I. S. S. Chapter. On Tuesday evening, a lecture was given in Springfield, Illinois, on "Cooperation," under the auspices of the Springfield Cooperative League.

On Wednesday and Thursday the Secretary visited the University of Michigan, Wednesday night speaking before the meeting arranged by the I. S. S. on "Socialism After the War"; and on Thursday morning before Professor Wood's and Professor Crane's classes in sociology and American government.

From Ann Arbor the Secretary went to Chicago, and addressed a meeting in Hull House. Following the lecture the Fabian Club, the local I. S. S. Alumni Chapter, was reorganized, with the following officers; Stuart Chase, president; Edward M. Winston, 1st vice-president; Frances Bird, secretary; and Irwin Tucker, Mrs. Harriet Thomas and several other members of the committee. The Secretary, while in Chicago, conferred with several students in the University of Chicago and Valparaiso University, addressed a couple of public meetings on Sunday, visited Milwaukee, and on Tuesday night, April 2, spoke at Madison, Wisconsin. Here the students were unable to get a hall in the University building. The University, during the last few years, accused, as it has been, of radical tendencies, has exhibited far greater timidity than the other Universities in extending permission to progressive thinkers to speak within the college walls. Prof. Charles Zueblin, John Spargo, Norman Angell, Max Eastman and others have been denied admittance, and the Secretary during his trip found the University the only institution which did not permit him to lecture within its halls. A good meeting, however, was held in one of the halls of the city. The Chapter here is doing vigorous work.

The next stop was at Minneapolis, where Dr. Laidler spoke before 8 and 10 o'clock economic classes on "The Principles of Socialism." On Thurday night, April 4, he spoke in the Chapel at Hamline University, and on Friday morning at 8 and 9 o'clock, addressed three economic and English classes.

On the way East, he stopped at Cleveland, Rochester, and Buffalo, addressing open forums and alumni groups in these cities, and returned home early in the week of April 7.

The trip indicated that the I. S. S. has a future filled with splendid possibilities. Temporarily, undergraduate organization has been somewhat retarded by the decrease in the numbers in many of the college bodies, especially in the upper classes, as a result of the war; the restlessness of those about to be called in the draft; the greatly increased military and other activities of the student body; the difficulties of securing meeting places on account of the fuel problem, the issue of patriotism, etc.

On the other hand, the wave toward collectivism, the growing power and purposefulness of the labor and Socialist movements, particularly in Great Britain, and the problems of social reconstruction which will inevitably arise after the war is over, have developed a very vital interest in the message of industrial democracy.

By supplying the latest accurate information concerning these changes, and their significance, the I. S. S. can supply a crying need. It should be our aim during the coming year to publish and distribute scholarly pamphlets and other information concerning these burning questions; to enlarge our Quarterly and make it into a Monthly; and every season to schedule four or five well known men and women in extended trips among the colleges and centers of population in this country.

College Notes

NEW ENGLAND STATES

During the latter part of February, Harry W. Laidler made a week's trip among the New England Colleges. At YALE, he addressed the Yale Society for the Study of Socialism on "Socialism after the War." Robert W. Dunn, president of the Chapter, presided. In Boston, the Greater Boston League of I. S. S. Chapters, of which Boris Stern of Harvard and Beatrice Jones of Radcliffe are moving spirits, arranged a meeting at TUFTS College on "The Worldwide Co-operative Movement." At WELLESLEY he addressed one of Miss Savage's economics classes on "Social Readjustments During and After the War"; at CLARK, the I. S. S. Chapter on "The Trend Toward State Socialism," Professor Arthur Calhoun presiding; at SMITH, Professor Emerick's and Professor Lowenthal's classes on "The Labor Movement Here and Abroad" and "The Trend Toward State Socialism"; and at MT. HOLYOKE, Miss Thompson's class on Socialism. He also spoke during this week at "The Threshing Floor" in Worcester. Throughout the trip, students showed keen interest in the advances in the public ownership, the labor and the Socialist movements since the beginning of the war.

On May 21 and 23, Dr. Laidler is scheduled to address Professor Day's classes in Harvard and Radcliffe on "The Socialist State" and "The Trend Toward Socialism."

The CLARK University Chapter at its February meeting was given a resumé of Bebel's "My Life," by Miss Blanchard, and in the March meeting, Mrs. Iva L. Peters spoke on

"Feminism and Socialism." A special meeting was held in February when Dr. Laidler lectured on "The Trend Toward State Socialism After the War." The Chapter is looking forward to an April meeting when one of the members, whose family participated in the Russian Revolution, will speak on "Socialism in Russia."

MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES

Dora Shapiro of the ADELPHI Chapter reported that their study of Hillquit's "Socialism in Theory and Practice" has been completed and that they are now studying "Trade Unionism." Four members have left college.

The most encouraging news at HOWARD College, Washington, D. C., is that interest in the work of the Chapter is increasing among the teachers.

The C. C. N. Y. Chapter continues its energetic and successful career. On February 14, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois spoke to 350 students on "The Problem of Problems"; on 19, Mr. Slavek spoke on "The Bolsheviki." On February 25, 150 students heard Prof. Harry Overstreet on "The British Labor Party." The same number attended Prof. Cohen's lecture on "Socialism and Law," on March 12. National Service Day at the College prevented the lecture by Prof. Isaac Hourwich on "Russia." It is hoped that the Chapter may secure Colonel Thompson on that subject for some future date. Louis Boudin will speak on April 11, on "The Class Struggle," and Prof. Charles A. Beard will lecture in May. A series of study meetings on Socialist theory has been planned.

The following officers have been elected to the University of PITTSBURGH Chapter: President, Mr. Samuel Fuss, of Pittsburgh; Vice-President, Miss Eva Goldstein; Treasurer, Mr. David Weiner, of Canonsburg; and Secretary, Miss Sophia Fingeret. On February 25, Dr. Mecklin spoke to an audience of 200 on "The Honor System." On March 12, Dr. Laidler lectured on "Government Control," and March 18, Prof. Wright, on "The British Labor Party."

MIDDLE WEST

On March 5, Dr. Laidler addressed a group of students in BARNARD on "Socialism After the War." The COLUMBIA Chapter has just elected a new group of officers, with Alfred Sachs as secretary. The Chapter is planning a series of interesting weekly conferences, with Judge Jacob Panken, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Ordway Tead, Harry W. Laidler and others as speakers. Frank Tannenbaum continues as president of the club.

Loretta Funke, Secretary of the University of MISSOURI Chapter, writes:

"The paid membership is about fifteen, but the attendance of meetings varies from 25 to 100. The last two lectures have been given by professors of our own University. April 22, Prof. H. A. Wooster spoke on 'Taxation After the War'; and Prof. Carl C. Taylor spoke March 8, on 'The Relation Between Labor and Capital After the War.' We are now expecting a visit from Dr. Laidler on March 22, 23, and 24, at which time we anticipate enthusiastic meetings. We have also the promise of a visit from John W. Bengough, Canadian cartoonist and Single Tax lecturer, about April 6.

"Seven members of this Chapter have organized a study group which will meet Friday evenings. The plan of study is to take up questions that have arisen at the regular meetings and that have not been agreed upon as far as a definite solution is concerned. Each member is expected to do individual study upon the questions to be discussed; but the members of the Chapter, who have not the extra time to give to study, are invited to attend the meetings of the study circle.

"The plan which seems to have worked best in our community is that of having each meeting led by a lecture given either by one of the University professors of by an outside lecturer. After a meeting the subject for the coming meeting is posted on the bulletin board in the reading room of the general library, along with a list of references obtained from the professor who has promised to give the lecture. As many as possible of the books and periodicals listed are placed upon a reference shelf in the reading room, in order that they may be convenient for use on the part of the members. The election of officers for the next year has not as yet been held. Nevertheless, the success of the club for next year is assured by the fact that the organization contains many enthusiastic underclassmen members." Dr. Laidler held three meetings at the University the latter part of March.

The Secretary of BELOIT Chapter writes that increased pressure put upon the few members who returned to College, has prevented I. S. S. work. "When Spring comes," he writes hopefully, "and we can unload on some of the younger men we shall try to get a crowd together and so have a nucleus for next year. We are and always will be interested in the study of Socialism, but this year has necessarily been one of adjustment, and all our officers elected last June are now in the army; we failed to start up last Fall, and the pressure of other activities kept us from doing anything."

"More genuine interest is shown in I. S. S. activities this year than last," writes John Adams, Secretary of the Michigan Chapter. "While interest has been greater this year than before, our influence has been even less than in other years. Almost since its organization, our branch has met in a room on the Campus; but this year, because of the cloud thrown over all Socialist activities by the war, the authorities refused us permission to use this room. We tried in every way we could to secure another University room, but our attempts were unsuccessful. Thanks to the kindness of one of our members, who has allowed us to use her parlor, we have been enabled to hold some sort of meetings.

"Considering all things, our meetings have been well attended; the average number present has been around twenty. The discussions have been lively and as a rule interesting." Since the last letter was written the Chapter secured the use of the Natural Science Hall for the lecture by Dr. Laidler, and expressed

the belief, following the meeting, that they would have no further difficulty in obtaining halls during the remainder of Spring.

An encouraging report comes from Olof Flood, Secretary of the WISCONSIN Chapter. Prof. Max Otto was the speaker in February, on "Some Objections to Socialism," and March 11, Beecher Moore spoke on "The Aims of the Non-Partisan League." The Secretary writes:

"With a membership and an attendance never equalled in the history of the Wisconsin Chapter, the work of the I. S. S. has been a success here this year. With Dr. Laidler here in April and a new course of study mapped out for the rest of the year, this semester promises still greater success. Members have indicated a desire to hold meetings every week, in order to cover more material. We will begin a study of "The Struggle for Existence," by Walter Thomas Mill.

"Dr. Laidler spoke in Madison before a considerable group of students in early April. With these renewed activities we hope to add considerably to our attendance, and, incidentally, to our active membership."

The University of CHICAGO Chapter, owing to unfavorable conditions, held only one public meeting last term, when Prof. George Herbert Mead of the Department of Philosophy lectured to a large audience on "The Pragmatic Reaction Toward the Socialist Attitude." It is planned to have lectures in the Spring by Carl D. Thompson and Prof. James H. Tufts on some phases of Socialism and Co-operation. Mr. Samuel Gurman is president and Miss F. Kramer secretary.

The OHIO WESLEYAN Chapter reorganized during Dr. Laidler's visit in March with Olive Reddick as president and Miss Wilson as secretary. The name of the local organization is "The Reconstruction Club." The OBERLIN Round Table, as the I. S. S. Chapter there is called, made further plans for its Spring work during the visit of Secretary Laidler. Edward Siemens is president. The majority of the active students are sophomores.

BLACKBURN College, Ill., has come into the family of I. S. S Chapters, with Mary Robinson as president and Alma Eaton, a member of the faculty, as secretary. Dean McClusky is also one of the members. OHIO STATE Chapter is planning frequent meetings during the Spring, although, as has been the case with many other groups, the fuel situation during the Winter has made it difficult for students to obtain permission to meet in the evenings in college buildings. The University of ILLINOIS Chapter is comparatively inactive during the present year, on account of the difficulty in securing a meeting place, but hopes to begin activities again next season.

ALUMNI CHAPTERS

Miss Louise Adams Grout, the efficient and enterprising secretary of the NEW YORK ALUMNI Chapter, has the following to say regarding Chapter activities:

"The Saturday Camaraderie of the New York Alumni Chapter has continued to draw large and interested audiences well armed with questions for the discussion hour.

"While meeting at the Washington Square Restaurant during the heatless weeks of the Winter, the subject of 'Socialist Theory; Should It Be Revised?' was carefully considered. Joseph D. Cannon and Jessie W. Hughan spoke on 'Revision or Application,' Joseph L. Cohen, of Oxford, on 'Guild Socialism,' Ida Crouch-Hazlett on 'The Class Struggle,' Bouck White on the 'Municipal Republic,' Harry W. Laidler and Irwin Granich on 'State Socialism—Pro and Con,' Sidney A. Reeve on 'The Impending Revolution,' William Pepperell Montague on 'Socialist Tactics for the American Mind,' representing the National Party.

"The next general subject considered was 'The New Diplomacy.' Dr. William E. Bohn spoke on 'German Democracy,' Prof. Emily Balch on 'The World After the War,' Benoy Kumar Sarkar on 'The Futurism of Young Asia,' Norman Angell on 'Democratic Representation at the Peace Table,' James Weldon Johnson on 'The Negro in the Present World Crisis,' Dr. John Willis Slaughter on 'England and Open Diplomacy,' Bessie Beatty of the San Francisco *Bulletin*, on 'My Days with the Bolsheviki,' and Elizabeth Hasanovitz of Ukrainia on 'The Ukrainian Peace.'

"The two remaining meetings were devoted to Yiddish literature by B. Charney Vladek and Louis C. Fraina, and to a celebration of the Karl Marx centenary with an address by Louis B. Boudin.

"The March and April meetings have been held in the Students' Club Room on the top floor of The People's House. This is a light and cheerful room and many new members of the audience have been attracted because of the convenience of the meeting place.

"The building buzzed like a bee-hive with its numerous activities, and the association of the Chapter with this center has proved to be of benefit to both.

"On March 6th, an evening meeting was held under the joint auspices of the New York Alumni Chapter and the Rand School in the auditorium of the People's House. Dr. George W. Nasmyth, Executive Secretary of the Federal Fuel Commission, Hon. Jonathan C. Day, Commissioner of Markets of the City of New York, and Alderman Adolph Held of the Special Committee to investigate the Coal Supply for New York, were the speakers on the subject of 'Food and Fuel Control'."

The following have been elected officers of the Chapter for the year 1918-1919: Professor Wm. P. Montague, President; Evans Clark, 1st Vice-President; Winthrop D. Lane, 2nd Vice-President; Louise Adams Grout, Secretary; Alice K. Boehme, Treasurer; Sara Baruch, Director Lecture Bureau. Advisory Board: Dr. George B. Arner, Wm. E. Bohn, Louis B. Boudin, Alexander Fleisher, Walter G. Fuller, Olga S. Halsey, Ralph C. Hill, Evelyn Hughan, Lena Mayers, Hiram K. Moderwell, Dr. Wm. Slaughter, Caro Lloyd Strobell, Sidney Zimand.

FINANCIAL REPORT, 1917-18

Receipts

Dues	$1064.35
Special Contributions	5918.87
Literature	242.76
Intercollegiate Socialist	177.32
Profits on Meetings, etc.	155.65
Miscellaneous	36.75
	$7595.70
Balance from last year	690.24
	$8285.94

Expenditures

Rent	$600.00
Telephone	85.96
Printing	463.50
Postage, express and telegrams	610.56
Literature	141.23
Salaries	3776.70
Organizers in Field	1107.42
Office Supplies	299.14
Intercollegiate Socialist	919.54
Expenses of Meetings, etc.	111.00
Miscellaneous	104.04
	$8219.09
Balance to 1918-19	66.85

Socialism—A Promise or Menace? By Morris Hillquit and Dr. John A. Ryan. $1.50. An extraordinarily able debate on the *pros* and *cons* of Socialism by prominent protagonists of each point of view.

The Elements of Socialism. By John Spargo and Dr. Geo. L. B. Arner. $1.50. A college text-book on Socialism covering all phases of the movement in a systematic and scholarly fashion. The most comprehensive text-book yet written on the subject.

Violence and the Labor Movement. By Robert Hunter. $1.50. A dramatic portrayal of the place of violence in the labor movement and of the long conflict between Socialism and Anarchism.

Socialism and Character. By Prof. Vida D. Scudder. $1.50. A finely reasoned attempt by a master English stylist to show the possible development of the ethical and spiritual in man under Socialism.

The Cry for Justice. An anthology of Social Protest. Edited by Upton Sinclair. $2.00. A remarkable collection of burning messages in prose and poetry that have kindled the fires of social protest throughout the ages.

America and the World Epoch. By Chas. P. Steinmetz. $1.00. A keen analysis of industrial development by one of the foremost engineers and Socialists in America.

History of Socialism. By Thomas Kirkup. Revised by Edward Pease. $2.00. The standard history of this movement from the days of Utopian Socialism to the outbreak of the European War.

Socialism and Superior Brains. By Bernard Shaw. A telling answer by the famous dramatist and Socialist to Mallock's contention that Socialism will stifle the incentive.

The American Labor Year Book, 1917-1918. 60. By the Department of Labor Research of the Rand School of Social Science. Gives innumerable statistics regarding the Socialist and labor movements here and abroad and expert analysis of social conditions.

STANDARD 50c. LIBRARY

New Worlds for Old. By H. G. Wells. An analysis of the true import of Socialism written in the same brilliant style which characterizes Wells's other writings.

Social Revolution. By Karl Kautsky. A lucid statement by the foremost Socialist theorist of Europe of the meaning of the proletarian struggle and of the probable outlines of the Socialist Republic. Every student of Socialism should possess this book.