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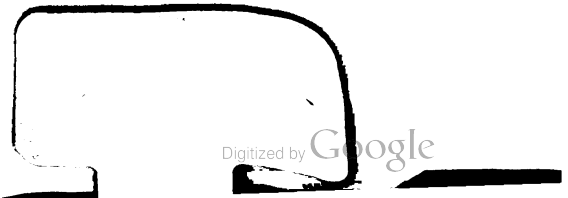
THE SOCIALIST ALMANAC

...AND...

TREASURY OF FACTS.

HISTORY ECONOMICS
SOCIOLOGY STATISTICS

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS:



164

THE

SOCIALIST ALMANAC

—AND—

TREASURY OF FACTS.

Vol. I—No. 1.

PREPARED BY

LUCIEN SANIAL

FOR THE

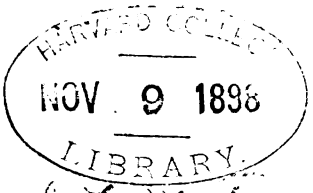
Socialist Labor Party of the United States.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS:

PART I. (Historical)—Socialism in Germany, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Austria and Poland.

PART II. (Statistical)—Development of Capitalism and Distribution of Wealth in the United States. The Classes and the Class Struggle. The Trusts. Progress of Bankruptcy. Agriculture. Manufactures. Mining. Railroads. Finance. Strikes and Lockouts. Wages and Profits. Election Statistics of the S. L. P., etc., etc.

NEW YORK, 1898.



PREFACE.

This first number of the Socialist Almanach is issued in accordance with a decision of the national convention of the Socialist Labor party, held at New York in July, 1896. It is the work of Comrade LUCIEN SANIAL, to whom the task of preparing it was assigned by the National Executive Committee.

A large portion of it is historical and mainly consists of five monographs on Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain and Belgium, wherein is presented a comprehensive picture of militant Socialism in those countries from its incipiency to the present day. As it is intended to make this Almanach a periodical publication, not only the Socialist movement in other countries will be similarly reviewed but its latest developments everywhere will be duly recorded in future numbers. One of our chief objects may thus be attained. For, if we can place in the hands of the American people a reliable history of International Socialism and keep them fully informed on the facts of its irresistible advance, we need not apprehend any serious obstacle from the policy of alternate defamation and silence which is more desperately than ever resorted to by the capitalist press in its mad fear of the coming Social Revolution.

In at least one respect the monographs on Italy and Spain are especially instructive. They trace to its origin the long and mortal struggle between Socialism and Anarchism, the latter of which, fathered by the sophist Proudhon and brought forth in agony by a middle class financially and morally bankrupt, had fastened itself to the international proletariat. They show the gradual widening of the chasm between the two, as in the heat of the conflict Anarchism becomes more distractedly rebellious and brutally destructive, while Socialism, ever more truly proletarian and revolutionary, gains in educational power and constructive spirit. Surely no one who reads those stirring pages can in the future plead ignorance if caught in the dishonest act of confounding Socialism and Anarchism.

The second part of this work is largely statistical. It contains a vast amount of accurate information, which no one could obtain but at an enormous expense of time and labor in tedious researches through official and other documents, not readily accessible. Moreover, the dry figures in which the phenomena of our economic and social development must of necessity be expressed have been supplemented by explanations and comments; so that their true meaning may not be distorted by the usual methods of capitalistic sophistry or mutilation. When the conclusions reached were the result of original calculations or investigations, great care was also taken to provide against possible contradiction and petty questioning by giving in detail the process employed and all the data of importance.

It is, therefore, confidently hoped that this publication, incomplete as it still is, will already be esteemed a valuable addition to the small stock of sound American literature on social economy. It certainly contains in abundance materials of the kind required for Socialist propaganda. On certain features of capitalistic evolution in the United States, much new light has been cast. The forced growth of the middle class coincident with its rapid deterioration; the increase of bankruptcy accompanied by a still more suggestive enlargement in the amount of "failure to succeed;" the actual share of labor in its product; the widening contrast between the waste of wealth and the accumulation of capital; the insignificant ratio that the total value of machinery bears to the annual value of production; the relative strength, numerical and economic, of the classes into which capitalism has divided the population; the impending revolution in agriculture—a greater revolution, probably, than we have yet seen—plainly forecast by a preliminary decline in such fundamental lines of production as the cereals and farm animals; the meaning of this decline in relation to the standard of living, etc.; all these are subjects to which very little serious consideration, and in some cases no consideration whatever, had yet been given. They were earnestly taken up for the purpose of this Almanach, and the facts elicited are of such portent that not only here but abroad, not only among the proletarian masses but in circles beyond, they must command the attention of thinking people, regardless of their sympathies or interests.

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

SOCIALISM IN GERMANY.

For the past thirty years the Socialist movement has so deeply affected the intellectual, political and economic life of the German people that a full record of the events connected with its progress in Germany would in itself be an almost complete history of that country during that period. There is no room here for a work of such magnitude, and in the presentation of the subject before us we must confine ourselves to the statement of a comparatively few facts, deemed the most important. Yet, in justice to some bold pioneers who, ever so utopian in their constructive schemes, should not be forgotten, we may properly begin with a brief mention of the earlier German "Communists," as they usually styled themselves, or "Socialists," as we now term them.

There are in the works of Fichte, as early as 1793, utterances plainly Socialistic. In that year, commenting upon the French Revolution, which had then reached its most critical period, this eminent German philosopher said: "The only legitimate title to property is labor. He who will not work has no valid claims to the means of life. He should not be allowed to sustain himself in idleness by exploiting the productive powers of another." Again, in 1796, he wrote: "Society owes to all the means to labor and all must labor to live." He emphatically declared that no property right should be recognized or respected which enabled the idler to hold the industrious in his dependence; for "the social contract was then violated in its fundamental principle." Later, he attempted to outline a new social order, founded on "equal rights" and "association," so as to insure distributive justice and "the largest possible product for the least possible effort." "I cannot," he said, "consider as permanent the present state of society. * * * I see in it a mere transitory condition, through which we must pass in order to reach a higher plane of human existence." Confidently watching the progress of science, despite the ill use that was made of it, he clearly foresaw that the day must come when, master of nature, man would no longer submit to the despotism of his fellow man.

But those were days in which utterances of this sort necessarily fell dead upon the public ear; and many more days had to pass away before any such views could become popular or even begin to excite interest. The French invasions; the concessions opportunely made to the Prussian peasantry after the battle of Jena; the Liberation Wars, and lastly, the fall of Napoleon, which, instead of serving the cause of freedom was immediately followed throughout Europe by an era of violent reaction and absolute despotism, left no room in the public mind for questions that were not of a purely political character. Moreover, the modern system of industry—the factory system—did not yet exist in Germany; and so long as a deep economic change had not occurred or was not visibly impending in the traditional conditions of the great artisan class of that country, the practical attention of that class could not be diverted from its ordinary channels by considerations which it would naturally be inclined to dismiss as speculative and utopian.

Political liberty—the freedom of the press, of speech, of meeting, of associ-

ation—was, however, a subject in which the classes that had little or no part in the management of public affairs were ever ready to take a keen interest. The arbitrary conduct of the authorities in all the German States, and especially in Prussia, where censorship and police regulation had practically become the only law, was productive of widespread discontent. When at last the Paris revolution of 1830 shattered in a few hours the old order that the reactionary forces of Europe confidently boasted of having permanently restored in 1815, there was in many parts of Germany a strong democratic sentiment, which, although unorganized, alarmed the ruling powers by its sudden manifestations. The reigning Duke of Brunswick was deposed. Saxony, Baden, Wurtemberg, Hanover and Bavaria clamored for constitutions. In several States legislatures were elected in which the "liberal" element was predominant. The Federal Diet, however, promptly came to the rescue of despotism. It was, of course, a "patriotic" body. Under the false pretense of upholding the integrity of the Federation,—which had never been threatened but by the intrigues and ambitions of the petty tyrants among whom the territory of the fatherland was parcelled out—it upheld the sovereigns against their respective "subjects," declared it the duty of each State to sustain the ruler of another by the force of arms, refused to consider or even receive the appeals made to its own august body by the injured populations, curtailed the authority of the State diets, or parliaments, enlarged its own powers and took from the press every vestige of freedom which it still retained in some States, and every right which it had lately obtained in others.

The immediate effect of these drastic measures was a widespread but abortive conspiracy looking to a simultaneous uprising in various parts of Germany. An untimely and insignificant outbreak at Francfort on the 3d of April, 1833, defeated the object of the revolutionists, many of whom were swiftly tracked, arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Of those who escaped some went to Paris, where they met other political refugees, not only from their own country but from all parts of the European continent.

At that time the utopian schools of St. Simon and Fourier had nearly reached their apogee, and in the flood of light cast by their eminent disciples in all the modern directions of thought the social question was rapidly coming to the front. Absorbed in political conspiracy, the German exiles did not at first give much attention to this new movement. Three of them — Venedey, Mäurer and Dr. Schuster—pecuniarily sustained by two hundred German workingmen residing in the fatherland, published in the French capital a democratic revolutionary paper, entitled "The Proscribed," but their views were of a purely republican political order and in economics they did not venture beyond the graduated tax. Soon, however, others moved forward. An excellent translation of Lamennais' "Words of a Believer," made by Boerne, and various translations of Eugene Sue's "Wandering Jew," "Mysteries of Paris," etc., attained a wide circulation in Germany. Of course the success of those works was determined by their sentimental and political side, rather than by the economic, which was either imperceptible or entirely absent. Nevertheless, some of the Socialist seed which they contained fell into ground where, by the very nature of things, it was bound to germinate. In 1838, among the popular orators noted for their political radicalism, we find the journeyman tailor Bernhardt, surnamed Jesus Christ by his comrades because of the revolutionary character of his utterances on social equality. At about the same time appeared a thoughtful, well-written communistic pamphlet, entitled, "The One

Thousand Years' Kingdom," from the pen of another wage worker, a brush-maker, named Dietsch.

The frequent reports of proletarian revolts in various towns of France and of Chartist riots in England were also the cause of much animated discussion in the industrial centers of Germany. Moreover, by this time a number of the German exiles residing in Paris, chiefly belonging to the working class, had resolutely entered the social revolutionary movement, secretly organized into a "League of the Just." Their clubs participated in the insurrection of 1839, and among those who fell wounded by the side of the French Communist leader, Barbès, was the German shoemaker Austen; a suggestive occurrence, which then was commented upon with "patriotic" indignation by the French middle class and its prosecuting attorneys. It was, indeed, a first notice of international proletarian solidarity served upon that class, not only in France but in all countries.

And now appeared another wage-worker, a journeyman tailor, whose works and activity were for several years an important factor in the development of communistic ideas among the working people of Germany. His name was Wilhelm Weitling, his birthplace Leipzig. He had been a member of the League of the Just, and was well acquainted with the literary productions of the various schools, French and English, which divided the utopians of his day. His own plan of social reorganization, though containing many original and valuable ideas, was in its main features a combination of the St. Simonian, Fourierist and Owenist systems. His first work, "Humanity: What It is; What It Must Be," was chiefly critical, but brimfull of lofty sentiments. His second and more important one, published in 1842, was entitled: "Guarantees of Harmony and Liberty." His disciples, poor and self-sacrificing workmen, who lost no opportunity of spreading the views which he had verbally impressed upon them, and who constantly felt the need of printed literature in their work of propaganda, had told him: "Write for us, we shall work for you." By extreme frugality Weitling made himself a very light burden upon them, and all were morally rewarded beyond expectation by the great success of his books.*

Exiled from Germany, expelled from France, Weitling had sought refuge in Switzerland. Other German agitators, similarly persecuted, had preceded him there, and he soon found himself a leading figure among them. As the number of their converts among the Swiss workingmen was steadily increasing, the local authorities took umbrage at their activity, and the cantonal governments of Bern, Zurich and Geneva successively expelled Weitling. Finally, the federal government ordered an inquiry into the threatening development of German Communism in Switzerland. The federal councillor Bluntchli, who made the official report, inserted therein a number of manuscripts that had been seized by the police at Weitling's residence. Owing to its official character, this report was freely circulated in Germany by the Communists themselves, who found it a most convenient and effective instrument of propaganda.

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* In Weitling's ideal society, all labor is divided into two classes, namely: The labor required to supply the primary needs of man—food, clothing, shelter and education; and the labor applied to the production of luxuries. Of the necessary labor everyone who is able must contribute his share; those who desire to enjoy luxuries must earn the means by special labor. For scientists, inventors, physicians, etc., special provisions are made. Weitling does not propose experiments on a small scale. The change must be accomplished by the laboring class taking possession of the government. A dictator to be appointed to manage affairs until the new social order is fully established."—"Socialism in Germany," by Hugo Vogt, in the Workmen's Advocate, March, 1890.

None of the literature previously at their command had done them such good service.

The increasing persecution to which the most active German Communists were subjected in their own country, and the petty annoyances which awaited [redacted] who sought shelter there, drove a number of them to other

Simonians and the Fourierists had done before him, criticize the capitalistic order and show that the evils of society were caused by its institutions. The remedy was a matter of far greater difficulty. His suggestions in this respect were not on a level with his denunciations. He had evidently read Malthus, and been impressed with the ghost of over-population. Nor did he compre-

hend the pitiless nature of the class struggle, despite his historic understanding of the evolution of the proletariat. He fondly believed that by the side of a system founded on private property, and, therefore, inevitably productive of class rule and class absorption, another could be established by the public powers—that is, by the ruling class itself—founded on collective property and industrial co-operation, for the benefit of the disinherited and expropriated. In other words, he believed that capitalism could be induced to give back with one hand what it took with the other; to make free men of those whose enslavement was necessary to its existence; to commit hari-kari for the sake of humanity.

Rodbertus was a man of great intellectual powers, and some anti-socialists, recognizing that fact, have for their own obvious purposes made themselves his special admirers in an attempt to dim the glory of Karl Marx by raising a question of priority between the two writers concerning the surplus-value theory. In his preface to the second volume of Capital, Frederick Engels has fully answered the arguments produced in favor of Rodbertus' claim to precedence, and we can do no better than to refer the student to the preface in question. He showed that for any new and correct idea which Marx had found in Rodbertus, or for that matter in any of his predecessors, Marx had given due credit; that the existence of that part of the value of the product which we now call surplus-value was established long before Marx, and indeed long before Rodbertus, but that "no one got any further;" that the investigations of Marx led him to take up a position "in direct opposition to all his predecessors;" that " by distinguishing between constant and variable capital he succeeded in exposing and thus explaining the real process of formation of surplus-value in all its details, which none of his predecessors had done"; that he also proved the existence of a difference in capital itself, "with which Rodbertus was no more able than the bourgeois economists to do anything, though it furnishes the key to the solution of the most complicated economic problems;" and that "on the basis of surplus value he developed the first rational theory of wages which we have had, and for the first time gave the characteristics of a history of capitalist accumulation and a representation of its historical tendency."

In our candid opinion the controversy is fully settled. Its determination one way or the other was never, in fact, of the least importance to the Socialist movement. Of course, as a thorough scientist, Marx availed himself of all the knowledge of his day, correcting the errors of his predecessors and using for the purpose of further discovery all the truths which they had established. Insomuch as it may be of interest to know how much further he went than they had gone, it may safely be said that he went immensely further, and that he distanced Rodbertus as much in the economic field as in the field of practical organization, or militant work, which the comfortably situated theorist of Jagetzow and occasional supporter of Bismarck never entered. Certainly, if the depth of a man's knowledge were to be measured by its influence upon his actions, the inevitable conclusion concerning Rodbertus, granting his honesty, would be that his understanding of the social question was very limited. That he rejected Lassalle's request for his co-operation in the organization of the working class would not in itself prove anything against Rodbertus if his objection had simply been that he had no confidence in the particular scheme proposed. But what should we think to-day of a so-called "scientific Socialist" who would declare, as he did on that occasion, that "he could tolerate no agita-

tion which would excite the working class against the existing government?"

For the reasons already stated, no attempt can be made here to review, even briefly, the labors of Marx as a critical philosopher and social revolutionist, applying to the practical affairs of the class struggle, with mathematical accuracy, his scientific theory of human progress. His life has not yet been written, and until a competent historian, capable of doing full justice to his subject, undertakes to fill this deficiency, we must refer the inquirer to Marx's own works, supplemented by such biographical sketches as have from time to time appeared over the signatures of persons near to him by relationship or association.* Of his influence on modern thought, constantly growing as the years roll by, and of the momentum he imparted to Socialism during his lifetime, any one acquainted, even superficially, with the Socialist movement, is fully aware. Having so far digressed from our chief object in broadly surveying the ground covered by his predecessors, we may now take up the thread of events at the time of his appearance.

After the failure of the Paris insurrection led by the Communist Barbès in 1839, the headquarters of the League of the Just were transferred to London. Here its leaders met Frederick Engels in 1843, the year in which his valuable work on the "Condition of the Working Class in England" was published.

"Frederick Engels," says Hugo Vogt in the article on German Socialism previously quoted in a footnote, "had lived for some time in Manchester. There he studied the actual workings of capitalism, which was already well developed in England. His studies, probably stimulated by the Chartist agitation and largely aided by his Hegelian philosophic training, led him to a new theory of history. He found that the economic conditions are the controlling factors of history—modern history at least; that from them all class divisions spring, and that class divisions, where they have been fully worked out by the industrial development, lie at the bottom of all political struggles and determine the course of political history.

"Karl Marx had at about the same time reached similar conclusions. When the two men met in Paris in 1844 and found that they held substantially the same views, they jointly developed them into a comprehensive system of materialistic history. From this standpoint they began to see the Communist movements in a new light. French and German Communism and English Chartism were to them no longer casual phenomena, that would not have been but for the agitation of their founders and leaders; these movements appeared now as the first self-emancipating efforts of the modern proletariat, the oppressed wage class, in its necessary struggle with the capitalist class. With the victory of the proletariat the whole people will come into possession of economic and political power, and all class divisions will disappear. While the struggle will thus naturally result in the reconstruction of society on a Socialist basis, the way to promote the process is not by hatching out a most perfect plan of the ideal society, but by finding the true nature, the existing conditions and the inevitable tendencies of this historic struggle.

"Marx and Engels gradually succeeded in impressing their views upon the leaders of the League of the Just, which, at a convention held in the summer of 1847, was reorganized under the new name of 'League of the Communists,'

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* See "Karl Marx," by Eleanor Marx, reprinted from "Progress" (1883) in THE PEOPLE of August 8, 1897; also, "Socialism from Utopia to Science," by Frederick Engels, and various references in other works of the same author to his co-operation with Marx.

and adopted in its platform the above outlined position. In the first article ot that platform it was declared to be the object of the League to bring about the downfall of the bourgeoisie, to place the proletariat into power, to supersede the old bourgeois social order based on class antagonisms by the establishment of a new society without classes and without private property.' At a second congress, held towards the close of the same year, the League instructed Marx and Engels to draw up a declaration of principles. From their pen issued in the beginning of 1848, a few weeks before the February revolution, the now famous 'Communist Manifesto.'

"From 1848 to 1852 the Communist League exercised a wide-reaching influence in the revolutionary movement of Germany. It not only had affiliated branches in all parts of the country, but indirectly controlled most of the numerous workingmen's, peasants' and turners' organizations that had sprung up and whose leaders had everywhere been made members of the League. They took a most active part in the Revolution of 1848, and were indeed the most determined element in it. Although recognizing the middle class character of it, they went into it because it was in the interest of the proletariat as well as of the bourgeoisie to wipe out the feudal institutions and also in order to use the popular movement for the propagation ot their ideas. When the Revolution was vanquished and reaction set in, the communists were the first and most numerous victims of persecution. Their clubs and all the organizations under their control disbanded. The League was reorganized on a secret basis but could not withstand the reaction, and in 1853 it had disappeared entirely.

"Then followed several years of deep apathy among the German working people. In spite of the reaction capitalism was securely establishing itself on the industrial field. There was an enormous activity everywhere. Capital was building railroads, factories, warehouses, amassing wealth and agglomerating proletarians in great centers, thus preparing the ground and concentrating the forces for a new labor movement.

"Having become powerful industrially and socially the bourgeoisie began to again assert itself politically. The Progressist party, representing that class, engaged in a struggle for power with the Government party, representing the landed aristocracy. In order to strengthen themselves and at the same time prevent an independent or hostile organization of the laboring class, the Progressists undertook to organize the wage working proletariat under their own leadership. Schultze-Delitzsch, the originator of the scheme, was entrusted with the management of it, and he began in 1858 to form workingmen's societies of various kinds in all parts of the country. There were benefit societies, credit supply, and even co-operative manufacturing societies; but the most numerous and important were the educational societies. The object of the latter was to 'educate' workingmen in general matters of science, art, invention, and last, but not least, in the great principles of the Progressist party, to which they were taught it was their first duty to become devotedly attached. In the course of time men with Socialist ideas managed to obtain membership in some of these clubs. In 1862 the workingmen's club of Leipzig had among its members two Communists of the Weitling school, Julius Vahlteich and William Fritsche. When it decided to call a convention of workingmen's societies it was on the suggestion of Vahlteich that they applied to Ferdinand Lassalle for advice as to the best programme for such a convention, and as to the best means of ameliorating the condition of the working class.

"Lassalle was born at Breslau in 1825. He had become acquainted with the ideas of Marx and Engels in 1848. He had then and since been occasionally in personal communication with them and had studied their writings, notably Engels' "Condition of the Working Class in England" and Marx's "Critical Review of Political Economy," the latter of which was published in 1859. He had taken an active part in the Revolution of 1848 and 1849, but during the reactionary period he withdrew from all political movements and devoted himself to literary pursuits. He had established a reputation as a man of great learning and talent by his work on the "Philosophy of Heraclitos" (1859) and his "System of Acquired Rights" (1860). In 1859 he had also published a pamphlet on "The Italian War and the Mission of Prussia," in which he demanded in the name of democracy that Prussia establish the unity of Germany by forcibly taking the German provinces of Austria and annexing the Holstein provinces of Denmark. The Progressist party had gradually watered its platform and among the democratic demands which it had abandoned was this most essential of all, Universal Suffrage. Such retrogression, and also the weakness displayed by its leaders in the conduct of the conflict with the government had convinced Lassalle that nothing could be expected from that party towards securing democratic institutions—a hope which alone might have warranted an affiliation of the working class with the Progressist bourgeoisie until that had been accomplished. In 1862 he had opened a fierce campaign against the Progressists by several lectures delivered in Berlin, which first attracted general attention to him. The echo of his voice had not died away when in the beginning of 1863 he received the invitation of the Leipzig workingmen's club.

"He responded by his 'Open Letter,' issued March 1, 1863, in which he formulated the programme for the great agitation of the following years. He showed the inefficiency of the petty associative schemes of Schultze-Delitzsch and pointed out general co-operation, which would do away with the employer and his profit, as the only means of amelioration, because it alone could cancel the iron law of wages which rendered all palliative reforms nugatory. This co-operative system, he said, could be established by organizing and gradually extending co-operative industries on a large scale with the financial aid and credit of the State. This necessary State help would never be granted to the working class by the Progressist or any other bourgeois party. The working class must consequently organize as an independent political party, and, first of all, strive to secure the franchise, which would enable them to obtain control of the legislative powers. He therefore concluded with the recommendation that a 'General Society of German Workingmen' be formed, that would concencentrate all its efforts on this one point, Universal Suffrage.

"In accordance with that recommendation, a society was formed, under that name and for that purpose, at a congress of workingmen held at Leipzig on May 22, 1863. Lassalle was tendered and accepted the presidency of it. He immediately opened an aggressive campaign and soon gained an enthusiastic following, especially in the industrial districts on the Rhine, which had been the strongholds of the Communist movement in 1848. Lectures, pamphlets, essays, followed each other with extraordinary rapidity, forming together a treasure of propagandistic literature, clear, convincing, brilliant, embracing his own propositions and the whole range of economic and historic doctrine known as German or Marxist Socialism. True, although he created a deep impression upon the laboring masses throughout Germany, he did not succeed in drawing as many into the organization as he had hoped. But he accomplished

a result of the highest importance; he dug the grave of the sham labor reforms of the Schultze-Delitzch type. After dealing these humbugologists many a heavy blow in his public addresses he finished them, so to speak, systematically and radically in his 'Bastiat-Schultze,' published in January, 1864. The prestige of the Schultze school was broken, and it was only a question of time when there would be nothing left of it."

Lassalle's career as a Socialist agitator was unexampled in brilliancy, but short. Involved in a romantic quarrel which had no relation to the labor movement, he was killed in a duel at Geneva on the 31st of August, 1864. A few weeks later (September 28, 1864), the International Association of Workingmen, initiated by Marx in 1861, was definitely founded in London.

In the previous three years Marx had matured all his plans and made every possible preparation for the final organization of that international movement of the proletariat which he had already attempted to set on foot in 1847, when he joined the Communist League at Brussels, and with Frederick Engels was delegated by that body to write the "Communist Manifesto." Upon the identical lines of this celebrated document Marx wrote the brief preamble to the rules of the International Association, setting forth its "raison d'être" as follows:

"Considering:—That the emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself, and therefore involves a class struggle, which on the side of the workers is not for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties and the abolition of all class rule;

"That the economic subjection of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the sources of life and instruments of labor, lies at the root of social misery, mental degradation, political dependence and servitude in every form;

"That the economic emancipation of the working class is therefore the great end to which every political movement must be subordinated as a means;

"That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labor in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries;

"That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, involving all countries in which the modern state of society exists, and depending for its solution on the practical and theoretical co-operation of the most advanced countries;

"That the present reawakening of the working classes in the most industrial countries of Europe, while it raises new hopes, gives solemn warning against a relapse into old errors and calls for a close connection of the now separate movements;

"For these reasons the International Workmen's Association has been founded. All its members shall recognize that Truth, Morality, Justice, must be the basis of their conduct towards each other and towards all men, regardless of color, creed or nationality. They shall regard it the duty of a man to demand the rights of a man and a citizen, not only for himself, but for every one who does his duty. No rights without duties; no duties without rights."

Although theoretically resting on the same economic principles and having the same end in view, the Lassallian movement and the Marxist diverged materially in tactics. In the first place the former was purely national, the latter was essentially international. Of course a national organization was

also required and contemplated by the Marxists, and on the other hand the Lassallians had no thought of assigning any geographical limits to the development of Socialism; but the two processes of construction were practically the reverse of each other, and for reasons now sufficiently obvious the Marxist was the more scientific. Again, the followers of Marx had been taught to expect nothing, absolutely nothing, but from the complete triumph of the proletariat, through which the Social Revolution would at the proper time, and then at once, be achieved, Capitalism abolished and Socialism instituted; whereas Lassalle had believed, or at any rate professed, that a social transformation could be brought about by degrees, more or less slowly, more or less rapidly, according as the class-conscious proletariat would be able to assert itself as a political force in the direction of public affairs. The Marxist view implied an uncompromising attitude under all circumstances, whereas the Lassallian, ever so aggressive in principle and so unyielding as to the final aim, left room for temporary adjustments between the classes, and for negotiations with the ruling powers, that might prove dangerous to the integrity of the movement. Lassalle's plan, as publicly given out by him, contemplated a government loan of one hundred million thalers ($60,000,000), the proceeds of which were to be used for the socialization of some important lines of industry, and the interest upon which was to be set aside for the gradual extension of the scheme to all the other lines, including, last of all, agriculture. According to his own computation it would have taken two centuries to thus achieve peacefully the economic emancipation of the laboring class. To be sure, neither Lassalle nor his intelligent followers entertained for a moment the notion that six generations of men would peacefully be buried before the wage system was entirely abolished, or that one pfennig of public money would be granted for the purpose in question until the working class had taken possession of the public powers. Their utterances concerning their proposed use of government were always qualified by the statement that they referred to a government which was to be remodelled by universal suffrage. In fact they simply saw in Lasalle's scheme a permissible artifice of diplomacy for the more rapid propagation of certain principles, which, once accepted by a majority of the people, would shortly develop a revolutionary spirit What they saw, however, their wily enemies could see also and guard against with superior cunning; so that it were wiser for proletarian leaders, and more honest as well, to waste no time in argument with a naturally unyielding and deceitful opponent, but move at once in a straight line to the field of battle. Diplomacy is not and never will be a proletarian method. Not by parleying with Capitalism or its political agents but by ceaselessly fighting both can Socialist principles be propagated and the scattered masses formed into a class-conscious body. In the clearer light of experience at our command all of us now should plainly see that; for since the days of Lassalle it has been repeatedly demonstrated—and nowhere more forcibly than in this country—that nothing can be gained and much may be lost by the adoption of any scheme or policy which obscures ever so little, instead of holding prominently to view, the merciless and unalterable character of the class struggle.

Of Lassalle's interviews with Bismarck we need not speak here at length. Such intercourse might have proved harmless so long as the party to it on the side of the proletariat was a man of Lassalle's intellectual and moral standing, enjoying the confidence of the people that he had himself aroused and organ-

ized, and sheltered from suspicion by the established purity of his intentions and the conceded nobility of his ambition. In some at least of these respects no man could take his place. Of the overbearing, jealous and incapable Bernhard Becker, who succeeded him for a year as president of the Society, it has been justly said that he was "the ass in the lion's skin." C. W. Tölke, who took the place of Becker in December, 1865, raised a storm of indignation among the Socialists by publicly disclosing his monarchic sympathies and consequently resigned the office after holding it a few months only. By this time some Lassallian leaders were generally suspected of political dealings repugnant to the spirit of the movement. Indeed, very soon after the death of Lassalle there was already a strong basis of fact for such suspicions. In his last days arrangements had been made for the publication of an organ of the Society, entitled "The Social Democrat," with Dr. J. B. von Schweitzer as its editor. The paper appeared on January 1, 1865. In its first issue Marx, Engels and Liebknecht were announced as contributors. But when in February of the same year Schweitzer published a leading article indorsing the policy of the Bismarck ministry and professing a narrow Prussian jingoism, these three Internationalists withdrew their names by a public declaration. From that time—and, as we shall see, for a number of years,—the movement was divided; but as Internationalism appealed strongly to Socialism, many Lassallians, one by one, two by two, entered the ranks of the International, whose propaganda was conducted with great energy by Liebknecht.

At that time a large number of the democratic political clubs originally instituted by the Progressists had seceded from their retrogressive progenitors and formed a "People's Party," whose chief strength was in Saxony and Southern Germany. The numerous workingmen's educational societies similarly fathered had likewise struck out independently and formed a federation, the national committee of which had its seat in Leipzig. Of this national committee August Bebel was a member. He was also the leader of the Leipzig organization of the People's Party. Liebknecht, who resided in the same town, and who, for the purpose of advancing his views, had become a member of the local educational society, succeeded in converting Bebel to International Socialism. Both together then converted the other members of the national committee; so that in a short time the whole organization was permeated with Socialist ideas.

In the meanwhile important political events had taken place. The battle of Sadowa had been fought, Austria lay prostrate at the feet of Prussia, and a North German Confederation had been formed, comprising all the German States north of the Main, which were to be represented according to population, in a Reichstag (or parliament) elected by universal suffrage. The first Reichstag was to be a constituent assembly of short duration, and elections for this body had to be held in the beginning of 1867. All this was the work of Bismarck, who, in granting universal suffrage, hoped to get the support of the working class against the Progressists. It has been alleged that he had an understanding with Schweitzer, and that the latter actually pledged to the government the support of the German Workingmen's Society. At any rate, when election day came, Bismarck stood as the government candidate in Barmen-Elberfeld against Schweitzer and a Progressist. A second ballot became necessary between Bismarck and the Progressist, and then, notwithstanding the nominal decision of his local organization against supporting either side, Schweitzer's vote was transferred to Bismarck, electing him. Thenceforth

the suspicion clung to Schweitzer that he was an agent of the government, and although a few months later he was sufficiently popular in the German Workingmen's Society to be made its president, his influence, which already then was no longer as great as it had previously been, continued to decline. He resigned the presidency in July, 1871, and was finally expelled from the Society in April, 1872. His successor, Wilhelm Hasenclever, was a man of conciliatory disposition and sterling integrity, and it was under his administration that the Lassallians and the Marxists, in 1875, came to a complete union as we shall see later on.

At the election for the constituent assembly August Bebel was the only Socialist elected. He was running as the nominee of the Saxon People's Party in the Glauchau-Meerane district of Saxony. But a few months later, when elections were held for the first regular North German Reichstag, seven Socialists were returned. Three of them, Bebel, Liebknecht and Schraps, were nominees of the Saxon People's party; two, including Schweitzer, belonged to the Lassallian faction which had selected him as its president, and two belonged to another Lassallian faction, which had seceded from the German Workingmen's Society, and under the lead of an old friend of Lassalle's, Countess Hatzfeld, had formed an independent organization. The total vote cast for those various candidates was about 30,000.

The two campaigns of 1867 and the activity of the Socialist deputies within and without the Reichstag greatly strengthened the movement. In the Federation of Educational Societies the Socialist element had become so strong that its central committee, led by Bebel and Liebknecht, submitted to the General Assembly of that body, held in Nuremberg in September, 1868, a proposition to indorse the platform of the International. At this convention all the factions of the labor movement were represented. There were the Schultze-Delitzsch men, constituting the purely political wing of the People's party (of which the present People's party is the continuation; the Marxist wing of that party (Bebel-Liebkecht), and a small number of Lassallians. After a prolonged and heated discussion the International programme was indorsed by a large majority. The Schultze-Delitzsch minority withdrew, leaving in the hands of the most radical Socialist leaders the organization which they had created for the express purpose of keeping the workingmen out of Socialism. The Federation of Educational Societies had now practically become a branch of the International.

While thus at work capturing an entire organization, the followers of Marx did not relax their efforts to bring the Lassallians over to their views. They hoped to break down the pernicious influence of Schweitzer and then to effect an amalgamation. In March, 1869, Bebel and Liebknecht appeared before the convention of the German Workmen's Society, in session at Barmen. They argued that in giving itself a president this organization had disregarded a fundamental principle of Socialism, and that in vesting him with dictatorial powers it had exposed itself to the danger of corruption. Then they directly accused Schweitzer of being an agent of the government, and of having, as such, fostered in the organization over which he ruled by cunning and intrigue, a narrow spirit of Prussian patriotism, contrary to the nature of a true labor movement. Notwithstanding the vigor of their attack and the eloquence of their appeal, the convention expressed its confidence in Schweitzer's integrity and good management by a vote of 42 out of 56, fourteen delegates abstaining.

Nothing daunted, the Marxists called a congress, to which the Lassallians

were invited, in order to settle differences and consolidate the Socialist forces into a party capable of presenting an undivided front to the enemy. This congress was held at Eisenach from the 7th to the 9th of August, 1869. It was attended by 263 delegates, representing about 300 associations with a total membership of 155,486 constituents, distributed over 195 localities in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. No agreement, however, could be reached with the Lassallians, and the Marxists constituted themselves into a party, called the "Social-Democratic Labor party," upon a platform divided into two parts, namely: 1—A declaration of principles, which was substantially and almost literally the same as that of the International Association; 2—A programme of demands, including universal suffrage, equal, direct and secret; the referendum and initiative principle of legislation; the abolition of all privileges attached to rank, property, birth and creed; the substitution of the armed nation for the permanent army; separation of church and state; compulsory and secular education; free justice, trial by jury, and reform of the courts with a view to their independence; liberty of the press; freedom of association and combination; the normal work day; limitation of the women's and prohibition of the children's labor; abolition of all indirect taxation, and the raising of all revenue by a progressive income tax and a tax on inheritance. With a view, no doubt, to the ultimate conciliation of the Lassallians, a demand was added for "government support of benefit societies, and public credit for free co-operative associations with democratic guarantees."

While it lasted, the Franco-German war (which broke out in the summer of 1870), by the drafts it made upon the wage-working population, checked the movement in that visible part of it which consisted in actual party membership, but rather quickened and intensified it otherwise by the terrible truths thus vividly brought home to the thoughtless minds. Shortly after the battle of Sedan—at which the French Emperor, held responsible for the conflict, was compelled to surrender his person and his army—the Executive Committee of the Social-Democratic (Eisenach) party were arrested and imprisoned for having issued a manifesto to the German workingmen, protesting against the continuance of the war. The same position was taken in the Reichstag by Bebel and Liebknecht, who voted against any further appropriations; in consequence of which they were also arrested on a charge of treason. They were tried together in the early part of 1872. Liebknecht was sent to prison for two years and Bebel for two years and nine months. When the Lassallian deputy, Wilhelm Hasenclever, who had likewise opposed the granting of money for the prosecution of the war, joined before Paris the regiment of which he was a private, the dignity and fortitude with which he endured the ill-treatment inflicted upon him by the officers, and the bravery which he displayed in the performance of his uncongenial duty, commanded in the end general respect and sympathy.

Immediately after the war, the newly established German Empire had to be put in working order by the election of an Imperial Parliament. The public sentiment was then stimulated to a high degree of patriotic enthusiasm and loyalty, and the government had no doubt that its persecution of the leading Socialists would be universally approved, even by those who had previously sided with them at the ballot box; in other words, it fondly believed that Socialism had been killed by the "unpatriotic behavior" of its chief mouthpieces. In capitalistic and official circles little attention, in fact, was bestowed upon the movement, because its self-destruction seemed sufficiently assured

by the bitter fight in which the two Socialist factions were engaged. In such circles it was not then understood that these factions did not allow their hostilities to interfere with their agitation against the common enemy; that, on the contrary, their antagonism acted rather as a stimulus, spurring on each of them to its utmost exertions; and that their very disputes, by causing widespread discussion and inquiry among working people, and generally stirring masses until then passive and motionless, were at that time most effective in enlarging the area of propaganda and increasing its energy.

On election day, therefore, the Socialists sorely disappointed the government and greatly astonished the country by casting 101,927 votes for their candidates, or three times as many as they had cast before the war. This piece of proletarian impudence, coming so closely upon the heels of "national glory," in violation of all historic precedents, was well nigh intolerable, and Bismarck's police was reminded of its duty. The police worked hard; it had all the work it could do suppressing meetings, escorting agitators to jail or out of town, and otherwise making itself and the government as odious as possible to the working people; so that, when the Socialists, three years later, cast 351,670 votes—or about three and a half times their previous number—the astonishment of the country, of Europe, of the world, and especially of the German government, increased in geometric ratio. It looked as if the German workingmen, with the same firmness they had shown, as dutiful soldiers, in accomplishing the political unity of the Fatherland against the French Emperor, had now set themselves to the task of accomplishing, as class-conscious men, their own emancipation from domestic tyrants.

At the election of 1871, despite the great increase of the Socialist vote, and owing to peculiar circumstances chiefly arising from the formation of new electoral districts, Bebel was the only Socialist elected. But in 1874 nine were elected, namely, 3 of the Lassallian and six of the Eisenach wing. Among the latter were Bebel and Liebknecht, who were still in prison.

New means of persecution were resorted to in various parts of the Empire, Bismarck giving the example of energetic action under the cover of the law when possible, and by prompting the police in its assumptions of arbitrary powers when perchance legal tomfoolery was so deficient that it did not afford a "better" method. In Prussia, availing itself of a statute enacted in 1850, when the reaction had triumphed over the revolutionary movement of 1848, the royal government dissolved the Lassallian organization, which however, managed to survive its official death. The Marxists, of course, were not treated with greater consideration, and every occasion was improved to harass their agitators and hinder their propaganda. From their press, however, both factions derived great strength, and it soon became known that the imperial government intended not only to muzzle it, but to destroy it, by demanding from the Reichstag a special provision against it in the proposed Imperial penal code, that was to be uniformly enforced throughout the Empire.

The effect of this vigorous "blood and iron policy" was quite unexpected. It united the Lassallians and the Marxists.

This union was effected at a congress, called by mutual agreement, which was held at Gotha from the 22d to the 27th of May, 1875, with an attendance of 125 delegates representing 25,659 fully qualified members. An executive committee was elected, subject in its management of affairs to the supervision of a controlling commission, and in its ruling to the decisions of a board of appeals. The hitherto separate organs of the two parties—namely,

the "Social-Democrat" of Berlin, belonging to the Lassallians, and the "Volksstaat" of Leipzig, belonging to the Marxists—were amalgamated into one, which subsequently was entitled "Vorwärts."

In its mere wording the Gotha platform differed from the Eisenach programme just enough to satisfy men who, thinking exactly alike, desired to put an end to personal differences of long standing by "mutual concessions." In everything else the two documents were absolutely the same. There had no doubt been a time when the Lassallians earnestly upheld their founder's scheme of State help in the establishment of co-operative production. But, knowing that any belief in its practicability would gradually become weaker in the light of economic and political developments, the Marxists themselves had not considered it a bar to union; and, as we have already stated, they had conceded to that scheme a plank in the Eisenach programme among their demands for measures of relief. This "concession," which had then proved of no effect as a means of conciliation, was again made at Gotha; but in accepting it this time the Lassallians evidently valued it far more as a token of friendship than for the intrinsic worth of the plank itself, in which they believed no more. The fact is that upon this point and some others—chiefly of a tactical nature but involving a true comprehension of fundamental principles and a correct understanding of the class struggle—a change had been brought about in the views of the Lassallians (as Hugo Vogt rightly observes) "by the agitation of the International, and the publication, in 1867, of Karl Marx's 'Capital, which was at once recognized by the Lassallians as well as by the Marxists as the fundamental work of modern Socialism."

A separate resolution was adopted at Gotha, recognizing that under the capitalist system trade unionism was a necessity imposed upon the workingmen by the very nature of the class struggle, and declaring, therefore, that it was the duty of every wage worker to enter the union of his trade, with a view to combined resistance against degradation and combined action for improvement. This was of special importance, chiefly because of the efforts of the Progressists, through their agents in the economic organizations of labor, to keep these bodies on the very lines which we have here termed the lines of "pure-and-simpledom." Hereafter every Socialist would stand guard, in the economic as well as in the political field.

In January, 1876, the penal code being under consideration in the Reichstag, Bismarck introduced his amendment relating to the press, and urged its passage. It provided severe punishment by fine and imprisonment for "any person who in a manner endangering the public peace incited different classes of the population against one another or in like manner attacked the institutions of matrimony, family or property."

An overwhelming majority of the Reichstag, afraid to trust the Imperial government with the despotic power which it demanded with a verbal promise to use it only against the Socialists, but which it might also have used against other parties, declared itself against this scheme by vote and argument, on the ground that it would endanger the freedom of the entire press and that the penal code of the Empire contained sufficient provisions for the prevention or punishment of actual offenses.

Bismarck's disappointment was b'tter. He had hoped that the Progressists, whose supporters among the proletariat were being steadily reduced in number by the inroads of Socialism, might be induced to cut their own throats by voting for this amendment. But, aware of the punishment with which

they might be visited at the polls by that large portion of their constituencies which was still composed of wage workers if they fell into this Bismarckian trap—a punishment far greater to them than that which any law they might help to pass could inflict upon the Socialists—they took the lofty ground that a free press corrected its own abuses. Even the Centrists had apparently learned enough of the expanding properties of Socialism under pressure to deny the value of punishment as a remedy to that great and peculiar evil.

Temporarily relieved of their worst apprehensions—although subject to a constantly increasing espionage and ill treatment against which they had no other redress than the light which their organs could cast upon the villainous proceedings of the authorities—the Social-Democrats, now thoroughly united, resumed agitation with tenfold energy. From 1875 to 1877 they increased the number of their papers from 11 to 41, of which 13 were issued daily, 13 semi-weekly, 12 weekly and 3 twice a month. There were besides 14 trade-union papers with outspoken Socialist tendencies.

But while the defeat of Bismarck in the Reichstag made their papers and agitation comparatively safe outside of Prussia, the Socialists remained exposed on Prussian territory to the provisions of the above mentioned law of 1850, which Bismarck was now determined to enforce against them with the utmost rigor. In March, 1876, an order was made by a Berlin court, declaring the Social-Democratic party unlawful, and prohibiting it within the boundaries of Prussia. The immediate result of this order was that the next Socialist Congress could not be held as a congress of the "party"; in order to enable the Prussian Socialists to send delegates, a "general congress of Socialists" was called. This body met at Gotha in August, 1876, and reconstructed the organization of the party by formally severing all connections between the local organizations and the central committee. But it was understood that in each locality only one member (a trusted one, who would be, in fact, though not in name, the representative of his local organization) would be in communication with the central committee, and that the old relations would thus be substantially kept up. For the purpose of collecting in Prussia monies for the central fund, a monthly leaflet, called "The Elector," was issued and sold at a price equivalent to the amount elsewhere paid as party dues. Thus did the Socialists meet and defeat Bismarck on his selected ground of legal chicanery.

A few months later—January, 1877—they met him at the polls and defeated him in still grander style. They cast 486,843 votes; an increase of 135,792 since 1874. In Berlin, the capital of the Empire, the heart of Prussia, and the center of persecution, their vote was tripled, rising from 11,500 in 1874 to 31,494 in 1877. The party carried 12 seats, two of them in Berlin.

The new Reichstag was by no means so subservient a body as Bismarck had desired and expected. It was largely representative of the capitalistic spirit, which the modern conditions of production had been developing in Germany with tenfold energy since the accomplishment of her political unity. At the bunco game of "patriotism,"—a game at which the wily Chancellor was wont to play in all seasons—the poor populace might still have been readily cheated; but the money interests did not allow themselves to be duped by financial schemes gaudily dressed in national colors. Despite the efforts of France to reorganize her military forces on a gigantic scale, the mercantile classes of Germany felt that the nation was safe. At any rate they could not perceive any danger ahead, so immediately threatening as to justify the constant increase of war expenditure. They held, quite rightly for once, that this

was merely a war of franks against marks, in which the German tactics should be to save the marks and let the franks go to waste. Bismarck, however, had a supreme contempt for such grocerlike bourgeois diplomacy. In fact, he wanted money. The financial situation of the empire was anything but satisfactory. Not only the French milliards paid to Germany in 1871 were gone without leaving any trace of wealth behind them, but the value of agricultural land was rapidly decreasing under the pressure of foreign competition in food stuffs, and therefore the fiscal system of the Empire, and of every State it comprised, was sapped at its very foundation. The landed aristocracy was grumbling; so was the peasant. Poor peasant, whose interest, as every one could now see, was "identical" with that of the lord! Bismarck, who had patriotically become a great landowner, loved the peasant. He would, he must, enable him to pay his taxes—and more taxes by and by.

So Bismarck came to the Reichstag with a protective tariff; a tariff that would, of course, protect equally all the industries of the country by making everything dearer, especially the necessaries of life. If a foreigner invaded the German market with his cheap products, he would at least have to pay duty at the gates of the Empire. To the extent of the contribution thus fairly levied upon him for the privilege of making profits in Germany, he would swell the receipts of the imperial treasury.

But in the previous twenty years Germany had vastly progressed in manufactures and foreign commerce. Thanks to the cheap labor at the command of her capitalists, she could already undersell her foreign rivals in many markets. The large emigration from her shores, driven to America and other parts of the world by intolerable misery on the native soil, although a serious loss in some respects, was in others a great gain by the resulting extension of her foreign relations. Her exports, like those of England, consisted mainly in finished products, and likewise her imports were chiefly raw materials and food-stuffs. To increase the cost of the raw materials was to increase the cost of the finished products; it would place the German manufacturers at a disadvantage, unless they could reduce to the same extent the wages of German labor; and this last contingency, as good Christians, as patriotic Germans, they could not contemplate without horror, although they did reduce wages, tariff or no tariff, whenever they could find a pretense or a way. Again, to increase the price of food-stuffs was to decrease the purchasing power of wages, unless wages were increased accordingly. In the first case the workingmen would be the losers and the manufacturers would gain nothing; in the second case the workingmen would gain nothing but the manufacturers would lose; in both cases the loss of the manufacturers or of the laborers would be the gain of the landed aristocracy to a large extent, and of the peasantry to an insignificant amount.

It were a waste of time to review at greater length the usual tariff and anti-tariff sophistry (sufficiently familiar to Americans) that was displayed on that occasion. We may simply state that the Socialists in the Reichstag improved the opportunity thus afforded of showing in its true light the conflict of interests necessarily resulting from the capitalist system, the dishonesty of both sides, and the impudence of each in claiming that the welfare of the laboring class was its foremost consideration, the real dispute being as to which should get the larger share of the fleece of labor. Both winced under the Socialist lash; after which the Liberal capitalist majority proceeded to suit itself by rejecting the Bismarckian tariff.

The mighty Chancellor was wroth. Had he dared to go to the people upon an issue which made him appear like favoring an increase in the price of bread, this Reichstag would not have lived another day. Unable to use a real cause for a dissolution, he waited for a pretext.

Soon, however, an unexpected event cast the tariff question into the shade. On May 11, 1878, while driving through the Unter den Linden in Berlin with his daughter, the Grand Duchess of Baden, the Emperor William was shot at twice without effect by an ignorant, half-witted, erratic young man of 21 years, named Hödel, and known by his few acquaintances as a physical, mental and moral wreck. When Bismarck, who then was at Frederichsruhe, received a brief dispatch informing him of this "attempt on the life of the Emperor," he, without waiting for further particulars, laconically but suggestively wired back: "Exceptional law against the Socialists." The hint, of course, was immediately taken by the officials, and an effort made to work public opinion accordingly. Within nine days a coercive bill, entitled, "A law for the checking of Social-Democratic excesses," was laid before the Reichstag with an urgent demand for its immediate passage. At the same time, in order to create among the people, by a superposition of facts without any real connection, the impression that the act of Hödel was only a part of some violent policy supposed to have been entered upon by the Socialists, Herr Most, whose anarchistic tendencies were beginning to strongly manifest themselves in opposition to the wise tactics of Bebel and Liebknecht, was being prosecuted in Berlin for "libelling the clergy." But the Reichstag had not entirely lost its senses. It could not thus be carried by storm. The Anti-Socialist bill was rejected by the overwhelming vote of 251 to 57.

A few days later, while Bismarck, brooding over his defeat, was still deliberating upon the advisability of dissolving the recalcitrant Reichstag, a second attack was made upon the life of the Emperor. From the upper window of a house fronting on the Linden a Dr. Karl Nobiling fired at the old Kaiser and wounded him severely, though not fatally. This was on June 2, or just three weeks after the mad attempt of Hödel to immortalize himself as a regicide. Not only was there an entire absence of facts or appearances which might induce the suspicion that Socialism or the Socialists had in the remotest way anything to do with the act of Nobiling, but from the very beginning the information obtained by the government concerning his antecedents and affiliations was absolutely conclusive as to the groundlessness of any such suspicion. He had been until lately an employee of the Bureau of Statistics of Saxony at Dresden. He had, like many other people, attended Socialist meetings, but in the free debates held there it was as an anti-Socialist that he had taken the floor. In politics he was a National Liberal and acknowledged himself a member of that party. By suppressing these facts until he had accomplished his purpose, and by feeding the press with false reports, Bismarck provoked a violent outburst of rage and hatred against the Socialists throughout the country. "They were insulted in public places, hounded by police and employers, refused admittance to theaters, saloons and restaurants. Thousands of them were placed under arrest on the flimsiest charges. Nothing appeared more meritorious than to detect and denounce a Socialist. The words and meaning of casual remarks in private conversation were tortured into seditious language, which zealous judges punished with outrageous sentences. How far things had gone is shown by a report of Bayard Taylor, then United States Minister to Germany, warning German-American citizens traveling or sojourn-

ing in the fatherland to refrain from all political conversations as liable to involve them in difficulties."

Under this pressure of public sentiment the Reichstag would now have been perfectly willing to pass any anti-Socialist bill which Bismarck might have submitted. But he wanted to get rid of that parliament; he wanted a new election at that very moment, for he did not doubt that the result of it would show a complete annihilation of Socialism. Nine days after Nobeling's performance he dissolved the Reichstag under the false pretense that the first anti-Socialist bill having been rejected by it, a new one would now fare no better.

The day appointed for the election was the 30th of July, 1878. The Socialists had only eighteen days to prepare for it. Never was a party forced into a campaign under more adverse conditions. And it held its own magnificently. Its vote was 437,158, or about 55,000 less than at the normal election of 1877. The loss was sustained in the small towns and rural districts, where terrorism and the lack of time operated adversely with greatest force. On the other hand, the city vote showed a decided increase. In Berlin, for instance, it rose from 31,522 to 56,147. The war cry of all the other parties had been: "Drive them out of the Reichstag." Accordingly, wherever a Socialist candidate had a chance of election in a divided field, all the parties combined against him. Nevertheless, nine Socialist deputies were returned, and these included Bebel and Liebknecht.

Bismarck, at last, had the sort of parliament he wanted. He lost no time in introducing his bill, which he prefaced, in part, with the following considerations:

"It has become a necessity, for the preservation of the State and society, to adopt an attitude of determined opposition to the Social-Democratic movement. It is true that thought cannot be repressed by external compulsion, and an intellectual movement can only be effectually combated by intellectual means. But such a movement, when it enters on false courses and threatens to become pernicious, may be deprived of its means of extension by legitimate methods.

"Yet the State alone will never succeed, even with the means proposed in this bill, in destroying the Social-Democratic agitation. These are only the preliminary requisites of the cure, not the cure itself. Rather will it need the active co-operation of all the conservative forces of civilized society, in order, by the revival of religious sentiment, by enlightenment and instruction, by strengthening the sense of right and morality among the people, and by future economic reforms, to effect a radical cure.

"The ordinary penal code is inadequate to stem the agitation in question, because of its predominatingly repressive character, in virtue of which it can indeed take cognizance of particular violations of law, but not of a continuous agitation directed against the State and society. A revision in this department is, therefore, not advisable, especially as, in order to be operative, it would have to exceed the requirements of the present and would necessitate a permanent curtailment of rights. What is wanted is rather a special enactment which shall subject the right of association and of public meeting, the freedom of the press, and the following of particular trades, as well as the liberty of removal from one place to another, to such limitations as shall exclusively operate against the dangerous aims of Social-Democracy; inasmuch as, confessedly, all morbid and extraordinary conditions in the life of the State call for

remedy by means of special legislation, directed exclusively to the removal of the immediate danger, and ceasing to operate as soon as its object is attained."

By the law itself, "all Social-Democratic, Socialistic or Communistic Societies," and all combinations having tendencies of a similar character, were forbidden. All mutual benefit societies were subject to the control of the police, who could be present at their sittings, call and conduct their general meetings, forbid resolutions likely to further Socialistic aims or propaganda, supervise the officers and even take charge of the funds. If a society was prohibited its funds were confiscated. Literature of a Socialistic tendency was forbidden. A newspaper could be seized and prohibited by the police, and be suppressed forever when one of its numbers had been thus prohibited. Its property could also be destroyed or confiscated.* Suspected persons could be expelled from the town or district in which they resided. Socialistic meetings were declared unlawful, and anyone offering accommodation to a prohibited society was liable to imprisonment. Could also be punished by imprisonment, or fine, anyone who distributed forbidden publications or collected subscriptions for Social-Democratic purposes. In bitter mockery of the forms of justice, a special commission of five members, including a president and a vice-president appointed by the Emperor, was instituted to hear the appeals of societies prohibited and of editors of newspapers suspended by the police; but no such appeal could stay police execution, which was immediate. Lastly, in districts where all these measures of repression might not suffice to extinguish Socialism, the government was empowered to proclaim a "minor state of siege." This famous "law of exception," signed on Oct. 21, 1878, by the Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm and countersigned by Bismarck, was to remain in force until March 31, 1881; but the time of its operation, through successive extensions, did not finally come to an end until the Fall of 1890.

Within a few days of the promulgation of the law most of the newspapers of the party were prohibited. These papers were generally published by co-operative associations, which employed several hundreds of persons and in which thousands of wage workers had put their small savings. The extent of the loss thus brutally inflicted upon these people may be inferred from the fact that the Leipzig Vorwärts, the Berlin Free Press and the Hamburg-Altona Volksblatt aggregated a circulation of 45,000. Still more considerable were the losses caused by the dissolution of trade-unions, which was also immediately proceeded with. After a number of these societies had been broken up by the police and their property confiscated, many others, largely composed of Socialists, saved their funds, however, by disbanding voluntarily. Within a few months all the economic organizations of labor—with the exception of the compositors' union, which placed itself under police control—were wiped out of existence.

At the same time the government was availing itself with the utmost relentlessness of all its powers of persecution against the Socialist leaders and agitators. The minor state of siege was first proclaimed in Berlin on November 28, 1878. Sixty-seven Socialists were on one day served with orders to leave

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* In the debate upon these confiscation clauses of the bill, Bebel twitted Bismarck by comparing his professions of respect for private property with his intended destruction and absorption of the property of working people. He said: "We wish to abolish the present form of private property in the instruments of production as well as in land. But Social-Democracy has never yet forcibly taken or destroyed private property to the value of a cent (fünfer), nor does it attack private property with the intention of ruining the individual."

that city within twenty-four or forty-eight hours; and all of them, with one exception, were heads of families. So cruel was the police in its application of the law that numbers of people in all ranks of society and in all parts of the country, who had previously joined in the crusade against Socialism, immediately responded with money contributions to a call for relief issued by the Socialist members of the Reichstag.

There seemed to be no loophole through which the Social-Democracy could crawl. The situation, at any rate, obviously called for the most cautious, deliberate action that cool-headed, long-sighted, well-informed and unflinching men could decide upon. In the meantime, nothing better could be done than to "sham dead," in accordance with the advice discreetly sent out by the Socialist deputies to the committeemen, and likewise transmitted by these to all members of the party, as soon as it was ascertained that a majority of the Reichstag would vote for the law of exception. For, if on the one hand it had become more apparent than ever that the ruling classes were determined to maintain their economic and political power at all costs and all hazards, so that in the end a violent revolution seemed inevitable, yet, on the other hand, it was evident that nothing would please them better than a premature uprising of the Socialists, which they could repress at that time far more easily if not less bloodily than the Versaillese had done in the case of the Paris Commune. In such event they would probably be safe from Socialistic agitation for many years to come, even if they had to say, like Louis XV., "After me the deluge." Manifestly, the policy of Bismarck and the manner in which he carried it out had no other object in view. It was, above all, a policy of provocation, and the Anarchist leaders—the Mosts and the Hasselmanns—who not only then openly advocated armed resistance but fomented disruption in the ranks of the party by villainously casting suspicion upon its ablest and most severely tried veterans, were obviously, stupidly, playing into the hands of Bismarck.

Fortunately, those hare-brained "propagandists of the deed," who never themselves killed a gad-fly but sent their dupes to the scaffold, did not prevail. At a secret conference held in a village near Leipzig and attended by a number of delegates from all parts of Germany, the whole ground was carefully surveyed and the resolution was taken to continue "shamming dead."

There remained, however, an open field of agitation, and this was the Reichstag itself; a last place of refuge, where the Socialist deputies, facing all the powers of oppression, could freely speak, and did speak—as they gleefully said to their enraged opponents—not to a few pillars of despotism in the Chamber, but to the down-trodden masses on the outside.* As the reports of parliamentary proceedings were privileged, the speeches of those deputies were published in extenso by the party papers and read with avidity throughout Germany. This was more than Bismarck could endure. He determined to gag the Socialist representatives, and even, if possible, to get rid of them entirely. On the 18th of February, 1879, a letter from the police authorities was submitted to the Reichstag, asking its consent to the arrest and prosecution of two

* The following declaration made in the Volksstaat in 1874, states exactly the position, not of the German Social-Democracy alone, but of the Socialist parties in all countries and at all times: "Our party is a revolutionary party. If it allowed itself to be decoyed upon parliamentary ground it would cease to be a revolutionary party—would, in fact, cease to exist. We take part in the elections and send representatives to the Reichstag solely for purposes of agitation. The strength of our party lies in the people, in the people lies our sphere of operations. Only in order that we may address the people do we ascend the tribune of the Reichstag."

Socialist members for an alleged violation of those provisions of the new law which related to the minor state of siege. This demand roused a storm of opposition. In the course of the debate that followed, one of Bismarck's satellites proposed an amendment to the law, subjecting the deputies to its operation, so that they could be arrested and prosecuted at any time without the consent of the Reichstag; but some one immediately cried out "The Constitution!" and the government did not dare to publicly make its own the proposition of its legislative scout. Finally, by a great majority, the Reichstag refused to grant the powers demanded by the police. Then, on March 4, Bismarck himself came out with a bill empowering the Reichstag to punish any of its members "who abused his parliamentary privileges" and to forbid the publication of its proceedings whenever in its judgment such a proposition was desirable. But the rude Chancellor, who never knew where to stop, had exhausted the capacity of his conservative parliament for blind submission, and amid a general outcry from the outside for "freedom of debate," his "Muzzle Bill" was defeated.

But although the right of free speech in the Reichstag had been finally preserved—a right which under the circumstances and on account of what went with it could not be too highly valued—the need of an outspoken Socialist paper was sorely felt throughout the country. Most was in London editing the "Freiheit," which had made its first appearance on January 1st, 1879. His utterances at first had been simply bold and such as every Socialist in Germany, unable to speak out his thoughts, was naturally glad to see in print; so that his paper had for a brief time been considered as fairly representing the collective indignation of the party. For this reason it had been circulated by devoted Socialists at no small risk to themselves. But Most had soon developed into a full-fledged Anarchist, violent, insolent, dictatorial, responsible to no one but himself. From his safe retreat he was bitterly denouncing the "cautious policy of the party," to the intense disgust of the very men who had jeopardized their own freedom and means of life in distributing a paper which they thought was intended to keep up the spirit of their comrades and to preserve the integrity of their organization. At last steps were taken with a view to the publication of an aggressive but truly Socialist organ, which finally appeared at Zurich, in Switzerland, on September 28, 1879, under the name of "Sozial-Demokrat." Smuggled into Germany by the wholesale and widely scattered throughout the country despite all police vigilance, this paper revived the drooping spirits of disheartened comrades, filled them with unbounded confidence in the ability of Socialism to face any storm and saved the party from the disintegrating influences of Anarchism.

Underground, as it were, the agitation, driven from the surface, went on. In view of the parliamentary elections to be held in 1881, extensive preparations had to be made under conditions of extreme difficulty. A secret congress, attended by about fifty delegates, was held in the old castle of Wyden, near Ossingen, in Switzerland, and sat from the 20th to the 23d of August, 1879. The policy pursued since the promulgation of the Socialist law by the members of parliament and the party officers generally was fully endorsed. A resolution was passed, declaring that Most and Hasselmann had placed themselves outside of the party. The word "legal" was expunged from the declaration in the Gotha platform, that the Social-Democracy "uses all legal means to attain a free and Socialistic state of society." The comrades were advised to put up candidates in their respective electoral districts regardless of the number of adherents, and to get as many votes for them as possible at the first ballot, but

to abstain from participating in the second one if the contest was between candidates of the other parties. Arrangements were made to collect money,* to establish close connections between the German Socialists abroad and the home organization; also to extend the intercourse with the Socialist parties of other countries, and, for this purpose, to send two delegates to the international congress that the Belgians proposed to hold in 1881.

As election time drew near, police persecution increased to an extent that would not have previously seemed possible, considering the point it had already reached. Many agitators had been driven out of the country, and those who remained not only were under close surveillance but could not readily go from one place to another, because of the restrictions placed by the law upon their freedom of motion. For these and many other reasons, the supply of candidates was also very scanty, and the same men had to run in several districts. Again, while the Anarchists preached abstention and thereby afforded the timorous an opportunity of shirking their conscientious duty without losing caste with their bolder fellows, not only the authorities but the employers of labor exerted upon the workers at their mercy the utmost espionage, pressure and intimidation.

Nevertheless, when the great day came, 311,961 Socialists—according to the official figures—marched to the polls and elected twelve of their candidates.

As compared with the result of 1878 (namely, 437,000 votes and 9 deputies) this showed a loss of about 125,000 votes but a gain of three deputies in the Reichstag. The loss was chiefly in districts where no immediate hope of success had ever been entertained, and where no effective organization could be maintained under present conditions. But in the great cities, upon which the Social Democrats, for a still long period of years, were to depend for their progress, they had, as a rule, either lost little or made sensible gains. Hence their increased representation in Parliament.

It was, indeed, a triumph. The Social Democracy had passed through the fire of Inferno and proved its indestructibility. Henceforth the fight went on ceaselessly, almost openly, regardless of fine and imprisonment. The timid, the disaffected flocked back to the standard of emancipation and tried to make up by self-sacrifice for their previous displays of faint-heartedness or distrust. Organizations sprang up, with innocent-sounding names, which as soon as dissolved by the police reappeared under names still more inoffensive. No concert, no entertainment but was a secret means of collecting money for the dear cause. Poor people sang and danced every Sunday, that Bismarck might roar and fume on election day. Never had they taken their fate so philosophically; never had they been so jolly. Their fun sometimes overstepped the bounds of propriety; as, for instance when they winked to the soldiers and dropped Socialist literature into the barracks; literature, by the way, which the soldiers dared to read and found more to their taste than the curses and kicks of their officers. This was rather a serious matter.

Bismarck, of course, was "anxious to better the condition" of those poor people; to make them as happy and contented in reality as they were trying to be in appearance. Had he not said, in his preface to the law of exception, that this law was "a preliminary requisite of the cure, not the cure itself?" To show that he was in earnest when he vaguely spoke of "future economic reforms," he came to the Reichstag from time to time, at long intervals, with

* On this occasion the Socialist deputy Fritsche was sent to the United States and after a brief tour of agitation returned to Germany with more than 13,000 marks.

schemes of insurance against accident, against sickness, against old age; spoke even of the "right to work"; boldly said it was "the duty of the State to give work to any healthy man who could not find employment," and to "provide for the support and care of those who were unable to sustain themselves." He would, in fact, give them Socialism of his own make. Yet they would not have it. They claimed it was bogus; a contemptible imitation of the genuine article, which the Social-Democracy alone could produce. Bismarck, indeed, could not help letting the cat out of the bag: "If the State," he said, "will show a little more Christian solicitude for the workingman, I believe the gentlemen of the Wyden programme will sound their bird-call in vain, and that the thronging to them will greatly decrease."

The mistake of Bismarck was twofold; firstly, he "showed" and never gave; secondly, what he showed was so little that it was not worth looking at. Liebknecht replied in substance: "He who takes up the question of social reform honestly must place the lever at the wrong relationship between production and consumption, and abolish the exploitation of the working classes by capital—abolish, therefore, the wage system. That is social reform, and, carried out thoroughly, social revolution. What the Imperial Chancellor is offering is anything but social reform. What is his Accident law, or his Sick Fund law, or his Infirm and Old Age law? In each case a mere police law for the regulation of the poor system. Is this solving the social problem? Why, it is not even breaking the way for social reform Your aim, in truth, is not reform at all. Your aim is solely to destroy our organization. You have not succeeded so far, and you will never succeed. It would be the greatest misfortune for you if you did succeed. The Anarchists, who are now carrying on their work in Austria, have no footing in Germany. Why? Because in Germany the mad plans of those men are wrecked on the compact organization of the Social-Democracy. Because the German proletariat, seeing the futility of your anti-Socialist law, has not yet abandoned the hope of attaining its ends peacefully. But suppose we should declare our inability to resist destruction and should decline to be any longer responsible. Well, do you really believe—you who have so often praised the bravery of the Germans up to heaven when it has been your interest to do so—do you really believe that the hundreds of thousands of German Social-Democrats are cowards?"

And thus the fight went on. The municipal contests of 1883 and the election, in that year, of four Socialists to the Saxon Landtag showed that the good ship was steadily forging ahead against tide and wind, and when at last the year 1884 brought on the second great parliamentary battle under the Bismarckian "laws of exception," the vote registered to the credit of Socialism in the German Empire was 599,990.

Twenty-four Socialist deputies were elected, or double the number of 1881.

In the city of Berlin two of the six seats fell to the Socialists, whose vote had increased to 69,000.

Well may the Bismarckian Minister, von Puttkamer, have sadly said in December, 1882: "It is unquestionable that we have not yet succeeded in wiping Social-Democracy from the face of the earth, or even in shaking it to its center."

The eyes of the world were fixed on Germany. Socialism, which for twelve years had remained dormant in all the other countries of Europe, began to show again some signs of life in France and Belgium. The victory of 1884

won on German soil by 600,000 class-conscious workingmen over the strongest despotism that the proletariat had ever faced, gave the signal for that reorganization of national forces everywhere, which was the necessary prelude to the reconstitution of the international movement.

The ominous tidings of the election alarmed the Imperial Court, petrified the police and disconcerted every political party. Bismarck himself, it is said, was dumfounded, and for a while did not know what to do. When he had sufficiently recovered his sense of deviltry to again scheme and plot and set his imps in motion, the great work of exterminating the Socialists was resumed with increasing fury. Between Oct. 1st, 1884, and Sept. 30th, 1885, seventy-six meetings were dissolved in Berlin alone, and as many more were prohibited. Despite police vigilance and brutality, workingmen's associations multiplied at an unprecedented rate. Strikes, rendered more difficult by an ordinance of Minister Puttkamer, grew in number and magnitude. Repeatedly defied and cornered in discussion by the Socialist deputies, Bismarck again undertook to get rid of them. Previous to the election of 1884, the Socialist congress, which could not meet anywhere in Germany, had been held at Copenhagen, in Denmark. On their return several delegates had been arrested but discharged. Later, however, some of these men, after several prosecuting attorneys had declined to institute proceedings against them, were indicted at Chemnitz and tried on the charge of having participated in a secret combination for the circulation of prohibited publications. The court acquitted them all. Sorely disappointed, the government procured from the Federal Court of Appeals a reversal of the judgment of acquittal. A new trial was had at Freiberg, and under the decision of the Court of Appeals the accused were found guilty. This decision was glaringly outrageous. While admitting that the alleged organization had no officers or constitution, it was held that participation in a congress which received a report concerning the "Social-Democrat" and approved by resolution the editorial conduct of that paper, was circumstantial evidence showing an unlawful combination within the meaning of the law.

Among the twelve victims of the Freiberg prosecution—all leading Socialists—six were members of the Reichstag, namely, Bebel, Vollmar, Dietz, Auer, Frohme and Viereck. Four of these, including Bebel, were sentenced to nine months and the others to six months' imprisonment. Upon their release it was found that the health of some had been severely impaired by the treatment they had received during their incarceration.

In February, 1887, the Reichstag took issue with the government upon the Army Bill and was "patriotically" dissolved; whereupon the National Liberals and the Conservatives united their voting forces. This was a powerful combination; but Bismarck feared its consequences far less than he did the growth of Socialism, and his attention during the electoral campaign was chiefly directed to the movements of the Social-Democrats. Their electoral leaflets were prohibited, their meetings dispersed, their agitators apprehended, their houses invaded and searched. On election day, they cast 763,128 votes, or 213,138 more than in 1884! In Berlin, where the persecution had been most relentless, they cast 93,335 ballots, or 40 per cent. of the total vote.

Owing, however, to the party coalitions that had taken place, the number of Socialist deputies fell from 24 to 11. In Saxony, where the Socialists cast 149,279 ballots for their candidates, or nearly 29 per cent. of the total vote, they did not elect one deputy. But there was no rejoicing on this account

among the other parties. All realized the full meaning of the mighty growth of the proletarian vote, and not one of their organs dared to controvert this conclusion of the Berlin "Volksblatt": "The propertied class may divide or combine as they please into parties; the future is ours."

Exasperated to madness, Bismarck demanded from the Reichstag not only an extension of the anti-Socialist law, but an amendment thereto, providing severer punishments for Socialist propagandists and granting to the government the additional power of expelling Socialist agitators from the country. Vainly had Liebknecht reminded the stubborn Chancellor of the French fabulist's saying: "Tant va la cruche à l'eau qu'enfin elle se casse" (so much goes the pitcher to the well that some fine morning it goes to pieces.) It was during the debate upon this infamous bill of arbitrary and unlimited proscription that his anti-Socialist legislation received its death-blow.

Under the decision of the Court of Appeals already referred to, a great trial was taking place at Elberfeld, in the course of which the police system of espionage, with all its attendant corruptions and rascality, was laid bare in its cancer-like hideousness before the nation. Finally, the Socialist deputy Singer presented to the Reichstag official proofs of the fact that the police was regularly employing agents to incite workingmen to deeds of violence. One of these agents—a certain Schroeder—was arrested in Switzerland and a box of dynamite found in his possession. It was shown by testimony taken before the Swiss authorities that Schroeder was receiving a regular salary from the directors of the Berlin police as a special spy; that in this capacity he had contrived to make himself a trusted companion of Stellmacher, Peukert and other noted Anarchists; that he had taken a leading part in an Anarchist conference, and that he had paid for the printing of several issues of the "Freiheit" when it was temporarily published in Switzerland during the imprisonment of Most in London. From the details of this exposure it appeared clearly that the purpose of the government in entertaining friendly relations with the Anarchists was not to discover and thwart their plots, but to actually suggest, encourage and aid such plots in order to promote anti-Socialist legislation. Singer's revelations naturally produced a wide-spread sensation and profound disgust, and when Bismarck's proscription bill came to a vote in January, 1890, a few conservatives only were found sufficiently barren of honor and conscience to record themselves in its favor. The Reichstag was immediately dissolved and the 20th of February appointed for the election of a new parliament.

In the meantime important events of another sort had taken place. First may be noted the two international Socialist congresses held simultaneously at Paris in July, 1889, and in only one of which Germany was represented. As no movement could pretend to be of an international character without the cooperation of the German Social-Democracy, the position taken by the latter on this occasion was the first necessary step in the direction of complete unity upon a sound basis of principle and tactics. It no doubt facilitated the task assigned to the Belgians by the two Paris congresses, of accomplishing this unity at Brussels in 1891. At any rate the Paris gatherings of 1889, by the nature, number and nationalities of the organizations represented, plainly showed that the Socialist wave was advancing in all countries, and that a new force, with which the governments of Europe would have to reckon in their international relations, had made its appearance.

Next came the death of the old Emperor William, and the ninety days'

reign of his dying son Fritz, during which Bismarck gave the astonished world a spectacle of intrigue unsurpassed in the annals of the Roman Empire. This bold man had dreamt of nothing less than to make the Chancellorship—that is, the real imperial power—hereditary in his family.

When the William of many uniforms ascended the throne, his first care was to rid himself of his overtowering Minister in a decent way, if possible, or, this failing, in any possible way. In the light of his subsequent conduct it may safely be assumed that he did not then have for the Socialists, or for the proletarian classes generally, a more tender regard than Bismarck had ever shown. But it admirably served his purpose to differ with the Chancellor concerning their treatment; and it served also the purpose of his courtiers to encourage this difference, to widen it by good argument, to strengthen it by displays of virtuous indignation, and to push it to a climax by flattering their young dupe with a prospect of universal genuflexion to his greatness as the clementest monarch, the kindest father of the poor people and the wisest statesman of his day. Hence came out—as sudden, as unexpected, as any theatrical change of uniform could be—the two famous "Rescripts," namely: One addressed to Bismarck, instructing him "to bring about a conference between the governments of countries competing with Germany on the world's markets, with a view to the international regulation and limitation of the labor exacted from working people;" the other addressed to the Minister of Commerce, declaring that it was the duty of the State "to regulate the time and nature of labor, so that the health, morality and material welfare of the working people, as well as their equal rights before the law, might be preserved."

These rescripts were issued on the 4th of February, 1890, or sixteen days before election. And we know of American politicians, noted among their fellows for their wonderful achievements in the field of political tomfoolery, who then admiringly declared that the young Emperor had not his peer in this country. The German workmen, however, unlike their fellow proletarians of America, reasoned that if William had become or was in a fair way of becoming a "friend of labor," the best mode of pleasing and strengthening him was to vote the Socialist ticket. On election day, therefore, they cast 1,427,298 votes for the Social-Democratic candidates, electing 20 of them outright, and 15 more at the second ballot.

The following table shows the progress made in 26 great cities of Germany during the twelve years of "exceptional law":

Cities.	1878.	1890.	Cities.	1878.	1890.
Berlin	51,164	126,317	Dusseldorf	486	8,228
Hamburg	29,629	67,303	Nuremberg	10,162	17,045
Breslau	13,065	21,555	Dantzig	114	3,525
Munich	5,249	28,218	Strassburg	141	4,773
Dresden	17,303	25,079	Chemnitz	9,899	24,641
Leipzig	5,822	12,921	Elberfeld--Barmen	11,325	18,473
Cologne	2,189	10,641	Altona	11,662	19,533
Magdburg	6,253	17,266	Stettin	914	7,759
Frankfort-on-Main	4,080	12,663	Aix-la-Chapelle	909	1,744
Koenigsberg	1,108	12,370	Crefeld	467	3,030
Hanover	6,588	15,789	Brunswick	7,876	13,621
Stuttgart	4,136	10,446	Halle	1,046	12,808
Bremen	6,304	14,843	Lubeck	1,588	6,393

Of the above cities, Berlin, Hamburg, Altona, Leipzig, Francfort and

Stettin were in a minor state of siege. In other districts, where the minor state of siege was also in force, the result was not less significant, as appears from the following figures:

Districts.	1878.	1890.	Districts.	1878.	1890.
Niederbarnim	2,775	13,362	Lauenburg	347	2,072
Charlottenburg	4,763	19,169	Leipzig (rural)	11,253	30,127
Potsdam-Spandau	?	3,977	Offenbach-on-Maine	5,557	10,343
Harburg	1,763	6,860	Spremberg	1,242	5,610
Ottensen-Pinneberg	5,453	10,820			

Nor was this all. A fact of still greater import remains to be noted. In 1887 the Social-Democracy occupied the fifth place among the political parties of the Empire. It had now advanced to the first, leaving the Centrists (or Ultramontanes), who came next, 117,000 votes behind. The following comparative table shows the gains it had made in those three years at the expense of its various opponents:

	1890.	1887.	Increase.	Decrease.
Socialists	1,457,323	763,128	694,195	.....
Centrists (Ultramontanes)	1,340,719	1,516,222	.....	175,503
National Liberals	1,187,669	1,677,979	.....	490,310
German Liberals	1,167,764	973,104	194,660	.....
German Conservatives	899,144	1,147,200	.....	248,056
Free Conservatives (Imperialists)	485,959	736,389	.....	250,430
Poles	246,773	219,973	26,800	.....
People's Party	147,570	88,818	58,752	.....
Guelphs	112,675	112,827	.....	152
Alsatians	101,156	233,973	.....	132,817
Anti-Semites	47,536	11,593	35,943	.....
Danes	13,672	12,360	1,312	.....
Total vote	7,207,960	7,493,566	.....	285,606

The inconsistencies between the votes cast and the number of seats carried by each party were very striking. With proportional representation the Socialists would have had 80 representatives in the Reichstag instead of 35; the Ultramontanes, 75 instead of 105; the National Liberals, 65 instead of 39; the German Liberals, 64 instead of 70; the German Conservatives, 49 instead of 69; the Imperialists, 27 instead of 22; the Poles, 13 instead of 16; the People's Party, 8 instead of 10; the Guelphs, 6 instead of 10; the Alsatians, 5 instead of 13; the Anti-Semites, 2 instead of 4, and the Danes none instead of 1.

On the 10th of March, 1890, Bismarck "received his sack."

We have thus dwelt at some length upon the twelve years' era of repression in Germany, because of the unique spectacle it affords in the history of the class struggle—that is, in the real history of human progress; namely, the spectacle of a class-conscious proletariat, with every limb fettered and apparently impotent, steadily rising under a crushing weight of despotism by the mere force of its intelligent will, and without a violent blow forcing its way to freedom. The subsequent events, though not less important and instructive, are better known and may (for the present) be reviewed briefly.

No attempt was made in the new Reichstag to further prolong the law of exception, which expired on September 30, 1890. On that day imposing demonstrations were held throughout Germany. In the districts where the state

of siege had until then been in force, the expelled agitators returned and were naturally the center of enthusiastic manifestations. On that day, also, the "Sozial-Demokrat," then published in London, issued its last number.

A national congress was immediately called, and was held at Halle from the 12th to the 19th of October. It was the first that had met on German soil in twelve years. It was attended by 399 delegates from all the districts of Germany. Representatives of Socialist parties had also come from France, Belgium, England, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway. The proceedings were opened by Liebknecht. The debates, which were all public, showed the most perfect accord in the serried ranks of that magnificent Social-Democracy upon all questions of principle and tactics. The financial report of Bebel, who had charge of the funds during the period of repression, showed a balance on hand of 171,820.90 marks (or about $43,000). The congress gave the party a new organization, in accordance with its new conditions of existence. The "Berliner Volksblatt," under the new name of "Vorwärts" (Forward) was made the central organ of the movement.

The party press, which under the law of exception had been not only crippled and gagged but practically annihilated, rose from its ashes. In March, 1891, there were already 27 dailies and 10 weeklies; 23 papers appearing three times, and 7 twice a week. There was also the "Neue Zeit," a magazine of scientific Socialism, appearing weekly, besides two satirical and illustrated sheets. The trade union movement, in perfect harmony with the political, was contributing its share of militant literature with 34 trade organs.

It should not be imagined, however, that the "militants" had passed from a bed of thorns to a bed of roses. There were in the penal code certain provisions, and there were on the bench certain interpreters of those provisions, that, taken together, were in themselves a fair substitute for the law of exception and made the Socialist editors, the Socialist agitators, and all such free men, realize that they must from time to time pay dearly for such freedom as their party had gained. In the three years that followed the era of repression the German tribunals inflicted upon that giddy sort of people, who don't know liberty from licence, terms of imprisonment and fines respectively aggregating 293 years and 70,000 marks.

As to the famous "rescripts" of 1890, they became a part of ancient history together with the man that it had been their sole purpose to drive out of power. There was, of course, no "conference of governments," no national or international "regulation of labor," no "limitation of the workday, and no intention to do aught but let well enough alone at all costs and all hazards, as was amply shown by the treatment of strikers on every occasion. Even in the imperial workshops, on the State railways, in the post office, and in every public service where hopes of improvement had first been entertained, the condition of the workers was steadily getting worse. It became daily more apparent to some, who had not yet perceived it, that the "health, morality, welfare and equal rights" to which Little William had "rescripted" that the laboring class was entitled, were not in their nature imperial presents, but were things to be fought for every day, everywhere, by the laboring class itself. Determined to conquer, the Socialists advanced another step. And it was again a long step. At the parliamentary election of 1893 they polled 1,786,738 votes and elected 44 deputies to the Reichstag.

Since then, a number of local contests have taken place, with results showing in every case the steady growth of the party.

In 1894 the Socialists resolutely entered a campaign in the 6th parliamentary district of Schleswig-Holstein, where they held 147 public meetings and sent debaters to 40 other assemblages called by Liberals and Conservatives. They carried the day by a handsome majority. They carried also the 23d district of Saxony. These two victories increased to 46 the number of Socialist deputies in the Reichstag.

In 1895, owing to a combination of parties against them, they lost a seat at Lennep-Mettmann, although their vote was larger than in 1893 by more than 2,000. On the other hand, they gained one seat in the Dresden-Country district and one at Dortmund. In each of these two districts the Socialist vote surpassed the total vote of all the other parties. In that same year the Socialists increased to 14 seats their representation in the Chamber of Saxony, 2 in the Chamber of Wurtemberg, and 3 in the Chamber of Baden.

In 1896, they gained another seat in Halle, Saxony, which raised to 48 the number of Socialist representatives in the Reichstag. They also increased considerably their representations in municipal councils. The national congress of the party, held at Hamburg, had to discuss a very important question of tactics, to wit: "Shall the Socialists of Prussia participate in the elections for the Landtag (or Prussian Chamber)?" The suffrage in these elections is restricted by property qualifications, which make it extremely difficult if not absolutely impossible for the Socialists to elect any candidate. Some delegates argued that by taking part in the contest the Socialists would, in fact, increase the chances of the Conservatives against the Liberals, thus enabling the Landtag, elected by the limited suffrage of one State of the Empire, to pass laws for Prussia similar to the very law of exception which the Reichstag, elected by the universal suffrage of the whole Empire, had finally abandoned. Others held that the party could not place itself in the attitude of favoring the Liberals, whose political treachery was as much to be feared as the open hostility of the Conservatives. Finally, a resolution was adopted, declaring that the party should place candidates in the field wherever there might be any chance whatever of success, but that it should strictly abstain from any alliance or compromise with the other parties.

In 1897 the party contested ten seats in the Reichstag that had become vacant. Three of these were formerly held by Socialists, two of whom (Schulze of Koenigsberg, and Grillenberger of Nuremberg) had died in the harness, and one (Joest, of Mainz) had resigned for private reasons. Owing again to a combination of parties, and although the Socialist vote was as large as in 1893, the Mainz seat was lost. On the other hand, the Koenigsberg and Nuremberg seats were preserved; the first by a majority of 696 votes over the total polled by the three other candidates, and the second by an increase of several thousands as compared with 1893. The loss of Mainz was made up by the gain of a new district at West Havelland, in Brandenburg. In all the other districts the Socialist vote showed a marked increase. The elections for the Landtage (or Diets) of several States gave excellent results, showing large gains of votes and seats.

As we write, the general parliamentary elections of 1898 have just been held; 2,125,000 German Socialists have spoken at the polls and elected 56 deputies. Great victories are also reported from France and Belgium. Manifestly, Capitalism has run its course and the social revolution has been set down by the hand of Progress on the book of Fate as one of the earliest events of the Twentieth Century.

SOCIALISM IN ITALY.

Cut up into small kingdoms and principalities, subject for many centuries to the invasion of powerful neighbors, ill-cultivated, deprived of manufacturing industry, declining in commerce, misruled by foreign and domestic despots, Italy, fifty years ago, had only one thought, one aspiration, namely, political unity and national independence.

True, there were already in those days some large-hearted Italians whose intellectual horizon was not confined by a narrow patriotism; men who—like Garibaldi, for instance—had been enlisted by the Utopian Socialists of France in the cause of social emancipation. But such were few and as yet powerless. To free Italy from foreign domination, to make her at last one great political aggregate instead of the mere "geographical expression" that she had been for ages, was of necessity the life-work of those men, who realized, however, that a national field would thus be opened, on which the class struggle would in future be carried on to its logical termination.

On the other hand there were many, cold-blooded and calculating, whose mercantile interests demanded also that Italy be one. For such men, under such circumstances, freedom, humanity, patriotism, and even internationalism, were more than commendable sentiments; they were convenient words and useful instruments. If a revolution was necessary to bring about the desired result, by all means let there be a revolution. Let the people be told, by some bold tribune and lavish promiser, of their shocking misery, and of the increased rewards for decreased toil that must surely follow the substitution of an economical, peaceful, fatherly middle-class management for the wasteful, turbulent, arbitrary government of kings and emperors. In 1789, the French bourgeoisie had shown the way; nor had there been a lack of bold tribunes and grand revolutionists at that time, who, by stirring the wretched masses with vistas of happiness, upheaved the old despotism and established the new.

In Mazzini—not, perhaps, as soon as he appeared, but soon after, when he had cast away, as more dangerous than useful, the dagger of the Carbonari—the Italian bourgeoisie recognized its man.

Of course, he had first to gain the ear of the masses—to make himself a man of commanding popularity; which he did by borrowing the language of the most advanced Socialists of his time. Hear what he said in 1835:

"Heretofore all revolutionary attempts failed because the leaders spoke to the people of national independence and political rights, forgetting that in its essence every revolution is social. Any new political regime is but the 'form' of the social change that has taken place; and no man can rightfully call upon millions of his fellows to sacrifice peace and life without presenting to them a definite programme of collective improvement, both moral and economic."

And what was the "definite programme" of Mazzini? We have it in the manifestoes of his secret societies, "Young Italy" and "New Europe," the

last of which aimed at nothing less than the International, Universal Republic. Hear again:

"Workingmen, you are human beings, and, as such, have faculties not only physical, but intellectual and moral, which it is your duty to cultivate. * * * It is plain that you must work less and earn more. Sons of God and brothers all, we are called upon to form one family. In that family there will always be the inequalities intended by nature, but any one willing to work and thus contribute within his ability to the social welfare, shall receive a compensation that will enable him to develop and enjoy life in all its aspects. * * * Property must be democratized. The wage system must disappear, and the workingman must receive the full value of the product of his labor."

From such utterances it would be logical to conclude that Mazzini was ready to fight on the side of the proletariat along the natural lines of the class struggle, and therefore to comprise the bourgeoisie among the enemies of the people. But in his addresses to the middle class he held another language, replete with friendly warnings and valuable advice. He called its attention to the popular discontent in France and in England, which frequently "manifested itself by violent outbreaks" and still more ominously by the publication of newspapers and pamphlets "actually issued from the pens of bona-fide wage workers." His conclusion was suggestive: "Beware! Events are impending, and you may have to regret that you did not in time undertake to direct them. The laboring people are kindly; they will confidingly follow men of your class. On the day of their victory over our military rulers they may tell you: 'What have you done for us? Have we fought to merely conquer rights for you?'"

In other words, "Make timely concessions, so that such men as I, issued from your class and devoted to your interests, may take the lead of the simple, trusting proletariat and cheat it out of the benefits of its dearly bought victory."

Could there have been any doubts as to the meaning of Mazzini's language and his true purpose, they would have been removed by his subsequent conduct. In 1848, the Parisian proletariat expelled the French king and proclaimed the Social Democratic Republic. It "confidingly" placed middle-class leaders at the head of the new government—a government which, according to Mazzini's expression quoted above, should have been the mere "form" of the social change intended by the revolution. But within less than four months the government shot down the Parisian proletariat and confiscated its revolution. Mazzini, who at that time was plotting the dethronement of the Catholic Pope and his own enthronement at Rome as the pope of the International Bourgeoisie, applauded the dastardly performance, approved its murderous features and bitterly denounced its victims. Again, in 1871, from a London boudoir overflowing with female aristocracy, Mazzini poured a torrent of insults upon the vanquished and bleeding Commune.

Irony of fate! It was this very same French middle class republic which Mazzini had so warmly congratulated for its treachery to the proletariat that sent an army to Rome and expelled him. And it was chiefly by two emperors, for the benefit of a king, that the national unity of Italy was achieved. Lastly, the patriotic forces, those to which, outside of the French and German emperors, Italy is indebted for being a nation—the only forces, in fact, to which she is indebted for being a self-conscious, progressive body—marched under the banner of Garibaldi, electrified by the Socialistic

spirit of universal solidarity that made him the great man he was, and nerved to deeds of heroism by his Socialistic faith in the final triumph of humanity.

During his dictatorship at Rome Mazzini had an opportunity of showing his true colors as a Social-economic reformer; and he did show them. He showed that he was simply, like the French revolutionists of 1789, a "Voltairean bourgeois" (a middle-class deist), intent upon reinforcing his emancipated class against the wage-working proletariat by incorporating the peasantry into the bourgeoisie. Having confiscated the property of the Church, he turned into tenements the buildings formerly occupied by the priesthood and rented them to such of the Roman workmen or artisans who could afford to pay, in order, as he said, "to give an example of republican morality." At the same time, he divided among the peasants the landed estates of the religious corporations, in the proportion of four acres of arable land and two acres of vineland for each agricultural family. Such was his conception of the "democratization of property" and of the "right of each worker to the full value of his product."

Confiscated in France and side-tracked in Italy, the Social Revolution of 1848 disappeared under a wave of military despotism. The press was bridled, speech was muzzled, thought was stifled, physical motion itself was placed under restraint, and a vent was given to the activities of the people by war and speculative enterprise.

Of course, under such conditions, the propagation of economic truth was well nigh impossible. Not until the unity of Italy was an accomplished fact and all questions purely political had sunk into comparative insignificance, could the social problem command again in that country any degree of attention. It was at the congress of the International Workingmen's Association held at Lausanne in 1867—or three years after the foundation of that body—that Italy was for the first time represented in its councils, and by one delegate only.

Most unfortunately, the task of organizing the Italian movement was chiefly assumed by the Russian Bakunin, whose cloudy notions of Socialism, nihilistic methods, imperious will and boundless ambition led to the development of a factitious opposition to Karl Marx. By nature, as it were, and long practice, Bakunin was a secret conspirator. With science to guide him at every step, Marx was an open agitator. The first insanely or dishonestly professed that a revolution by force, sweeping and destructive, "an unchaining of what we have been taught to call the bad passions,"* was the primary and immediate requirement of social regeneration. The second held it to be an established fact that education was the prerequisite of any social change, regardless of the means by which, according to circumstances, the change might subsequently happen to be effected, and that no attempt to emancipate a class could succeed until that class, fully enlightened, mentally clear, therefore, as to its aims, and conscious of its power, was ready to emancipate itself.

Held as in a vise by the inexorable logic of this undeniable fact, Bakunin did not attempt to controvert it. On the contrary, in his programme of the "Revolutionary International Brothers" (section 10), he plainly admitted that "revolutions are not made by individuals, nor even by secret societies," but through the operation of forces that have long been at work until a trifling

* Programme of the Revolutionary International Brothers, Sec. 5.

event may cause them to break out. Nevertheless, in flagrant contradiction of this fundamental statement, he straightway proceeded with his scheme of secret societies within each other—a scheme by the side of which Loyola's creation fades into nothingness, and the purpose of which was, in the words of that famous section 10, "to aid the birth of the revolution by spreading among the masses ideas corresponding with their instincts, and to organize, not the army of the revolution—the army must always be the people—but a sort of revolutionary staff, composed of devoted, energetic, intelligent individuals, sincere friends of the people, neither ambitious nor conceited, and capable of being the intermediaries between the revolutionary idea and the popular instincts."

As already stated, the "revolutionary idea" was universal "destruction," and the "popular instincts" were what we have been taught to call the bad passions."

The "staff" was to be the absolutely secret body of not more than one hundred "Revolutionary International Brothers," men "who must have the devil in them" (le diable au corps) and constituted into a "central section" of another society, half secret, half public, namely the "International Alliance," through which the great International Workingmen's Association founded by Karl Marx was to be captured and turned into the much needed "army," the rank and file, the fighting cattle. Of the "sincere friends of the people," the most "devoted, energetic, intelligent individual," the most "capable of being the intermediary between 'destruction' and 'bad passions,'" was unquestionably "Citizen B." To him, therefore, the members of the Central Executive Board "delegated their powers" and went to their respective homes with the devil in them. For (section 9) "this organization excludes all idea of dictature and tutelage; but, in order to secure the triumph of the revolution, it is necessary that in the midst of the popular anarchy from which the revolution will derive its whole life and energy, unity of thought and action be obtained through an organ;" and although this indispensable organ was to be the "staff" above mentioned, any sort of a staff must have a general.

With one stroke of his pen thus had Bakunin—the high priest of anarchy, the would-be destroyer, not merely of any concrete State in particular, but of the "State in the abstract" (that is, as Marx observed, of a thing that does not exist)—constructed the pattern and laid the foundations of what was to be, in his own self-contradictory words (section 8), the "New and Revolutionary STATE." And at the head of that State, more infallible than the Pope, more absolute than the Tzar, was "Citizen B," safely enthroned at Geneva while his devil-possessed ("diable au corps") ministers were stirring the popular instincts, the "bad passions," in their respective circles of Inferno.

After several fruitless attempts on the part of the Alliance to be recognized by the International Workingmen's Association as an affiliated but autonomous body, Bakunin, on June 22, 1869, made to the General Council of the I. W. A. a formal declaration that the Alliance had dissolved itself and invited its organizations to convert themselves into Internationalist Sections. These were consequently admitted. But the declaration was a fraud. The secret organization had not been dissolved, and the "invisible Brothers" undertook to make themselves omnipresent. Nevertheless, at the Congress of Basle a few months later, Bakunin and his acolytes found themselves in a hopeless minority.

By the nature of things, the field of action of the conspirators had from the

beginning been chiefly limited to Italy and Spain, and it remained mostly confined to those two countries. In selecting Italy for his first operations Bakunin had evinced an amount and kind of acumen which obviously fitted him for his self-appointed task better, perhaps, than for any other that might have been assigned to him. This was, indeed, the classical land of conspiracies without number and without results. The necessary tools to work with could be found there in even greater abundance than the material to work upon. In a letter to Francisco Mora, of Madrid, dated April 5, 1872, he showed his keen appreciation of this fact. "Until now," he said, "not the instincts (the bad passions, of course), but the organization and the idea were what Italy was lacking in. Both are developing, so that Italy, next to Spain" (mark the well-directed flattery), "is perhaps the most revolutionary country at this time. There is here what is wanting elsewhere, namely, an ardent youth, energetic, without opportunity, without prospect, which despite its middle-class parentage is not morally and intellectually worn out as is the middle-class youth of other nationalities. To-day it plunges headlong into the revolution, with the whole of our programme, the programme of the Alliance. Mazzini, our genial and powerful antagonist, is practically dead; the Mazzinian party is completely disorganized, and Garibaldi allows himself to be more and more carried away by that youth which has taken his name but goes, or, rather, runs infinitely farther than he does."

Manifestly, it was "in correspondence with the instincts" of this middle-class youth that in his programme of the Alliance Bakunin had substituted the idea, "equalization of the classes," for the radically opposite idea, "abolition of the classes," in the programme of the International.*

The great political events of 1870—71, namely, the Franco-German war, the fall of Napoleon III. and the Paris Commune, interrupted for a while the outward development of the conflict between the regular International forces and the Alliance. During that period, however, Bakunin and his followers secretly improved to their utmost the opportunities afforded by the revolutionary ferment of the times to extend the ramifications of their society in the Swiss Jura, in Italy, and in Spain. The existence of the Alliance in the latter country was publicly made known by some of its members in the spring of 1871, and, shortly after, a profound sensation was caused by the revelations of the Netschaieff trial at St. Petersburg. "For the first time in Russia the judicial proceedings in a political case were publicly conducted before a jury. The accused, men and women, eighty in number, with a few exceptions, were university students. From November, 1870, to July, 1871, they had been subjected in the dungeons of the St. Petersburg fortress to a treatment which had killed two of them and deprived several others of their reason. The charges against them were that they belonged to a secret society, which had usurped the name of the International Workingmen's Association, and to which they had been affiliated by the emissary of a so-called

* When in the early days of 1869, the Alliance submitted its programme to the General Council of the International and applied for admission, the latter replied (March 9) that it was not within its powers to pass judgment upon the scientific value of that programme, but suggested that if the words "Abolition of the Classes," were substituted for the expression, "Equalization of the Classes," there might be no obstacle to the conversion of the sections of the Alliance into International Sections; and it added: "If the dissolution of the Alliance and the merging of its sections into the International were decided upon, it would be necessary, in accordance with our by-laws, to give the General Council full information as to the seat and membership of each new section."

international revolutionary committee. The credentials of this emissary, whose name was Netschaieff, bore a seal that purported to be the seal of the International and were signed 'Michael Bakunin.' He (Netschaieff) had used his victims in the commission of various swindles and had compelled several of them to aid him in the perpetration of a murder upon one of their own comrades, after which he had disappeared."

The International, whose noble object was a grand, open, comprehensive organization of the proletariat into a class-conscious body, determined to achieve its emancipation by the force of its united numbers and the superiority of its collective intelligence, could not allow a few conspirators that it had repeatedly disowned and constantly held at arm's length, to thus recklessly, fraudulently and murderously compromise it in the estimation of all honest people. At the International Conference held in London in September, 1871, it was therefore resolved, upon the request of the General Council, to investigate the Alliance and the participation of Bakunin in the Netschaieff matter. The result of the investigation was submitted to the International Congress of the Hague in 1872, and Bakunin was expelled.**

At that time the Social Democrats of Germany, firmly planted on scientific ground, were advancing with rapid strides. At the first Parliamentary elections of the newly established Empire, held in 1871, they had already cast 102,000 votes and elected one delegate to the Reichstag. In 1874, they cast over 351,000 votes and elected nine delegates. But in France a reign of terror and espionage had been instituted by the victorious reaction after the fall of the Commune. All the Socialist agitators of note or ability had been either shot, transported to penal colonies, or compelled to seek safety in exile. Among the overawed, persecuted, distracted masses of the French proletariat sentiments of hatred and hopes of revenge took precedence of calm study. Organization for mutual enlightenment or combined action of any sort was at any rate impossible. And so the country which, far more than Germany, might at that time have influenced the direction of the movement among its immediate neighbors, was and would evidently, for a number of years, remain paralyzed. Under those conditions it was quite obvious to any thoughtful, cool-headed Socialist, that an effective reorganization of the international forces for any other purpose than disastrous insurrection was then impossible and would largely depend in the future upon the steady progress of Socialism in Germany, through which example and encouragement would be given to the rest of Europe. To announce the dissolution of the International Workingmen's Asociation would, of course, have been highly impolitic. The seat of its General Council was, therefore, transferred to New York, where little else was done than keep track of the course of events.

Bakunin thus remained in practical control of the movement in Italy and Spain. But it was not, by any means, a labor movement. As stated by Benoit Malon, his lieutenants were few among the workingmen. "Malatesta, Zanardelli, Papini, Chiarini, Giangrandi, Ferrara, Dondi, Bernardello, Ceretti, Paladino, Tucci, Curatolo, Guardino, Pistolesi, etc., were university students; Faggioli, Berton, Piccinini, Nabruzzi, Pezzi, Renzi, Tacchini, Ferrari, etc., were clerks. Cafiero was a rich land owner." Their chief occupation con-

* An enlarged statement, signed by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Leo Frankel, E. Dupont, C. Le Moussu and Aug. Serrailler, was published in 1873. The part relating to the Netchaieff affair is from the pen of Nicholas Outine. In the Appendix are the Programmes and by-laws of the Alliance and its various forms, public and secret.

sisted in philosophical disputes, occasionally supplemented by physical encounters, with the Mazzinians, who, like themselves, sprang from that "ardent middle-class youth, without opportunity and without prospect," every individual member of which looked to social chaos for his own opportunity. True, however, to the first rule laid down by their master, that "ideas must be spread among the masses corresponding with their instincts," and conceiving those instincts to be the "bad passions," they advocated destruction, fomented riots and encouraged strikes with a sole view to disorder, regardless of the persecutions and sufferings to which the poor privates in their "army of the revolution" might consequently be subjected. Of the fundamental principles of social reconstruction they said nothing and would hear nothing. They professed, in fact, that they had none, and that there could not be any. One of them, who since then has learned much, and who now is as able an exponent of Socialism as he was then a muddle-headed anarchist, wrote in an explanatory reply to the Paris "Egalité" (1878): "Of doctrines we may say that we have but little. We are anarchists, that is all. We demand that every one be given the possibility of manifesting his wants and the means of satisfying them; in a word, we demand for every one the right to do as he pleases; and as this cannot be obtained without first destroying the present order, we are in favor of revolutionary action. In political action we see the abandonment of the revolution."

Such dim vistas of the opportunities of happiness that were "necessarily" to flow from the destruction of the "State in the abstract," however pleasant to the middle-class "déclassés," could not, of course, satisfy the concrete mind—or perverse "instincts" — of the wage-working "army." As the movement spread and a number of workingmen entered the sections, they began "to manifest their wants" in anticipation of the contemplated destruction, and to inquire as to the nature of the means of well-being which a mere declaration of their freedom "to do as they pleased" would "necessarily" afford. And they came to the conclusion that collectivism—the collective property of land, machinery and all the means of production and distribution—must be the basis of the new industrial order.

It is true that in the very same article 2 of the programme of the Alliance, which originally contained the objectionable words "equalization of the classes," Bakunin had found it expedient to admit the "principle of collectivism," in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Brussels Congress of the International Workingmen's Association" in 1868. But this resolution had been passed over the strenuous opposition of the Proudhonian anarchists—or "mutuellists," as they and the Bakuninites styled themselves. Its true meaning was constantly weakened by the slight consideration they gave it in their public utterances, or was actually perverted by their vague interpretations of it in their confusing references to "groups," "federations of groups," "free associations," etc.

Likewise it is true that in the same programme (article 5) Bakunin, by rejecting "all such political action as would not have for its immediate and direct object the triumph of Labor over Capital," seemed not only to repudiate any compromise with reactionary parties, but to implicitly commend the formation of workingmen's parties, wherever practicable, for the purpose of independent political action at the ballot box, were it only as an aid to agitation in the pursuit of his exclusive aim—the destruction of the State, which, by the way, would have to be taken before it could be abolished. Yet

he violently denounced this form of action, even in countries where it could be resorted to with considerable effect, and the bull-headed opposition made to it by his Italian followers was largely instrumental in preserving and consolidating the power of the Italian bourgeoisie.

But, as already stated, the grip of Bakunin and his "ardent youth" upon the "popular instincts" could not be indefinitely maintained. With the increase of the wage-working element in the membership of the Italian sections, the sound principles of International Socialism gradually emerged from the fogs of anarchistic sophistry, and the demands for corresponding tactics grew louder every day. In Lombardy a Collectivist federation was formed. In presenting the report of the committee on platform and resolutions, Gnocchi-Viani said: "Insurrection alone cannot establish a new civilization. Either Socialism is an abnormal inspiration, contrary to historic law, and in this case it must disappear, or, as we firmly believe, it is a logical historic development, and therefore must survive. To secure its triumph all the practicable means at our command must be availed of." In the platform itself the same views were expressed in different language, and among the suggested means was the organization and federation of labor unions, which the anarchists had never thought of, but which, later on and cuckoo-like, they would attempt to use as convenient nests for the hatching of their schemes by unsophisticated wag-tails. In striking contrast with the anarchistic "philosophy of misery" and "bad passions" was the declaration that "Socialism aims at the fulfilment of all the grand aspirations of universal mankind, but the Socialist party must not neglect immediate wants, for its post of duty is anywhere a wrong cries for redress and a suffering for alleviation."*

Bakunin died in 1876. In 1877, at the Congress of Ghent, his own International was split in twain, the Collectivists breaking away from the anarchists. At the same moment the Socialists of Germany were casting 493,447 votes for their candidates.

The time had not yet come, however, and was not to come for many years, when an indestructible organization of Socialist forces could be founded on a broad layer of class-conscious proletariat, sufficiently enlightened to clearly perceive the fundamental causes of its sufferings, the exact object of its aspirations and the direct line to the achievement of its purpose. The state of profound ignorance and deep misery in which the Italian masses had been purposely kept for centuries, was naturally productive of a morass-like placidity which could only be disturbed at the surface by great political commotions. The Anarchists, with all the wind at their command, had hardly caused a ripple of excitement concerning the social question, even in the higher strata, before Passanante's attempt on the life of the king (November 16, 1878) gave the government an opportunity, which it improved wonderfully, of confounding in the same ostracism the antipodal methods and aims of Anarchism and Socialism; for it soon found that the Anarchistic "propaganda of the deed" naturally defeated its own purpose by frightening away the timorous masses, and was therefore dangerous only to the few individuals who at rare intervals

* Likewise did Bebel say in 1891: "The deputies in Parliament should in nowise observe a strictly negative attitude, but should make every effort to win concessions in favor of the workers. Why have we always decided for this? Because every one in practical life knows that it would be a piece of stupidity if our party did not also voice the daily needs, the daily sorrows of the working classes and press for redress of the existing evils and for improvement of prevalent conditions."

might be the victims of it; whereas Socialism, with its open and legal process of agitation, education and organization, would surely win over the oppressed, the disinherited, the immense majority of the people, thus building up an irresistible power of numbers and intellect, before which would inevitably vanish all the aristocratic and capitalistic institutions upon which the so-called social fabric was resting.

Unlawfully deprived by the government of their right to organize politically and economically on Socialistic principles, forbidden to hold their national congress, which was to take place at Milan on the 10th of May, 1880, and otherwise hindered or persecuted in many ways, the Italian Socialists temporarily adopted another line of tactics. They had already initiated a movement for universal suffrage. This they determined to make for a time their only apparent or declared object and to agitate for it with their utmost vigor. If, with the aid of many disfranchised people who did not yet share their economic views—such as small middle class men, humble professionals, poor peasants, etc.—they could compel the government to grant this demand, even with certain restrictions, not only their importance as a political factor outside of Parliament would be established, but they might have some chances of electing a few Socialists to the House of Representatives, who by their speeches and attitude in that body would most effectively carry on the very agitation which they were forbidden to attempt as an organized party. Their efforts in this direction were crowned with success. Twelve hundred societies, representing the various shades of opposition to the monarchy, sent delegates to a national congress, that was held at Rome in February, 1881, under the honorary presidency of Garibaldi. At this congress a resolution was enthusiastically adopted, demanding "universal suffrage as a fundamental right of the people, which, first of all, must be asserted and enforced, in order that Italy may enter a new phase of national life, that will begin with the proclamation of the republic."

The movement now assumed formidable proportions, and the government thought it best to yield while it could still exact better terms of capitulation than it might have been able to obtain later on. A franchise bill was passed in 1882, full of restrictions, but largely extending the suffrage. The Italian Socialist party then firmly stood up, took the field in its own name, sent out its agitators, consolidated and federated into provincial districts the sections which had hitherto maintained a separate and precarious existence, organized new ones, held public meetings under its own auspices, distributed pamphlets, issued newspapers, and generally developed a fertility of resources and a quickness of motion not less puzzling than distasteful to its surprised enemies. Time, however, and especially financial means, were wanting to sufficiently organize before election day in 1883 more than thirteen electoral districts for the practical purpose of immediate political action. In those thirteen districts straight-out Socialist candidates were nominated. Two were elected. Of these two one was Andrea Costa, who in earlier days was a leading Anarchist, but had since then embraced Socialism with the fervor of an apostle and given ample proofs of his honest conversion; his ability was uncontested.

The task of the two Socialist deputies was plain enough, although difficult and exhausting to an extreme degree in a Parliament thoroughly controlled by capitalistic interests and overwhelmingly composed of unscrupulous politicians, equally lost to every sense of shame or honor. They had been instructed by their constituents to take the oath of office as a mere formality; to expound

Socialism from the tribune of Parliament on every possible occasion; to criticize from the Socialistic standpoint all the important propositions that might come up for discussion, and especially those which, purporting to be in the interest of the laboring class, were merely intended as fraudulent baits to befool, sidetrack and capture the wage-working voters, "for no honest social reform can be expected from a government bound to maintain at all hazards the present dishonest system"; in brief, to preserve in all their acts and utterances the uncompromising attitude and unalterable hostility of the class-conscious proletariat towards its oppressors.

Incensed at the progress of the Socialists and realizing that their leadership in the labor movement of Italy—or rather their hope of leadership, for there never was a labor movement in the true sense of the term so long as they were at the front—was fast passing away, the Anarchists felt the necessity of immediately contriving some scheme of disorganization. Their chief spirits, Malatesta and Cafiero, were hastily recalled from London. They had been there for some time engaged with some others in secret work of the usual Bakuninite sort, having especially in view to hold together the shattered remnants of their Anarchistic International; for it was already possible to foresee that in a few years the labor movement, reorganized in various countries upon a more solid basis than at any previous time, would naturally reassume its international character; and it was of vital importance to the Anarchists, at this critical time, not only to check the advance of Socialism as a political power to which the masses would necessarily look more and more for immediate improvement and final deliverance, but to secure in the corporative (or trade union) bodies, indebted for existence to Socialistic energy, a position and influence that would enable them to appear as the bona fide representatives of a great economic force at any international congress that the Socialists themselves might later on deem it timely to call. For these very reasons Italy now claimed their special attention and peculiar talents.

Immediately upon his return, Malatesta began a campaign of vilification and abuse against the Socialists, and more particularly against Costa, who, he said, by entering Parliament had made the labor party a "legitimate" one, and had thus "betrayed it to the bourgeoisie." Conveniently ignoring, or dismissing as of no value, the above mentioned instructions of the party to its deputies, he now advocated the theory of trade-unionism pure and simple, incessant war to the knife in the economic field, and absolute abstention from participation in electoral campaigns, on the ground that they were "necessarily corruptive." The violence of his language—not, of course in so far as it related to the Socialists, for the government was only too glad to thus see them assailed at labor meetings, but in regard to the ruling classes and the government itself—soon caused his arrest, followed by police searches in various cities and the discovery of several secret Anarchistic groups, recently formed to carry out the London programme. Malatesta was thereupon tried by a Roman tribunal and sentenced to several years of imprisonment.

Yet, none were more sorry for his mishap than the Socialists themselves, who claimed for everybody the absolute right of free speech. In their extreme respect for this right they allowed such as Malatesta to take the floor in their sections, to become members and officers of their economic organizations, and generally to "participate" with them in the work of awakening the proletariat, relying entirely upon the teachings of events and the correctness of their own position to win over to their views—as in the case, for instance, of Andrea

Costa—men who might be mistaken in certain fundamentals of doctrine and tactics, but were earnest enough to incur any risk in the advocacy of liberty. True, their own cause had seriously suffered from their loose connection and constant disputes with the Anarchists. On repeated occasions they had found it necessary to draw a sharp line of separation. But the tendency always was to relax into leniency, especially in times of persecution. The opposition of the more experienced to further intercourse with a body of men that they had good cause to consider as implacable enemies, ambitious schemers for the most part, and the greatest obstacle to a comprehensive massing and moving of the labor forces, was but feebly sustained by the general membership. This was largely composed of new recruits, who were not yet educated to the point of clearly discerning the radical difference between "Anarchistic Communism," so-called, and true Collectivism, or Socialism. Some of them were even apt to be misled by the Anarchists into the belief that the opposition of the Socialist "leaders" was induced by personal considerations and ambitious designs. Such a state of affairs was eminently calculated to perpetuate the popular notion, industriously cultivated by the capitalist press and politicians, that Socialism and Anarchism were synonymous terms. As already stated, the government, in so far at least as its higher officials were concerned, knew exactly the breadth of the chasm that separated the two movements and the wide divergence of the lines along which they were respectively running. But since it had felt the power of the Socialists in the political field, it was the more anxious to identify them with the Anarchists in every public disturbance or riotous proceeding instigated by the latter, and to thus improve every opportunity of again using its police and judiciary to harass, defame and persecute them. On the other hand, the Anarchists availed themselves of every persecution to deride the Socialist tactics of independent political action at the ballot box and to preach revolution by the force of arms.

It would be tedious and profitless to follow in its turbulent operation the destructive policy of the Anarchists from 1884 to 1890. We must also leave to some other historian the sad and thankless task of recording the petty quarrels of puny leaders in small and impotent labor organizations, and the consequent aimlessness of the labor movement during that period. All this and more we can readily imagine from our similar experience in the United States on a far larger scale. Unwillingly dragged into conflicts productive of nothing but intense suffering among the workers, the Socialists never lost hope; they kept in close contact with their fellow sufferers, educating them and confidently looking to the day when under the irresistible pressure of International Socialism order would spring from chaos in the ranks of the Italian proletariat.

To them it was obvious that this day could not be far distant. And it was, indeed, surely coming. The great victory of the German Social-Democrats in 1884 had been followed in 1885 by a suggestive awakening in France and Belgium. Austria was also moving. Then came the international congresses of Paris in 1889, resulting in the institution of May Day. This was turned by the Italian Socialists into a powerful means of propaganda. Under their lead the corporative (or trade union) movement developed more comprehensively and freed itself to a great extent from Anarchistic influences and notions. Finally, in 1891, the International Congress of Brussels, by emphatically repudiating the Anarchists and even sternly refusing seats to those among them who claimed that they held credentials from bona fide "corporative groups," gave the Italian Socialists the endorsement, prestige and power which they had so

long needed to overcome the paralyzing effects of Anarchistic opposition. In that same year they held at Milan a national congress of the labor bodies, which recognized the equal necessity of economic and political action, and the "Italian Workingmen's party" was founded on the double basis of trade unionism and political organization, "with a view to the conquest of the public powers by a simultaneous movement of the labor forces along the two natural lines of the class struggle." The work thus auspiciously begun at Milan was perfected at Genoa in 1892, and the young party, full of hope and vigor, resolutely entered the electoral campaign of that year, casting 27,000 votes for the few candidates it had been able to place in the field and electing five representatives to Parliament.

From this moment the progress of the party was so rapid that at the Congress of Reggio-Emili in September, 1893, nearly 300 labor federations and local unions were represented. No one, but the best informed within the party itself, expected such a display of strength. The surprise it caused among the ruling classes could not well be disguised in the respectful comments of the government and capitalist organs upon the dignity of the Congress and the practical character of its proceedings. On the other hand, its moral effect upon the delegates was in nothing more apparent than in the enthusiasm with which they swept away all verbal vestiges of previous timidity, by adding the word "Socialist" to the name of the party, which thenceforth was to be known as the "Italian Socialist Labor party" They had no cause to regret their boldness; for on the day of adjournment, ten thousand peasants rushed from all parts of the Emilian province to the town, assembled on the great public square, greeted the Socialist speakers with the most emphatic demonstrations of approval, fraternized with the delegates and returned to their homes determined to stand at all times under the banner of Socialism. And theirs was not an idle promise, forgotten as soon as given; through good and bad report those poor peasants of Emilia have ever since remained faithful; it is by the Socialist Prampolini that they are represented in Parliament.

Nor was this movement of the peasants confined to one province. It soon extended to many parts of the Italian peninsula and spread like wild fire—too much, indeed, like wild fire—in the island of Sicily.

From time immemorial Sicily has been a standard land of misery and martyrdom for the rural proletariat. In this respect it casts Ireland far into the shade. Its very fertility, unsurpassed anywhere, has always proved its curse. To this day the ancient Roman "latifundium" (or private estate of colossal dimensions) is the basis of its economic system. Upon the old trunk, however, is now grafted the Manchesterian capitalistic device of "free labor," but without its American bonanza farm adjunct of highly improved machinery and consequent free trampism. The fruit of this anachronic growth has been a monstrous form of human slavery, which yields princely incomes to land grabbers, handsome pickings to usurers, and large revenues to the government. From a soil so rich that the least labor is requited by nature with regal subsistence, armies of small tenants, chained by contract, working their every muscle and their very soul into vapor, eke out for themselves famine and squalor. Over and above the crust of bread upon which these human beasts of draft and burden are allowed to feed, what is not appropriated by the idle landowner is promptly carried away by the busiest vermin of the whole island, namely, the tax-collector.

Sicily is also—as such a hell should be—the land of earthquakes and brim-

stone. Under its surface, plunged in physical and intellectual darkness, thousands of pariahs of both sexes and all ages are digging out sulphur for the enrichment of British capitalists. A number of them, by the way, are of Cornish descent, their fathers having been sent from civilized England to teach the ignorant Sicilian laborers—and incidentally their own Sicilianized children—the art of turning Inferno itself into surplus value by the process of starvation. It was among these poor people, in this lowest substratum of proletarian misery, that the "Fasci Operai" (labor unions) first undertook to organize resistance. The Fasci established at Palermo a central committee for the island of Sicily. Under the auspices and management of this active body a congress of the sulphur miners was held at Grotte, which resulted in a public exposure of their scandalous treatment, and in the adoption of a programme of action looking to the immediate improvement of their condition. A small increase of their wages followed, and some of the most revolting abuses to which they had so long been compelled to submit were at last abolished.

The Central Committee then turned its attention to the peasants. A congress of their class was held at Corleone, and a strong organization was effected, through which their general demand for a modification of the barbarous contracts imposed upon tenants by landowners was successfully enforced.

There were, however, many other grievances, individual and collective, which could not be redressed or suppressed but by a radical change of system. Some of these, especially, were in their nature and in the petty conflicts which they frequently provoked, such as to give the Socialists much anxiety. Evidently, the disinherited peasants, who could not yet grasp the fundamental truths of Socialism, were apt to be sidetracked at any time, by their intense desire for immediate betterment, into some agrarian movement of a middle class tendency and anarchistic character.

The Italian government itself—unwittingly but none the less effectively—had on a previous occasion supplied all the elements by the natural action of which such a movement would some day be rendered inevitable unless the Socialists could get in time sufficient influence to properly direct the mounting wave of public indignation. Aware of the deep discontent that pervaded the Sicilian peasantry, and deriving but little income from the Crown's domains, the royal authorities had hit upon a plan calculated, in their opinion, to win back the affections of the landless by a public distribution of the demesnial lands, while at the same time increasing by adequate taxation the royal revenues. As might have been expected the proletarian riffraff was little benefited by this right royally fraudulent generosity. The great landowners and the usurers managed in the end to elbow out the poor claimants, who, when they became uncomfortably pressing, or perchance disrespectfully boisterous, were given free board at their fellows' expense in a royal prison.

As the increased and constantly increasing amount of taxation was shifted by the land owners from their own shoulders upon the shoulders of their tenants, the latter became more and more desperate; not so much against the system, which the Socialists were now endeavoring to make them understand, as against the tax collector, who, clad in royal authority, had every possible means of making himself understood. Hence, here and there, vain resistance on one side and display of overwhelming force on the other. Every such conflict between a peasant and a fiscal agent was, of course, officially magnified into a riot and perversely heralded as an evidence of wide-

spread rebellion, "fomented by the Fasci." In fact, the fomenters—in so far as there were any, and as was conclusively proved later on by the radical-socialist deputy Colajanni—were the high officers of the fisc and the great land-owners themselves, who longed for an opportunity of terrorizing the claimants and all other dissatisfied persons into silence and submission; whereas the Fasci, for the obvious reasons already stated, not only discountenanced any private act, but firmly opposed any public manifestation calculated to provoke disorder; their aim being to organize the whole rural, urban and mining proletariat into a compact, clear-minded, self-controlled body, which in the consciousness of its political strength could not be driven into a wasting of its forces by premature revolt.

The policy of the ruling classes was therefore twofold. For the accomplishment of their object the peasantry had first to be cured of its grievances by such summary treatment as the military alone could effectively apply, and the Socialist Labor Party was to be so crippled that it could not continue its legal, peaceful, but most dreaded work of organization.

The men then in power as Ministers did not, however, possess the amount of reckless impudence and murderous energy required to carry out such a programme. They were weak politicians, selected for their comparative "honesty" at a time when Colajanni, by laying bare at the tribune of Parliament the Banca Romana scandal (paralleled only by the French Panama and the American Pacific Railways in the history of political corruption), had shaken the government to its foundations. The old danger line had safely been passed. Another danger, far more serious, was now threatening. Men of negative qualities were here out of place. A true capitalistic leader, a man of positive vices and inborn viciousness, was now needed. Such a man was Crispi.

That this man had already, some years before, been hurled from power by the scandal of "his triple bigamy"; that "he was, by temperament, a chief of bandits, a lustful scamp, and as much of a liar as any ten prostitutes could be"; that he might "unscrupulously do anything, even good, in the attainment of his object"; that money was his faith and corruption his element; all this and more that was well known of him commended him highly for the unique work of saving a class which he more completely portrayed in his own person and in its worst features than any other Italian "statesman" of his day.

It was at the end of 1893 that Crispi took the reins of government. The Parliament was not in session. The state of siege was immediately proclaimed in Sicily; also in the Carrara district of the province of Tuscany, where the marble quarrymen, tired of starvation wages, had been parading through their own dilapidated villages with a flag upon which was embroidered the upper shoot of a Carrara pine; innocent emblem, probably, of the readiness with which they, strong men, had until then bent to the will of their masters.

Those of us in America who at that time learned from the capitalist press that there was a terrible rebellion raging in Sicily, instigated and engineered by Socialists, will now be surprised at the following statement. On the capitalist side two men fell; one of them a soldier, who was threatening death to everybody; the other an official, prætor of Gibellina, esteemed by the people and shot by mistake while attempting to restrain the soldiery. On the proletarian side, ninety-two unarmed citizens were killed, and a large but unknown number of others were more or less severely wounded. The "bands of rebels," so-called, were unoffensive processions of men and women, carrying

the portraits of the King and the Queen between Italian flags. They were fired upon as soon as they made their appearance.

The Fasci were dissolved by the authorities and their officers were thrown into prison. One thousand persons, men and women, charged with or simply suspected of participating in proceedings which had been legally and openly held before the state of siege, were arrested by the police, and tried by court martials. Ten, twelve, twenty years' sentences fell as thick and quick from the dry lips of martial presidents as hailstones in an April shower. "The military tribunals of Sicily alone," writes Colajanni, "dispensed about 5,000 years of imprisonment to peasants who protested against famine in the midst of the superabundance which they had produced, and to young men guilty of a generous Socialist propaganda."

For all these atrocities Crispi asked Parliament, on the reopening of the Chambers, for a bill of indemnity; in support of which he read forged documents, such as incendiary appeals to rebellion, and anonymous communications to the police, which refused to make their authors known on the plea of professional secrecy. Interpellated by Prampolini, the "great minister" declared himself responsible for the genuineness of all those documents. They were signed; "very much signed"; and he had "something better in his portfolio, which he would not read out of compassion for the prisoners." The value of all this evidence may be inferred from the famous "Treaty of Bisacquino," so named from the town where resided the police agent that supplied his employers with this remarkable product of modern invention. By this "treaty" it was undertaken to show that the members of the central committee of the Fasci, in league with certain eminent Sicilians (including the deputy Colajanni) had entered into a compact with France and England to dismember Italy by separating Sicily from her and delivering an Italian port to Russia! O patriotism! What traitors those Socialists be!

And now came the Anarchists. They always come at the right moment; when a government is sorely in need of a "propaganda of the deed" to prop up its shaky structure of despotism. Explosions in Spain and Paris! The poniard of Caserio—an Italian, mark well! Europe is in a tremor. Italy—Crispi must have "laws of exception."

These laws, nominally made against the Anarchists, who, in Crispi's own words, "have no party," are, of course, mercilessly applied to the Socialists, who have a party. And that the Socialists may the more surely, the more legally, fall under the operation of the law, their party is dissolved by a stroke of Crispi's pen.

On the 22d of October, 1894, every known Socialist receives the visit of a police agent; his house is searched, his papers are taken, his person is jailed. Not one militant escapes, even among the most obscure.

For more than a year the tribunals of Italy were almost exclusively engaged in trying or rather sentencing Socialists. In nearly every case the remarkable ground taken by the courts was substantially as follows: "It is granted that the Socialist party antagonizes anarchism and deprecates violence; that its aim is to gain possession of the public powers by the legal means of peaceful propagand and electoral action; but whereas its object is to make in the existing institutions, when it shall have become a majority, certain fundamental changes which the minority will undoubtedly resist by the force of arms, the Socialists are guilty in fact, if not in theory, of such schemes against the public peace as it is the intent of the present law to forbid and

punish." Never had the peculiar logic of conservatism ventured so far in the advocacy and enforcement of complete social immobility.

There were a few magistrates—let it be said to their lasting honor—conscientious and brave enough to acquit the defenceless victims arraigned before them. But such bold men were promptly made to feel the anger of the Ministry by being transferred to inferior seats and practically exiled from the pleasant homes which they had until then enjoyed among relatives and friends. So recklessly shameless did Crispi become, that, to the astonishment of his own servile followers, he openly rebuked in Parliament an eminent Judge of the Court of Appeals, who was also a deputy, for having dared to render a judgment setting free the Socialists of Florence.

But this prostitution of the forms of justice was not by any means the most revolting feature of the persecution. In direct violation of the constitution, which expressly forbids the substitution of special commissions for the ordinary tribunals, the Crispian "law of exception" conferred upon the administrative powers—that is, upon the police—the right to arrest any person suspected of anarchism, to try him secretly, and to inflict upon him a certain punishment, unsurpassed in cruelty by Siberian exile but mildly termed "compulsory residence" by the Crispian legislator. Under that provision not only hundreds of Anarchists—including the most purely theoretical—but many Socialists were abducted and transported to lonely rocks in the Mediterranean.

It looked for a while as if the party, deprived of all its known agitators and workers, and thus apparently decapitated and dismembered, had been actually swept out of existence. Experience, however, had already shown elsewhere that the underground development of Socialism can in no way be better promoted than by the Bismarckian process of cutting down its outward growth. For every visible shoot that is thus suppressed, numbers of invisible offsets expand below the surface, each of them capable of sending out a vigorous stem at the proper time. The watchful police was soon startled, not by mere rumors, but by definite information concerning certain regional congresses, to be held by Socialists on certain dates and at certain places, preparatory to a national reorganization. Its agents were duly on hand, supported by the military, but to no purpose. On every occasion they learned a few days later that the congress had met elsewhere. Thus was finally held, on January 13, 1895, the national congress of Parma, which, at the very climax of Crispian persecution, reorganized the party, appointed a central committee, planned a vigorous agitation, and determined to immediately enter the political field in view of the general parliamentary elections to be held in the same year. As the formation of local sections was not advisable, because their meetings could not have readily escaped police detection, membership was provided by direct affiliation with the central committee. There was in this a great advantage under the prevailing circumstances; for, although the membership could not thus be as great as it would otherwise have been, each member became a direct, active and responsible agent of the party—a true "militant."

A certain amount of freedom had to be allowed during the campaign. Meetings purely Socialistic might under one pretext or another have been prevented or dispersed. Other meetings, however, called by Liberals, for instance, and largely attended by all classes of people, could not so well be interfered with. From the utterances of the speakers and the temper of their audiences Crispi soon realized the intensity of the hatred harbored in the public breast

for his odious person and infamous government. He then resorted to desperate schemes, which he carried out with his usual audacity. First, he ordered a general revision of the electoral lists. Through the ingenuity of his henchmen in the performance of that task he thus rid himself of nearly one-third of the total number of qualified voters, which already before did not exceed one-tenth of the total population. Among the citizens who were thus summarily disfranchised were men who had filled official positions — ex-mayors, ex-councilmen, etc.—and even some university professors, struck out for illiteracy. In certain communes, permeated with Socialism, the number entitled to vote was reduced to less than the number to be elected. Lastly, on the eve of election, arrests "en masse" were made, not only to prevent from voting those who were arrested, but to intimidate and keep away from the polls their friends or sympathizers.

In the face of all that the Socialists cast over 76,000 votes for their candidates and elected twelve deputies.

In the eighteen months of ceaseless persecution to which they had been subjected, they had nearly trebled their visible strength at the ballot box and increased their representation in Parliament from 5 to 12 members. They had become an active, growing, disquieting political factor in 177 of the 508 parliamentary districts of Italy.

Among their successful candidates were Giuseppe Di Felice, Dr. Barbato and Garibaldi Bosco. Di Felice had been sentenced by the Sicilian tribunals to eighteen years' imprisonment; Barbato and Bosco to twelve years. By the same judgment they had also lost their civic rights. Upon this ground their election was annulled by the Chamber. A few months later, their respective constituents re-elected them, and the government, brought to bay by the evident determination of the people to re-elect them indefinitely, released them from the dungeon in which Crispi had intended them to die. They were received at Rome with the wildest demonstrations of enthusiasm.

Not less significant was the election at Reggio-Emile, by an overwhelming majority, of the schoolmaster Italo Salsi, who had been sentenced to two years of "compulsory residence."

In accordance with the traditional policy of every tyrant, Crispi, in his game with the people, had played the patriotic card. He had sent an army to Abyssinia. There was a Greater Britain; there would also be a Greater Italy. Ave Caesar! What? Crispi a Caesar? And why not? Had not Napoleon-the-Little attempted to be one? And see to-day William-the-Fussy designing for his noble brow a Chinese crown! We need not dwell here upon this African venture; the outcome of it is still fresh in the minds of all. King Meneleck and his dark-visaged warriors annihilated the Italian army; annihilated in the same breath the speculative schemes of Italian capitalists. And Crispi disappeared in a whirlwind of popular fury.

The Rudinians rose into power. A fine set of hypocrites with their "Honest" Ministry, to distinguish them, by a mere adjective, from the "dishonest" Crispians. True, they began with an amnesty, freeing the popular men whom it was now dangerous to keep entombed, but double-locking in jail the obscure ones whose unpardonable offense had been to protest against the imprisonment of their more prominent comrades. A first betraying, this, of the capitalistic claw under the velvet glove; and more of that claw was seen, and felt also, on short notice. For they did not believe in the "class struggle," those good Rudinians; and they "would not permit any such thing to exist." Therefore, they would

not allow the reorganization of trade unions in Sicily; nor would they on any account restore to freedom the men that the Crispian storm had cast on lonely rocks in the Mediterranean. There is, there must be, "no class struggle;" in other words, "our class" must rule, and its rule must be uncontested.

More time passed, and the class struggle went on, all the Rudinians to the contrary notwithstanding. And when the time came, in the spring of 1897, for another parliamentary election, the class struggle had progressed so far that the Socialists nearly doubled their vote of 1895, as may be seen from the following comparative table, which shows the number of suffrages received by their candidates in each province of Italy and in each of the two years named:

Provinces.	1895.	1897.
Piedmont	8,847	29,925
Liguria	3,521	6,759
Lombardy	20,667	28,043
Venice	6,245	12,476
Emilia	9,099	12,878
Romagna	8,627	10,882
Tuscany	9,102	11,969
Marches	852	4,250
Umbria	559	4,308
Latium	1,645	2,418
Abruzzo	....	1,154
Campania	1,383	2,893
Pouille	498	2,106
Basilicata	48	....
Calabria	....	2,258
Sicily	5,255	1,295
Sardinia	52	882
Total	76,400	134,496

The above figures speak for themselves. They show an enormous increase in all the provinces except Sicily, where the marked falling off, readily explainable, is not less instructive than the great rise in Piedmont.

As regards Sicily, it has been sufficiently shown in the preceding pages that the movement there never was fully controlled by the Socialists, who soon found themselves overrun by the middle class proprietary instincts and anarchistic impulses of the peasantry. The vote given by Sicily to their candidates in 1895 was merely a protest against the treatment which Crispi had just inflicted upon that miserable province. With the advent of the Rudinians to power the Socialists had not been permitted to resume their work of organization and education on the well guarded island; but all the fraudulent arts of capitalistic politicians, including the bribery of some influential peasants, false promises of redress to others and hypocritical professions of commiseration for all, had been used to win back the disaffected. Under those exceptional circumstances the fact that the Socialists, far from being swept out of sight in 1897, preserved one-quarter of their vote of 1895, was indeed a victory, and actually caused much disappointment to their opponents. During their brief period of unchecked activity they had evidently planted in Sicilian soil a seed which no amount of capitalistic tearing up could now prevent from growing and spreading.

As to Piedmont, whose vote increased from less than 9,000 to nearly 30,000

—thereby suddenly passing Lombardy, which had been the cradle and stronghold of Italian Socialism—it should be stated that the value and significance of the progress achieved there in so short a time are even greater than the figures indicate. The political standing of Piedmont in the Italian aggregate and the character of its population must be considered. The Piedmontese are not an enthusiastic people; they are calm, thoughtful and persevering. It was chiefly, almost exclusively by their arms and their diplomacy that the unity of Italy was accomplished; and it was their King who became the King of Italy. To the bellicose and valiant House of Savoy, which ruled over them for centuries, and to which the King belonged, they were deeply attached. Regretfully, yet dutifully, patriotically, they submitted to the transfer of the seat of empire from Turin, their old capital, to the more dazzling Rome, thereby losing without a murmur all the pecuniary and other advantages which, under the existing system, naturally accrue to the population of a metropolis from the residence of a great monarch in its midst. Their best wishes had accompanied Victor Emmanuel to the "Eternal City," with every reciprocal assurance that Turin would forever remain his loving and beloved town. Fond of freedom, but checked by tradition, they had never looked for political and social improvement beyond the limited possibilities afforded by constitutional monarchy. Mazzini's "democracy" had never appealed to their feelings or reason. The notion that a bourgeois republic would be better in any respect than what they had, could never effect a lodgment in their sober brains. Among such people Socialism, no matter the rate at which it suddenly grew, cannot therefore have been a mushroom growth. It must have appealed to their cool judgment and clear understanding. And it did so appeal to such an extent that of the five seats to which the King's own Turin was entitled in Parliament, the Socialists carried two outright. There was a tremor all along the Apennines and a shiver through the royal backbone, when this great event was proclaimed.

Of course, in many districts where the Socialist vote increased most remarkably a majority was not yet obtained. In some of them also a greater number of suffrages than formerly was required to elect a Socialist, because of the union of conservative forces previously divided. Therefore, with a vote nearly twice as large as in 1895, the Socialists added only three deputies to their Parliamentary representation, which is now fifteen as against twelve before the last election. But this is of no actual moment at the present time, fifteen being as good as twenty-four for the practical purposes of Socialistic agitation within and without the Chamber; that is, for the only possible purpose until a majority of the people are intellectually ready for the Social Revolution.

Lastly, it should be observed that the visible rate of growth, wonderful as it seems, is much less than the actual. The electoral body, as cut down by Crispi's revision, represented only 7 per cent. of the total population, instead of the 20 per cent. which it should be under complete universal suffrage. Nearly all the disfranchised are poor men, who for the most part would have to be counted for Socialism, and will at no distant day be so counted, whether it pleases or not the ruling classes.

"Italia fara da se." And by Italy is meant this time, not the padrone class for the benefit of which her children have lavishly shed their blood in the achievement of her political unity, but the whole Italian proletariat, contributing by its own emancipation to the enfranchisement of all the nations and all the races of men.

The last national congress of the Italian Socialist party was held at Bologna in September, 1897. From the report of the Executive Committee it appeared that in the previous twelve months the number of Sections had increased from 442 to 623; the number of members in good standing from 19,121 to 27,281; the number of Socialist papers, from 27 to 46.

The report of the parliamentary group shows that in Parliament the Socialist deputies had during the session asked 43 questions and made 11 interpellations. Outside of Parliament they had in the year under review delivered 470 speeches, besides attending and addressing 75 meetings held for the purpose of organizing the railroad employees. No wonder that the Prime Minister deemed it necessary to publicly impress upon his supporters, as an example which they should follow, "the indefatigable activity and feverish ardor of the Socialist representatives."

The congress authorized the holding of a national conference of the Socialist municipal officers for the purpose of elaborating a municipal programme and securing uniformity of action in communal affairs.

As regards the "Minimum Programme" of the party, which consists in demands for the immediate betterment of the working classes, the congress declared that the reforms therein mentioned are not and should not be under any circumstances advocated as final solutions; that they are presented as mere palliatives; that in agitating for such measures the real aim and sole remedy—namely, the socialization of all the means of production—should always be kept in full view and strongly insisted upon; this finality being the essential feature that distinguishes the Socialist from all other political organizations; for it frequently happens that a middle class party, in order to gain the support of the workers and make them forget both the nature and the end of the class struggle, fraudulently advocates measures of the same purely palliative character, which it never carries out.

The "corporative" (or trade union) movement was also considered. The Socialists were advised to push it on with the utmost vigor, not only among men but among women workers; but, again, the necessity of Socialist political action must never be lost sight of in the daily conflicts of organized workers with their individual employers, since it is only by gaining possession of the public powers that the laboring class can put an end to the economic system under which such conflicts are necessarily becoming every day more numerous and more desperate.

Owing, however, to the economic conditions of Italy, the attitude of the party towards the peasantry was the most important question before the delegates. And they dealt with it in masterly style.

In the first place the proletarian peasantry was divided into three categories, namely: 1—the wage laborers; 2 — the contract workers; 3 — the metayers (small tenants). The wage laborers are to be organized into societies of resistance for the purpose of reducing their hours of labor, increasing their pay, substituting payment in money for the prevailing system of payment in produce, and obtaining the establishment of tribunals of arbitration similar to the French institution of the "prud'hommes." The contract workers are likewise to be organized for the reform and improvement of the usual conditions of the contract. Lastly, an association of the metayers is to be formed, through which the conditions of tenure may be made uniform throughout Italy and so improved as to secure to the tenant a minimum amount of produce, sufficient to properly sustain him and his family.

In the second place the situation of the small landowning class was considered. As to this the congress declared that (1) the natural evolution of capitalism, involving the introduction of machinery in agriculture and consequent necessity of cultivation on a large scale, and (2) the natural evolution of capitalistic government, involving a constant enlargement of expenditure and consequent increase of taxation, are inevitably destructive of the class in question. Therefore, the Socialist party must strive to enlighten the people of this class upon the causes and inevitableness of their pauperization under capitalism, and to make them realize that their only means of salvation, not as small property owners, but as deserving workers doomed to fall into the proletariat, is in the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth.

The foregoing pages were in type, when a formidable insurrection, provoked by intense suffering, broke out in Milan, spread with the fury of despair in the neighboring provinces, and threatened for a time the existence of the monarchy. In the words of Prof. Gerolamo Gatti, Socialist member of the Italian Parliament, "it broke out not because, but in spite of Socialist agitation;" for the Socialists not only realize but constantly proclaim that nothing can be gained by local rebellions springing from uneducated discontent, and that the emancipation of the proletariat must be achieved by international co-operation. The leaders of the revolt, where it had any, were middle class "Republicans," Clerical Conservatives and Anarchists. Nevertheless, when the government had repressed it with a cruelty that could not have been exceeded under the Crispian regime, the Socialist organizations were suppressed and their leaders incarcerated. The Milan deputy Turati, among others, was promptly sentenced to fifteen years of imprisonment. By re-electing him again and again, as in the case of Felice and Barbato, his constituents will probably take him out of his dungeon. In the meantime the Turin Socialists have already, to the extent of their power, avenged him and his fellow martyrs, by sending to Parliament the celebrated writer A. de Amicis, whose conversion to Socialism a few years ago caused a commotion throughout Italy. Amicis takes the seat of the Reactionist Brin, who died lately and was a member of the Italian Cabinet.

SOCIALISM IN SPAIN.

In 1840, the teachings of Fourier and those of Cabet had already found some exponents in Spain. The French revolution of 1848 gave a considerable impetus to the propagation of Socialistic ideas in that country, and, as they progressed, the republican element found itself divided into three fractions more and more distinct, namely: the "Republicans" pure and simple, who aimed at the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a middle-class republic; the "Democrats," who demanded radical reforms, economic as well as political, but were disposed to compromise with the monarchy; and the "Socialists," who were chiefly recruited from among university students and wage workers of manufacturing centers. Of course, at that time, the Spanish Socialists were far from having acquired the clearness and homogeneity of views which now characterize everywhere the teachings of better informed and more scientific exponents. And while the agitation which they carried on was not unproductive of good results, it is a fact that for nearly a whole generation Socialism in Spain remained in that same primary stage of theoretical or Utopian incubation which for a more or less extended period preceded in every country its appearance as a practical factor in social and political evolution.

The revolution of 1868, which drove Isabella from the throne, caused a radical change in this state of affairs by opening a vast field to the International Workingmen's Association. In a few months thousands of wage-workers flocked to the standard of universal solidarity and numerous Sections were formed. The movement, sustained by the publication of official organs at Madrid, Barcelona, Palma, Bilbao and other centers, continued to develop with extraordinary rapidity. At the Barcelona Congress, held on the 19th of June, 1870, forty thousand members were represented and the Spanish Federation of the International was constituted.

The reactionists, temporarily struck dumb with astonishment, now realized the necessity of acting. By a vote of the Cortes, in Nov., 1870, Prince Amadeo of Italy was elected King. Some months later, after the fall of the Paris Commune, the ministers pressed for legislation against the International. The Cortes made at first a show of unwillingness to comply with the request of the cabinet, in order, probably, to justify the still harsher measures to which they finally consented when in September, 1871, the Internationalists, forbidden to hold their regular public congress at Valencia, and otherwise persecuted and provoked, held a private conference in that city. The Association was then outlawed as contrary to "the constitution, the public safety, the State, God, property and the family." The federation replied by declaring strikes in more than fifty trades, involving every branch of industry throughout the kingdom. Every strike was won.

Vainly did Sagasta take the reins of government. The International openly continued to exist and to increase in membership. To a threatening proclamation of the minister, forbidding the Association to hold its second national Congress, its federal council replied with a not less threatening proclamation, declaring that congress would be held and challenging the "possessing class" to

initiate "the social war, the war between the poor and the rich." On the day publicly appointed (April 6, 1872), the delegates met at Saragossa, held two secret sessions, and on the third day (April 8), assembled on the floor of a great theater, in the presence of three thousand spectators. A police commissioner ordered them to disperse. After reading a protest signed by all the delegates, the chairman adjourned the meeting to another hall, where the proceedings were privately continued without further interference, the police contenting itself with a draft of charges against the members of the bureau.

From the report of the federal council on the actual forces of the party it appeared that in seven months the number of local federations had increased from 13 to 102; that there were, besides, 69 trade sections, 284 "sections of resistance," (or labor unions), and a large number of individual members in places where no Sections had as yet been established. There were also 46 local federations in course of organization. Altogether the International was at that time more powerful in Spain than in any other country.

The Spanish federal council, sitting in Madrid, had to that time been in perfect harmony with the General Council, which sat in London, and of which Karl Marx was the most prominent member. But among the most active organizers of the Spanish federation were men attached to Bakunin, whom they admired for the revolutionary boldness of his schemes rather than for his understanding of the economic question. It may be said in general terms that they took their tactics from Bakunin and their economics from Marx; or, perhaps more truly, that, as cunning politicians, in order to control the tactics they did not interfere with the economics. It is indeed a remarkable fact, that, during the whole period of its prosperity, the Spanish International, ever so anarchistic in its conduct of the political struggle, was strictly collectivist in its economic programme. Not until the day of its decadence did the "individualistic anarchists" make their appearance, and these were finally driven to the logical necessity of forming themselves into small groups, absolutely disconnected from the main body and hardly connected with each other.*

Bakunin's Spanish lieutenants had therefore industriously worked, not merely to build up the International, but to establish the secret Alliance which was to control it. As stated in the preceding chapter on the Italian movement, Bakunin had already in 1869 falsely certified to the dissolution of that secret society in order to have its Sections regularly admitted into the International. In 1871 the General Council had positive proof of its continued existence in Spain. The national congress of Saragossa, in prevision of the storm that could not fail to break out at the International Congress of the Hague five months later, deemed it wise to again dissolve the Alliance, so as to technically weaken, as much as possible, the charges that were to be pre-

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* The original federation having entirely disappeared, a number of anarchists, chiefly of the individualistic variety undertook to reorganize it upon a "new basis." They held a congress at Valencia in 1889 and formed what they termed a "Federation by the Compact of Solidarity for Resistance to Capital." The "new basis" is enunciated as follows in the five leading articles of the by-laws: 1—That anarchism being non-government, complete freedom must be given to every member of Society; 2—That Society will not be anarchistic as long as any atom of authority may subsist; 3—That all individuals, societies, groups, etc., which accept anarchism shall be admitted in the Federation regardless of their economic tenets or revolutionary methods; 4—That all individuals, singly or collectively, shall be free to "manifest themselves" as they may please; 5—That a center of relations and statistics shall be established for the purpose of facilitating communication between individuals and groups, but without any other initiative.

ferred against Bakunin and his partisans. At the same time it elected to the federal council new men, favorable to Bakunin, and transferred its seat from Madrid to Valencia..

At the Hague Bakunin was expelled from the International, not merely because of his secret intrigues but—as stated elsewhere in our chapter on "Italy"—on account of his participation in the Netschaief affair. His lieutenants, however, enjoyed the full confidence of an overwhelming majority of its membership in Spain, and were, moreover, in full control of the machinery of the Spanish federation. This body, therefore, sent a delegation to the so-called "anti-authority" congress of Saint Imier, called by Bakunin in the name of his Swiss federation of the Jura, and at which were also represented the Italian federation as a body and a number of French Sections. Thus was formed the Anarchistic, in opposition to the Socialistic, International. The Spanish Marxists, comparatively few in number and chiefly located in Madrid, rallied under the lead of Lafargue and Farja, and founded the "New Federation," or Labor party.

Hardly had these events taken place when an insurrection, fomented by the Republicans and participated in by the Anarchists, broke out in Madrid. It was repressed; but on the 10th of February, 1873, King Amadeo, tired of his crown, abdicated and returned to Italy; whereupon the "federal democratic republic" was proclaimed. Pi y Margall, who twenty years before had translated into Spanish some of the works of Proudhon, and who might be classed among the bourgeois individualistic anarchists, was called to the Presidency. The constitution which he promulgated was unquestionably more democratic than any similar document that had ever been given to the people of any country as a substitute for actual emancipation, and it soon proved of no greater practical value than a mere string of words can be. The Marxists had consistently derided the alliance of the Bakuninites with the Republicans. At the time of the insurrection their official organ had expressed itself in these words: "We know well enough the composition and spirit of the Republican party to assert that this movement is but one of those revolutionary attempts by which some played out (literally, "disclassed") bourgeois seek to promote their personal interests at the cost of any amount of proletarian blood. Again we say to our friends, 'the emancipation of the workingmen must be achieved by the workingmen.' Every revolution led by bourgeois can be of no benefit whatever but to those bourgeois."

This warning, which had not been heeded before the republic was proclaimed, was not heeded subsequently. It soon became apparent that the acts of Pi y Margall's administration would not fulfil the expectations raised by his constitution. The Republicans and the Anarchists, although moved by different considerations, were both dissatisfied. Their alliance was strengthened by their common discontent instead of being weakened by their divergence of purpose. A committee of public safety was formed. It was chiefly composed of Federal Republicans. At its head, as president, was the Spanish poet, Roque Barcia; among its members were General Ferrer, Admiral Montijo, Brigadier Pozas, A. de Sala, V. Alvarez, A. de la Cable, Lafuente, etc. An insurrection of the Internationalists broke out at Alcoy. Its sanguinary repression widened the breach between the committee and the government. It was followed by similar outbreaks at Cadiz, Seville, Granada, Salamanca, Cordova, Valencia, Murcia and other important centers. Finally, under the lead of the Federalists, Carthagena rose in arms by previous agreement with the committee, which

moved in a body to that stronghold and constituted itself into a revolutionary government, or "junta."

The spirit of this junta in the matter of social reform is shown by several of its decrees, one of which, dated November 1, 1873, and signed by Antonio de la Calle in the name of the Commission on the Public Services, reads as follows:

"Whereas, Property is one of the most sacred rights of man when it is the result of his labor;

"Whereas, One of the most pressing duties of the Revolution, in accordance with the most elementary principles of its regenerating doctrine, is to establish a clear distinction between ill-gotten and honestly acquired property;

"Whereas, From time immemorial, under the despotic systems that have heretofore prevailed, the vital forces of the nation have remained paralyzed in the hands of a few privileged families who have come into possession of the sources of production and wealth by right of conquest or royal bounty;

"Whereas, for these and other economic reasons our country, rich among all in natural wealth, is actually one of the poorest in industry;

"Whereas, Economic privilege is the chief element of that power which the possessing and monopolizing classes are using against the people; * * * * This sovereign junta decides:

"1—The revolutionary powers shall immediately proceed to mark out, separately, legitimate and illegitimate property.

"2—Shall be declared collective property of the canton all the estates situated on its territory, the titles to which are derived by their present holders from inheritance or royal donation.

"3—Shall also be declared collective property of the canton the lands bought of the State at the government sale of ecclesiastical property for less than one-third of their actual value; and all contracts and titles relating to lands originally involved in the sale of the public domain shall be revised by the revolutionary authorities, who shall decide on their legitimacy according to right and justice."

Another decree proclaimed the necessity of public education, secular, professional and compulsory. Another still, issued at the beginning of the siege, proclaimed the equality of woman to man in rights and duties; declared that by placing her in a condition of inferiority to man, the old societies had not only committed a crying wrong, but had stupidly deprived progress and civilization of one-half of the intellectual forces at the command of mankind; then provided for the organization of the labor and functions of the women of Carthagena during the siege, with a due regard for their "moral and physical conditions," which essentially fitted them "for the care of the wounded and the alleviation of the sufferings endured by their brothers in their struggle for emancipation."

To be sure, there was nothing anarchistic or middle-class in all those practical measures of social reorganization and in the considerations advanced in their support. But, as has been already explained, the revolutionary movement in Spain, ever so anarchistic in its tactics, was substantially collectivist in its principles. If "cantonal" instead of "national" property was contemplated in the first decree above mentioned, it was simply because, in the backward condition of industry and agriculture, and especially of transportation, communication and general intercourse in that country, the "collectivist" supervision of the canton was deemed more effective than that of the nation; and it did not, of course, exclude national regulation and co-operation.

Carthagena capitulated with the honors of war on January 12, 1874, after a heroic struggle of exactly six months, which taxed all the military resources of Spain.

On the first appearance of dissatisfaction with his government, Pi y Margall had resigned the Presidency of the Republic. His friend and successor Salmeron—who was also a noted Proudhonian—quickly followed him in retirement. Then the "hablador" Castelar, the grandiloquent lackey of the upper bourgeoisie, sprang into power with the alacrity of a bloodhound. It was under his Presidency that the Republic committed suicide. The resistance of the insurgents had been long and desperate. They had been mercilessly slaughtered by Campos and his lieutenants. Upon the corpses of proletaires heaped up mountain-high by those royalist butchers the son of ex-Queen Isabella ascended the throne on the last day of the bloody year 1874.

Little, if anything, now remained of the Spanish International, lately so powerful. From the date of its complete adherence to the Bakunin tactics at the secessionist congress of St. Imier two years had hardly elapsed. Its intelligent forces—numerous enough for the purpose of widespread educational agitation, unconquerable, indestructible and assured of final victory if used for that purpose alone, but still insignificant as an armed body by the side of the stupendous forces of organized brutality and ignorance which despotism could put in the field—had been wasted by reckless leaders in hopeless insurrections. These apostles of "destruction" had actually destroyed nothing but their own "army." And let it be said here in justice to the modest heroes who were thus madly sacrificed, in justice to the humble Spanish martyrs of the grandest cause and most insane policy, that their record of bravery and mutual devotion from the beginning to the end of the unequal conflict is unsurpassed in the annals of the class struggle. That they did not succeed does not dim their glory; but in connection with many similar episodes it plainly shows that not until a majority of the proletariat, by intelligent appeals to its intelligence, shall at last have become united and class-conscious, can despotism be laid low and humanity prevail.

The small group of Marxists who, after the Congress of the Hague in 1872, had remained faithful to the General Council of the International and founded at Madrid the "New Federation," could hardly, for a long time, give any sign of life. Ten years, in fact, passed away before the Socialists could venture upon calling a national congress that might prove of sufficient importance as a representative body to command some attention. In 1882, however, 123 delegates, representing 152 labor organizations, answered their appeal, met at Barcelona and formed the Social Democratic Labor party of Spain. The platform which they adopted declared that the object of the party was to accomplish the emancipation of the working class by legal methods, and to arrive at the socialization of the means of production by independent political action at the ballot box. It provided for the organization of Socialistic trade unions as a necessary adjunct to the political movement under the present economic system and contained a programme of demands for the immediate improvement of economic conditions.

The progress of the party, impeded at every step by capitalistic persecution on one side and anarchistic opposition on the other, was difficult and slow. In 1886, when it sent two delegates to the Paris international conference, it had but few adherents outside of Madrid and Barcelona. Numerous meet-

ings were held, a national organ, "El Socialista," was founded in Madrid under the editorship of Iglesias and the field of propaganda was somewhat enlarged. The platform was slightly amended with a view to greater precision. The Yet, at the Barcelona congress of 1888, only sixteen sections were represented. Comrades went to work with increased devotion and energy. They made some gains. At the Bilbao congress in 1890, twenty-three Sections were represented, and the membership of all was reported as steadily increasing. The International Congress held the previous year in Paris—the first Socialist Congress of this sort that had been held since the extinction of the International Workingmen's Association—had evidently, by its consecration of May Day to the cause of the universal proletariat, and by the evidences it gave of a rapid reintegration of the revolutionary forces all along the line—revived the hopes of the Spanish toilers. The International Congress of Brussels in 1891, by rejecting the Spanish and Italian anarchists who cunningly sought admission under various disguises, had a still more wholesome effect. Notice had thus been given that no disrupting element would this time be allowed to interfere with the natural expansion of the International Socialist Movement, and that no man would be considered as honestly proffering his co-operation who did not absolutely repudiate leaders and tactics opposed to the spirit of that great movement.

The Spanish anarchists realized the full force of the blow. They saw themselves isolated from the rest of the world and threatened with similar isolation in their own country, whose laboring masses must sooner or later irresistibly be drawn into the vortex of the international cyclone. With their usual fertility of resources and unscrupulousness of means they allied themselves to the Republicans, to keep as many workingmen as possible from joining the Socialists or supporting their candidates. At the same time Pi y Margall, who professed to have somewhat evolved in the direction of Socialism, but who was in reality as much of a Proudhonian bourgeois and political confusionist as he had ever been, spoke of "harmony," of the "common enemy," of the "common ground upon which all the 'revolutionary' elements could and should stand," of the possibility of achieving, one at a time, "practical results," and otherwise did his best to allure the Socialists into the Republican-Anarchistic combination. All in vain. The Socialists stood firm and uncompromising. The impulse was given. Thirty-seven Sections sent delegates to their Valencia Congress in 1892. A year later, at the International Congress of Zurich, the Spanish delegation reported fifty Sections, six of which were composed of agricultural laborers. Moreover, the General Union of Spanish Workingmen—an economic body that was also represented at Zurich and which holds to the Social Democratic Labor party of Spain the same relation as the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance holds to the Socialist Labor party of the United States—reported 112 local unions with a membership in good standing of 8,848. The Socialistic press, which numbered four papers in 1891, increased in two years to seven, including the trade organ of the General Union. Furthermore, the party established at Madrid a "Socialist Library," by which the most important works of Spanish and foreign Socialists are published.

At the parliamentary elections of 1893, the recorded vote of the party in the few districts where it had been found possible to place candidates in the field was 7,000, showing an increase of forty per cent. as compared with the previous election. Again, in April, 1896, upon a slightly extended area of

electoral agitation, the Socialist nominees for the Cortes received 15,000 votes, showing in three years a progress of 100 per cent. "This result," observed the National Committee in its report to the London International Congress, "is the more significant as the government, availing itself of the opportunities of repression afforded by the attempt of the anarchists against the life of Martinez Campos and their barbarous bomb throwing at the Lyceum Theatre of Barcelona, had taken every possible measure to restrict the organization of labor, especially in Catalonia."

Moreover, at the municipal elections of 1895, the Spanish Socialists scored some successes highly encouraging by their significance. They elected two councillors in the plutocratic city of Bilbao in spite of the intimidation and fraud practised by their opponents; one at Ferrol, an important seaport, where the Socialist candidate obtained more votes than the Republican leader, who was also elected; one at Mataro, a manufacturing town of Catalonia, and one at Salamanca. In the latter city the party had no organization, but the popular vote spontaneously elected Prof. Dorado, a well-known exponent and uncompromising advocate of Socialism.

With the scanty means at their command and in the face of extraordinary difficulties our Spanish Comrades repeatedly gave to the world admirable examples of class-consciousness and international solidarity. For instance, at a time when their party treasury was empty, they collected, cent by cent, 912 lires for the succor of the Italian Socialists compromised in the Sicilian uprising and persecuted by Crispi. Again, not only they collected 15,000 pesetas ($3,000) for the support of the Malaga weavers during the famous strike of those poor people against their multimillionaire employer, the "Famisher" Larios, but they actually took charge of the strike, and for this purpose sent Iglesias to Malaga when the Spanish authorities, in order to break it down, undertook to beat, imprison and otherwise persecute the weavers. Iglesias himself was almost immediately arrested and kept forty days in confinement without trial, after which he was arraigned before the Malaga criminal court upon trumped up charges and promptly sentenced to four months' imprisonment. Mark that the Spanish parliament was then in session, and that not one of those middle-class deputies, so-called "Republicans" or Democrats, with whom the Anarchists had always been ready to make political bargains while declaiming against "political action," entered a protest against the scandalous conduct of the Malaga authorities, transformed with the connivance of the national government into agents of the plutocrat Larios.

As we write we have not yet a detailed account of the Socialist vote cast at the parliamentary election of 1897; but we know that it reached a total of about 28,000 votes, showing the same high rate of increase as previously. This is especially gratifying under the present circumstances. Shaken in its every pillar by the colonial rebellions of Cuba and the Philippines, the old Spanish structure is apparently now on the verge of destruction. Bearing in mind, however, that every political cataclysm in Spain, by affording her Anarchists an opportunity to their taste, has heretofore proved more obstructive than favorable to the development of sound Socialist doctrine and tactics, we shall watch with intense interest, not unmixed with anxiety, the march of events in that unfortunate country.

SOCIALISM IN BELGIUM.

There are no impassable frontiers in the world of ideas; but in the early stages of an intellectual movement identity of language and territorial proximity are important factors of transmission. Contiguous to France and closely related to her by historic traditions and racial affinities, Belgium was naturally the first country on the European continent to be drawn into the vortex of the French Revolution. Again, in 1830, the Paris uprising that finally put an end to the rule of the Bourbons in France, was promptly followed by a successful insurrection of the Belgians against the Dutch despotism imposed upon them at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The character of this rebellion was already more than purely political. The famous communist Buonarotti, who in 1796 escaped the fate of his Babouvist associates, had finally found a refuge in Belgium, where he died in 1829. There is every reason to believe that during his residence in that country, this great revolutionist and fearless champion of the proletariat contributed largely to the dissemination of the ideas formulated in the "Manifeste des Egaux." For, as soon as the independence of Belgium had been proclaimed, the workingmen of Ghent, Brussels, Liège and other cities, under the lead of De Potter, who was a member of the provisional government, demanded the "democratization of the constitution; namely, universal suffrage, public education, unrestricted freedom of meeting and association, liberty of the press, graduated and exclusive taxation of the rich; limitation of the right of inheritance, etc." "The people also," they said, "must enjoy the fruits of the revolution." And not until many of them had been mercilessly shot down in the streets, or imprisoned, or exiled, or otherwise persecuted, did they realize that in driving out the Dutch they had merely exchanged the odious rule of foreign tyrants for the not less galling despotism of their own domestic bourgeoisie. Soon the doctrines of Saint Simon and Fourier were actively propagated in various parts of the little kingdom by men belonging to the intellectual proletariat. At Louvain the university students rebelled against the faculty and demanded the appointment of Fourierist professors. Other thinkers struck out independently into the newly discovered fields of sociological investigation. Among these was Col. Colins, son of the Baron de Ham, and a lineal descendant of the famous Duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold.

A brief sketch of Colins' life will show the metal of which this remarkable man was made and the mould in which that metal was cast. He was born at Brussels in 1783. His youth was chiefly spent on the battlefield. At 17 he was a private in a cavalry regiment of the French army. Despite his good education and unsurpassed bravery his promotion was slow; yet not slower than he apparently desired, for his modesty was great, and he once refused the Cross of the Legion of Honor on the ground that several of his more obscure companions deserved it better than he did. He had already served eleven years in the lower ranks when he was made an officer. Then, however, the scientific turn of his mind had so impressed his surroundings that his regiment sent him to the school of Alfort, from which, in one year, he graduated "hors concours." At that time, also, he wrote a short but remarkable essay on rural economy, for

which he subsequently received on the battlefield of Leipzig (1813) a gold medal from the French Agricultural Society.

At the battle of Ligny (June 16, 1815), he was aide-de-camp to Gen. Excelmans, and substantially contributed to the victory of the French by carrying with a few hussars a strongly posted and terribly destructive Prussian battery. Two days later we find him at Wavres with Grouchy's corps. The roar of artillery is heard from Waterloo. Sent on a reconnaissance Colins reports that a road is open, and begs Excelmans to march his troops "to the cannon." "Impossible," replies Excelmans; "Grouchy forbids." "Grouchy forbids!" exclaims Colins; "disobey, then, and arrest him." After the retreat Colins scours the country between Paris and Versailles, and at Roquencourt inflicts a crushing defeat on the Prussian cavalry. But rumors of treason are afloat. Fouché and Talleyrand, it is said, are concocting a shameful capitulation. "Let these traitors be shot," says again Colins to Excelmans, who, with 40,000 veterans, covers the road to Paris; "up with the red flag, man, and die in your boots rather than bend the knee to the Bourbons." Excelmans, however, preferred life under the Bourbons to death under the red flag, and soon after the capitulation Colins, for whom neither France nor his own native land of Belgium was any longer safe, sailed for America. He settled in Philadelphia, where he gave himself to the pursuit of physiological science and the practice of medicine.

The revolution of 1830 brought him back to Paris, overflowing with hope and energy. Of course its ridiculous outcome disgusted him far more than any human turpitude which he had yet witnessed. But the impetus already then given to human thought by the utopian concepts of St. Simon and Fourier could not be lost upon a man of his sort, and from that time dates the intense application of his noble mind to the investigation of social problems, for which he strengthened himself by absorbing all the knowledge of his day in a ten years' course of studies at the five great schools of the Paris Academy. Mark that he was then nearing that period of life which for most of those who are privileged to enter it is one of declining powers. He had, indeed, attained the age of 68 when he published the first volume of his first great work, entitled "What is Social Science?" And he was 71 when in 1854 the fourth and last volume of that work appeared. Then came out in rapid succession, four other works of equal magnitude on philosophy, history and economics; so that when he died at the advanced age of 76 his contributions to modern inquiry filled nineteen ponderous volumes, exclusive of magazine articles and unpublished manuscripts.

It is not, however, in those monumental works of his later days, chiefly remarkable for the stores of erudition and powers of speculation which they display, that his most valuable production can be found. Soaring in the meditative and transcendent, lost in a dual concept of matter and mind upon which he would rest the social structure, the now learned Colins becomes a not less dogmatic utopian than St. Simon and Fourier, not less convinced that he had discovered absolute truth and invented an all-embracing social system outside of which there could be no salvation for mankind. With less knowledge but clearer sight the Colins of 1835, confining himself to the study of positive economics, had done vastly better and actually proved himself the precursor of Collectivism as distinct from Communism. In an essay published at that time and entitled, "Le Pacte Social" (The Social Compact), he was the first to advance the proposition, that not only the land but the instruments of labor must be so held by the whole community industrially organized, as to always remain

accessible to all its members, individual property being limited to such articles of personal use, or to such means of personal comfort and pleasure, as the individual was entitled to in return for the social values which his own manual or mental industry had produced.

Among the disciples of Colins, who were few but of a high intellectual order, may be mentioned L. De Potter, the veteran democrat of 1830, and his son Agathon; also, Dr. Hugentobler, of Switzerland; then, later, J. Duboul, member of the Bordeaux Academy of Sciences; Prof. Rouyer, of the Paris Ste Barbe School; Frederic Borde, of Brussels, Dr. LeClère, Dr. Ranson and other members of the learned professions.

At the same time there were others of more or less independent views, such as Jottrand, Barthels, the poet Kats, Gerard Mathieu, De Keyser, etc., who wrote, spoke and agitated on similar lines, each in his own way. Their notions were still vague, chaotic and conflicting; while their honest desire to bring about some improvement in the condition of the people induced them to advocate palliatives which could not be obtained from the ruling class and which would have proved absolutely ineffective if that class could have been forced to make the concessions demanded from it. Nevertheless, their critical work was very instrumental in preparing the disinherited masses for the reception of truth and the consequent organization of the proletariat for its self-emancipation.

We should not here omit to mention Prof. Altmeyer, of the University of Brussels, whose teachings were calculated to awaken in his more thoughtful pupils a spirit of inquiry that would naturally, on the lines which he pointed out, lead them to conclusions fundamentally opposed to the tenets of capitalistic economy. Of the young men who followed his course in (or about) the year 1860, three became eminent Socialists. They were Hector Denis, William De Greef and Cesar de Paepe. The early tendencies of the first two named, in particular, were rather Proudhonian; and so, to some extent, were at first those of the latter, who needed only, however, a little more knowledge and such experience as he could best acquire in the practical school of proletarian misery to develop into an ardent propagator of Collectivism. Prof. Altmeyer himself became an admirer of Lassalle and a convert to the Marxist doctrine which the great German agitator was then popularizing in his own country.

De Paepe soon acted a prominent part in the social revolutionary movement. He came at a time when Socialism was entering a new phase. The utopian schools of Saint Simon, Fourier, Owen, etc., had practically died away, after accomplishing their necessary work of thought-stirring and overturning; a stupendous work, to be sure, and without a parallel in the history of the human mind. The utopian experiments of philosophers with a cast-iron system, revolutionists with a perfect plan, and economic reformers with an infallible cure-all, had grievously miscarried, yet, by their very failure, had spread a clearer light upon the fundamental truths and evolutionary facts of the coming social order. Even their criticisms of each other, frequently more bitter than their attacks upon the common enemy, had served the purpose of enlightenment among those who were to take their places and continue their work in the struggle for human freedom.

Compelled by the death of his father to leave the university at the age of 19, De Paepe had to earn his living as a journeyman printer. He soon married the daughter of Brismée, who employed him and was, like himself, a poor man and a Socialist. By working at night as a proofreader, while his wife on her

side toiled long hours as a tailoress, he was able to resume his studies in the day time, took his degrees in science and medicine, and practiced surgery at the Brussels hospital as an assistant doctor. At the same time he contributed to Socialist publications and took an active interest in labor affairs; so that in 1864, when he was only 23 years of age, he was selected by the advanced labor organizations of Brussels to represent them at the London initial conferences of the International Association. From that moment, and owing, no doubt, to the influence of Karl Marx, with whom he had become personally acquainted in London, he steadily progressed in his views concerning the collective ownership of the land and all the means of production and distribution as the only scientific solution of the social problem.

At the first congress of the International, held at Geneva in 1866, it was not deemed expedient to force an issue with the French Proudhonians on the property question. The chief object was then to build up the great engine of propaganda through which the workers of all countries were to be united into a mighty power against the capitalist class and its despotic governments. For this purpose the declaration of general principles adopted at the London conference was then deemed quite sufficient, laying down, as it did, certain fundamental truths in the light of which the indispensableness of the union which it was desired to effect appeared most obviously, to wit: that "the emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the working class itself;" that "the economic subjection of the laborer to capital"—that is, to the instruments of industry which his labor alone has produced, and therefore to the class which has appropriated those instruments—"is the source of all social, mental and political servitude;" that "economic emancipation is consequently the great aim to which every political movement must be subordinated as a means to an end;" and that the attainment of this great aim "is not a local or a national, but a universal social problem, requiring for its solution the co-operative action of the working classes throughout the world, regardless of race, sex, creed or nationality." It was expected that the immense work of agitation and consequent education, necessary to bind together the proletarians of all trades and all countries, would of itself result in the dissemination of such sound economic doctrine, that when the masses were ready to abolish capitalism they would also be fitted intellectually to establish the Socialist Commonwealth.

It was soon found, however, that certain leaders, imbued with Proudhonian middle class notions, or mere revolutionists without any economic notion whatever, all more or less gifted with oratorical powers and organizing abilities, were conducting their agitation with a sole view to the forcible destruction of the existing order and without any reference whatever to reconstructive principles. They inflamed, they did not teach; they could not, in fact, teach what they did not know.

To the scientific, positive and practical mind of a De Paepe, who had himself in his extreme youth been enmeshed by Proudhonian sophistry but had finally freed himself from it, this neglect of the educational part—the most important part—of the functions of the International was full of danger. And it was the more dangerous as the Proudhonians, then, were chiefly Frenchmen, some of whom represented Paris; Paris, the torch-bearer of progress, the great cosmopolis to which the militant forces of the proletariat in all parts of the world had long been accustomed to look, and were still looking with more anxiety than ever, for initiative and leadership in the social revolution. What

would become of the movement if, from the very start, its elements were radically divided on the fundamental question of property? Manifestly, there was urgent necessity for a declaration of the International upon this all-important subject; a declaration sufficiently expressive of its position, or at least of its ultimate aims, to prevent general misunderstanding or factional equivocation. Therefore, at the Second Congress (Lausanne, 1867), De Paepe, in presenting the report of the Sixth Commission, recommended that various means and measures advocated by various Socialists, be referred by the Congress to the Sections of the International, to be there studied and discussed with a view to final action at the congress of the following year. Among the questions to be thus referred was "the turning over of the land to the collective ownership of society" (l'entrée du sol à la propriété collective de la société). This the Proudhonian Tolain moved to strike out, although, in fairness to all sides, De Paepe had included in his list of propositions for study the Proudhonian middle class scheme of a transformation of the national banks into banks of gratuitous credit, the Saint-Simonian palliative demand for a limitation of the right of inheritance, etc. Tolain, this time, was sustained by the majority, some members of which did not by any means indorse the gratuitous credit scheme of his school, but were as yet too timid to squarely meet the property issue.

The mere fact, however, that this great question had made its appearance at the Lausanne Congress, was sufficient in itself to immediately cause a lively discussion of it in most of the Sections; so that its reappearance at the Congress of Brussels the following year (1868), could not be prevented by any artifice of the Proudhonians. And it then reappeared in a greatly enlarged form. After disposing of various matters, chiefly relating to the tactics of the movement—such as "the legitimacy of strikes in the existing state of war between capital and labor," the "necessity of subjecting such conflicts to certain rules and to certain conditions of organization and opportunity," etc.—the congress placed on its agenda (order of the day), for its sixteenth session, the question of collective property in land, machinery and all other instruments of labor, after referring it to a commission for preliminary study.

The commission's report, read by the French delegate Murat, embodied the collectivist views of De Paepe, whose intense earnestness and extensive knowledge had greatly impressed its members. True, the wording of its conclusions was not in certain respects as clear as would now be expected from a Socialist body. But certain facts and tendencies were at that time far from being as plain as they are to-day, except to such master minds as Marx and De Paepe. It may even be doubted whether De Paepe himself did not still entertain the notion, then quite prevalent among working men and subsequently exploited by the anarchists, that the trade union form of the labor movement would serve as a basis for the social reorganization of industry. At any rate, although this notion was reflected in a vaguely suggested scheme of workingmen's associations, each controlling the instruments of its trade, there towered above this or any other scheme of a purely mechanical, administrative order the emphatic declaration of the fundamental principle that the land, the mines, the quarries, the forests, and all the enginery of production and transportation, including machines, canals, roads, railroads, telegraphs, etc., are of right and must be made in fact the collective property of society.

At the same time, and in order no doubt to propitiate Tolain and his followers, the recommendation was made that all the sections be instructed to suggest, after careful study, such ways and means as in their opinion could best

be devised for the creation of a bank of credit and exchange, whose services should be rendered at cost.

But Tolain would not be propitiated, in so far, at least, as agricultural land was concerned. While granting that it was well enough to vest in the State such monopolies as the mines and the railroads, he declared that "individual property in the soil was a condition of individual liberty." De Paepe logically replied: "We only endeavor to extend to agriculture the principle which M. Tolain and the other opponents of collective property in land admit to be very good for mines, quarries, roads, etc. * * * Why should we deal differently with the mine, which is a field under ground, and the field properly so-called, which is a mine on the surface of the earth, from which are extracted vegetable instead of mineral substances? We believe ourselves more consistent than our opponents. The land being, like what is beneath its surface, given gratuitously to mankind by nature, we claim the ownership of it for all mankind." As to his sweeping assertion that "individual property in the soil was a condition of individual liberty," Tolain was asked by another Belgian delegate (Coener, of Antwerp), how he would, if this were true, secure the liberty of any man who could not or would not become a landowner.

Of the forty-nine delegates present at the time of voting upon the conclusions of the commission, thirty recorded themselves in the affirmative, four in the negative, and fifteen abstained. The grounds of opposition and abstention were stated as follows in a written declaration read by Tolain and signed by the 19 dissenters: "The property question was not placed on the agenda of this congress in time to afford opportunity for its exhaustive study, and its consideration, therefore, has been most superficial and inadequate. In view of the fact that a number of delegates claimed to be insufficiently informed upon the subject, action thereon should have been deferred to the next Congress. The undersigned consequently decline all responsibility for the position here taken."

Mark this artful plea for delay—this bland profession of ignorance and this hypocritical desire for general enlightenment—coming from a man who, a year before, had strenuously opposed any study whatever of the property question (that is of the most fundamental question that could occupy the attention of the laboring class) and who was, therefore, directly responsible for any such lack of information as he and his followers could still conveniently assume. Three years later this same Tolain, sitting in the French National Assembly—with which he had remained in Versailles when the Paris Commune was proclaimed—was taken to task for his participation in the International. Those were dangerous days for any man who might be suspected, ever so little, of heresy in the matter of property rights. The blood of 35,000 "Communards" had not quenched the thirst of the capitalist class, and angry looks were cast at Tolain by its representatives. But he safely fell back upon his record: He had "defended individual property."

The prominent part taken by De Paepe and his Belgian co-delegates in the congresses of the International, supplemented by an active agitation in the great manufacturing cities and mining districts of the little kingdom, could not fail to bear substantial fruits. In 1869 the Belgian membership of the Association reached the figure of 70,000. But the momentous events of the following two years were of such a nature as to develop revengeful sentiments rather than cool-headed organization; so that the agents or partisans of Bakunin found ready listeners in the Belgian Sections of the International. True, they were

not at that time advocating any of the various economic notions, more or less individualistic, upon which, as full-fledged anarchists, they later agreed to disagree. They confined themselves to the stirring of "bad passions," in strict obedience to the orders of "Citizen B.," and the Belgians saw in them, not determined opponents of that scientific collectivism which was taught by Marx and De Paepe, but impatient Socialists, anxious to end the misery of the people by precipitating a bloody revolution, regardless of any probability of its failure. The expulsion of Bakunin from the International by the Hague Congress in 1872 consequently gave rise to dissensions which soon proved fatal to the organization in Belgium. Not until several years had passed, during which the anarchistic embryo had sufficiently developed to show its anti-Socialistic nature, could the Belgians fully realize that the question at issue in 1872 involved the fundamental principles as well as the tactics of the labor movement. Not until then could they perceive the superior wisdom displayed by Marx in foreseeing this development and in casting away, at any risk, at any cost, the poisonous germ before it had fastened itself to the vitals of true Socialism. Indeed, De Paepe himself, as late as 1877, was among those who attempted "conciliation" by inviting the anarchistic International, (established by Bakunin at his congress of St. Imier immediately after his expulsion by the congress of the Hague), to participate in a "universal Socialist congress," which was held at Ghent from the 9th to the 15th of October in that year. True, Balkunin was dead, and it was hoped that his maleficent influence would not survive him.

So surprised were the anarchists at this unexpected tender of the olive branch, that, suspecting a "machination against the International," the delegates they sent from Italy and the Swiss Jura held a preliminary conference, or caucus, in the Belgian town of Verviers, where they had a number of adherents, and where, three years later, Most established a branch office of his London "Freiheit." It may seem strange that the anarchists, who now strenuously insist upon being admitted where they are not wanted, should then have seriously considered whether it was proper for them to appear where they were invited. But what can be more hateful to such "free will" philosophers than the despotism of logic?

Of course, from the "conciliation" point of view the Ghent Congress was a failure. It did not and could not put an end to the conflict between tendencies so thoroughly antagonistic and irreconcilable as Socialism and Anarchism necessarily are by their very nature. The recent death of Bakunin and the growth of apathy among the wage-working masses in all countries except Germany since the fall of the Paris Commune, had for a time lessened the intensity of the struggle; but it was soon to revive and to even assume, quite logically, a more decided character when Most was finally recognized by the followers of Bakunin as the rightful heir to the notions, tactics and authority of their master. At Ghent, the thorough-going anarchists proved obdurate and bolted. In another sense, however, that congress was to some extent a success. It had the effect of rallying to the Socialists, especially in Belgium, a number of those who, honestly believing in collectivism, had been misled into the adoption of anarchistic tactics. A compact was signed by the delegates, recognizing the inseparableness of social freedom and political liberty; declaring the necessity of a distinctly proletarian party, that would make use, against all the capitalist parties, of "every political means tending to the social emancipation of the working class;" pledging the mutual support of their respective organizations in France, Belgium, England, Germany, Austria, Den-

mark, Switzerland and Italy; and establishing temporarily at Ghent a Federal Bureau for the interchange of information and the elaboration of a plan to be submitted to the following congress. This Federal Bureau, composed of Belgians, then issued a manifesto, beginning with a copy of the compact and proceeding as follows: "We urge the necessity of political action as a powerful means of agitation, education and organization. The present social system must be attacked on all its sides simultaneously and with all the arms at our command. Politics, legislation, the administration of public affairs, constitute one of these sides, and legislative reform, electoral agitation, Socialist representation in public bodies, manifestations in favor of economic, political and civic rights, are as many weapons that we cannot rightly surrender to the enemy. Away, then, with political abstention! In every country where the workers have the right to vote, they must unite into a political party of their class for the purpose of gaining representation in parliaments and municipal councils; while in the countries where they are deprived of the franchise they must, by all the means in their power, strive to obtain or conquer it. Is not parliament a rostrum from which Socialism, through its deputies, can make itself heard by the whole people, thus compelling workman and bourgeois alike to consider the social question? And will not electoral agitation, with the public discussions consequent upon a Socialist candidacy, help in forcing this question to the front? Is it not in great part because the German Social Democracy fights simultaneously on every field—political, economic, scientific, etc.—that it has attained its present development, consolidated its organization and imparted an irresistible momentum to its ideas? * * * To conquer a political right, to unite workmen formerly divided or isolated, to win a strike, or to resist an oppression, is surely not less of an achievement in the pursuit of social renovation than is philosophical speculation on the future arrangements of society."

But the time had not yet come for a simultaneous movement of the various national proletariats on the familiar lines once more delineated in this manifesto. In each country a reorganization of forces was slowly going on, which was an essential preliminary of effective political action. The German Social Democracy itself, to which the Socialists of other countries were anxiously looking for inspiration or encouragement, was about to enter the most trying period of its history; a period of relentless persecution under the Bismarckian anti-Socialist law, the enactment of which in its rigorous form was greatly facilitated by the anarchists' attempts of 1878 to practically illustrate their "propaganda of the deed." Nevertheless, it was during this period that the chasm became so wide between the anarchists and the Socialists, and their separation so complete, that the latter could at last steadily prosecute their work, undisturbed by internal dissensions. In the Wallon districts of Belgium the anarchists had gained the upper hand; from Verviers as a center of operations, although frequently divided among themselves, they succeeded for several years in carrying on a fruitless agitation. But in the other provinces the Socialists had a clear field. They demanded universal suffrage and called upon the people to organize for the purpose of obtaining it.

At last the great movement of emancipation reached its turning point. The stupendous victory won at the polls in 1884 by the Social Democracy of Germany changed the face of affairs. On the 5th of April, 1885, the delegates of fifty-nine labor unions, co-operative associations and mutual benefit societies met at Brussels and founded the "Belgian Labor party." Among the bodies represented on this memorable occasion were the now famous co-oper-

ative "Vooruit" of Ghent, founded by Socialists in 1880, the "Werker" of Antwerp, the "Federation of Trades," which had but lately been formed in Brussels, the "Glass-Workers' Union" of Charleroi, etc. The naming of the party gave rise to an interesting discussion. The men of Ghent proposed to style it "Socialist party." Other delegates, chiefly of trade unions, "afraid to frighten," proposed "Labor party." In the interest of "conciliation" the fighter Volders, the fearless tribune who subsequently lost his reason and his life in the hour of triumph, advised the adoption of the latter name. On this subject De Paepe wrote: "In fact no other name could have been more precise, comprehensive and significant. Whoever says, 'Labor party,' says 'class party.' And as soon as the laboring class constitutes itself into a party, what else can it be but Socialist?" And in commenting upon these remarks the Socialist deputy Vandervelde lately observed: "There are now some who complain of our party name, on the ground that its class meaning keeps away certain middle class men, who no longer tremble at the word Socialism. Shall the name which originally frightened the oppositionists be now adopted in order to please them?" To this pertinent question we might reply: "By no means; should any change be advisable, rather make it Socialist Labor party."

The agitation for universal suffrage now became more systematic, vigorous and widespread. In every form of organization, whether the special purpose in view was resistance, co-operation, mutual help, political education, physical training, or even recreation, all considerations were subordinated to the great end of obtaining the franchise. So rapidly did the movement grow that in 1887, at the national congress of Mons, the more impatient wing of the party, under the lead of Defuisseaux, proposed to force the issue by resorting to a general strike. The majority, however, in full accord with such experienced teachers and organizers as De Paepe, Volders, Anseele, Bertrand, Van Beveren, realized that the proposed step was premature, certain to fail, and likely to prove destructive of the very foundations, well built but as yet by no means unshakeable, upon which the party structure had hardly begun to rise above ground. The discussion was long and passionate. It resulted in the withdrawal of Defuisseaux and his followers, who apparently did not perceive that by seceding from the main body they not only weakened it but increased their own impotency. Undismayed by this defection, the majority went on, carrying out its plan of organization more methodically than ever, and achieving practical results far beyond its own expectations, until the Defuisseaux faction, full of sincere admiration and honest repentance, publicly acknowledged its error and applied for readmission. Since that time (1889) the Belgian Labor party has remained a unit, impervious to dissension.

It was also in 1885 that the reorganization of the Socialist movement upon its present lines of battle began in France; and as an international exhibition was to take place in Paris in 1889, the occasion was deemed a good one to hold there an international Socialist Congress. Instead of one, however, two were held at the same time, owing to the differences of long standing and chiefly personal which still kept apart the leaders of the French movement. Several countries were represented in both, but Germany was represented in one, which for this reason was called the "Marxist," while the other, on account of the former tactics of the more prominent among the French delegates who attended it, became known as the "Possibilist" congress. The transactions of both were substantially identical, and the suggestions of future union made by the foreigners were upon the whole favorably received by the French. The

Belgian Labor party enjoyed universal confidence. It was therefore intrusted with the somewhat delicate mission of arranging for a Congress at Brussels in 1891, as representative as possible of the united forces of International Socialism and organized labor. A step calculated to further promote harmony, and to greatly quicken the movement in all countries, was also taken at Paris:—May Day was instituted.

The following two years were eventful in Belgium. On the 5th of April, 1890, the party held its national congress at Louvain. Its progress had been constant, its discipline was perfect. It was ready to act—not rashly, but strongly. A resolution was passed, calling for a popular demonstration at Brussels, on the 10th of August, in favor of universal suffrage.

On the day appointed the manifestation took place. It was the greatest Brussels had ever seen; 80,000 men participated in it. Delegates had come from all parts of the country. At the meeting they held in the evening they called a congress for the 14th of September, to devise ways and means of ceaseless agitation. This congress decided that the time had come when a general strike might be declared as a last pacific resort should the Chambers and the government prove intractable. It also issued a call for a general popular demonstration, to be held in every city on the Sunday preceding the opening of Parliament.

Shortly after, the so-called "Progressist party," chiefly composed of middle class men and numbering among its leaders some opportunist politicians, held its annual convention. In accordance with the traditional policy of its class in all countries, this party recognized the strength of the popular movement and undertook to place itself at the head of it—for the obvious purpose of ultimately confiscating it—by passing a resolution in favor of unlimited universal suffrage and proffering its aid to the Socialists, both on the rostrum and in Parliament. Not less experienced in tactics than these belated sympathizers and inveterate tricksters had on many occasions shown themselves to be, bearing in mind, also, the precious lessons of history, the Socialist leaders smiled complacently and accepted the interested offer for what it was worth, determined to use the middle class this time, but under no circumstances to be used by it. Thus reinforced they carried on an agitation of unprecedented magnitude throughout the country, and wound up the campaign on the eve of the re-assembling of Parliament with imposing demonstrations, according to the programme laid out in September.

Almost immediately (Nov. 25) the Chamber unanimously voted to take into consideration the question of revising the Constitution. A few days later, it appointed a "Central Section" (or special committee) to study the subject. A majority of its members, however, consisted of men notoriously opposed to the extension of the suffrage, and it became every day more apparent, from its waste of time in senseless proceedings, that, trusting in false promises to allay the excitement, and in procrastination to maintain the status quo, the Chamber intended to do nothing. But the Socialists were wide awake. They renewed the agitation with increased vigor, held hundreds of meetings and summoned the various dignitaries, individually, to deny the public rumor that they were opposed to the political enfranchisement of the proletariat. Lastly, they called an extraordinary congress, which was held at Brussels on the 5th of April, 1891, and by which it was decided that without further notice a general strike should take place on the day when the Central Section or the Chamber would vote against the revision of the constitution.

Then came the May Day demonstrations and a spontaneous outburst of international solidarity. At that time the miners of Westphalia were on strike. Without waiting for any other signal the Belgian miners threw down their tools in sympathy with their German brethren, protested indignantly against the dilatory proceedings of the Central Section, and demanded an immediate improvement of their own economic conditions.

The general council of the party was taken by surprise and feared for a few days that this unexpected action of the miners might prove inopportune. But, reassured by the advices which it received from the provinces, it promptly endorsed the strike and pledged to the miners the support of the party. Other trades made ready to go out at a moment's notice.

Bewildered by such unusual evidences of popular tenacity, the Central Section at last—on the 20th of May—unanimously concluded in favor of revising the constitution "without unnecessary delay;" whereupon the general council ordered the resumption of work, except, however, in the Charleroi district, where the strike was continued for economic reasons. Of course, the great question at issue was by no means settled. But the Socialists had succeeded in extorting from one of the most reactionary Parliaments of Europe a promise which could not be broken or the fulfillment of which could not be indefinitely postponed without danger to the Crown itself and to the economic institutions which that Parliament was above all things anxious to preserve.

Three months later—from the 16th to the 22d of August—was held at Brussels the International Congress that the Belgian party, in 1889, had received the mission to organize. It was the greatest that had yet been held, and, considering the fundamental character of the questions upon which it had to establish the position of International Socialism, it was of even greater importance than the subsequent ones of Zurich and London. The success of the Belgians in the accomplishment of their difficult task was in nothing more apparent than in the fact that the various fractions of the Socialist movement in France, which previously did not work together, were represented by 69 delegates, who held mandates from 715 organizations, and who, from the first day of the congress to the last, acted as a unit.

The most far-reaching act of this body was unquestionably the exclusion of all anarchists, even when some of them claimed—as in the case of the Spaniard, Fernandez Gramos, and his companions—that they represented trade unions. Disowned by the universal proletariat, unable to call an international congress for fear of exposing their numerical weakness, cast out of the great army of emancipation in the ranks of which they had so long spread confusion and disorganization, deprived of the means to prevent the growth of Socialism by fastening upon it the odium of their own secret conspiracies and dark deeds, they were actually struck with impotency. From that moment dates the wonderful progress of the labor movement on Socialist lines in all the countries or districts where the anarchists had previously succeeded, by mere activity and audacity, in assuming leadership for purposes of demoralization and chaos.

The effects of the Brussels Congress were therefore widespread and permanent. In Belgium they were immediate, the organization of labor in its economic and political forms receiving an additional impetus throughout the country at a most critical time, when any failure of the Socialists to maintain and strengthen their position by extending and consolidating the universal suffrage movement would have instantly resulted in a smothering of it by all the forces of the reaction.

The need of indefatigable perseverance and constant aggression was indeed quite obvious. The privileged classes were intent upon forcing a contest of endurance, granting nothing but under compulsion and withdrawing everything on the least evidence of proletarian weakness. It was not until the 10th of May, 1892, or very nearly a year after the Central Section of Parliament had decided in favor of constitutional revision, that the Chamber confirmed this decision, and a full year had just elapsed when, ten days later, the Senate passed a similar vote. Parliament was then dissolved and the 14th of June was appointed for the election of the Constituent Assembly. Of course the provisions of the old law applied to this election, and but few of the workingmen could participate in it, on account of the property and other qualifications attached to the right of suffrage; so that the Constituent Assembly was to be a body essentially representative of the privileged classes, therefore as little disposed to curtail the political privileges of those classes without external pressure as the Parliament had been. To be sure, the Progressist party—the party of "savoir lire et écrire," or, as we would say in our own vernacular, the party of the three R's—had so far broadened its platform as to make room in it for universal suffrage. Its candidates, collectively and individually, were pledged to the reform. But what would become of the pledge under circumstances impossible to foresee when it was taken, no sensible Socialist would have ventured to foretell. Pressure, more pressure, and still more pressure, until either the opposition to electoral reform or the economic system itself should burst, such was the essential condition of victory.

As might have been expected, the new Chamber, although composed in majority of men who had declared themselves in favor of extending the franchise to all male citizens, wasted many months in idle discussion. Scheme upon scheme, amendment upon amendment, all tending to modify more or less deeply the original proposition of giving equal rights of suffrage to all citizens above the age of 21, were introduced, referred, "studied" and laid aside for further consideration. In the meantime the Socialists displayed extraordinary activity. Numbers of trades were organized, first locally, then federated provincially and nationally. Co-operative associations on the "Vooruit" plan and affiliated with the party, continued to multiply. Demonstrations and festivals were held at which the "Socialist young guards" by their exhibitions of discipline, the choral and instrumental societies by their inspiring songs, fairly won the hearts of the people. They carried on also a vigorous propaganda in the army, and for that purpose issued two special papers, one in French and one in Flemish, which were widely distributed to soldiers in the streets and even in the barracks. In aid of this movement they formed a Socialist Section of ex-corporals and sergeants. Lastly, to the intense disgust of the government and all the conservatives, they organized a "Referendum"; that is, they called for a popular vote on the universal suffrage question, and opened polling places in many cities, at which the citizens desiring to express their opinion were regularly registered before casting their ballot for or against the proposition. The result was startling. At Ghent 21,462 votes, or more than one-half of the total male population above 21 years of age, were cast for universal suffrage. At Brussels, the center of governmental, royal, aristocratic, plutocratic and bureaucratic influence, of the 105,000 persons registered 56,344 voted likewise in the affirmative. At Alost, in the very district which the ultra-reactionist Woeste represented in the Constituent Assembly, three-fourths of the people took this opportunity of repudiating him. Wherever

a vote was taken, despite the eagerness of the conservatives to record their opposition in order to morally sustain their representatives, universal suffrage won the day.

Compelled by these manifestations of public impatience to make at least a show of activity, the Assembly on the 28th of February, 1893, took up the proposed amendment to Article 47 of the Constitution, providing for equal universal suffrage from the age of 21. Yet, on the 2d of April, when the Socialists opened at Ghent their ninth regular annual congress, the discussion was still dragging along tediously, and had only, so far, served to show more plainly than ever the absolute incorrigibleness and perfidious cowardice of the ruling classes. It had become evident that unless an issue was forced the Assembly would adjourn its first session without acting, and the great question would remain in abeyance for another year. After an animated debate, in the course of which the various schemes contemplating a voting age of 25 instead of 21 years, plural suffrage, etc., were considered, the party congress passed a resolution, instructing the general council to declare the general strike (1) in case universal suffrage was rejected by the Chambers, and (2) in case universal suffrage, adopted in principle, was subjected to conditions that could not be accepted by the working class.

By that time, instead of realizing that every day's delay had been improved by the Socialists in making effective preparations for the battle which they knew to be inevitable, the Government and the Chambers had come to the conclusion that the constant threat of a general strike was only a "bluff." Sharing in that delusion, the stock exchange brokers and gamblers, the great merchants, all those, in short, whose business "holdings," speculations and schemes were affected by the prolonged agitation, were demanding that an end be put to it by summary process. Vainly—upon the announcement that a coalition had been formed by Woeste, Frere, Kerchove and others between parliamentary groups of different colors—did the general council of the party, on the 9th of April, issue a last warning and call upon all the labor organizations to stand ready for any emergency. The Chamber, on the 11th, by a vote of 115 to 26, strangled universal suffrage.

A few hours later, the following manifesto was posted up in the whole country:

"AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE!

"The Constituent Assembly has rejected universal suffrage.

"The people cannot accept that decision.

"The General Council of the Labor Party, confirming its previous resolutions, hereby proclaim the necessity of a strike, general and immediate."

Hundreds of mills, shops, yards, etc., until then bustling with human activity, were instantly deserted. On that day, in the Borinage alone, ten thousand miners had already left their pits. A day later, those of Mons and Charleroi followed suit, while in Brussels and Ghent scores of brawny men, marching in companies, entered the establishments that had not yet shut down and called the workers out. On the 14th of April the port of Antwerp was paralyzed by a strike of the dockers; every cotton, wool and flax mill in Ghent was closed; also, the State arsenal and the machine shops. Similar conditions prevailed in Verviers. The match factories of Grammont were emptied of their half-poisoned operatives. Louvain, Malines and other industrial centers contributed their increasing share of self-enforced idleness. On the 15th, the num-

ber of strikers was 250,000, representing, with their families, one-fifth of the total population of the country. And the wave was still mounting.

Then the Government attempted intimidation. The troops were held under arms, ready to march. The state of siege was proclaimed in Brussels. The co-operative "Maison du Peuple," (headquarters of the Labor party), was surrounded by the police and access thereto rigorously denied. Meetings were forbidden; street gatherings brutally dispersed, houses invaded and searches instituted. Volders, Vandervelde and Defnet were arrested but quickly released for fear of consequences. A hot-headed member of the "Socialist Young Guard," named Levesque, happening to meet in the street the reactionist Woeste, slapped him in the face and drove him to shelter behind the portly form of Burgomaster Buls. The police had kicked and cuffed and even severely wounded many workingmen; all of which had been taken as a matter of course; but the latter incident caused a widespread sensation.

Lamentably impotent, the parliamentary majority sat, each member anxiously looking askance at the other. Assured that the army would protect them, they picked up courage and wildly voted down all the propositions of constitutional revision that had been submitted since the opening of their Assembly.

Then came the news of bloody conflicts in the provinces between the strikers and the gendarmes. The people were decidedly angry. They refused to be sabred away or shot down peacefully. It was even rumored that in many places the strikers were preparing to march upon Brussels. The army itself could no longer be implicitly relied upon. At Antwerp, 500 soldiers were parading the streets with a red flag, singing the Marseillaise. At Brussels and Liège the militiamen called out in haste were shouting, "Vive la Sociale!" A terrible panic seized the deputies. One of them, Nyssens, hastily drew a project of revision, granting the suffrage to all citizens 25 years old or more, but giving from one to two additional votes to certain categories of "tax-payers," university graduates and officials. It took just two hours to write, read and adopt this somewhat complex amendment, the full nature and workings of which not one deputy—not even its author—could intelligently comprehend. This was on the 18th of April, 1893. The agitation for universal suffrage had lasted 8 years outside and inside Parliament. The Constituent Assembly had sat nine months "studying" propositions. The strike had lasted a week.

The Nyssens constitutional amendment was not, of course, satisfactory to the Socialists. Far from it. Yet, all things considered, it was a great victory for the proletariat, and on the evening of that eventful day, after mature deliberation, the General Council of the party, all its members being present, unanimously adopted and issued the following resolution:

"The labor party, taking formal notice of the fact that universal suffrage has been inscribed in the Constitution, records the further fact that it was so inscribed under the irresistible pressure of a general strike, and is, therefore, a first conquest of the working class; decides, that while it is now expedient to resume work, the battle must otherwise continue with unabated vigor, for the abolition of the plural vote and the institution of equality."

But, even as to the first point gained, the end had not yet come. A new electoral law had to be passed, providing ways of putting the Nyssens constitutional amendment into practical operation. There was again a fine opportunity for procrastination. The Chambers did not allow it to escape, but, moreover, improved it by imposing upon the voters conditions of residence

which many workingmen could not fulfil, disfranchising not only the professional beggars but all the other victims of capitalism who, for some reason, had to permanently or temporarily receive assistance, and disqualifying a vast number of people who had undergone sentences for trifling delinquencies or even for political and press offenses. Another year had nearly passed at the end of March, 1894, when the party held its tenth annual congress at Quaregnon, and the final vote on the electoral law had not yet been reached. A number of Senators, belonging to the three parties represented in the Constituent Assembly, had even proposed a resolution, which, if adopted, would have had the effect of prolonging one year the existence of that body, in direct violation of the constitution. Against this intended "coup d'état" the Socialist Congress protested in threatening terms, and as it was now stronger and better organized than ever, the more cautious solons thought it wise to avoid a conflict; the electoral law was passed and the 14th of October was appointed for the first parliamentary election to be held under that law.

It may well be doubted that anywhere, at any time, a campaign was conducted with more vigor and devotion than were displayed by the Belgian Socialists, night and day, during the four months immediately preceding that memorable election day. Over four thousand meetings were held, two million pamphlets were sold or given away. For each great trade or occupation a special leaflet was printed and carefully distributed. Extra editions of the party papers were likewise abundantly used in the work of propaganda. Carried by his own enthusiasm every militant became a speaker, an apostle—perchance, also, a martyr, for many a time the bloody garments and prostrate form of a Socialist agitator testified to the strength of ignorant prejudice or capitalistic argument.

But in order to comprehend the full import of the result, the political outlook at the beginning of the campaign should be considered.

There were four parties in the field, each essentially representative of a class, namely:

1—The CONSERVATIVES—or Clericals—representing the royal court, the aristocracy and the clergy, all cherishing the remembrance of feudalism, and aiming not only at the preservation of such feudal institutions as had survived the revolutionary upheavals of a century but at the re-establishment of others, in so far, at least, as modern conditions of industry might permit;

2—The DOCTRINAIRES, representing the higher stratum of the capitalist class, or plutocracy, which aimed at the control of government for the purpose of extending its economic privileges;

3—The PROGRESSISTS, representing people of the middle class, a number of whom aspired to greater wealth and were, therefore, doctrinaires in embryo, although, in common with their less ambitious fellows, they sought for the present to check the legislative granting of further privileges to either of the two upper classes.

4—The SOCIALISTS—or Labor party—representing, as yet, that portion only of the proletariat, or manual and intellectual working class, which it had succeeded in awakening to the stubborn fact of the class struggle and in enlightening on the nature of its class interests.

The Conservative was still a powerful party, owing somewhat to the numerous bureaucracy and retinue in its public and private dependence, but more largely to the widespread influence of the clergy, which was paramount in the rural districts as well as in many circles, high and low, of the urban

population. Its importance at the polls was furthermore increased by the fact that all its prominent members were entitled to three votes each, while many of the officials and landowners attached to it were each equal in voting power to two citizens of the common sort.

The Doctrinaire was certainly the weakest party in number and in votes, but its economic power was great and enabled its leaders to command recognition on the part of the middle class and its astute politicians.

The Progressists had no doubt of their ability to carry the day. The plural vote seemed to be in their favor, on account of the large number of middle class men who owned enough property to be counted double at the ballot box. This, in itself, was a sufficient explanation of their treachery to the people in the Constituent Assembly. Yet they took credit, as a party, for the opposition that some of them had made to the strangling of universal suffrage pure and simple on the 11th of April, 1893, and still more credit for the position they took in hurrying the passage of the Nyssens constitutional amendment seven days later, claiming that otherwise much proletarian blood might have been shed without even securing as much as the plural suffrage. Passing lightly over the change of heart manifested by a number of them in voting with the Conservatives against the interests of "the populace" despite the pledges contained in their party platform, they pleaded circumstances, public order, etc.; and grandiloquently proclaimed that an essential condition of parliamentary freedom and personal liberty was that each representative should esteem his conscience above party pledges and party discipline. But they proudly pointed to two of their ablest leaders, Janson and Feron, who had earned the title of "half-Socialists" by their declaration that some time in the far future Collectivism would be the established social form. In their opinion, then, they were fairly entitled to the votes of all wage-workers, including the Socialists, who would commit the mistake of their life if they placed candidates in opposition to the Progressist candidates. Of course they looked upon the Socialists as powerful agitators but bad politicians, who took no account of the fickleness of the populace, of its "natural admiration" for self-made men, such as the Progressist politicians were, of its "instinctive submission" to liberal persons of means who professed to sympathize with the poor, and of its readiness to be content with "one thing at a time," ever so little, in order to enjoy some improvement of life before the emaciated carcass of its generation had been consigned to eternal oblivion in the Potter's Field and its sinful soul to eternal damnation in the other world.

Notwithstanding their assurance of success, and to make success doubly sure, the Progressists, therefore, made overtures to the Socialist leaders. They were naturally liberal, and on this occasion in particular they would show their liberality, or liberalism, to the utmost limits of practicalness. So liberal were they, in fact; so ready to sacrifice themselves for the public welfare and thereby relegate to the region of fancy any dream of conservative victory, that they were at the same time, but secretly, negotiating for a fusion with the Doctrinaires. The Socialists heard what they had to say.

In substance the Progressists' argument and proposition were as follows: "The question was settled as far as anything mortal was liable to settlement. The next Parliament would be under Progressist control. The labor question would be pushed to the front. Many reforms would be introduced. The Socialists would be treated handsomely. For instance, in the city of Brussels, which was entitled to 20 seats in Parliament, the Progressists would only take

8 for themselves; they would let the Doctrinaires have 8 also, and they would "give" the Socialists 4. Surely the Socialists would jump at this opportunity of entering Parliament and making the echoes of the chamber shout for the Social revolution. They could not, at any rate, appear to take the risk of causing by their independence a conservative triumph, although there was actually no such risk. It would ruin them in the public opinion. It would be the end of their career. The Progressists themselves,—aye, the most progressive of them—would have to abandon the noble cause of Socialism. What a set-back for social progress! And suppose, after all, that every certainty to the contrary notwithstanding, the Conservatives should win. How many sacks of ashes would the Socialists have to empty on their own guilty heads!"

Well, the stubborn Socialists, regardless of ashes and of risks and of proletarian fickleness and of chamber echoes, caring only for the right, bent upon achieving all at once and at no distant day the emancipation of the proletariat, rejected indignantly the Progressist proposition and went on, as we saw, to the battle field with their unbounded faith for armor and their great cause for sledge-hammer.

And now as to the result.

The Progressists were annihilated. In the whole country they elected only 9 deputies, 8 of whom had frankly accepted the Socialist programme of immediate demands and were running in certain districts of Liege and Namur where the Labor party had no candidates.

The Socialists polled 345,959 votes and elected 29 deputies, namely, 9 outright on the 14th of October, 19 on the day of the second ballot a week later, and 1 to replace at Liege their comrade L. Defuisseaux, who had also been elected at Mons.*

The official returns showed as follows the number of votes cast for Socialist candidates in each of the 21 electoral divisions where the party was sufficiently organized to place tickets in the field:

Brussels	40,218	Mons	44,360
Nivelles	6,719	Tournai	3,912
Louvain	5,120	Ath	3,036
Antwerp	4,871	Soignies	16,915
Malines	1,984	Liège	63,562
Bruges	521	Huy	7,729
Courtrai	3,721	Verviers	18,080
Ghent	16,451	Thuin	11,106
St. Nicholas	1,970	Waremme	1,582
Alost	2,674	Namuz	32,780
Charleroi	58,648		
Total			345,959

The following divisions were those in which Socialist representatives were elected:

Liège	6	Mons	6
Verviers	4	Namur	1
Soignies	3	Thuin	1
Charleroi	8		—
Total			29

* To be elected on the first ballot a candidate must receive an absolute majority of the votes cast. On the second ballot the contest is between the two candidates who previously received the largest number of votes.

On the second ballot the terrified middle class passed over to the Conservative party. A sudden end was thus put to anti-clerical hypocrisy and progressist false pretense. The conflict was henceforth between the united forces of privilege and the dispossessed masses.

Of course the Conservatives had an overwhelming majority in the new Parliament; a greater majority than they ever had before or than they had expected to ever get. But their satisfaction was by no means as great as their success. They feared the new enemy they had to meet. They realized that the parliamentary debates would no longer be a mere oratorical tournament; that corrupt schemes and disgraceful acts could no longer be hidden under the bushel of political compromise; that while they could largely outvote their opponents on every question, they would be lashed most mercilessly with the whip of truth before the whole country; that, in short, there was lightning in the comparatively small Socialist cloud which hung over the chamber, and that, whenever it struck, there would be a roar of thunder all over the land.

But so it was, and it could not be helped. In the words of an American President, it was "not a theory but a condition." How to get out of it was the question; in reply to which the government gently whispered in the long ears of its parliamentary majority, "By brazen audacity."

The new electoral law applied only to parliamentary elections. Under that law the number of votes cast was about 1,800,000, or considerably more than twice the number of actual voters who had to be at least 25 years old besides fulfilling certain conditions of residence, etc. Another law remained to be passed for municipal and communal (or town) elections. An analysis of the vote already polled by the Socialists in October, 1894, showed plainly that if the same conditions were adopted for the municipal as for the parliamentary elections, disadvantageous as the plural system already was to the Socialists, yet these would get by the mere force of their numbers the absolute control of important cities, such as Brussels, Ghent, Charleroi, Mons, Soignies, Liège, Verviers and Namur, and also of many towns of less magnitude. The government was determined to prevent, if possible, such a "calamity." Therefore the Cabinet introduced a bill, in Parliament, which was promptly passed, not, however, before it had been characteristically branded by Anseele, of Ghent, as the "Law of the Four Infamies," for the following reasons:

1.—The voting age was raised to 30 years; which decreased the number of wage working voters in a far greater proportion than it did the number of other people entitled to the franchise, owing to the much higher mortality of the former than of the latter. Besides, an immense majority of the Socialists were men between the ages of 21 and 30. Socialism, indeed, as we see it today, is essentially a movement of the present generation, although it was fathered by a comparatively few of the preceding one.

2.—The required time of local residence was raised to 3 years; a condition which in these days of growing unsteadiness of employment at any one place, was equivalent to a wholesale disfranchisement of the wage workers.

3.—The establishment of 4 classes of voters, according to property qualifications, instead of the three already established by the parliamentary election law.

4.—The granting of 4 votes to each member of the richest class.

Again the question of ordering a general strike came before the general council of the party. The indignation was intense and the masses were no doubt readier than they had yet been for self-sacrifice. But, for this very

reason, every member of the council and of the Socialist parliamentary delegation, more considerate of his fellows than of his own popularity, determined to wait until an opportunity had been afforded to the public sentiment of manifesting itself more pacifically, though not less strongly.

And this opportunity came almost instantly. Two seats in the Chamber became vacant by the death of their incumbents, one at Ostend, the other at Thuin. In the Ostend district the Socialists were so weak in 1894 that they had been unable to place a ticket in the field. Now, however, they nominated a candidate and carried on a vigorous campaign, causing a substantial loss of votes to conservatives and liberals alike, and upsetting all previous political conditions. At Thuin, in 1894, they had cast 11,106 votes and elected one candidate. They now contested the vacant seat and obtained at the first ballot 18,111 votes, against 16,083 cast for the clericals and 9,460 for the doctrainaires. At the second ballot, a few days later, against the combination of liberals, doctrinaires and conservatives, their candidate failed of election by only 24 votes, receiving 22,185 as against 22,209 given to his opponent. The significance of this remarkable progress was the greater as Thuin was chiefly an agricultural district.

The parliamentary forces of conservatism did not, however, heed these popular warnings, which, on the contrary, acted upon them as incentives to further reaction. Relying upon the high clergy for moral aid of the most effective sort in combating Socialism, they now proposed to turn over to the educational institutions of the church, as subsidies, a large portion of the public school budget. They did not see that they could thus gain nothing and lose much. The high clergy had long been acquired to them, and it was safe to say that under any circumstances it would remain faithful to the conservative cause. It was not for the lack of means or of privileges that it had found itself unable to arrest the growth of Socialist sentiment. In the lower clergy, directly issued from the proletariat, there were already many signs of sympathy with the economic aims and political tactics of the Socialist movement. On the other hand, any attempt to cripple the public school system would naturally create an intense dissatisfaction among the teachers, who constituted a large, intelligent and influential body of men, spread, like the church itself, over the whole country. The result could easily be foreseen by any one not so hopelessly blind as a conservative parliament. Many schoolmasters openly became Socialists, and formed a federation directly affiliated with the party. The party itself, through its general council, issued a stirring address to the people, calling for a great demonstration at Brussels in favor of religious freedom and non-sectarian schools. One hundred thousand men responded. They came from all parts of the country. All in vain; the objectionable law was passed.

The year 1895 was also marked by a number of local strikes unprecedented in magnitude and bitterness. Some at least of these occurrences contributed to extend and fortify the economic or trade union organizations of the party. It was actually in that year that the "lock-out" made its first appearance in Belgium, and in the official words of the general council at the national congress of Charleroi in April, 1896, "it did more for the party than any campaign of propaganda had yet done." It certainly developed and intensified throughout Belgium the feeling of class solidarity. This lock-out took place in an iron-works of Ghent. It lasted three months. It not only resulted in a substantial victory for the employees, but brought into the Socialist union nine-tenths of the iron workers of that city. Moreover, its effect was strongly felt in many

other trades of Ghent, such as the textile workers, the wood-workers, the builders, etc., whose aggregate union membership rose in nine months from 2,400 to 9,500. At the same time a Socialist mutual help organization, known as the Moyson League, and numbering many women, attained a membership of 12,452. Progress in the same direction was general in all the manufacturing centers.

Thus reinforced on all sides by constant accessions of wage workers disgusted beyond endurance with the growing despotism of the ruling classes in the political and economic fields, the Socialists met again the enemy at the polls on the 17th of November, 1895. These were the first communal elections under the new law passed for the especial purpose of placing municipal affairs beyond the reach of Socialists by advancing from 25 to 30 years the voting age in this class of elections, giving property owners as many as 4 votes each, and exacting among other voting qualifications such a length of residence as to disfranchise a large proportion of the wage-working and necessarily shifting "populace." The odds were stupendous.

The whole number of communes in Belgium is a little over 2,000, a majority of which are essentially agricultural. The party was able to put up candidates in only 507; but these comprised most of the manufacturing centers.

Despite all the obstacles just mentioned, the party obtained representation in 288 communes, thirty of which were towns of over 15,000 inhabitants. It carried an absolute majority of the seats in 78 Councils. In Brussels, Ghent, Liège and the other great communes, numbering altogether 763,000 inhabitants, the seats were equally divided between the Clericals, the Liberals and the Socialists.

The government had miserably failed to stem the tide with its legislative broomstick. Flushed with victory the Socialists did not rest one moment upon their laurels. Legislative elections were to be held in one half of the parliamentary districts on July 5, 1896. Among these districts were some in which the party was weakest and even entirely unorganized. An overwhelming majority of the urban population was evidently now acquired to the party. Further progress depended in great measure upon its ability to gain a foothold in the rural citadels of conservatism. A special plan of agitation was devised for the purpose, and the campaign was immediately entered upon with incredible activity. Every Sunday numbers of villages were visited by city comrades in family parties apparently bent upon recreation. Acquaintances were struck with the peasants, Socialist songs were sung, leaflets distributed, and arrangements finally made for agitation meetings. When at last the burgomasters undertook to forbid open-air assemblages it was too late; there was always an inn or a barn or a walled inclosure within which the speaker could hold forth if driven out of the public thoroughfare, and his audience was the larger for the excitement caused by official interference. True, the meetings were not always peaceful. Conservative men, men of peace, morality, order and property were apt to resent with insults, and even with blows, any suggestion that all was not peaceful, orderly, moral and legitimate in a system that made property the reward of idleness. Any such disturbance, however, opened more widely the eyes of the poor peasant or farm laborer, warmed his proletarian blood, made him class conscious, and in numberless ways served the cause of Socialism.

Higher still the wave mounted. In 1894, of the parliamentary districts where elections had again to be held in 1896 the party had carried only one—

namely, in Namur, where Defnet, associate editor of the Brussels "Peuple," had been elected by a majority of 3,600. In 1896, Defnet was re-elected by a still larger majority, and, while no new seat was gained, the Socialist vote increased enormously, as is shown by the following figures:

	1894.	1896.	Increase.
Brussels	40,000	71,000	31,000
Nivelles	6,500	19,900	13,400
Antwerp	4,800	9,000	4,200
Bruges	500	8,000	7,500
Courtrai	3,600	11,800	8,200
Louvain	5,000	18,000	13,000
Namur (majorities)	3,600	5,000	1,400
Ostend	....	1,900	1,900
Ypres	....	3,300	3,300
Roulers	....	3,300	3,300
Dinant	....	14,900	14,900
Philippeville	....	6,700	6,700
Total	64,000	172,800	108,800

No Socialist candidates were running in 1894 in the districts of Ostend, Ypres, Roulers, Dinant and Philippeville. In 1896, as appears from the above table, these districts cast over 30,000 Socialist votes. The Dinant territory is extensive and almost entirely deprived of railways. The Socialists carried on there a remarkable campaign, meeting at every step violent opposition organized by the clergy—which before their appearance had an entire control of the population—yet finally getting 15,000 votes for their candidates.

It may also be observed that with a vote of 71,000 the Socialists did not elect one candidate in the districts of Brussels. The Clericals carried every seat. The Liberals, who two years before had hypocritically professed so much sympathy for the Socialists and so much hatred for the "common enemy," now ran dummy candidates, certain of defeat, for the sole purpose of preventing a Socialist triumph. They only delayed it, and succeeded in this at the cost of their own existence as a party.

Again, in considering the result the plural vote must be borne in mind. The 71,000 Socialist votes cast in Brussels, for instance, represent probably a majority of the voters of that city, poor men, having only one vote each; whereas the Clericals have each from 2 to 3 votes, and their majority at the polls no doubt represents a minority of the voting population. If this and other considerations be extended to the whole country it seems safe to say that in 1896 the Socialists of all ages, voting and non-voting, numbered very nearly if not quite one-half of the men over 21 years old.

Since then the movement has developed enormously. At the 13th annual congress of the party, held at Ghent on the 18th and 19th of April, 1897, there were 596 delegates representing 489 organizations of all sorts—trade federations, political clubs, educational institutions, mutual benefit societies, co-operative associations, etc.—all, of course, affiliated to the party, and nearly all created by it; each being, within its particular sphere, an active organ of this great organism, the workings of which (including especially the part acted in it by the co-operative associations) will be separately considered in a future edition. In two days this remarkable congress, imbued with a spirit of proletarian solidarity that left no room for fundamental differences on any

subject, settled more questions than could have been disposed of in two years by a middle class parliament, constantly hampered and frequently paralyzed by conflicting interests. Almost entirely composed of those despised, "ignorant" wage workers, that the employing class deems unfit to manage any public or private business, it gave the country an unexampled spectacle of practical ability, and in the aggressive measures it took for further advance along the whole line of battle displayed a perception of detail, a comprehension of integrality and an accuracy of aim that sent a shiver through the rotten backbone of capitalism. As we close this chapter a parliamentary election is impending in Belgium. We shall see.

Since the foregoing pages were written the electoral battle referred to in our closing lines has been fought out. Its outcome was a grander victory for the Belgian Socialists than the most sanguine of them had dared to expect. As already stated, of the Parliament elected under the new constitution in 1894, the first half went out in 1896 and elections were then held in one half of the districts to fill the seats of the members whose term had expired. Now came the turn of the second half, whose term expired in 1898. The latest known strength of the various parties in the whole country is therefore obtained by adding their respective vote of 1896 in one-half of the districts, and of 1898 in the other half. When this is done the following comparison for 1894 and 1898 is afforded:

Parties.	1898.	1894.	Increase.	Decrease.
Socialist	534,324	334,500	199,824	.....
Liberal	361,307	544,237	.....	182,980
Conservative	848,047	943,825	.....	96,779
Christian-Democrat	58,984	23,000	35,984	.....
Total vote.....	1,802,662	1,845,562	.....	.....

From the above figures it appears that in the four years 1894—1898, the Socialists gained nearly 200,000 votes, or 60 per cent.; the Liberals (middle class party), lost 182,980 votes, or 34 per cent.; the Conservatives (aristocratic and plutocratic party) lost 96,779 votes, or over 10 per cent., and the Christian Democrats (sometimes called Christian Socialists), gained about 36,000 votes, evidently taken from the Conservatives.

Despite these great changes at the ballot box, the strength of the parties in the House of Representatives remains almost exactly the same. Notwithstanding the enormous increase of their vote and owing to combinations between Liberals and Conservatives, the Socialists, who previously had 29 deputies, elected only 28. With substantial gains in Verviers they lost 4 seats there, but gained 3 in Thuin and Huy. In considering the above returns the effects of the plural suffrage must be borne in mind.

SOCIALISM IN AUSTRIA.

There were only a few Socialists in Austria, scattered and unorganized, when in the last days of 1867 some "economic reformers" of the Schultze-Delitsch school undertook to hold a series of meetings in Vienna for the purpose of establishing co-operative stores. At one of those gatherings, which was attended by six thousand working people, the Socialist Hartung obtained the floor. In a brilliant speech, buttressed with the powerful arguments which Ferdinand Lassalle had a few years before used in his discussion, now historical, with Schultze-Delitsch himself, he so completely routed the "co-operators" that the vast audience tore up the by-laws of the association that had just been formed, and resolved itself into a Socialist organization, which immediately entered into communication with the "International."

Four months later (May 10, 1868), a manifesto was issued in the German, Hungarian, Bohemian, Polish, Roumanian and Italian languages, calling upon the toiling millions of the empire to unite and organize for the attainment of the following objects:

1—Universal and direct suffrage.

2—Emancipation of the working class from capitalistic tyranny.

3—Complete freedom of speech and association; liberty of the press.

4—International brotherhood of labor and consequent abolition of war. "Capital," said the manifesto, "has no nationality, no race, no frontiers. Neither has labor power, which in all countries is subjected to the same use and abuse."

On that day also a deputation was sent to the government to demand universal suffrage. The claim, of course, was ignored. But the organization of the masses proceeded with such rapidity that on the 18th of December, 1869, upon a call issued by the Central Committee, one hundred thousand men assembled in Vienna, marched in military order to the legislative palace, and presented the demands formulated in the manifesto of 1868, with a supplementary one for the abolition of permanent armies and the substitution therefor of a militia comprising all the citizens able to bear arms.

The ruling classes were terrified. The Prime Minister, after conferring with the Emperor, promised that the demands would be duly considered. Suspicious, yet law-abiding, the great procession filed away in the same perfect order as it had observed in coming; not, however, until the statement had been made by its leaders that if the demands were not granted the people would come again, and in greater numbers, to signify their will. On the following day the leaders were arrested, the Socialist papers were suppressed, and a large military force was concentrated at Vienna to prevent any demonstration that might be attempted.

During the era of despotism and persecution that followed, the movement for a time preserved its vigor. But, owing to the nearly complete disfranchisement of the proletariat, it could not, as in Germany, assume the form of a great political party; nor did the Anarchists, in spite of their efforts, succeed in side-

tracking it, although they succeeded well enough, by an occasional "propaganda of the deed," in strengthening the government. When the International went out of existence, the more devoted among those who were imbued with its principles concluded to carry on, quietly but steadily, an educational agitation until the time came, in the natural course of economic and political developments, when it would be possible to resume work on a scale of greater magnitude and upon such tactical lines as the surrounding conditions might then suggest. Realizing the extent to which the march of Social Democracy in the German Empire would of itself prove a factor of education and encouragement in their own country, they intently watched its advance and enthusiastically heralded its victories.

They were not disappointed. From 1880 to 1887 the propaganda became very active, and resulted in a good beginning of organization.

In Bohemia, especially, the movement grew apace; not only among the German-speaking inhabitants, chiefly settled in the Northeast, but among the Czechs—or Bohemians proper—who constitute more than three-fifths of the population of that important part of the Austrian Empire. The conditions there were such, however, that Anarchistic appeals to passion naturally evoked a readier response from the oppressed workers than could be obtained by the Socialistic method of cool-headed, clear-sighted, scientific and determined advance to a well-defined objective point. The Anarchists, therefore, were not slow in availing themselves of every opportunity to gain influence and to prepare the ground for those factional dissensions which, there as elsewhere, had finally to be ended by the summary process of repudiation and separation in order to arrive at a thoroughly homogeneous and really strong movement.

It was from their intercourse with the Germans that the Czechs had first acquired some notions of Socialism. But the vigilance of the Bohemian authorities, who promptly confiscated every tract, leaflet or other literature obviously destructive of "sound ideas and honest sentiments" concerning property, had rendered the dissemination of Socialist truth practically impossible until a Bohemian edition of Schaeffle's "Quintessence of Socialism" made its appearance. Owing to the high position which its author had occupied in the imperial councils, this work could not well be suppressed, and it was hungrily perused by the multitude. Only within the past seven years did the Czechs have access to some of Marx's and Bebel's writings. Nevertheless, as already stated, their progress was rapid in the early eighties. It was also marked by extraordinary suffering. "Hundreds of Socialists," writes Josef Hybes, who represented the Czechs at the London Congress of 1896, "were dragged in chains to Prague from all parts of Bohemia. The packed Senate of the Provincial Assembly operated as surely and swiftly as the guillotine. To this very day some victims of that era of persecution are languishing in Bohemian dungeons. Most of the labor unions were dissolved. The party organs were suppressed and their staffs thrown into prison."

After a six years' reign of terror, the persecutors relented. Not that they were tired of cruelty; for mercy is an unknown sentiment to the ruling classes so long as their privileges are contested or threatened; but because they fondly believed that they had succeeded in eradicating Socialism from the land, and feared that any further display of harshness, by perpetuating discontent, might prove more hurtful than beneficial to their interests. Some even assumed a benevolent attitude and talked patronizingly of measures "for the improvement of the working class." To their dismay, however, they soon found

that the Bohemian Social-Democratic party was anything but a corpse; that it was, in fact, a more active soul in a more lively body than it had ever been; and that it could no more be soothed by middle class "social reform" syrup than driven out of existence by persecution. This was made evident to them in 1887, when the party held a conference at Brunn and elaborated a new programme, the terms of which, however, were to hold good only until the Socialist organizations of the whole empire, through their representatives, assembled in convention, had adopted a general platform, binding upon all; for—it was declared—although the differences of language and other circumstances necessitated the formation of autonomous organizations by the different peoples of the empire with a view to the better conduct of agitation and action, each of them should only be an organic member of the whole Austrian party, considered as an indivisible body.

In order to comprehend the full import of this declaration, certain fundamental conditions of Austrian politics should right here be understood. Each of the nationalities united into an Empire under the Habsburg crown, has its own language, its own interests, its own ambitions. Again, in each nationality there are different classes, with special interests, more or less antagonistic. Therefore, a so-called "national" middle class party in Bohemia, for instance, is essentially a Bohemian party, whose interests may at times clash with those of a so-called "national" middle class party in Galicia, or in Styria, or in Hungary. Likewise, the aristocracy of the Empire, though occasionally united upon general questions involving the preservation of its privileges, is frequently divided against itself upon so-called "national" lines. A striking illustration of the effects that may be produced by such a political structure was lately afforded in the riotous proceedings of the Reichsrath, consequent upon the attempted co-ordination of the German and Czech languages in Bohemia, and followed by the fall of the Badeni cabinet. Now, the declaration of the Bohemian Socialists, in strict accordance with the fundamental principle of International Socialism, meant that the proletarian classes of the whole Empire, regardless of language, race, nationality, creed or employment, were to be a political, economical and intellectual unit against each and all of the so-called "national" parties.

This brave challenge of the Bohemian Comrades to the warring cohorts of despotism was reissued with emphasis the following year (1888) by all the Austrian Socialist forces at the Congress of Vienna: where the party as it now exists was constituted, with its several autonomous organizations.

The immediate object of the party necessarily was to obtain universal suffrage; an aim which it had no means of attaining but by constantly harassing the government, the great capitalists, and even the small bourgeoisie. The Socialists, therefore, concentrated a large amount of energy upon the organization of trade unions, although under the law they could not directly affiliate those economic bodies with their political party. The Austrian Government has, indeed, carried out to the letter Sam Gompers' "American idea," so-called, of "No Politics in Trade Unions;" and should this "Pure-and-Simple" British histrion ever "go to Austria," it would not be by the organized labor but by the organized tyranny of the country that he would be welcome.

One of their first opportunities in this field of work was the great strike on the tramways. They improved it fearlessly and at no small cost. Persecution revived. In Vienna their official organ, the "Gleichheit," was seized and its editors were imprisoned as "Anarchists." At Steiermark and at Trieste the

judiciary gave the law a similar twist in its treatment of Socialist leaders. Nevertheless they won the strike and united the tramway employees into a powerful organization. So great was their activity in all branches of trade that at the Brussels International Congress of 1891 their delegates reported "from incomplete statistics" 230 unions, with a membership of over 48,000.

At the same time they built up a powerful press. The number of their political organs, which in 1889 was already 6, with an aggregate circulation of 15,400, rose in eighteen months to 16, with a total circulation of 50,000. In a still shorter period they established 19 trade papers, with a subscription list of 44,000. At Zurich in 1893 they reported 23 political organs, 13 of which were published in German, 8 in Bohemian and 2 in Polish. The Vienna press alone had a circulation of 32,000 copies, read by not less than 100,000 people.

Such achievements, in the face of obstacles apparently insurmountable, and by men reduced in their means of life to a point apparently below the minimum requirement of animal existence, were well calculated to make the enemy pause and consider. As every persecution seemed to strengthen the movement, and as the Socialist press, even so trammeled, could not only expound and defend the principles of the party but expose turpitudes and attack offenders, the capitalist became less insolent, the police more circumspect, the judiciary less prone to inflict sentences, and the middle class began to hypocritically profess some sympathy for the "poor workman."

This improvement in the attitude of their despoilers did not blind the awakening masses to the true causes of it. Unaccompanied by economic or political concessions, it rather opened their eyes more widely to the advantages which they could only gain by sustaining the aggressive and uncompromising policy of the Socialists.

"May Day," instituted by the Paris International Congress of 1889, was also most effective in propagating sentiments of proletarian solidarity. Its first observance by the wage-working class in 1890 was general throughout the Austrian Empire. In 1893, coming a few days after the Belgian Comrades had won the battle for universal suffrage, the demonstrations assumed gigantic proportions. The enthusiasm of the people could not be restrained either by capitalistic threats or military display. One hundred and fifty thousand men and women paraded the thoroughfares of Vienna with bands and banners, cheering at every step for "Universal Suffrage" and the "International Social Democracy."

The public clamor for political rights now became so loud and so constant that it could no longer be ignored by the government, even though such a typical reactionist as Count Taaffe was at that time at the head of the Imperial Cabinet. In October, 1893, proposals on the lines of the Belgian scheme —namely, granting the suffrage to the proletarian masses of city and country, but otherwise calculated to maintain the political preponderance of the possessing classes—were brought in by the Ministry. This in itself, regardless of what might subsequently happen, was an immense triumph for the Socialists. It established the fact that to them, and to them alone, the disinherited must look for the assertion and conquest of their every right.

These proposals threw the Austrian Parliament into convulsions. The three great reactionary parties—the aristocratic, the clerical and the upper middle class—arose in their wrath and banded themselves together into a great coalition against the man who had dared to give form to a political idea so revolutionary in principle, so far-reaching in its social consequences. Count

Taaffe was defeated, and those hitherto mutually destructive parties fell into line as one reactionary force to resist the demands of the workers.

But the infamous Ministry of that coalition (the Windischgrätz Ministry, formed on Nov. 23, 1893) found upon taking the reins of government that it could not summarily dismiss or violently suppress the now firmly planted idea of suffrage reform. With unprecedented energy and unbounded enthusiasm the Social-Democratic party now carried on a ceaseless agitation. To the official persecution of its members, which was again becoming intolerable, it boldly replied with the threat of a general strike, without, however, entertaining any illusion on the outcome of such a desperate step. Driven to cover by this unexpected display of unconquerable determination, Ministry and Parliament resorted to dilatory tactics, referring the franchise question from the cabinet to the Chamber, from the Chamber to a standing committee, and from that committee to a sub-committee, whose deliberations were to be privately conducted. From time to time a most complicated and impracticable scheme was presented, affording the desired opportunity for interminable discussion. Meanwhile mass meetings were held under Socialist auspices in large and small towns, and bloody conflicts between the police and the people were of almost daily occurrence, owing to illegal interference and willful provocation on the part of the authorities. Finally, the shooting down of strikers at Falkenau and Ostrau and the mining disaster of Karwin so aroused the indignation of the people that the Ministry, unable to resist any longer the immense pressure of the franchise issue, brought out the legislative scheme concocted in the secrecy of their parliamentary sub-committee. This was, of course, a disgraceful abortion; a mockery of fundamental law. The moment it became known, the uproar throughout the country, and even in Parliament, was tremendous. The coalition broke down and sunk out of sight in general scorn and contempt.—Triumph No. 2 for the Social Democracy.

Then followed the Badeni Ministry, which at last "succeeded" in developing a scheme of "electoral reform" that proved acceptable to the privileged classes. This was of necessity received by the Socialists, not by any means as a first installment of the great debt owing to the proletariat, but as a prying tool of some possible use in effecting an entrance into Parliament, where the few of them who might squeeze in through the narrow opening just made would be able to agitate, educate and generally bombard the citadel of privilege from a more elevated position.

Here, again, a brief explanation is necessary to the understanding of the "reform" in question.

Under the old electoral law, (1) the aristocracy and the high clergy, (2) the great capitalists, (3) the bourgeoisie (or middle class) of cities, and (4) the peasant proprietary, constituted four district electoral classes, or "curiæ," each of which sent to the lower house of Parliament a certain number of deputies. Under the new law this division is maintained, and the total number of deputies sent by the four privileged classes is, as it was before, 353. But the proletariat, the wage-workers, the dispossessed, the productive masses of the empire, upon the labor of which emperor, noble, bishop, capitalist, trader and landowner are dependant for existence, and which had no representation at all in the Reichsrath under the old law, have been politically dignified into a curia, entitled to 72 deputies, or one-sixth of the whole number. Any single one of the four privileged curiæ can, in fact, outvote in Parliament the proletarian curia.

The least numerous but most privileged of the four upper curiæ is, of course, the first, composed of nobles and prelates. A baker's dozen of these lords and eminences may own a whole electoral district, and are therefore entitled to one representative, while it may take 50,000 plebeian voters in a crowded center of population to elect a deputy. (In Bohemia, for instance, 28 per cent. of the soil is owned by 362 persons, chiefly nobles. And note, by the way, that the Bohemian land-owning magnate is also an employer of labor in various industries other than agriculture. He is brewer, distiller, glass and sugar manufacturer, timber merchant and colliery owner all in one. Nowhere else in the world is "agrarian industrialism" so fully developed as in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia). To this powerful mediæval class belongs also the upper house of Parliament, the house of lords, which is composed of princes, nobles, archbishops, bishops and life members appointed by the Emperor.

The second curia is essentially representative of capitalism in its highest development. It is composed of the chambers of commerce, whose members are elected by private corporations, bankers and great merchants. From this mere statement an idea may be formed of the character, views and abilities of the deputies of this curia.

As regards the city and country bourgeoisies, or middle classes, which constitute the two next curiæ, it may be observed that their influence, like their numerical strength, is now on the wane. The original intent of the Constitution,—which had been framed in times of political and social turmoil, when the middle classes were at the height of their power—had been to place in their hands the reins of government. But, by a strange combination of economic evolution and feudal reaction, the plutocracy has steadily forged to the front while the aristocracy regained its standing. Yet, with every plutocratic or aristocratic encroachment, tending to shorten the life of the middle class, the bourgeois parties, whose chief characteristic is to be stone-blind everywhere and under all circumstances, are growing more bitter against Socialism, which would extinguish the class but save the man, and more servile to the actual destroyers of both the class and the man.

At last the electoral campaign opened. Although powerful as a body of agitators, already capable of profoundly stirring the working masses in nearly all parts of the vast empire, the Socialists were not yet, by far, sufficiently organized to place everywhere candidates in the field. Their pecuniary means, also, were very limited. Again, some of their most effective speakers, writers and organizers were pining away behind prison bars. Lastly, every influence, every device, every mode of intimidation that could be brought to bear upon the dependent, the timid or the ignorant, by the privileged and their lackeys was unscrupulously used to the utmost extent. Fraud was also resorted to on a stupendous scale. The day of voting was not the same in different places. In the rural districts there was actually no day fixed in advance, and the casting of votes took place at any village when a perambulating commission, appointed for the purpose of collecting the suffrages, made its appearance. This commission was usually accompanied by gendarmes or soldiery. On many occasions notice was given of its coming to the local authorities so that those only were secretly informed and could vote who might be depended upon to "vote right." In order to carry out this plan more effectively, the commission would arrive late in the evening, the trusted voters alone would be awakened, and the election would be held at midnight. The peasants rebelled against this practice; they kept up videttes to warn them of

the arrival of the commission and appeared in full force at the ballot box. This gave rise to warm protests, to indignant denunciations, and finally to riots, which were quelled by gendarmes and soldiers with the sabre and the bayonet. The spilling of blood was officially justified by the commission and unofficially by the government organs, on the remarkable ground that the "rebels" were men "dissatisfied with having been granted the right of suffrage," and this sovereign right had to be vindicated at any cost of limb, or of life if necessary.

For all that, when the count had all been made up, it was found that the Socialist candidates had received 750,000 votes, and that fifteen of them had been elected, seven of whom were from Bohemia.

On that day of March, 1897—the coldest day on record for the privileged classes of Austria, the most pleasantly warm for her proletariat—a mighty shout went up from the Alps to the Karpaths, from the Danube to the Vistula, It was re-echoed throughout Europe, and many a Socialist heart in America throbbed with delight and hope. The day of universal deliverance is surely coming.

* * *

A peculiarity of the labor movement in Austria, which we have endeavored to make quite plain in the foregoing pages, and which commends it to the attention of Americans, is that the diversity of races and languages in the empire, instead of proving the most serious obstacle to the propagation of Socialism, has contributed to give it there, in a higher degree, perhaps, than anywhere else, its true international character.

The chief difficulty with which the Austrian Comrades have had to contend, and one that does not exist to the same extent in any other country, is the difference of economic conditions in the various parts of that great political aggregate, over which a Habsburg is still reigning in somewhat feudal style. While manufacturing industries of the most advanced type are flourishing in certain regions and turning out products actually unequalled in the world, in other regions agriculture not only is the sole occupation of the people, but has hardly progressed beyond the early ways of civilization. The great estates, the best cultivated, are owned by the nobles or great capitalists, whose relations to the peasantry are essentially those of the ancient lords to their villeins five hundred years ago. In great cities the artisan, although injuriously affected in many ways by the competition of machine work, has not yet been driven out of existence, and the small merchant, who bewails his own decline but rejoices at the failure of his fellow tradesman, is still a being of much importance. Here, then, we have a composite structure of advanced capitalism, middle class individualism and antiquated feudalism, the triple face of which is necessarily reflected in the manners of the people and in their national legislation.

To preserve this incongruous structure, made up of three plundering classes respectively belonging to different ages; to harmonize those three "interests," naturally antagonistic, in securing to each its "proper share" of the wealth exclusively produced by a fourth class, fit only to be robbed so long as it remains unconscious of its power and destiny; such is the problem with which the modern "statesmen" of Austria are constantly wrestling; a problem of political acrobatics far more complicated than was centuries ago the purely military one of gathering under one crown different races of the same social and economic age.

To awaken the fourth class; to strike the hour, projected by the sun of progress on the dial of time, when that class must emerge in full consciousness from the animal state and be the whole of humanity; such is the task of Socialists everywhere; a task by no means easy in Austria, and, for that matter, most difficult where it seems easiest; but a simple one, that all are irresistibly impelled to perform, who, seeing the light, know that the day has come.

SOCIALISM IN FRANCE.

We reserve for the next number of this Almanac our monograph on France. The history of Socialism in that country is a vast subject, which demands careful consideration and extended treatment. In the meantime our readers will bear in mind, gratefully and hopefully, that on the generous soil of France Socialism was born and fought its earliest and hardest battles. Repeatedly slaughtered and buried in the Potter's Field as it seemed for ever, it rose from its ashes stronger and stronger with every generation. Now the giant has reached the age of manhood and his powerful form is beheld with trembling by the ruling classes, struck with a sense of impotency. From 1893 to 1897, with 62 Deputies in the Chamber, the French Socialists broke down three "bourgeois" Cabinets and drove into retirement a plutocratic President of the Republic. This year they nearly doubled their vote of 1893, and one million strong are steadily marching to the conquest of the public powers. No one can predict the course of events; but should it once more happen that Paris gave the signal of universal emancipation by nailing the Socialist banner to the flag pole of her Hotel de Ville, we dare say that no force in the world could pull it down, and that within forty-eight hours that banner would wave over every royal or imperial palace in Western Europe.

SOCIALISM IN POLAND.

The following contribution to the history of Socialism in Poland is from the pen of Comrade B. A. Jedrzejowski, of London, General Secretary of the Foreign League of Polish Socialists.

In 1795 Poland was finally dismembered by the three neighboring empires, which had already before divided among themselves a large slice of her territory. Nevertheless she has remained to this day united by a common language and literature, common historical traditions, and a common struggle for national independence and unity. The part of Poland annexed by Russia is the most important, not only because of its greater size and higher industrial development, but also because it is the center of Polish intellectual life and political motion. It is therefore natural that modern Socialism in Poland should originate in this part of the country in spite of Russian persecution. The Socialist refugees were also the first apostles of Socialism in Austrian and Prussian Poland.

The Socialist movement was started in Warsaw in 1877 on the basis of the scientific Marxist Socialism by a few circles of young students of Warsaw University. They soon found numerous ardent Comrades among the manual workers, and since then the movement has been a purely proletarian one. Up to the end of 1881 there was no definite party organization; the members were only loosely grouped together, and were content with reading such Socialist literature as they were able to secretly obtain, teaching each other, helping strikes, and carrying on the propaganda as well as they could individually undertake to do at no small risk to themselves. In 1879, however, there was started in Geneva the Polish Socialist paper, "Equality," which was of course smuggled into Poland. Early in 1882 the small isolated circles were organized in one body, known as "The Proletariat," which immediately proclaimed the necessity of a political struggle against Russian despotism. Since then the war against this most dangerous enemy of the working masses has been carried on without interruption and by every possible means.

The "Proletariat" was, of course, a secret society, as all Socialist organizations under the yoke of Russian Czardom must be; but it soon had branches in all the industrial centers of Russian Poland. During eleven years of its existence it gave many examples of brilliant heroism and personal sacrifice. In January, 1886, twenty-nine of its members were tried by a court-martial; four of them—Bardowski, a justice of the peace; Kunicki, a civil engineer; Ossowski, a shoemaker, and Pietrusinski, a weaver—were hanged, and the remaining twenty-five were exiled for life to Siberia, sentenced to penal servitude in the mines. At the same time more than two hundred other members of the party were sent to Siberia by "administrative order," that is, without trial. Since then the persecution of Socialists has been relentless. In one year alone—1894—about 1,000 Comrades were arrested! Nevertheless, the "Proletariat" spread Socialism among the people, organized and conducted many successful strikes, and distributed large numbers of pamphlets, most of which were directly issued from the clandestine press at home. In 1883 and 1884 there was also secretly published in Warsaw a periodical entitled "Proletariat." Moreover, the party

succeeded in defeating several attempts of the Russian government to further degrade the people; such, for instance, as the order of the Warsaw police in 1883, that all the women employed in factories be periodically subject to a medical examination as prostitutes! One of the chief merits of the "Proletariat" was the introduction of May Day into Russian Poland in 1890, conformably to the resolutions of the Paris International Congress. The first of May could not be celebrated there by holding open air meetings as in the rest of Europe; but the workers could at any rate refuse to work, and the large number of them who took a vacation on that day showed that the Paris Congress had provided the Polish Socialists with an excellent means of propagating among their oppressed countrymen ideas of international brotherhood and social justice.

The rapid growth of Socialism in Poland, as compared with its slow progress in Russia, is additional evidence of the inferior development of the latter country. In the light of this contrast it becomes apparent to the Polish workingmen that they cannot afford to wait for their deliverance until the Russian peasantry ripens intellectually, politically and industrially. Moreover, in all their conflicts with the capitalist class, the Polish workers have found the Russian bayonets against them. The general strike of 1892 in Lodz, after the first of May celebration, is an example. Sixty thousand men struck work, and the employers were ready to grant all their demands; but the Russian authority intervened and forbade the employers to make any concessions. At the same time the strikers, who had not broken the peace, were attacked by the military; 46 were killed outright, 200 were wounded, many of them mortally, and about 1,000 were arrested. In view of this state of affairs it may, therefore, be readily comprehended that the idea of an independent Polish Republic, so dear to the Polish middle class also, but for other reasons, should have found emphatic expression in the political programme of the Socialist party, without in the least affecting the international character of the movement.

Meanwhile, in 1890 and 1891, the exclusiveness of the "Proletariat" caused the formation of three separate Socialist bodies. Such a division of forces, at a time when united action was essential, could not, however, last very long. In December, 1892, representatives of all the Socialist bodies of Russian Poland held in Paris a secret conference. The result was the formation of one "Polish Socialist party," demanding the Independent Polish Republic, as a necessary step towards the total abolition of the present competitive system and the establishment of an International Socialist Brotherhood. It demanded: (1) Universal adult suffrage for both sexes; direct legislation by the people; equality of nationalities upon the federative principle; local autonomy; complete liberty of association, speech, press and religion; free administration of justice; free education and public maintenance of school children; abolition of standing armies and the arming of the whole nation; removal of taxes from necessaries. (2) A maximum workday of eight hours; legal equalization of wages for both sexes; prohibition of child labor under the age of fourteen, and limitation of workingday for young persons to six hours; no night work as a principle; election of factory inspectors by the workers; State insurance against accidents, illness, want of employment, old age, etc. (3) Gradual nationalization of all the means of production and communication.

At the same time there was founded the "Foreign League of Polish Socialists"—which has now branches in most of the large town of Western and Northern Europe—for the purpose of uniting into one active body all the Polish Socialists residing abroad, particularly the refugees. Its chief aim is to help

the movement in the native country by carrying on the literary and publishing work, smuggling Socialist literature into Poland, taking proper measures in cases of wholesale arrests, etc. The prime importance of such outside aid to a country under the Russian yoke is self-evident. The Central Committee of the F. L. P. S. met originally in Paris; but after the first month of its existence it was expelled by the French government at the request of the Russian embassy, and has since taken quarters in London (7 Beaumont Square, Mile End, E.). This committee also represents the secret party organization of Russian Poland and acts as the uniting link between Prussian and Austrian Poland.

As it would take too much space to dilate upon the many brilliant achievements of the Polish Socialist party and the enormous growth of its propaganda and organization, mention will only be made here of some salient features of the work which it has done. Nearly 70,000 pamphlets were smuggled into Poland and sold or distributed during the last two and a half years; large quantities of literature were also printed by the secret press of Warsaw; May Day has been regularly and splendidly celebrated every year; a clandestine publication, entitled, "The Worker," has been regularly issued in spite of all police searches. In the economic field numerous victories have been won. The strike in Bialystok, Aug., 1895, against the new factory laws detrimental to labor, was participated in by all the workers of the town, to the number of 26,000. The third and most recent secret annual congress of the party, held in July, 1895, decided to carry on an energetic progaganda among the rural workers.

As the programme of the new party satisfies the most burning wants of all the oppressed, especially in its declaration of war against Czardom and for the Polish Republic, it has already secured to this party the leading place in the political life of the nation. In spite of the efforts of the Radical middle-class party, which is also striving for national independence, there seems now no doubt that the coming Polish uprising will be led by the Socialists, and that the workers will win the Republic by their own efforts and for their own welfare.

Austrian Poland (the so-called Galicia) was the birthplace of the first Polish Socialist paper, "The Worker," published in Lemberg in 1878; but Socialism did not become there a political force of importance until the 1st of May, 1890. In consequence of different industrial conditions this part of Poland is not subject to the influence of such highly developed capitalism as now exists in Russian Poland, and the proletarian masses, therefore, are not so large and so dense in the former as in the latter. But as it is also the least oppressed by foreign domination, the national intellectual life has to struggle against fewer obstacles, and since 1890 Socialism has grown very rapidly. The Comrades of Galicia have consequently now one of the best organized parties in the whole Austrian Empire, always at the front in the agitation for universal suffrage, in the celebration of the first of May and in the entire economic movement and propaganda of Socialism. The recent victories of the Radical Peasants' party at the elections to the Galician Diet (Sept., 1895) will also turn to the advantage of our Comrades.

In Prussian Poland the foreign domination is a fundamental obstacle to economic development, because all industry is killed by Prussian laws. In the second place the movement is retarded by the low state of national intellectual life, owing to the Prussian policy of destroying all Polish culture by means of German schools, prosecutions of Polish teachers, prohibition of all higher edu-

cational institutions within the conquered territory, etc. This part of Poland is consequently the poorest and most retrograde. Moreover, the Bismarkian persecution of Polish Roman Catholic priests has had the effect of keeping the people more attached to their clergy than they might otherwise be, and the influence of the latter is decidedly hostile to Socialism. It is no wonder, therefore, that in spite of the generous help from the German Social Democrats, the movement in this part of Poland is the weakest. Yet, although slowly, it is progressing. In 1893 the Polish Comrades, who belonged till then to the German Social Democratic party, founded their own "Polish Socialist party," and the number of votes cast for their candidates at the German parliamentary elections increased from 3,081 in 1890 to 6,295 in 1893. The principles of the Socialist programme in all parts of Poland are, of course, the same, and the trade unions, which are progressing favorably, especially in Austrian Poland, are organized entirely by the Socialist party.

Ten party periodicals are now published, namely, "The Dawn," the oldest, established in 1881, printed especially for Russian Poland, and now published monthly by A. Debski, 7 Beaumont Square, Mile End, London, E., price 4s. per year; "New Worker," 1890, weekly, Lemberg; "Workers' Paper," 1891, weekly, Berlin, for Prussian Poland; "Forward," 1892, weekly, Cracow; "Stork," 1892, satirical, fortnightly, Lemberg; "Worker," 1894, monthly, Warsaw; "Hearth," 1895, fortnightly, Lemberg; "Light," 1895, monthly, Lemberg; and "Bulletin Officiel du Parti Socialiste Polonais," June, 1895, published monthly in London at the above address, in French, chiefly to supply the foreign Socialist press with information concerning the Polish movement. The party owns two presses —a secret one in Warsaw, the other in London—from which are issued a large number of books and pamphlets.

GROWTH OF SOCIALISM IN EUROPE.

In so far as Shown by the Election Returns of Various Countries.

France:

1885	30,000
1889	91,000
1893	590,000
1898	1,000,000

Belgium:

1894	334,500
1898	534,324

Denmark:

1872	315
1884	6,805
1887	8,408
1890	17,232
1892	20,098
1895	25,019

Austria:

1895	90,000
1897	750,000

Spain:

1893	7,000
1895	14,800
1897	28,000

Germany:

1867	30,000
1871	101,927
1874	351,670
1877	486,843
1878	437,158
1881	311,961
1884	599,990
1887	763,128
1890	1,427,298
1893	1,786,738
1898	2,125,000

Italy:

1893	20,000
1895	76,400
1897	134,496

Servia:

1895	50,000

Great Britain:

1895	55,000

Switzerland:

1890	13,500
1893	29,822
1896	36,468

THE CLASSES.

This is, we believe, the first time that an attempt is made to so group the persons reported in the census as engaged in occupations, that an approximate idea may be formed of the proportions in which the population of the United States has been divided into four great distinct classes by the capitalist system, namely, the Plutocratic Class, the Middle Class, the Professional Class, and the Wage-working Class.*

The result is instructive, but no hasty conclusion should be drawn from it, and the introductory remarks with which its presentation is here made should be duly considered before venturing any comment upon it. Besides the facts embodied in the following tables there are others, indeed, of paramount importance, essential to a correct understanding of class conditions at the last census, and especially of their antecedent development, which it was also our purpose to show in extending our classification to the previous censuses of 1880 and 1870.

Let us first observe that this classification, although sufficiently clear and complete to speak for itself, may in certain respects be made still clearer by some preliminary explanations, and also more unquestionably acceptable as a whole by some necessary corrections in a few of its details; which corrections, as we shall see, do not affect the general result.

1. As to the *Plutocratic Class.*—Under this head are grouped the persons reported as bankers, brokers, manufacturers, and officials of banking, manufacturing, trade, transportation, insurance, trust and other companies. In other words, it includes those persons who, regardless of their respective individual wealth, are, by their functions, the natural representatives of capitalism in the highest form which it has yet attained and the direct instruments of its further evolution. There are no doubt some persons, among those

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* In Bulletin No. 11 of the Department of Labor (July, 1897), appeared a grouping by kindred occupations, which we have utilized for our purpose. Our general classification, however, fundamentally differs from that of the Department, whose object was obviously not the same as ours, although its work facilitated our task by saving us some expenditure of time in compilation. The extent of the difference will readily appear from the following synopsis of the Department's table, which is divided into four general groups respectively marked A, B, C, D, without further denomination. Group A embraces bankers, brokers, manufacturers, farmers, planters, merchants, dealers and professional persons. Group B comprises agents and clerks. Group C is reserved to manufacturing and mechanical trades. Group D includes unskilled labor and servants; also, miners, sailors, etc., besides a number of "miscellaneous manufacturing" pursuits which would find a more appropriate place in Group C.

enumerated in the Mercantile Middle Class as merchants, builders, contractors and publishers, who by their wealth and the extent of their operations properly belong to the plutocratic class; but while their exact number cannot be ascertained from any of the data afforded by the census, we may safely say on the one hand that it cannot be sufficiently great to make a sensible impression upon the relativity of the class totals, and on the other hand that it is probably offset by the number of small concerns (especially commercial brokers) properly belonging to the middle class but included in the plutocratic for the lack of more precise information concerning them. We are, in fact, fully satisfied that the total given for 1890, in particular, is rather above than below the actual number of persons qualified by wealth or occupation to be counted in this class.

2. As to the *Mercantile Middle Class.*—For obvious reasons we have subdivided the great Middle Class into two sections, namely, the "Mercantile" and the "Agricultural." Under the head, 'Mercantile," are grouped all the persons, other than those of the plutocratic class, who, according to the census tables of occupations, were reported as engaged in some business as merchants, dealers, agents, builders, contractors, publishers, hotel, restaurant, saloon and boarding-house keepers, etc. Here, however, two important corrections would be desirable, if possible, and may at any rate be pointed out, although by operating inversely they would no doubt balance each other and leave our totals substantially unchanged. In the first place it will be seen that, owing to the slovenly work of the census, the bartenders, who constitute a large body of wage-workers, are not enumerated separately from their employers. Again, a considerable proportion—a large majority, we should say—of the persons reported as agents and collectors are essentially proletarians, as are also, for that matter, many of the dealers, boarding house, restaurant and saloonkeepers, insomuch as their net possessions are practically nil and the "profits" of the latter, like the "commissions" of the former, equal only in most cases a very low wage for the work done. The number of such agents, and also of bartenders, should, therefore, be deducted from our middle class totals and added to the working class. On the other hand it will be observed that persons engaged, not as wage-workers but on their own speculative account either singly or as employers of labor, in industries termed "manufacturing and mechanical," are not specifically enumerated in our middle class list. But a large number of these—such as cigarmakers, custom tailors, custom shoemakers and cobblers, milliners, bakers, confectioners, locksmiths, etc., who generally keep stores—are enumerated as "dealers." Others, however —such as blacksmiths, wheelwrights, millers and small manufacturers generally who conduct their business in shops but do not keep stores—are omitted from the middle class list and figure in the working class under the head of their respective occupations. The number of these should therefore be deducted from our working class totals and added to the middle class. Now, a careful consideration of all the available data has led us to the conclusion that the number of these small manufacturers and artisans on one side and the number of agents and bartenders above mentioned, on the other side, were about equal (our estimate of each for 1890 being about 150,000); so that their respective transfer to their proper class would, as already stated, leave our class totals substantially unchanged.

Of the important fact that the numerical strength of the plutocratic class

and the mercantile middle class, taken together, is not underestimated in our totals (and that, consequently, the numerical strength of the working class is not overestimated), we have ample confirmation in the statistics of our great commercial agencies. In 1890, for instance, according to our figures, these two classes agrregated 1,370,000. In the same year there were on the books of R. G. Dun & Co. 1,110,000 business concerns registered for the purpose of credit rating, and this figure, (smaller than ours by 260,000, or about 20 per cent.) was believed to comprise nearly every such concern, engaged in trade, manufacturing, mining, transportation, banking, brokering, speculating, etc., from the weakest individual to the most powerful corporation.

3. As to the *Agricultural Propertied Class.*—This is, by far, the largest of the two great sections into which we have divided the so-called "Middle Class." It is subdivided into four groups according to the size of farms owned or tenanted. We are, of course, aware of the fact that among the farms of 500 acres and more there are many of less value than farms of much less area but better equipped or located in more populous districts. In default of sufficient information concerning value, the classification by area was the only one that we could adopt. Everything considered it is also, perhaps, the best that could be adopted, even if the missing information were available; for, as settlement progresses and as capitalistic concentration develops in agriculture, there is a tendency to equalization of farming land values. Special attention is called to the foot note concerning tenantry, appended to our enumeration of this class; also to the statistical and other important information contained in our chapter on Agriculture.

4. As to the *Professional Class.*—Our enumeration of this body is sufficiently intelligible and requires here no additional explanation. Comments upon its growth will be found further on at their proper place.

5. As to the *Working Class, or Proletariat.*—Noting again, for the sake of accuracy, the few and upon the whole unimportant corrections suggested in our previous remarks on the Mercantile Middle Class, it will be found that our enumeration and grouping of the proletariat give a comprehensive view of the magnitude of its numbers and the diversification of its pursuits. This great army of wealth producers, numbering 15,000,000 in 1890, is divided into 7 groups of workers in broadly correlated employments. First in numerical importance stands Group 2 (Manufacturing and Mechanical), with over 5,000,000 toilers subdivided into 10 principal branches respectively embracing kindred occupations. Next comes Group 4, with 3,200,000 agricultural laborers; then Group 5, comprising miners, quarrymen and unskilled laborers to the number of 2,300,000; Group 6, with nearly 2,000,000 persons engaged in personal and domestic service; Group 1, representing a clerical force of 1,165,000, and Group 3—the group of high mortality, numbering 1,120,000 men, young and strong for the most part, constantly exposed to accident in services of land and sea transportation.

Bearing in mind the foregoing remarks, we may now proceed to a consideration of the results obtained.

A summing up of the figures in our detailed enumeration gives us as follows the respective numbers of the four above-named classes at each of the last three censuses:

THE CLASSES—ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONS.

	1870	1880.	1890.
I—Plutocratic Class:	66,635	87,143	177,478
II—Middle Class:			
Mercantile	492,499	687,052	1,192,931
Agricultural	3,015,088	4,286,099	5,355,931
Total Middle class	3,507,587	4.973,151	6,548,862
III—Professional Class	371,098	603,202	944,333
IV—Working Class	8,561,003	11,728,603	15,064,988
Grand total, All Classes	12,505,923	17,392,099	22,735,661

According to the foregoing table, the relative numerical strength of the classes, expressed in percentage, would therefore appear to have been as follows in the three last census years:

Classes.	1870	1880	1890
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
I. Plutocratic Class	0.53	0.50	0.78
II. Middle Class:—			
Mercantile	3.94	3.95	5.24
Agricultural	24.11	24.64	23.56
III. Professional Class	2.97	3.47	4.15
IV. Wage-Working Class	68.45	67.44	66.26
Total.....	100.00	100.00	100.00

Right here, however, it should be observed that in the above figures the "persons in occupation" are alone included and no account is taken of their immediate family dependents who are not reported as engaged in any pursuit—such as wives at home, children at home or at school, aged parents, etc. The absolute—and we may say inexcusable—deficiency of the United States census in this most important line of statistical information is greatly to be deplored, for it necessarily impeaches the accuracy of any estimate that may be made of the number of persons who, as active workers or idle dependents, actually belong to each class. Nevertheless such an estimate is possible, sufficiently approximate for our present purpose, although in default of direct and positive data it must be based on what we may term circumstantial evidence.

We know, for instance, that there is a greater number of idle persons in plutocratic families than in families of the middle and professional classes, and also in the two latter classes of families than in families of the working class. Moreover, we know—and this is a fact of such vast import that it would deserve special and extended treatment—that in the wage-working class there is a smaller proportion of married persons than in the other classes, owing to various causes, inherent in the capitalist system, destructive of the family, and chief among which are the following: 1. The number of domestic ser-

vants and unskilled laborers; 2. the unsteadiness of employment and the consequent migrations of wage-workers, skilled and unskilled; 3. "the geographical separation of the sexes by the nature of the employments," large numbers of single men flocking to mining districts, iron centers, bonanza farms, new country, etc., while numbers of single women are congregated in "she-towns," where textile and other manufactures are largely carried on with female labor.

If, after giving all these circumstances and others the necessary consideration, we can reasonably assume that on an average about 1 in 5 of the plutocratic class, 1 in 4 of the mercantile middle class, 1 in 3½ of the agricultural middle class, and 1 in 4 of the professional class, are actually occupied, we obtain the following comparative results:

The Classes, According to Population.

Classes.	Number of persons in each class.			Per cent. of total population.		
	1870	1880	1890	1870	1880	1890
I. Plutocratic Class	333,175	435,715	887,390	0.86	0.88	1.41
II. Middle Class:—						
Mercantile	1,969,996	2,748,208	4,771,724	5.11	5.48	7.63
Agricultural	10,552,808	15,001,346	18,745,758	27.37	29.91	29.93
III. Professional Class	1,484,362	2,412,808	3,777,332	3.85	4.82	6.03
IV. Working Class	24,218,030	29,557,706	34,440,046	62.81	58.91	55.00
Total.....	38,558,371	50,155,783	62,622,250	100.00	100.00	100.00

From the above tables and such additional data as we shall successively present in the course of our comments, the following conclusions are drawn:

I.—In each of the three census years here considered, the Plutocratic Class, including all its family dependents—men, women and children—constituted an insignificant fraction of the total population. Whether such a fraction be a little less or a little more than one per cent. is, of course, immaterial. The apparent growth of that class in numbers from 1880 to 1890, will, however, be noted, and in so far as it is somewhat delusive requires here immediate correction. Its increase was not, indeed, by any means so great as the above figures indicate, for these are affected by the extensive transformation of private firms into corporations, which took place during that period, and the consequent transfer of many merchants, manufacturers, etc., from the middle class, in which they were counted in 1880, to the plutocratic class, in which they figured in 1890 as officers of companies. Of its stupendous growth in wealth there can, of course, be no question. With the exception of a comparatively few shares and bonds held by people of middle and professional classes, it owns the railroads, telegraphs, shipping, banks, mines and all the great industries which are generally conducted by corporations; it owns all the warehouses and the vast stocks of merchandise stored therein, waiting for the hand to mouth demands of the retail trade; all the most valuable business real estate in cities, besides palatial residences, immense tracts of land held on speculation and farms cultivated by tenants; also, art treasures, sumptuous furniture, costly apparel, etc. Lastly, it is the chief creditor of municipalities

and States and of many private persons—farmers, traders, real estate owners, etc.—belonging to the middle classes. All things considered, we believe ourselves justified in saying that the possessions of the 177,000 occupied persons included in our "plutocratic class," and a number of whom are multimillionaires, cannot have fallen short of 42,000 million dollars.* (To this may be added 2,000 millions held by foreign "investors.")

II.—If farm tenants be included, the proportion of Agricultural Middle Class in the total population is found to be almost exactly the same in 1890 as in 1880. The statistics of farm tenure, however, show that the proportion of tenants has largely increased and consequently that the proportion of owners cultivating their own farms has correspondingly decreased. These and various other data, published and commented on elsewhere in our chapter on Agriculture, show not only the extent to which a portion of this once sovereign class has deteriorated, but also the profound economic revolution through which the whole class is now passing. Deducting the mortgage and other indebtedness of farmers, and also an adequate portion of the value of the 1,295,000 farms which, cultivated by tenants, are chiefly owned by persons who do not belong to the agricultural class, a fair estimate of the net wealth of this class would hardly reach and at any rate could not exceed the sum of 10,000 million dollars.

III.—In proportion to its numbers the Mercantile Middle Class increased enormously during the two last census decades, and especially from 1880 to 1890, as may further be seen from the following percentages of its growth as compared with the growth of population:

	From 1870 to 1880.	From 1880 to 1890.	From 1870 to 1890.
Increase of total population.....	30.0	24.8	62.4
Increase of mercantile middle class.....	39.6	73.6	142.4

These figures, however, are highly deceptive; and as there are not wanting, among capitalist politicians, not to speak of Anarchists and muddleheaded persons generally, people who knavishly or stupidly argue from the numerical growth of this middle class against the Socialists' emphatic prediction of its

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* This is substantially the same result as that which Thomas G. Shearman arrived at by an entirely different method, our estimate being based on census returns of occupations and wealth, while his was derived from information supplied by commercial agencies. Shearman's estimate (1889) was as follows:

Families.	Average wealth in dollars.	Total wealth in million dollars
70	37,500,000	2,625
90	11,500,000	1,025
180	8,000,000	1,440
135	6,800,000	968
360	4,600,000	1,656
1,755	2,300,000	4,036
6,000	1,250,000	7,500
7,000	650,000	4,550
11,000	375,000	4,125
14,000	230,000	3,220
16,500	165,000	2,722
50,000	100,000	5,000
75,000	60,000	4,500
182,090	238,000	43,367

complete annihilation and disappearance, the deception cannot be too clearly exposed. Not alone the quantity of the increase but its quality must be considered, as well as the conditions under which it is taking place. If it plainly appears that with a comparatively few exceptions the people who thus increasingly swell the ranks of the mercantile middle class are not attracted into it by a corresponding enlargement of its field of opportunities; that on the contrary this field is constantly narrowing; that the new comers are driven into it by the closing up of other avenues of employment; that as they crowd in it they lessen by division and finally destroy by competition, not for themselves alone but for the previous occupants, all the chances of breath and life that might still otherwise be left in it; that their commercial death is therefore inevitable; that the rate of commercial mortality in that class has actually reached a point where every year, by bankruptcy or "failure to succeed," a number are swept out of existence equal to the number who engaged in business the previous year; and, lastly, that the supply of constantly smaller fry for bankruptcy purposes is not inexhaustible; then, we say, this very phenomenon of stupendous increase in the numbers of the mercantile middle class is an absolutely unmistakable symptom of its mortal disease and approaching collapse. For conclusive evidence as to all these facts and conditions we refer the reader to our chapter on the "Growth of Bankruptcy." We shall here simply call attention to the further fact that, despite its numerical increase, the mercantile middle class constituted only 7.63 per cent. of the total population in 1890. As to its wealth, 6,000 million dollars is a fair estimate. It partly consists in stocks of merchandise, not exceeding in the best supplied stores a few weeks and in others a few days requirements; another part consists in such machinery and tools as are found in small shops; while the larger portion is in savings bank deporits and real estate, many of the country dealers owning their own stores and homes, the value of which is usually greater than that of the stocks which they carry and for which they are to a large extent indebted to wholesale merchants.

IV.—In proportion to its numbers the Professional Class increased also enormously. It increased 56 per cent. from 1870 to 1880, and nearly 63 per cent. from 1880 to 1890. For the whole period of twenty years, 1870—1890, while the total population, as already stated, increased about 60 per cent., this class increased 154 per cent. There is nothing surprising in that. Considering the unparalleled development of industry and wealth in the United States during that period it is quite natural that the demand for the services of engineers, chemists, architects, draftsmen, painters, sculptors, actors, musicians, journalists, etc., should have far exceeded the growth of population. Again, while in the older cities the educational facilities of a primary order did not by any means progress at so great a rate and even in some cases showed signs of retrogression, the constant opening of new country, the birth of new towns along new railways, and the special necessity, felt in the Southern States, of giving some rudimentary education to the children of the emancipated negroes, favored a rapid increase in the number of common school teachers. In every new settlement the school and the church were, in fact, a capitalistic speculation, an "inducement" broadly advertised by landsharks. It is almost superfluous to state that in most professions the supply very quickly exceeded the demand. Of lawyers and ministers the number more than doubled in twenty years, while the journalists, musicians and architects multiplied fourfold, the artists fivefold, the theatrical managers and

showmen fifteenfold, etc. The increase was especially great in the last decade, with one remarkable exception. It is a fact deserving of notice that the only corps of professionals that did not multiply faster than population from 1880 to 1890 was that of the physicians and surgeons. Another notable fact is that although the number of people returned as 'literary and scientific persons" shows a marked advance, the figure which it reached in 1890 was only 6,714. Nine-tenths of these may be set down as novel-writers and contributors of generally inferior literature, exploiters and perverters of the popular imagination, having no other aim than that of making money. Of truly "scientific" persons contributing in some degree to the progress of human knowledge, this country of seventy million people possesses less than a thousand. Is not this in itself the most terrible arraignment that can be made of the capitalist system? Is it not at the same time the most powerful argument that can be produced in favor of Socialism? If science does advance despite this stupendous waste of brain power, what progress may we not expect when all the intellectual forces of the human race now dormant are set in motion?

The share of wealth held by the professional class is difficult to estimate. After mature consideration we arrived at the conclusion that the figure of $2,500,000,000 approximates the actual amount. It would be far less if there were not in that class a comparatively few very rich persons, chiefly lawyers and ministers, who properly belong body and soul to the plutocracy. A number of others own their homes or enjoy the "product" of their personal or inherited accumulations; but the proportion of such well-to-do persons is probably no greater than in the middle class. The remainder, the great bulk of the professional body, the only portion of it which is now increasing in number, can no more boast of economic independence than the manual worker, although living, on an average, upon a higher plane of comfort. Books, instruments, costumes, etc., according to professions, are the necessary and only possessions of an overwhelming majority of the people of this class. It is from this poorer stratum—from this intellectual proletariat, so-called—that Socialism, in the countries where it is now strongest, has recruited some of its most active, gifted and courageous exponents.

V.—The actual number of workers—that is, of persons in occupations—belonging to what is specially termed here "Working Class," not only increased largely, but increased also at a faster rate than the total population of the country, as may be seen from the following percentages:

	From 1870 to 1880.	From 1880 to 1890.	From 1870 to 1890.
Increase of total population.....	30.0	24.8	62.4
Increase of working class workers.....	37.1	28.4	76.0

On the other hand, however, the following figures show that the working class population—that is, including not only the workers but their family dependents—increased at a much less rate than the total population of the country:

	From 1870 to 1880.	From 1880 to 1890.	From 1870 to 1890.
Increase of total population.....	30.0	24.8	62.4
Increase of working class population...	22.0	16.5	12.2

This is, we believe, the first time that these two facts are thus brought together; and, when they are thus viewed in their relation to each other, their significance is so great, so deep; they illustrate so vividly the workings

of the capitalist system, that we cannot too earnestly call attention to their import.

During the period of twenty years covered by our figures machinery vastly multiplied the productive power of the manual worker. With an addition of only 76 per cent. to the laboring force the product in 1890 was several times as large as in 1870. Had wages on one side and prices on the other been so adjusted as to maintain in 1890 the proportions in which that product was divided between the classes twenty years before, the working class would have found its lot enormously improved, although the capitalist would have "profited" in the same ratio. But it is not in the nature of capitalism that machinery should act otherwise than as a competitor of the manual worker—that is, otherwise than as a factor of working class degradation.

It falls, indeed, under the sense that if the wages and profit ratio of 1870 had been maintained and the conditions of the working class had consequently been improved in proportion to the progress of machinery, the number of wage-workers would not have increased 76 per cent.—or faster by nearly 14 per cent., than the general population of the country—while the wage-working population itself was increasing at the much less rate of 42 per cent. Such a difference in the two rates of growth necessarily involved a heavy draft upon the families of the working class; that is, a conversion of many weaker members of those families into wage-workers, as is shown by the fact that the number of women reported in occupation increased from 1,645,000 in 1870 to 3,712,000 in 1890, or over 125 per cent. Manifestly, if any improvement had taken place, the stronger members would have been better able to take care of their families, female labor would have decreased, children and youths would have become workers at a later age, and our figures would express arithmetically a phenomenon the very opposite of the startling one which they now record. They would show a less rate of increase in the number of working class workers than in the numbers of the working class population—although they might and would probably show also a decreased percentage of the latter, owing to the increased ability of wage-working fathers to supply their children with the educational and pecuniary means of embracing scientific and artistic professions under favorable conditions. In other words, they would especially and inevitably show that in the average family of the working class there were fewer persons at work in 1890 than in 1870, the earnings of the stronger being sufficient to sustain the whole family; whereas, they do show the contrary, as follows:

1. Of the working class population, including men, women and children, 35 per cent. in 1870, and 44 per cent. in 1890, were reported as engaged in occupations; that is, had to work—in order to sustain themselves and their family dependents.

2. This was an addition of about one worker to the number previously required in each family for its support; and it necessarily came from the weaker members (women, youths and children), since the stronger were previously occupied at the already large rate of 1 worker in 3 of population.

It will no doubt be observed that, in accordance with the important facts stated in our chapter on "Female Labor," due allowance should be made for such industries as women's clothing and some others, which, by passing from the home to the factory, converted a number of persons, chiefly women, previously working within and for the family circle, into wage earners, working for capitalists. But this growth of the wage system, together with the

fundamental cause of it, is precisely what we have here under consideration. The very fact of the absorption of those industries by capitalism was rendered possible by the degradation of labor consequent upon the capitalistic use of machinery, not as an aid but as a competitor of the human worker.

Nor is this all. To the gradual debasement of the working class can plainly be traced the coincident debasement of the mercantile middle class, simultaneously with its abnormal growth in numbers. As is fully explained elsewhere, that portion of the working class which, by saving or inheritance, had reached a somewhat higher economic plane than the rest, is forced out of it by declining wages or enforced idleness. It is driven into the mercantile middle class, where it soon finds a grave instead of a refuge. A number of its children eventually swell the poorer ranks of the professional class, the ranks of the more or less "intellectual" proletariat.

The term "wealth" is hardly applicable to the ordinary possessions of the working class—such as tools, furniture, bedding, kitchen utensils, wearing apparel and other articles of necessity or ornament—all acquired slowly and painfully, each of little amount in itself, yet footing up a dazzling figure when multiplied by the vast numbers of that class. A special agent of the census, Mr. George K. Holmes, estimated at about $2,750,000,000 the total value of such possessions in 1890; to which should be added the homes owned and the savings made by a comparatively few families.

Below is presented our detailed classification.

I.—PLUTOCRATIC CLASS.

Occupations.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Bankers and brokers	11,015	19,373	35,968
Manufacturers and officials of manufacturing companies	45,021	52,217	101,610
Officials of banks and of insurance, trade, transportation, trust, and other companies	10,599	15,553	39,900
Total	66,635	87,143	177,478

II.—MERCANTILE MIDDLE CLASS.

Occupations.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Agents (claim, commission, real estate, insurance, etc.), and collectors	20,316	33,989	174,582
Auctioneers	2,266	2,331	3,205
Builders and contractors	10,231	14,597	45,988
Boarding and lodging house keepers	12,785	19,058	44,349
Hotel keepers	26,394	32,453	44,076
Livery stable keepers	8,504	14,213	26,757
Merchants and dealers	357,263	479,439	691,325
Publishers of books, maps and newspapers.	1,577	2,781	6,284
Restaurant and saloon keepers (and bartenders, not separately enumerated in census)	50,767	83,078	146,474
Undertakers	1,996	5,113	9,891
Total	492,099	687,052	1,192,931

III.—AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIED CLASSES.

Including only Owners and Tenants of Agricultural Land.

Occupations.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Group 1.—(Great landowners):—			
Owners of farms, plantations, ranches, etc., of 500 acres and over.....	19,593	104,550	115,941
Group 2.—(Middle class farmers and tenants):—			
Owners and tenants of farms and plantations of 100 to 500 acres.....	565,054	*1,695,983	*2,008,694
Group 3.—(Small owners and tenants):			
Owners and tenants of farms of less than 100 acres	2,396,673	*2,428,518	*3,156,922
Group 4.—(Miscellaneous specialties):—			
Gardeners, florists, nurserymen, vine-growers and apiarists	33,768	57,048	74,374
Total	3,015,088	4,286,099	5,355,931

* The number of farms cultivated by tenants was 1,024,601 (or 25.55 per cent. of the total number of farms in 1880); whereas, in 1890, of the 4,767,179 families occupying 4,564,641 farms, (or 34.08 per cent. of the total number of families) occupied as tenants 1,294,913 farms (or 28.37 per cent. of the total number of farms.

IV.—PROFESSIONAL CLASS.

(Art, Science, Literature, Education, Medicine, Law, Religion and War)—:

Occupations.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Actors	2,053	4,812	9,728
Architects	2,017	3,375	8,070
Artists and teachers of art.....	4,081	9,104	22,496
Authors and literary and scientific persons..	979	1,131	6,714
Chemists, assayers, and metallurgists.....	772	1,969	4,503
Clergymen	43,874	64,698	88,203
Dentists	7,389	12,314	17,498
Designers, draftsmen and inventors.....	1,286	2,820	9,391
Engineers (civil, mechanical, electrical and mining), and surveyors.....	7,374	8,261	43,239
Journalists	5,286	12,308	21,849
Lawyers	40,736	64,137	89,630
Musicians and teachers of music.....	16,010	30,477	62,155
Officers of the United States Army and Navy	2,286	2,600	2,926
Officials (government)	44,743	67,081	79,664
Physicians and surgeons	62,448	85,671	104,805
Professors and teachers	126,822	227,710	347,344
Theatrical managers, showmen, etc.	1,177	2,604	18,055
Veterinary surgeons	1,166	2,130	6,494
Other professional service	149	....	1,569
Total	371,098	603,202	944,333

V.—WAGE-WORKING CLASS.

Occupations.	1870.	1880.	1890.
GROUP 1.—Clerical, etc.			
Book-keepers, clerks, salesmen, stenographers and typewriters	310,988	536,733	1,014,544
Commercial travelers	7,262	28,153	58,691
Foremen and overseers	.....	.....	36,084
Telegraph and telephone operators	8,316	23,166	52,214
Weighers, gaugers and measurers	926	3,302	3,860
Total for Group 1	327,492	591,359	1,165,393
GROUP 2.—Manufacturing and Mechanical.			
Mechanical trades:			
Carpenters and joiners	344,596	373,143	611,482
Marble and stone cutters	25,831	32,842	61,070
Masons (brick and stone)	89,710	102,473	158,918
Mechanics (not otherwise specified)	16,514	7,858	15,485
Painters, glaziers and varnishers	86,657	130,319	219,912
Paper-hangers	2,490	5,013	12,369
Plasterers	23,800	22,083	39,002
Plumbers and gas and steam fitters	11,143	19,383	56,607
Roofers and slaters	2,750	4,026	7,043
Whitewashers	2,873	3,316	3,996
Total	606,364	700,456	1,185,884
Metal workers:			
Agricultural implement makers (not otherwise specified)	3,811	4,891	3,755
Blacksmiths	142,075	172,726	205,337
Brassworkers (not otherwise specified)	4,863	11,568	17,265
Clock and watch makers and repairers	1,779	13,820	25,252
Copper workers	2,122	2,342	3,384
Electroplaters	.....	.....	2,756
Gold and silver workers	18,508	28,405	20,263
Gunsmiths, locksmiths and bell-hangers	8,184	10,572	9,158
Iron and steel workers	87,098	116,927	144,921
Lead and zinc workers	649	2,105	4,616
Machinists	54,755	101,130	177,090
Metal workers (not otherwise specified)	79	.....	16,694
Molders	.....	.....	66,289
Nail and tack makers	.....	5,803	4,583
Sewing machine makers (not otherwise specified)	3,881	2,725	880
Steam boiler makers	6,958	12,771	21,339
Stove, furnace and grate makers	1,543	3,341	8,932
Tinners and tinware makers	30,524	42,818	55,488

Occupations.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Tool and cutlery makers	6,764	15,588	17,985
Wheelwrights	20,942	15,592	12,856
Wire workers	2,796	7,170	12,319
Total	397,331	570,294	831,162
Engineers and firemen (not locomotive)	34,233	79,628	139,765
Wood workers, piano makers, etc.:			
Basket makers	3,297	5,654	5,225
Broom and brush makers	5,816	8,479	10,115
Cabinet makers	42,835	50,654	35,915
Carriage and wagon makers (not otherwise classified)	42,464	49,881	34,538
Coopers	43,647	53,199	47,486
Door, sash and blind makers	5,155	4,946	5,041
Piano and organ makers (also tuners)	3,579	7,850	15,335
Saw and planing mill employees	58,025	87,411	133,637
Ship and boat builders	23,175	19,515	22,951
Upholsterers	6,111	10,443	25,666
Wood workers (not otherwise specified)	10,789	16,833	67,360
Total	244,893	314,865	403,269
Food and drink preparers:			
Bakers	27,680	41,309	60,197
Bottlers and mineral and soda water makers	458	2,081	7,230
Brewers and maltsters	11,246	16,278	20,362
Butchers	44,354	76,241	105,456
Butter and cheese makers	3,534	4,570	11,211
Confectioners	8,219	13,692	23,251
Distillers and rectifiers	2,874	3,245	3,314
Meat, fish and fruit packers, canners and preservers	2,377	6,296	7,109
Millers (flour and grist)	41,582	53,440	52,841
Salt works employees	1,721	1,431	1,765
Sugar makers and refiners	1,609	2,327	2,616
Total	145,654	220,910	295,352
Clothing makers:			
Button makers	1,272	4,872	2,601
Corset makers	.....	4,660	6,533
Dress makers, milliners and seamstresses	93,520	286,981	499,690
Glove makers	2,329	4,511	6,416
Hat and cap makers	12,625	16,860	24,013
Lace and embroidery makers	.....	1,708	5,256
Rubber factory operatives	3,886	6,350	16,162
Sewing machine operators	3,042	7,505	7,126

Occupations.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Shirt, collar and cuff makers	4,080	11,823	21,107
Straw workers	2,029	4,229	3,666
Tailors and tailoresses	161,820	133,756	185,400
Umbrella and parasol makers	1,439	1,967	3,403
Total	286,042	485,222	781,373
Textile workers:			
Carpet makers	15,669	17,068	22,302
Cotton-mill operatives	111,606	169,771	173,142
Hosiery and knitting mill operatives	3,653	12,194	29,555
Mill and factory operatives (not specified)	44,806	39,632	93,596
Print-works operatives	3,738	5,419	6,701
Silk-mill operatives	3,256	18,071	34,855
Woolen-mill operatives	58,836	88,010	84,109
Bleachers, dyers and scourers	4,901	8,222	14,210
Total	246,465	358,387	458,470
Leather workers:			
Boot and shoe makers and repairers	171,127	194,079	213,544
Harness and saddle makers and repairers	33,426	39,960	43,480
Leather curriers, dressers, finishers and tanners	30,726	29,842	39,332
Trunk, valise, leather case and pocketbook makers	2,047	4,410	6,279
Total	237,326	268,291	302,635
Printers, engravers, bookbinders, etc.:			
Bookbinders	9,104	13,833	23,858
Engravers	4,226	4,577	8,320
Printers, lithographers, pressmen, electro and stereotypers	40,424	72,726	118,424
Total	53,754	91,136	150,602
Workers in other manufacturing and and mechanical industries:			
Artificial flower makers	1,169	3,399	3,046
Bone and ivory workers	901	1,888	1,691
Box makers	6,080	15,762	28,640
Brick and tile makers and terra cotta workers	26,070	36,052	60,214
Britania workers	1,092	1,375	904
Candle, soap and tallow makers	1,942	2,923	3,450
Charcoal, coke and lime burners	3,834	5,851	8,704
Chemical works employees	.....	2,923	3,628
Fertilizer makers	316	1,383	732
Gas works employees	2,086	4,695	5,224
Glass workers	9,518	17,934	34,282
Hair workers	1,026	1,965	1,254

Occupations.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Model and pattern makers	3,970	5,822	10,300
Oil well employees	3,803	7,340	9,147
Oil works employees	1,747	3,929	5,624
Paper mill operatives	12,469	21,430	27,817
Photographers	7,558	9,990	20,040
Potters	5,060	7,233	14,928
Powder and cartridge makers	761	.....	1,385
Rope and cordage makers	2,675	3,514	8,001
Sail, awning and tent makers	2,309	2,950	3,257
Starch makers	229	1,385	746
Tobacco (cigar makers and factory operatives)	40,271	77,045	111,625
Well borers	.....	.....	4,854
Others in manufacturing and mechanical industries	25,308	54,235	76,714
Also apprentices in manufacturing and mechanical industries	17,391	44,170	82,457
Total	177,585	335,193	528,664
Recapitulation of Group 2:			
Mechanical trades	606,364	700,456	1,185,884
Metal workers	397,331	570,294	831,162
Engineers and firemen (not locomotive)	34,233	79,628	139,765
Wood workers, piano makers, etc.	244,893	314,865	403,269
Food and drink preparers	145,654	220,910	295,352
Clothing makers	286,042	485,222	781,373
Textile workers	246,465	358,387	458,470
Leather workers	237,326	268,291	302,635
Printers, engravers, bookbinders, etc.	53,754	91,136	150,602
Other manufacturing and mechanical workers	177,585	335,193	528,664
Total for Group 2	2,429,647	3,424,382	5,077,176
GROUP 3.—Workers engaged in Transporting, Packing, Storing, Expressing, Delivering, etc.; also Linemen, etc.			
Steam railroad employees	154,027	236,058	462,213
Street railway employees	5,103	11,687	37,434
Total for steam and street railway employees	159,130	247,745	499,647
Draymen, hackmen, teamsters, etc.	120,756	177,586	368,499
Hostlers	17,586	31,697	54,036
Total for draymen, etc.	138,342	209,283	422,535
Telegraph and telephone linemen and electric light and power company employees	.....	.....	11,134

Occupations.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Messengers and errand and office boys	8,717	13,985	51,355
Newspaper carriers and newsboys	2,002	3,374	5,288
Packers and shippers	5,461	9,342	24,946
Porters and helpers (in stores and warehouses)	16,631	32,192	24,356
Total for messengers, carriers, porters, etc.	32,811	58,893	105,945
Boatmen and canal men	28,670	24,697	16,716
Pilots	3,649	3,770	4,259
Sailors	56,663	60,070	55,899
Total for boatmen and sailors	88,982	88,537	76,874
Other persons in trade and transportation (not clerks)	36,346	47,162	3,883
Total for Group 3	455,611	651,620	1,120,018
GROUP 4.—Workers in Agriculture.			
Agricultural laborers	2,885,996	3,323,876	3,004,061
Dairy men and dairy women	3,550	8,948	17,895
Lumbermen and raftsmen	17,752	30,651	65,866
Stock-raisers, herders and drovers	15,359	44,075	70,729
Wood choppers	8,338	12,731	33,697
Other agricultural pursuits	2,478	7,495	17,747
Total for Group 4	2,933,473	3,427,776	3,209,995
GROUP 5.—Miners, Quarrymen, Laborers.			
Miners	152,107	234,228	349,592
Quarrymen	13,589	15,169	37,656
Laborers (not specified)	1,046,966	1,864,245	1,913,373
Total for Group 5	1,212,662	2,113,642	2,300,621
GROUP 6.—Workers in Personal and Domestic Service.			
Barbers and hair dressers	23,935	44,851	84,982
Janitors	1,769	6,763	21,556
Launderers and laundresses	60,906	121,942	248,462
Nurses and midwives	12,162	15,601	47,586
Servants	1,000,417	1,155,351	1,546,827
Sextons	1,151	2,449	4,982
Others in personal and domestic service	15,886	38,567	13,063
Total for Group 6	1,116,226	1,385,524	1,967,458
GROUP 7.—All Other Persons.			
Fishermen and oystermen	27,106	41,352	60,162
Hucksters and peddlers	34,337	53,491	59,083
Hunters, trappers, guides and scouts	1,111	1,912	2,534
Soldiers, sailors and marines (U. S.)	23,338	24,161	27,919
Watchmen, policemen and detectives	.....	13,384	74,629
Total for Group 7	85,892	134,300	224,327

Occupations.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Recapitulation of Wage Working (or Proletarian) Class:			
Group 1—Workers in clerical employments	327,492	591,359	1,165,393
Group 2—Workers in manufacturing and mechanical employments	2,429,647	3,424 382	5,077,176
Group 3—Workers in transportation, etc.	455,611	651,620	1,120,018
Group 4—Workers in agriculture	2,933,473	3,427,776	3,209,995
Group 5—Miners, quarrymen, laborers.	1,212,662	2,113,642	2,300,621
Group 6—Workers in personal and domestic service	1,116,226	1,385,524	1,967,458
Group 7—All other persons	85,892	134,300	224,327
Total for wage working or proletarian class	8,561,003	11,728,603	15,064,988

According to the estimates given above in our comments on each class, the several classes in 1890 compared as follows in population and wealth:

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH, 1890.

Classes.	Numbers.	Wealth.	Per cent. of	
			total population.	total wealth.
I—Plutocratic Class	887,390	$42,000,000,000	1.41	64.37
II—Middle Class:—				
Mercantile	4,771,724	$ 6,000,000,000	7.63	9.20
Agricultural	18,745,758	10,000,000,000	29.93	15.33
Total Middle Class	23,517,482	$16,000,000,000	37.56	24.53
III—Professional Class	3,777,332	$2,500,000,000	6.03	3.83
IV—Working Class	34,440,046	$2,750,000,000	55.00	4.21
Foreign Investors	.....	$2,000,000,000	....	3.06
Total	62,622,250	$65,250,000,000	100.00	100.00

It therefore appears from the foregoing table:

1—That the Plutocratic Class, representing less than 1½ per cent. of the population, held more than 64 per cent. (and with its allies, the foreign investors, about 67½ per cent.) of the total wealth produced by American labor.

2—That the Middle Class, Agricultural and Mercantile, represented 37½ per cent. of the total population and 24½ per cent. of the total wealth.

3—That the Professional Class, representing 6 per cent. of the population, had a little less than 4 per cent. of the total wealth.

4—That the Working Class, representing 55 per cent. of the population, had a little more than 4 per cent. of the total wealth.

5—That, taken together, the Professional and Working Classes, comprising the PROLETARIAT and representing 61 per cent. of the total population, owned only 8 per cent. of the total wealth, chiefly in the perishable form of tools, instruments, household goods and wearing apparel, having a use value, but no exchange value.

PROGRESS OF BANKRUPTCY.

COMMERCIAL FAILURES IN THE UNITED STATES (1857—1897).

Year.	Number of failures.	Liabilities.	Number of firms in business.
1857	4,932	$291,750,000	.....
1858	4,225	95,749,000	.....
1859	3,913	64,394,000	.....
1860	3,676	79,807,000	.....
1861	6,993	207,210,000	.....
1862*	1,652	23,049,000	.....
1863*	495	7,899,000	.....
1864*	520	8,579,000	.....
1865*	530	17,625,000	.....
1866	1,505	53,783,000	.....
1867	2,780	96,666,000	.....
1868	2,608	63,694,000	.....
1869	2,799	75,054,000	.....
1870	3,551	88,242,000	426,000
1871	2,915	85,252,000	475,145
1872	4,069	121,036,000	528,971
1873	5,183	228,499,000	559,764
1874	5,830	155,239,000	600,490
1875	7,740	201,060,000	642,423
1876	9,092	191,117,000	690,992
1877	8,872	190,669,000	674,741
1878	10,478	234,383,000	693,420
1879	6,658	98,149,000	702,359
1880	4,735	65,752,000	724,517
1881	5,582	81,156,000	781,689
1882	6,738	102,000,000	822,256
1883	9,184	173,000,000	863,993
1884	10,968	226,000,000	904,759
1885	10,637	124,000,000	919,996
1886	9,834	115,000,000	969,841
1887	9,634	167,500,000	994,281
1888	10,679	124,000,000	1,046,662
1889	10,882	149,000,000	1,051,140
1890	10,907	189,860,000	1,110,590
1891	12,273	189,870,000	1,142,951
1892	10,270	108,600,000	1,051,564
1893	15,508	382,150,000	1,059,806
1894	12,724	151,548,000	1,042,202
1895	12,958	158,728,000	1,053,633
1896	15,094	246,919,000	1,079,070
1897	13,083	158,698,000	1,086,056

* The statistics of 1862, 1863, 1864 and 1865 are for the Northern States only.

The table on the foregoing page shows us the obverse side—the bankruptcy side—of Capitalism; but in order to fully comprehend its meaning certain facts which do not appear therein but are closely connected therewith must be considered. In other words, the figures here presented should be read in the light of history.

First comes the great crisis year 1857, with its 4,932 failures, involving liabilities to the comparatively enormous amount of nearly $300,000,000, showing the average, unequaled ever since, of $59,000 per failure. This was a good old time crisis. There were in those days no giant capitalists, able to resist the shock of a panic, and everybody, were it only for self-protection, promptly became a bankrupt. After a while "matters adjusted themselves" and business resumed its ordinary course.

Next came, four years later, the crisis of 1861, brought about by the Civil War. This was, from the capitalist standpoint, a "blessing in disguise." The panic was of short duration. Debts were soon paid in depreciated money. The prices of all things began to inflate and everybody—except the wage-worker and the soldier—hastened to get rich at the expense of the government, who sank into debt at a stupendous rate. While the war lasted the number of failures in the Northern States was absolutely insignificant.

With the disbandment of the armies and the consequent decline of activity in the industries that had been chiefly promoted by the extraordinary needs of the nation, a recrudescence of bankruptcy was inevitable, and the establishments involved were necessarily, for the most part, of some importance; so that, in 1867, there were already 2,780 failures, with liabilities aggregating nearly $100,000,000 and showing the high average of $35,000 per failure. Commercial disasters would have been more numerous but for the fact that even reckless speculators, owing to the depreciation of paper money during the war, immediately followed by its appreciation upon the re-establishment of peace, had amassed wealth more quickly than they could contract debts. Through this appreciation stocks and bonds had doubled in actual value, while many other forms of property, especially real estate, commanded nearly the same prices in improved dollars as they had acquired in depreciated ones. Moreover, there were many new fields open to the enterprise of profit-makers. Railways, in particular, were a pressing need to the now re-united country, and in their patriotic desire to serve the nation best by serving themselves first, capitalists and politicians associated their efforts, their abilities, their powers, in the comprehensive work of grabbing every public franchise and public property in sight. Railroad building on a colossal scale gave an enormous impetus to the iron and steel industry. In other leading branches an unprecedented activity of invention imparted also a corresponding activity to production, while the continuous growth of wealth developed a taste for display, which gave rise to a large importation—and ultimately, through tariff protection, to the domestic manufacture—of luxuries until then practically foreign to this continent.

Under those conditions the mercantile class, despite the occasional increase of failures, continued upon the whole to grow in wealth as well as in numbers. In 1870 there were upon the books of commercial agencies 426,000 firms and corporations of various sizes, doing each a sufficient amount of business to deserve a "rating". In 1871 the number of such firms increased to 475,000, but the number of failures decreased to 2,915 (or 1 failure in 63 business firms); the average amount of liabilities per failure being $29,000. Apparently

the sky was bright, "the country" was prosperous. Those were still, in fact, the golden days of the middle class.

There was, however, an evident premonition of disturbance in 1872, when the number of failures rose to 4,000 and the liabilities to $121,000,000. All in vain, of course. But this time, indeed, enterprise in almost every direction had overreached the limits of safety, speculation had become blindly reckless, luxurious living and insolent display not only had passed into a rule of conduct among the wealthier parvenus but were resorted to by the sinking pretenders as a means of deception, and in all the strata of the middle class there was a large proportion of people doing business with borrowed money. The crash finally came in the last days of 1873.

For six long years the "liquidation" went on. When at the end of 1879 the capitalistic machine was sufficiently freed of rubbish to start again on a prosperous tour, it was found that the number of bankrupts swept out of existence during the prolonged crisis was nearly 54,000, with liabilities amounting to $1,365,000,000.

Yet, singular as it may appear, the number of firms on the books of commercial agencies had during the same period increased from 560,000 to 702,000. As the number of establishments in manufacturing and mechanical industries, according to the census, increased only 1,704 from 1870 to 1880, nearly the whole of the increase reported by the agencies must have consisted in firms purely commercial—that is, engaged in the transportation and distribution of products.

That such was the case cannot be doubted. As the census conclusively shows, the crisis of 1873—79 greatly favored the concentration of capital in manufacturing industry, not only barring out of this field the adventurers of small means but rendering it uninviting to men of some pecuniary solidity so long as other fields remained open. No such concentration had as yet taken place in commerce, and especially in the retail trade; nor in the agriculture of the Western and Southern States, whose farmers and planters, although by no means prosperous, were steadily increasing their product to meet the enlarging demand of foreign countries and the requirements of a growing domestic population, thereby affording to transporters and merchants some additional opportunities of employment. It is safe to say, however, that a large majority of the new firms were of small financial calibre; mere fuel in reserve for the advancing fire of bankruptcy.

The "revival of business" was hailed with delight by everybody, and by no one more gratefully to God Capital than by the workingman who himself created that idol and made it so powerful that he must reverently depend upon it for his daily bread. It was unquestionably a great revival. As every capitalist said that the profits were small, we may, if we please, believe that it was so. As every record shows that the wages were low, we must, will or nil, believe that such was the case, and that the wage earner, so long idle and starving, was glad enough to get any wages at all. At any rate, in proportion to the number of firms engaged and the amount of business done the failures of 1880 were less in number and liabilities than at any previous time since the Civil War. They increased somewhat in 1881, sensibly more in 1882, largely in 1883, and at last, in 1884, footed up nearly 11,000 in number and $226,000,000 in liabilities. The amount involved was almost exactly the same as in 1873, but the number of bankrupts was more than double. Yet there was no crisis, except for those who fell by the way. The others, who went

on gaily making "small profits" as usual, called it a "depression." In fact there was not the ghost of a depression either, except on the "labor market," where the thing was not a ghost but a hard reality. Vast numbers of men had been thrown out of work by the introduction of labor-saving machinery on an unprecedented scale of magnitude and efficiency. But in nearly all the branches of industry production was increasing in quantity and value; in quantity, no doubt, more than in value; not, however, because more was produced than was needed, but simply because the improved machinery permitted to produce, and therefore to sell, more cheaply.

And so this growing movement of wealth development ludicrously called depression went on, presenting to the "vulgar bourgeois economist" depicted by Marx a variety of statistical phenomena, which in appearance were of the most confusing and contradictory sort it had ever been his good fortune to gaze upon in stupid wonderment.

For instance, in the nine years 1883—1891, inclusive, 95,000 firms went into bankruptcy, with a total liability of about $1,450,000,000. Surely, as our stupid bourgeois economist saw it, this was plain evidence of depression. Yet, the number of firms on the books of commercial agencies steadily increased, year after year, from 822,0000 in 1882, to 1,143,000 in 1891. Surely, then, as our wiseacre had now to own it, there couud not have been any depression. Moreover, as already stated, production and wealth had in the meantime increased enormously. In six years we had more than doubled our output of iron and finally passed England in this standard industry. The world was more than ever dependent upon us for breadstuffs, provisions, cotton, petroleum and other necessaries. The census of 1890 had shown for the decade an addition of 22 billions of dollars to the estimated value of all kinds of property. "We"—the propertied class—were now amassing treasure at the rate of 3,000 million dollars a year. If all that was "depression," what might exhilaration be?

In 1892, the number of failures declined and the amount of liabilities grew smaller than it had been since 1882. To all appearances the horizon was brighter and "the country" more prosperous than it had ever been. Surely the "depression," if there had been any, was now at an end. The previous washing away of rotten timber had cleared the way for a further advance. Yet, in that year, the number of firms on the books of Bradstreet's showed a falling off of 91,000, and six months later (July, 1893), a stupendous crisis burst upon the country like a clap of thunder in a cloudless sky.

Increasing bankruptcy with increasing prosperity; increasing enterprise with increasing bankruptcy; then, decreasing enterprise with increasing prosperity and decreasing failure; lastly, a spontaneous tumbling down of the whole edifice at the time of its greatest apparent solidity; how could all those conflicting or contradictory facts be reconciled? What had happened to thus change all the "eternal laws" of the capitalist system as laid down by the Manchester school of competitive economy?

Something, indeed, had occurred; which had not changed any eternal laws, however, but on the contrary was itself a logical result of the only law that, so far as we know, is eternal, namely, the law of evolution.

On the resumption of business in 1880, Capitalism had entered a new phase—the phase of trustification—in accordance with the new conditions issued from the long crisis through which it had passed since 1873. Of course, there had been some concentration before, and there was still to be much com-

petition later. Between two successive epochs there is no sharp line of demarcation; the transition is more or less gradual. But the prevailing tendency of each epoch is the chief point to be considered in determining its character. According to this rule the epoch of capitalistic concentration in the United States may safely be dated from 1880, although the prevalence of its characteristic tendency did not fully appear, even to clear-sighted observers, until a few years later, that is, until the movement of trustification had manifested itself by a number of great "combines," not only in the manufacturing industries (which, as already stated above, had been well advanced in that direction by the previous crisis), but in the upper strata or commerce, transportation and agriculture.

From that time the capitalist world was divided into two classes, more and more distinct, namely: 1. The Plutocratic class, representing the "New Capitalism" and composed of vast aggregated interests; 2. the Middle Class, representing the "Old Capitalism" and composed of small, individual, segregated units. Outside of the plutocratic combinations, but actually belonging to the plutocratic class, stood a number of wealthy and influential business men, averse to the idea of relinquishing the control or management of their own affairs, and unwilling to amalgamate their interests with those of despised, hated or mistrusted rivals. Against these rebels, of course, all the power of the "combines" was first directed; and in the resulting conflict between the gigantic forces involved the smaller concerns were as effectually swept out of existence as they might have been if the plutocratic factions, instead of warring among themselves, had immediately united for the destruction of their middle class inferior competitors.

The first phenomenon above referred to, of an increase of bankruptcy in the midst of prosperity, is thus readily explained. It will become still more comprehensible as we proceed. The second one—increasing enterprise with increasing bankruptcy—may now be considered.

Under capitalism there is compulsory idleness, but there is also compulsory activity; and one is about as bad as the other, because the latter, by its misdirection and unprofitableness, is generally, like the former, a waste of human power.

From the progress of trustification in the higher branches of manufacture, transportation and commerce, naturally resulted a simplification of methods and an economy of labor not less important in the administrative than in the technical or mechanical department of production. In those branches the superintending and clerical force was gradually reduced to the fullest possible extent. The labor thus dispensed with had until then been of the best paid. Those who had performed it were, upon the whole, persons of so-called good conduct and provident habits, carrying an insurance policy and a savings bank account; in a word, holding property of some sort sufficient to distinctly place them, both in fact and in sympathy, outside of the proletariat. With the small capital at their command they could not undertake to compete with the larger establishments that no longer needed their services as employees. Nor would they, even if they could, have become mechanics or operatives. They did the most sensible, the most natural thing they could think of; the only thing which they could actually do. Either as agents or as dealers they entered the ranks of the mercantile middle class.

Nor were they the only ones compelled to take this course. Skilled mechanics in far greater number, displaced by machinery or disgusted with their trades

by successive reductions of wages, growing unsteadiness of employment, and hopeless struggles against the downward tendency of earnings, similarly undertook to better their condition by embarking with such small savings as they had previously been able to make, perchance also with a small inheritance or some borrowed money in the rotten ship of middle class business*

Properly analyzed—as they are elsewhere in this publication—the figures of the census not only confirm but explain those of Bradstreet's commercial agency, by showing the full extent, petty mercantilism and compulsory nature of the movement of "enterprise" which they reveal in the face of growing bankruptcy. From 1880 to 1890, Bradstreet's figures show an increase of 386,000 in the number of firms with a "credit" or no "credit rating" on its books. On the other hand the Census shows for the same period an increase of 685,000, composed as follows: 211,000 "merchants and dealers" (puny concerns, of course, for the most part); 216,000 hotel, restaurant, saloon, livery stable, boarding house and inn keepers; 31,000 builders and contractors; 140,000 commission, real estate, insurance and other "agents," and about 87,000 small "manufacturing and mechanical" establishments. Of the latter, 40,000 were in the clothing trades, which in the ten years under consideration were developed on the lines of the "sweating system," that is, actually carried on by a comparatively few great firms, employing each many contractors or "sweaters"; 24,000 figured in the building trades as "boss" carpenters, masons, painters, plasterers, plumbers, roofers, etc., and were also in reality subcontractors, or "sweaters"; the remainder consisted of established bakers, confectioners, cigarmakers, watch and clock repairers, cobblers, photographers, picture framers, and suchlike "gagne-petits." Observe, by the way, that owing to the inclusion of those 87,000 "cockroach bosses" in the Census, the grand total of manufacturing concerns, the actual concentration of manufacturing capital is at first hidden from the superficial observer; but its magnitude soon appears upon closer inspection, for it is then found that in all the great industries there was from 1880 to 1890 a marked decrease or an insignificant increase in the number of establishments, coincident with an enormous addition to the amount of capital engaged.

Keeping all these facts in view, whether we turn to manufacturing industry, commerce, transportation, and even agriculture, we readily see: (1) That the field of enterprise, ever so enlarged to great capitalists by new opportunities, has been considerably narrowed to the middle class by constant encroachments of the plutocracy upon spheres of business activity formerly occupied, either partly or exclusively, by individuals of small means; (2) that within the narrower field which is still accessible to persons of limited resources, weaker and weaker adventurers, obedient to the irresistible law of necessity, have been pressing in steadily growing numbers.

We now come to the third puzzling fact—the unprecedented fact of 1892, namely, decrease of bankruptcy and simultaneous decline in the number of business firms.

The explanation of it is quite simple. We need only remember that the years 1890, 1891 and 1892 were, upon the whole, the most prosperous that "the country" had yet enjoyed. In the enlarged and constantly enlarging field of great capitalistic operations all the industries were in full bloom. Not only

* For further information on this subject see under the head of "Manufactures" our figures and comments relating to the increase and decrease of establishments in manufacturing and mechanical industries.

in domestic production, but in foreign commerce an unexampled activity prevailed. Our imports and exports were larger than they had ever been, and the balance of trade, which for the previous two years had been against us, had now strongly turned in our favor, aggregating for the three years in question a sum of more than $300,000,000.

Of course this prosperity was but little felt in the constantly narrowing and overcrowding circle of middle-class business. Rather the contrary; for we see that the number of failures, which occured almost exclusively in that circle, attained in 1890 and 1891 figures previously unequalled. The retail trade; in particular, was badly shaken by the growth of the department-store system in all the centres of population, and by the successful attempt of certain trusts to fix the retail price of their products in order to break down the middle-class' hypocritical argument, that both the object and effect of such combinations were to make the necessaries of life dearer to the consumers.

But it must be admitted that the extraordinary activity of plutocratic enterprise caused for a while a sensible decrease of enforced idleness among the wage-workers, despite the progress of labor-saving machinery. On an average the rate of wages had certainly not advanced; in a number of great industries it had fallen after protracted and desperate struggles for an advance or against a reduction; yet, steadier employment resulted in larger earnings, and the wider opening to labor kept in the ranks of the wage-working class many craftsmen who would otherwise have been compelled to seek some means of living in any sort of occupation productive of the barest necessaries. Of the great wealth that was being amassed by the plutocracy two-thirds were being permanently crystallized in the forms of building and machinery, which consequently employed a greater number than ever of the best paid mechanics. The regal luxury and senseless waste of the millionaire class promoted also the development of various industries, requiring the highest skill of modern artisans. To those circumstances only can be traced the marked decrease, in 1892, of the number of firms on the books of commercial agencies. Many abandoned the unprofitable business into which they had been previously compelled to engage in order to earn a living and resumed their trade as wage-workers.

We have reached the crisis of 1893. This, we said, broke out unexpectedly in the midst of unparalleled capitalistic prosperity and at a time when the material elements of further advance were so abundant as to apparently preclude the possibility of a break-down, or even of a slowing up, of the business machine. In fact a point had been reached, in the evolution of capitalism, where a crisis of the same sort and produced by the same causes as formerly not only seemed but actually was for ever out of question. Before proceeding further this should be made quite plain, for the understanding of it is essential to the comprehension of subsequent developments.

Of course, it was not expected by any sensible person that the condition of the middle-class would be greatly improved or even could not become still worse if the favorable state of capitalistic affairs continued undisturbed. But, as an economic factor, the condition of that class had ceased to be of fundamental importance. The government of production had almost entirely passed into the hands of the plutocracy. And with the change of rulers there had been a radical change of system. Production had emerged from the anarchic state in which competition had maintained it under middle-class preponderance and management. Supply was no longer the hap-hazard re-

sult of disconnected guesses, made from insufficient data and acted upon by ill-informed and ignorantly speculative individuals. In the syndicated and trustified industries it was so regulated as to meet the demand, which it had become possible for their managers to correctly and quickly ascertain through the extensive organization and perfect centralization of the means of information. If in some great "combine" this common sense rule was departed from, it was not because of the ignorance but because of the rascality of the schemers in control, who, for the purpose of freezing out their not less unscrupulous but more naive associates, resorted to the wrecking methods that won for Jay Gould a royal fortune and for his progeny a feudal coronet. If, however, in spite of the care taken a mistake was honestly made or the circumstances were such that a surplus product was temporarily created, the trust could simply shut down until the market was clear. It had ample means to carry on a stock, was in no need to sell at a sacrifice in order to meet its obligations and could therefore maintain its prices. In a word, while failure in the upper stratum of capitalism might still be an occasional event, it could not be so widespread, or so disastrous to the wealthy creditors affected thereby, as to cause a general panic and a consequent derangement in the whole machinery of production.

There was, however, a dark spot in this delectable picture of economic solidity and plutocratic serenity.

We cannot here digress at length into a history of the money question and of the great political fight made of late years upon that fraudulent issue. But insomuch as it relates to the special subject here considered, we must remind our readers of the state of political affairs at the time of the crisis. In 1892, the Populist party, chiefly composed of indebted farmers who demanded the unlimited coinage of silver in order to pay their debts with depreciated money, succeeded in casting over 1,000,000 votes for its Presidential candidate. The position of those farmers was indeed critical. The value of agricultural produce on the general market (where gold alone is now the commercially accepted standard), was lower than it had been for a great many years; yet its fall had been actually greater on the farm than on the market, because the traffickers at the centers of trade, in league with the transportation and storage "combines," availed themselves of the pressing needs of the farmer to increase their profits at his expense, although they required less money to buy his produce. Incidentally the Populists demanded also the nationalization of the railroads and the establishment of national sub-treasuries, connected with national warehouses in which the farmers might store their produce until they could sell it to advantage, receiving thereon in the meantime advances of money from the sub-treasuries at a very low rate of interest. Some even went so far as to propose that the national government substitute itself for the money lenders who held mortgages upon the farms, and for this purpose issue legal tender notes to the required amount. For obvious reasons, however, this "greenback" appendix to the silver programme did not meet with the approval of the "silver barons," whose financial support was necessary to the movement.

It must be admitted that this Populist class-scheme was sufficiently comprehensive, and that the vigor with which it was taken up revealed the existence among the farmers of a class-consciousness equal, perhaps, to that of the plutocracy and at any rate immensely superior to that of the mercantile middle-class of cities, which had actually degenerated into a rabble. The

"charge" made against it by plutocratic organs, that it was "socialistic" or in any way tended to Socialism, was on its face a gross absurdity. Its essential purpose was to benefit the farming class exclusively and to use as a means the powers of government with as much disregard for all other interests as the plutocracy itself had done. Moreover, it contemplated above all things the maintenance of the individualistic system of property and production, especially in agriculture, and of the wage-system in its entirety. The railroads were to be run by the government with the same ill-paid labor as is now employed by the corporations, but at the lowest possible rates of transportation, so that the profits which now go into the coffers of plutocrats might be made to flow into the pockets of the farmers. For, if the government, when it was under plutocratic rule, had the right to give the plutocratic class the income of valuable franchises, it would also have the right, when under farming rule, to transfer that income to the farming class. Again, the government had lent its credit to the national banks and good money by the hundred million dollars to the Pacific railways, beside giving the latter in full property a territorial empire. Why should it not lend its boundless credit and any amount of depreciated money to the farmers? In a word, the government had committed monstrous wrongs for the enrichment of a certain class which controlled its action; why should it not commit similar wrongs for the enrichment of another class, powerful enough politically to oust the other? Manifestly, the question was not as to what was just, but as to who was strong. It was in its every sense and nonsense a capitalistic question.

Mock as they would the Populist notions, the plutocrats could not laugh down the strength of the farmers, backed as these were by the "silver barons" and led by politicians of no less experience than unscrupulousness, versed in the use of "balances of power" and ready at all times for fusion and confusion. True, considered singly and apart from all other circumstantial data, the Populist vote, however surprising, was not in itself immediately alarming. Until then, the Democratic party had been safe enough. Its triumph at the Presidential election over the Republican party—the preferred party of the millionaire class—had not in the least weakened the hold of plutocracy on government; for its accepted leaders (the Whitneys, the Belmonts, the Brices, etc.) were leading plutocrats, and its successful candidate, Grover Cleveland, was as yellow a "gold-bug" as could be found throughout Goldbugdom. But as the Populist propaganda, encouraged by the Populist vote and strengthened by the continuous fall in the prices of agricultural produce, was rapidly extending westward and southward, there were ominous signs of rebellion in many Democratic organizations. Most significant also was the fact that Republican "statesmen" from silver districts were openly "unsound" on the money question, while others of the same party in doubtful districts did their best to dodge the issue.

It was high time to have a crisis. The responsibility for it would naturally fall upon the silver agitators, who, by frightening the money lenders, had wantonly disturbed the great business interests of the country, achieved only the ruin of their own dupes and brought on starvation into the home—the "sweet home"—of every workingman. "Foolish farmer! Poor workingman!"

Of course we do not charge, as some imaginative Populists have done, that the crisis was the result of a secret conspiracy between the money lenders—"a conspiracy of the Money Power." In the first place the Socialists understand thoroughly that there is no "Money Power" distinct and separate from

the "Capitalist Power," any more than there can be a living leg or arm distinct and separate from a man's body. The banks are an organ of the capitalist body, which owns them and uses them, not for its destruction, but for its purpose. CAPITAL, MONEY. NO CAPITAL, NO MONEY. In the second place, the Socialists fully realize that there was no need of a conspiracy; no need even of an understanding between any number of capitalists in any particular line of business. When a class has reached the degree of consciousness required for the assumption of government, it spontaneously and openly makes its coups-d'état or its revolution, according as it is in power or out of it. The crisis of '93 was a spontaneous coup-d'état of the plutocratic class.

But the particular point upon which we insist and which we hope to have made quite clear—for it is of fundamental import as a key to the understanding of present conditions—is that this crisis was not and could not be, like the anterior ones, the effect of so-called overproduction, or overspeculation, or scarcity of money, or misdirection of enterprise, or lack of capital, or waste of wealth beyond the means of expenditure, or any of the purely economic causes which in the competitive phase of capitalism were each and all apt to disarrange and stop its ill-adjusted machinery. Nor had Nature, or accident, or foreign relations, anything to do with it. It was simply the inevitable outcome of an inevitable class conflict between the plutocracy and the farmocracy for the possession of government.

And we need not say that upon the whole it proved of immense benefit to the plutocracy. It cleared the way for further concentration and trustification on a formidable scale. Of the 79,054 business concerns that failed in the United States and Canada during the five years 1893—1897, inclusive, only 86 were firms or corporations operating with a capital of $500,000 or more, and 50 of these failed in 1893. How many of these few larger bankrupts had previously stood in the way of the trustifiers we have no means of ascertaining. This, however, is of comparatively small import. The matter of most consequence is that an immense amount of property formerly belonging not only to the bankrupts duly recorded as such, but to sold out farmers, real estate owners, etc., who were not included in the statistics of failures, passed into the hands of the plutocratic class.

The figures which we have just presented would alone conclusively demonstrate the financial solidity of the North American plutocracy and its ability to face any crisis without fear of serious injury. They show that, Jupiter-like, it wields the lightning and is not struck by it. But they do not yet convey an adequate idea of the vast economic distance which places the orbit of its economic motion so far beyond that of the puny and mercantile middle-class planet, that the prosperity of the former can hardly be affected by the disastrous happenings in the latter body.

This fact is more strikingly illustrated by the recent figures of production.

As a matter of course, when the plutocracy initiated the crisis by calling in its loans and suspending its great industries, production of nearly all kinds fell off largely. But the consequent period of enforced vacation for millions of wage-workers was not one of complete idleness for the employers. It was promptly availed of for the introduction of new machinery, and in a comparatively short time the industries engaged in the production of those commodities which may be termed "capitalistic" because they are exclusively destined to meet the requirements or purposes of the capitalistic class, resumed with an enlarged productive power but with a reduced labor force em-

ployed at lowered wage rates. For obvious reasons the movement of pig iron is the best surface indication of plutocratic activity and prosperity. Turning, therefore, to this great capitalistic barometer we find that the production of pig iron, which was 9,200,000 tons in 1890, when we passed England, fell to 6,657,000 tons in 1894, when in spite of the "general prostration of industry" it was still greater than in any year prior to 1888; but it rose to the unprecedented figure of 9,446,000 tons in 1895, when the crisis was still raging with great violence in the mercantile middle class. Manifestly, regardless of the crisis, or rather because of it; regardless of the sufferings imposed upon the wage working class by the conflict between its exploiters for political and eeconomic supremacy, or rather because of it; the plutocratic class was then, and has been since then, amassing wealth at a rate unequalled in the history of capitalism.

Returning now to the mercantile middle-class, we subjoin the following table, which will no doubt be found of the highest interest:

BUSINESS FAILURES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, 1893—1897, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO CAPITAL EMPLOYED.

(From Bradstreet's Reports.)

Capital employed by those who failed.	Number of failures.					Per cent. of each class.				
	1897	1896	1895	1894	1893	1897	1896	1895	1894	1893
$5,000 or less	13,351	13,810	12,986	12,936	14,740	88.9	80.0	87.3	88.7	85.3
$5,000 and less than $20,000	1,134	2,384	1,270	1,103	1,463	7.6	13.7	8.6	7.6	8.5
$20,000 and less than $50,000	326	546	387	370	512	2.2	3.2	2.6	2.5	3.0
$50,000 and less than $100,000	100	273	124	111	269	.6	1.5	.8	.8	1.5
$100,000 and less than $500,000	93	268	105	60	266	.6	1.5	.7	.4	1.5
$500,000 and over	6	17	7	8	50	.0	.1	.0	.0	.2
Total	15,008	17,298	14,874	14,588	17,286	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The foregoing figures speak for themselves. By adding together the failures of each class it will furthermore be seen that for the crisis period 1893 to 1897, taken as a whole, the percentages of bankruptcy were as follows:

Firms having a capital of:—

$5,000 or less	87.75 per cent.
$5,000 and less than $20,000	9.30 per cent.
Total for $20,000 and less	97.05 per cent.
$20,000 and less than $50,000	2.71 per cent.
All above $50,000	.24 per cent.
Total	100.00

Nor is this all; far from it. There is, indeed, a further story told in the dry, statistical language of Bradstreet's, which would seem incredible if it came from a source less authoritative. In its "Record of the Commercial Death Rate" in the United States and Canada for 1897, this great agency sums up as follows the number of dead business concerns erased from its books and the number of new ones inscribed thereon during that year:

Total number of firms at the beginning of 1897	1,168,343
Names erased during the year	223,332
New names added during the year	241,542

In briefly commenting upon these figures (which, it must be remarked, are not exceptional, since the record of several consecutive years immediately preceding shows results substantially similar) Bradstreet's observes: "What could be more striking testimony as to the proportion of new blood injected into the business world annually, and as to the number which fall by the way—those failing to pay what they owe, and those who merely fail to succeed?"

"Striking testimony," to be sure. Striking testimony as to the infernal chaos through which a quarter million troubled souls, representing one-fifth of the total number "in business," are annually whirling away to their doom. At this rate it would take hardly five years to wipe out of existence the whole mercantile "middle-class," so-called, were it not that the "injection of new blood" goes on even faster than the spilling of old one. What a bloody business! Rather poor, too, this "new blood," and constantly poorer. We saw where it came from. How long will it flow? Is its source inexhaustible?

EFFECTS OF THE CRISIS IN CONNECTICUT.

An investigation made by the Labor Bureau of Connecticut, covering 378 leading establishments which together employ 48.17 per cent of the total labor engaged in the manufacturing industries of that State, gives the following results for the period extending from June, 1893, to August, 1894, as compared with the year 1892:

Reduction in the average number of employees, 15.17 per cent.

Working time, two-thirds of full time.

Reduction in the average rate of wages, 10 per cent.

Reduction in the average monthly amount paid for wages, 25 per cent. In the woolen mills the monthly wage payments fell to 61.34 per cent.; in the cutlery and tool factories to 63.87 per cent., and in the fire-arms industry to 57.46 per cent., of the average for 1892.

It may here be observed that the establishments covered by the investigation were the strongest of their kind, and, therefore, the ablest to continue business during the crisis. An investigation embracing also the smaller concerns, which for the most part had to shut down for a more or less extended portion of the period considered, would necessarily show results far more disastrous to the labor of Connecticut, whose industries may be taken as reflecting the conditions of the whole country.

THE TRUSTS.

THE MOVEMENT OF TRUSTIFICATION.

In the earlier days of Capitalism nearly all the commodities were produced, and many public services were performed, by competing firms or small companies. From the progress of machinery necessarily resulted a constantly growing concentration of capital and an almost complete substitution of the corporate for the partnership form of capitalistic association. Finally, the corporations in the same line of business, with a view to their mutual benefit, sought to put an end to competition by combining into pools, syndicates, or trusts. Even those that enjoyed special monopolies—such, for instance, as steam railroads, street car companies, gas and water works, etc.—found it advantageous to thus combine, not only with their immediate neighbors in the same city or State, but with similar corporations in other cities or States. Besides the great economies which operations on a large scale permitted them to realize in the cost of administration, in the purchase of machinery and supplies, and in various other ways, there was also the important consideration of political influence, necessary to the maintenance or extension of their privileges, and so much the greater as the field of their action, the capital at their command and the number of people in their employ became larger.

There is consequently to-day no important industry, no commercial line of enterprise, and no service requiring the grant of a public franchise, in which such combines do not exist. These arrangements, however, are not yet all equally binding, permanent, extensive, or perfect. In some cases they are nationally complete; they embrace the whole national territory and domestic competition is practically at an end. In a few they even extend beyond the boundaries of the country and have already achieved within their respective fields the aim of trustification, namely, an international, world-wide monopoly. In many instances, however, there are still in the same field a number of rival concerns, among which the struggle for supremacy is very bitter. But the movement is general, and its object is the same, regardless of its various degrees of advance or of the different forms and methods imposed by different circumstances.

We may further observe that this is in its essence a financial movement. The very nature of it requires that it should be led and shaped by financiers who make no distinctions between industries, have no preference for one or the other, and view all commodities in the light of their exchange value, expressed in money, leaving to technical men in their employ all technical considerations of the manufacturing and commercial order as to their respective use-value.*

* As Karl Marx observes, "The use-values of commodities furnish the material for a special study, that of the commercial knowledge of commodities." And he further remarks in a foot note: "In bourgeois societies the economic fiction prevails that every one, as a buyer, possesses an encyclopædic knowledge of commodities."

As this movement develops great changes occur, both in the appearance of things which remain substantially the same, and in the reality of things which are not markedly altered in appearance.

In the first place the function of superintendence, which formerly seemed inseparable from the quality or title of "capitalist"—in the same manner as the function of government was implied in a feudal title of nobility—becomes more distinct from it. The manufacturer and the merchant, in so far as they may be capitalists, become mere stockholders of the trust and receive profits in proportion to their holdings; but in so far as they may possess technical qualifications for the conduct of production or the regulation and distribution of the product, they may become mere employees and receive salaries in proportion to their services. In other words, the unique property possessed by capital, of yielding an income to its owners without the necessity of any exertion whatever on their part, becomes constantly more evident as a number of comparatively small firms amalgamate into a corporation and as a number of corporations and large firms amalgamate into a trust.

In the second place and as a consequence also of this growing separation between superintendence and ownership, the technical differences which divided the capitalists into various distinct, unrelated and sometimes conflicting bodies according to the nature of the industries and services in which their capital was engaged, gradually lose their power as a factor of division. These technical differences visibly subsist and even increase with the diversification of industry and the subdivision of labor, so that superintendence becomes more and more specialized. At the same time, however, the capitalist class, relieved of all work by its superintendents, emerges through the action of the trust from the condition of separate bodies owning distinct industries into one body owning Industry. This is important; let us speak concretely.

No two industries can be more distinct, technically, than the making of biscuit and the making of matches. To the workers engaged in each and to the consumers of their products, the difference between them will, under any circumstances of ownership that we may suppose, remain as great as it ever was. But for the financiers engaged in trustification both are "Industry," and their common purpose—their sole purpose—under capitalism is to yield profits to capitalists, regardless of the different forms which capital must for that purpose assume in materials, machinery and product. Upon that basic principle one trust was founded for the control of those two branches of production. Likewise the Sugar Trust is aiming at the monopoly of the coffee trade. The financial magnates of the Standard Oil Co. are engaged with others in trustifying gas works, amalgamating trolley lines, consolidating railroads, etc., etc. The natural end of this movement—the end which it would necessarily attain if the Social Revolution did not abolish Capitalism before it had run its full course and substitute for it the Cooperative Commonwealth—would therefore be a "Trust of Trusts," a Capitalist Commonwealth.

In the Capitalist Commonwealth the profits of capital would have been equalized by the antecedent process of trustification; for this process, as we now see it, necessarily consists in capitalizing (1) the absorbed establishments of the same industry, and (2) the combined industries of various kinds on the basis of their respective profits. Each capitalist would therefore share in the profits of all industry in proportion to the amount of stock held by him in the "Trust of Trusts"; whereas in the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth

each worker will share in the whole product of industry in proportion to the amount of labor which he will contribute to production.

Threatened with extermination by the trust movement and unable to resist its advance by economic means, the middle-class has sought and is still seeking to arrest it by political means of the most inconsistent and ineffective sort; that is, by preventive legislation, forbidding the development of capitalism while recognizing it as the "sacred" basis of our institutions. And thus we have the ludicrous spectacle of a class dying from competition, yet clamorous for its maintenance.

Absurd and hopeless as its case may be, the middle-class has succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of a large number of working peoeple who do not yet perceive that this is a fight of the lean leeches against the fat ones for the blood of labor. That these poor people can thus be blinded and bamboozled, is almost beyond comprehension when the following facts are considered.

As regards the so-called "prime necessaries of life," and many things also which are more or less appropriately termed "luxuries" because they are not usually within the reach of very small purses, a large majority of the consumers are persons whose income and consequent schedules of expenditures are nearly the same every year. Retail prices must therefore adjust themselves to the purchasing power of those persons, and although they differ greatly from place to place and even from store to store in great cities, they are not apt to vary much at the same store from day to day or even from year to year for a more or less extended period, no matter what the fluctuations of the wholesale market may be during that period. In other words, knowing the extreme points between which the wholesale price of an article is usually oscillating and must continue to oscillate so long as the existing conditions of its production do not undergo a great change, each retail dealer makes his own selling prices as permanent and as high as he can, according to the means of his customers, their ignorance of the rates prevailing elsewhere, their dependence upon him for credit, and various other circumstances, special and local. He may even have and generally has several prices for the same article, the highest rates being charged to the poorest customers, who usually are the most misinformed and dependent.*

Observe that we have here a striking illustration of the otherwise self-evident theory of Marx, that there can be no surplus value created by exchange, that is, by the mere act of buying and selling. Surplus value can only be produced by labor; it is the unpaid product of the wage-worker, who must sell, say for $1, a labor power that produces $4. To the full extent of the surplus value created by his labor the workingman has already been robbed before he comes to the store with his wages. But the robbery does not stop there. If we follow our man to the store and analyze his retail dealer, we find in the latter two moral persons entirely distinct, namely, the "honest" capitalist and the not less dishonest but more vulgar cheater. As a capitalist, in so far as his capital has somehow contributed to the capitalistic process of absorbing surplus value; in so far as his capital is engaged in the capitalistic operation of owning—or, as the phrase goes, of "carrying"—a stock of goods which the manufacturer or the wholesaler would otherwise have to carry, the retailer has already received or secured his share of surplus value. The

* For further inquiry into the facts here briefly stated, and kindred others of equal importance, together with necessary explanations and comments, see our remarks under the heading. "Share of Labor in its Product."

goods which he carries have been sold to him at a discount which represents the remuneration of the capital engaged by him in carrying them. True, the actual value of these goods is increased by the labor of distribution, be this labor his own or that of his employees; and no one should grudge him that. Now, however, the "respectable" merchant appears as a cheater; by selling his goods above their actual value he furthermore robs the worker of a portion of the wages which under capitalism are the value of that worker's labor power.

Bearing all this in mind we may now proceed. So long as on the one hand production remains in the competitive stage, and so long, as on the other hand the retail trade is not "spoiled" by competition, the retailing middle class is in clover. It can keep the wholesale prices below actual values and thus exact a larger portion of the surplus value created by labor and appropriated by the capitalist class as a body. It can also maintain its retail prices above actual values and thus in addition rob the working class of a portion of its wages.

But as on the one hand the trust develops, and as on the other hand the department store goes on spreading, the tables are turned.

In the first place the comparatively small capital at the command of the small dealers becomes an insignificant factor in the capitalistic operation of "carrying" goods from production to consumption. It therefore ceases to entitle those dealers to a share in the surplus value, and the wholesale prices are so fixed that this share may now go to the trust. There is no possible compensation to them for this loss. Their retail prices are as high as their respective customers can pay. An increase of these prices would simply result, of necessity, in a decrease of consumption.

In the second place the department store, by the large capital at its command, is a capitalistic factor that the trust, for the time being at least, must take into account. Its advent is, in fact, a considerable step in the general movement of trustification. It is not yet but is obviously destined to be a member, a limb, an organ of the various trusts—their common organ, jointly owned by them until it may finally be owned by the Trust of Trusts. In the meantime, as a capitalist carrier of goods and as a large employer of distributive labor, rendered more effective, more intense and therefore less costly by its subdivision, it gets a share of surplus value commensurate with its importance and can well afford to reduce the retailers' margin of imposition just enough to drive him out of the field. Of course it keeps that margin as wide as circumstances permit and to that extent continues the retail trade's extra process of robbing the workingman of a portion of his wages.

It is, then, an indisputable fact that the small retailer is driven into bankruptcy or out of business because he is too dear and cannot be cheaper. It is furthermore quite plain that his disappearance is not an economic evil and should be regretted least of all by the poorer people. The only reasons of his continued existence as a class are simply, 1—that there are still numbers of persons of small means, who, unable to find other employment, must tempt fate in this most bankrupt-breeding of occupations (as shown elsewhere in our chapter on "Failures"); 2—that a large portion of the working population, having no time to spare for distant errands to department stores, having no money on hand for the purchase and no home conveniences for the storage of more than a day's supply, and otherwise suffering from the numberless disabilities consequent upon its wretched condition, is still perforce a prey to

that most contemptible of all the leeches which ever fastened upon its starved body.

It is also a remarkable fact, the significance of which cannot be too strongly insisted upon, that among those who most strenuously endeavor to gain for the doomed and dying middle class the political support of its wage-working victims, are persons who by their position and interests belong body and soul to the plutocratic class. Of this hypocritical policy we have a glaring illustration in the attitude of the "yellow press," owned by notorious millionaires, whose special function among their fellow plutocrats is to "honestly, fearlessly, independently, vigilantly, patriotically, at any cost, early and late, first and last, tell the truth, expose the wrong and maintain the right," using for that noble purpose the pens of stipendiaries skilled in the art of befooling the people.

The plutocracy is, indeed, fully aware of the steady growth and irreconcilable character of the workingmen's hostility to its rule. It realizes also that this hostility is the only strong bond that now unites the wage-working class and the middle-class, although the latter—as we have already explained—is constantly recruited from among workers driven out of employment, and is, therefore, by that fact, able to exert a powerful influence on the laboring masses. But it sees not less plainly that so long as those two classes remain united, it has nothing to fear, politically or economically, because the capitalist system will be maintained and its maintenance necessarily implies its development along its natural lines, despite all such artificial obstacles as anti-trust laws, silver agitation, etc. Should the working class, however, become so wise as to break away from the middle-class, the inevitable result would be a comprehensive movement against capitalism, an irresistible Socialist movement, in a word the early triumph of Socialism.

Therefore, presuming upon the economic ignorance of the toiling masses and full of contempt for the economic impotence of the middle-class, the plutocracy itself, through its "yellow papers," attacks its own trusts, while defending them in its accredited organs. The people are cynically told in large yellow type of the enormous amount of wealth piled up by the trustifyers. They are told also of the exorbitant prices they pay for the necessaries of life and are artfully induced to infer that they would pay less if the retailers could get as much as before, when the prices were just as high and in some instances higher. The defense, of course, is abler than the attack and far more effective. It is not addressed to the people. Published only in the accredited organs of the plutocracy, it is seldom read by the "low and ignorant" classes. But it is especially effective where it needs most to be so; that is, in the committees of the National and State legislatures. There the representatives of the middle-classes are plainly told that their "game of bluff" is thoroughly understood and duly appreciated; that there is for the sick middle-class no possible legislative remedy; that the form does not alter the substance of either competition or combination; that under any legislative form that may be devised capital will combine and by superior weight break down inferior competitors; and that the middle-class argument against combinations "in restraint of trade" and in favor of unrestricted competition is an obvious sham and false pretense, the actual object being to restrict competition by restraining combination; that the middle-class assertion, that the effect of capitalistic amalgamation is inevitably to increase the price of commodities to the consumers, is in theory a gross absurdity and in fact a downright falsehood, as

practically demonstrated in numberless instances, notably by the Standard Oil and the Sugar trusts in the case of two important necessaries; that, if other trusts, dealing in other necessaries, were hard-pushed by public pressure of a demagogical character, they would soon be able to give further practical evidence of the same sort, much to their sorrow and much more to the sorrow of the middle-class itself; that the coal barons, for instance, who were taken to task for raising their prices a quarter dollar, while the retail grocers, selling by the pail or the bushel, were skinning the poor man at the rate of $6 or $7 over and above the regular price per ton, could establish coal yards on their own account in all the great cities and bankrupt every man in the business while themselves raking in millions. But we are here to make money, to live and let live. All the trusts ask is to be allowed to live. The middle-class politicians, the Tammany demagogues and all such should live also, no matter how many middle-class men might go to their commercial grave. They, at least—the demagogues—do useful work. They keep the voting cattle in line for Capitalism. And since an anti-trust law is necessary to their existence, let one be passed, baptized "Anti-Trust" and capable of proper construction by the plutocratic courts. A trolley franchise, a "Huckleberry," something costing nothing to anybody, will make life tolerable and even pleasant to somebody.

And trustification goes on.

* * *

As already stated, there are few products, if any, for the control of which combines of some sort have not been formed. In the front rank of the commodities most extensively trustified must be placed petroleum and copper, the production and distribution of which are entirely controlled throughout the world by international syndicates. Of some others, even more important in the order of production, the trustification is still purely national, but its effect is felt abroad, and in several the tendency to international combination is already well marked. Among these are iron and steel, timber, rubber, leather, agricultural implements, sewing machines, lead, etc.; also, leading foodstuffs, such as sugar (including glucose), flour, meat, coffee, cotton seed oil, and various kinds of provisions, canned goods, etc. National also, but with an effect chiefly confined, thus far, to the domestic market, are the pools, syndicates or trusts that more or less effectively control such articles as whiskey, beer, California wines, tobacco, matches, starch, biscuit, coal, brick and other building materials, window glass, plate glass, flint glass, china and stone wares, linseed oil, white lead, paints, paper, wall paper, tools, steel wire, barbed wire, safes, horse-shoes, asphalt, jute goods, cordage and twine, type, typewriting machines, type-setting machines, playing cards, ammunition, etc. Lastly, there are many local pools, involving such necessaries as ice, milk, condensed milk, etc.

It is, however, in the services which are termed "public" because they are monopolies resting upon the grant of public franchises (national, State or municipal) to private corporations, that the largest combines are found. Of this order are the railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones, street railways, gas and water works, electric plants, etc.; the whole aggregating in 1890 a capital of about ten billion dollars ($10,000,000,000), or nearly one half of the estimated value of all the forms of wealth other than real estate. Upon the railroads are grafted the grain elevators and other facilities through which

a large portion of the agricultural produce is controlled by powerful rings of speculators.

Owing to the private and even absolutely secret character of many combines—such as pools, syndicates, "agreements between gentlemen," etc.,—it is impossible to ascertain with any degree of accuracy their total number and the full extent of the capitalistic interests which they represent. Some, however, are so conspicuous that they cannot escape the public eye and that a fair knowledge of their component elements is easily obtained; while others have finally assumed the corporate form and their capital is a matter of record, although their operations are more or less enveloped in obscurity. Most of the latter are incorporated in New Jersey, which, at the time of the "anti-trust" wave, passed a special law granting asylum and citizenship to the trusts upon payment of a small annual tax on their capital. From this tax the State was expected to derive an income of about $800,000, which to that extent was intended to lighten the burden of her own resident capitalists. But it appears that after paying it more or less regularly for a few years, some at least of the concerns in question fell behind and are now trying to evade it. At any rate, there were in 1897, incorporated under that law, 4,495 companies—aggregating a capital of about $1,400,000,000—nearly all of which were "trusts" in the now popular sense of the word; that is, having for their special object the monopoly of a certain product of industry, or of a certain public service, or of a certain valuable property (mine, real estate, water power, etc.), not only in this country but in other parts of the world. The following is a list of the most important of those corporations and includes a number of our most widely known and most powerful trusts:

Principal Trusts Incorporated in New Jersey.

Names.	Capital.
Acme Storage Battery and Manuf'g Co	$5,000,000
Allen Paper Car Wheel Co	1,250,000
American Book Co. (school books trust)	5,000,000
American Contracting Co	1,500,000
American Colophite Co	1,000,000
American Cotton Oil Co	30,069,900
American Cotton Press Co	1,000,000
American Dock and Improvement Co	3,000,000
American Glucose Co	1,342,500
American Glue Co	1,700,000
American Soda Fountain Co	3,750,000
American Sugar Refining Co	73,936,000
American Tobacco Co.	29,835,000
American Type Founders' Co	9,000,000
American Water Works and Guarantee Co	1,000,000
Armour Packing Co. (Meat)	7,500,000
Atlas Mining and Lumber Co	1,000,000
Bay State Gas Co.	4,500,000
Book Typewriter Co	1,200,000
Central Jersey Traction Co	1,000,000
Cavanaugh Wrecking Co	2,000,000
Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Co	13,000,000
Chino Valley Beet Sugar Co	1,000,000
Columbia Straw Paper Co	4,000,000
Columbian Emery Wheel Co	6,000,000
Compania Metallurgica Mexicana	3,434,100
Consolidated Hemp Co	1,800,000
Consolidated Traction Co	15,000,000
Douglas Saw Mfg. Co	3,000,000

Names.	Capital.
Duluth Mfg Co.	1,250,000
Duluth-Superior Traction Co	2,000,000
East Jersey Water Co	3,000,000
Edison Light and Power Installation Co	1,216,400
Edison United Phonograph Co	1,000,000
Electric Storage Battery Co	13,500,000
Elmira Municipal Improvement Co	1,000,000
El Vadelista Mining Co	1,000,000
Enterprise Mining Co.	2,500,000
Esmond International Traction Co	1,000,000
Fairbanks Co. (scales)	1,000,000
Fairmount Park Transportation Co	2,000,000
Ferrocarril Gran Oeste Mexicana	1,000,000
General Advertising Co	1,000,000
General Compressed Air Co	1,000,000
Goyaz Brazil Mining and Trading Co	3,000,000
Hackensack Water Co	1,207,000
H. B. Claflin Co. (dry goods)	9,000,000
Hecker-Jones-Jewell Milling Co. (flour)	5,000,000
Herring-Hall-Marvin Co. (safes)	3,300,000
Hoboken Land and Improvement Co	1,473,800
Hoboken Ferry Co	900,000
Hydraulic Brake Co	5,000,000
International Development Co	3,000,000
International Elevating Co	2,200,000
Investment Co. of New Jersey	1,500,000
John Good Cordage and Machine Co	7,000,000
Kootenay Mining and Smelting Co	2,300,000
Lake Submarine Co	1,000,000
Lake Superior Consolidated Iron Mines	28,451,940
Lamson Consolidated Store Service Co	2,000,000
Land and River Improvement Co	1,128,400
Mannesmann Tube Co	10,000,000
Manufacturing Investment Co	1,335,500
Mechanical Rubber Co	4,796.050
Mergenthaler Linotype Co	5,000,000
Mexican Int. Hotel and Improvement Co	2,000,000
Milwaukee Street Railway Co	5,000,000
National Butter Co.	1,063,100
National Cigarette and Tobacco Co	2,500,000
National Cotton Oil Co	3,306,100
National Harrow Co	494,000
National Heat and Power Co	5,000,000
National Lead Co.	29,809,400
National Rice Milling Co	3,187,000
National Storage Co	2,400,000
National Tube Works Co	11,500,000
Newark Passenger Railway Co	6,000,000
Newark & South Orange Railway Co	1,500,000
New Bedford & Fairhaven Traction Co	1,000,000
New England Street Railway Co	1,081,925
New Jersey Electric Railway Co	2,287,900
New Jersey General Security Co	2,000,000
New Jersey Water Supply Co	1,000,000
New Orleans Consolidated Compress and Warehouse Co	3,500,000
Newton Traction Co	1,000,000
New York Air Brake Co	2,093,000
New York Condensed Milk Co	3,000,000
New York Fertilizer Co	2,000,000
N. Y. & N. J. Ferry Co	1,000,000
N. Y. & N. J. Water Co	1,000,000
N. Y. & Phila. Traction Co	10,000,000
N. Y. Street Cleaning Mach. Co	1,000,000

mes.	Capital.
Texas Steamship Co	3,000,000
rican Co. (timber)	40,000,000
n Shore Traction Co	6,000,000
Ohio & Indiana Pipe Line Co	1,000,000
Ohio Royal Arc Co	3,000,000
Old Dominion Copper Mining and Smelting Co	3,750,000
Pan-American Express Co	1,000,000
Paterson Railway Co	1,250,000
Paterson, Passaic & Rutherford Railway Co	735,900
Patriotic Publishing Co	1,000,000
Pecos Co.	5,000,000
Penn Electric Light Co	1,000,000
Penokee and Gogebic Consolidated Mines	10,000,000
People's Light and Power Co	3,000,000
Philadelphia Gas Improvement Co	1,000,000
Proctor & Gamble Co	4,500,000
Railroad Equipment Co	1,500,000
Reid Tobacco Machinery Co	1,000,000
Rhode Island Perkins Horse Shoe Co	2,750,000
Royal Arc Electric Co., U. S. A	1,000,000
Salt Lake & Ogden Gas and Electric Light Co	1,500,000
San Domingo Improvement Co	1,000,000
Sharon Estate Co	4,000,000
Southern Cotton Harvester Co	1,250,000
Southern Cotton Oil Co	2,000,000
Spanish-American Abattoir Co	1,000,000
Standard Coupler Co	1,460,500
Standard Portland Cement Co	1,100,000
Sterling Light Co	2,000,000
Suburban Traction Co.	1,500,000
Thorne Typesetting Machine Co	1,000,000
Trenton Passenger Railway Co. (consolidated)	1,500,000
Trinidad Asphalt Co	3,140,000
Trow Directory	1,500,000
Twin City Rapid Transit Co	16,145,200
Union Oil Co.	3,001,000
Union Tank Line Co	3,500,000
Union Typewriter Co	18,015,000
United States Car Co	3,500,000
United States Cordage Co	33,950,800
United States Leather Co	124,483,600
United States Playing Card Co	2,015,500
United States Rubber Co	39,338,500
United Traction and Electric Co. of New Jersey	8,000,000
United White Lead and Oil Co	5,000,000
Virginia-Carolina Chemical Co	4,712,200
Virginia, Tennessee and Carolina Steel and Iron Co	2,807,800
White River Water Power Co	1,500,000
Worcester Traction Co	5,000,000
Yellow Pine Co.	2,457,000

Other Trusts, Pools, Combines, etc.

The following is a list of some of the most widely known corporations having a "trust" character and incorporated in other States than New Jersey, and of some great pools, syndicates, or associations, which are known to exist but have not assumed the corporate form:

American Bell Telephone Co	$26,015,000
Western Union Telegraph Co	95,370,000
Standard Oil Co	97,500,000
Trunk Lines Joint Traffic Association	1,500,000,000

Westinghouse Electric M'f'g Co	8,500,000
Whiskey Trust	28,000,000
Beer pools (estimated)	100,000,000
Malt trust (estimated)	15,000,000
Copper International Syndicate (estimated)	50,000,000
Steel Wire and Barbed Wire Trust	40,000,000
Steel Rail Trust (estimated)	40,000,000
Gas Trust (Chicago)	25,000,000
Gas Trust (New York and Brooklyn)	50,000,000
Carnegie Steel Co	35,000,000
Manhattan Railway (New York Elevated)	69,922,000
Match Trust	11,000,000
Biscuit Trust	10,000,000
Flour Trusts (estimated)	60,000,000
Window Glass Trust (estimated)	20,000,000
Plate Glass Trust (estimated)	10,000,000
Potteries combine (estimated)	10,000,000
Salt Trust (estimated)	8,000,000
Paper Trust (estimated)	30,000,000
Tinned Plate Trust (estimated)	10,000,000
Ammunition, Powder and Ordnance Trust (estimated)	10,000,000
Trinity Church (New York real estate)	150,000,000

THE "WORKMAN'S PARADISE."

We frequently hear, on this side of the Pacific, of the great things accomplished by the organized labor of Australia and New Zealand upon the lines of pure-and-simpledom. In this connection some official statements, taken from the fourth annual report of the Government Labor Bureau of New South Wales for the year ending February 17, 1896, may be deemed appropriate:

"The number of unemployed registered at this bureau was 14,062 (or 487 more than the previous year), of which 5,450 were married men with 11,755 children depending on them. Single men registered numbered 8,612. The total number assisted and sent to work for the year amounted to 20,576, or 4,196 more than the preceding year and 6, 514 more than the number registered during the period. This is mainly owing to the large number of passes to country places issued to applicants who have not been registered, in addition to those who have been registered during previous years. * * * The average daily attendance of unemployed during the greater portion of the year has been very large. Many months it averaged daily from 1,500 to 2,500.

"The following table gives a comparative statement of the number of persons registered and assisted during each year of operation of the bureau:

Persons registered and assisted, 1893 to 1896.

Year, ending February 17—	Persons registered.	Persons assisted and sent to work.	Increase.
1893	18,600	8,154	.....
1894	12,145	10,349	2,195
1895	13,575	16,380	6,031
1896	14,062	20,576	4,196
Total	58,382	55,459	.....

Again, from the fifth annual report of the Department of Labor of New Zealand for the year ending March 31, 1896, it appears that since the organization of the department in June, 1891, 15,739 men have been assisted, making with their dependents a total of 53,579 persons.

FEMALE AND CHILD LABOR.

FEMALE LABOR.

One of the chief features of Capitalism in the phase of development through which it is now passing, is the enormous increase of female wage labor and the growing diversity of the occupations in which such labor is exploited by the capitalist class. A fact of such ominous import to the social organism obviously suggests a special consideration of its original causes and natural consequences.

In the early days of the factory system the employment of women as wage workers—leaving aside domestic service—was almost exclusively confined to the manufacture of textile fabrics; for the simple reason, (1) that this was the industry in which modern machinery made its earliest appearance, and (2) that the labor displaced by this initial revolution was chiefly female labor. Gradually, however, the employment of women extended to other industries in which machinery was also introduced.

Nor did it stop there. From the revolution in the mode of production naturally issued a corresponding revolution in the mode of distribution; that is, in transportation and commerce, the channels of which had to be vastly enlarged and multiplied in order to widely distribute the product centralized by the factory system. Into these channels began to pour, slowly at first, then more and more rapidly, another portion of the female labor which had long been rendered superfluous by the application of machinery to industries traditionally carried on by women in their own houses. For, although a number of the "displaced" women were engaged in running this machinery, and although another number of them had found employment in other industries similarly transformed by mechanical appliances, the amount of surplus female labor resulting from the change in the mode of production was so great from the first that it has remained to this day practically inexhaustible. Fortunately it did not come all at once upon the "labor market." The better cultivation of the land, in which the country woman—then a large majority of her sex—participated and to which she transferred a portion of the time previously employed in handiwork at the fireside; the growth and diversification of industry consequent upon the development of communications and intercourse; the opening of new continents; the discovery of natural wealth previously unknown in its location and possible uses; in a word the good which science and invention did to mankind despite the capitalist system—or rather because that system, in its middle-class infancy, was not yet strong enough, organized enough, to withhold from the working people all the benefits of modern progress—moderated for several generations, especialy in this country, the exodus of woman from the family circle to the capitalistic inferno. In the meantime she fitted herself to some extent for the inevitable struggle; the struggle already then forced upon many of her sex and steadily increasing in area and intensity; the struggle for existence between man and wife, brother and sister, father and daughter. As the threatening wave reached from the lower levels to the door of the middle-class, it found the woman of that class not only

ready but anxious, from necessity, to cast herself into the torrent; ready to compete with man in almost every employment; not only at the counter, but at the desk, in the canvassing field, in all branches of commerce and, finally, in all professional pursuits.

Of course the capitalist class applauded her brave performance; encouraged it; facilitated it in every possible way of the dishonest and hypocritical sort; called it with the sarcastic but convincing earnestness of Mephistopheles "the emancipation of woman"; aye, delegated a number of its own brightest fakirs to appear as the champions of her rights. For it could do no harm to promote in her a spirit of rebellion against the self-dissolving and slowly vanishing remnants of such a defunct system as feudalism; but the spirit of submission to her "betters" of both sexes, which she had imbibed under that system, should by all means be preserved to capitalism. Rather let the "grande dame"—the rich, the noble, the benevolent lady—by false words of sympathy and cheap deeds of charity, by gentle patting with the velvet-covered claws of the capitalist exploiter, develop in the proletarian woman a spirit of hostility to the man of her class; a feeling of contempt for the strong but helpless fellow, "improvident, lazy, good for nothing," who revels in enforced idleness or strikes against reductions of wages instead of amassing wealth.

* * *

From what precedes it must be plain that the very first changes wrought out by machinery in the action of woman as an economic factor were of two distinct kinds. In the lines of production which had formerly been, from time immemorial, a part of her domestic functions—such as spinning, weaving, sewing, etc.—she became a factory operative, working for wages but competing only with persons of her own sex. In other branches—such, for instance, as shoemaking, metal working, etc.—now placed by machinery within the reach of her physical powers but previously reserved to man by the nature of the exertion required and by other conditions inherent in the old mode of production, she became also a factory operative, competing, however, not only with persons of her own sex but with male workers, whose labor had to be undersold in order to obtain employment.

Observe that in her case the transformation operated by modern machinery was much more fundamental, immediate and direct, economically and socially, than in the case of the artisan. When it happened to the latter that his tool was knocked out of his hand by the machine; when his complex skill was pulverized, as it were, even in its simplest components, by the subdivision of labor; and when no alternative was left him but to die of hunger or renounce all independence, all individuality, and become a mere human attachment to the machine, he was and had long been a producer of "exchange value," that is, of some special "commodity" for sale. It was, in fact, from his own tool that the machine had evolved; from his own class that the capitalist class had sprung; from the conditions created by his own activity that the capitalist system had emerged. To be sure, his economic value and social standing were greatly lowered by the machine that drove him from his own shop, where he had long been his own master and the sole beneficiary of his own work, to another man's factory where he must be until Doomsday or Revolution-day a mere wage worker, grinding out profits for the purchaser of his labor power. Yet his economic performance and social func-

tion were not so absolutely altered as to retain no traces of their antecedent nature, since he continued to be a producer of "exchange value" in exactly (or almost exactly) the same form as before.

Not so with woman, who was directly transferred from the home to the factory. From the home, where the portion of her time not absolutely required for such so-called unproductive but necessary services as come under the head of "house-keeping" was employed in producing a variety of articles exclusively intended for her own family use. To the factory, where the whole of her time, now belonging to the purchaser of her labor power, must be applied to the production of some article of commerce. By her conversion into a wage worker her social function as a woman—i. e. as a wife, as a mother, in short as a family-being of fundamental import to the social structure—was entirely destroyed, at least for the period during which she must sell her life day by day.

On the other hand, her economic performance, invisible or rather ignored outside of the family circle so long as she was in every sense a family being, becomes not only visible but strikingly important with her appearance on the "labor market." An enormous mass of production, which formerly passed directly from her industrious hands to the members of her family and in part also supplied her own needs, was not then reckoned in dollars and cents; it entirely escaped the attention of such statisticians or economists as there were in those days and even now is always lost sight of (ignorantly or purposely) in the comparisons that are made by capitalistic writers between the present and the past. To-day this same kind and quantity of product is turned out in the factory and reaches its final destination after having passed in its various stages, as a commodity for sale, through the hands of various capitalists, who appropriate and divide among themselves the "surplus value" created by their wage workers. This particular product of the woman (or, to be more correct, of the being formerly a woman, now transformed into an operative) was the property of her family, destined to secure for a time and to the extent of its use value the comfort and independence of that family. Now it is capitalistic wealth in transit; perishable but self-reproductive with an increase or easily convertible into more durable forms and substances. It is, in short, destined to buy labor power and withheld from consumption until the laborer is uncomfortable and dependent enough to sell his power at a "reasonable" price. It is a part of the capitalistic production. It is reckoned in dollars and cents; its money value is recorded by the census taker and it appears in the census as an "increase of manufactures," to be heralded everywhere as conclusive evidence of the "increasing prosperity of the wage working people," who consume or are supposed to consume this "increased" product.*

As a concrete case in illustration of the above general statement we may specify "women's clothing," which thirty years ago was still chiefly a home product but is now largely, though not yet to the same extent as "men's clothing," a "sweat shop" manufacture. According to the census, the reported

* These remarks, of course, apply also to every product which, formerly turned out by small artisans and other people, for their own consumption or for trade on a small scale, is now turned out in capitalistic establishments. A large portion of the reported increase in the production of necessaries is imaginary; the real increase consists chiefly in things consumed or owned exclusively by the capitalist class. Concerning this important subject see our further remarks under the head of "Manufactures."

value of this important item in 1870 was less than $13,000,000; an insignificant figure, considering that the female population of the country at that time was over 19,000,000 persons. But it rose to $125,000,000 in 1890, showing in twenty years a nearly tenfold increase of product (wholesale value), as against an increase of only 60 per cent. in female population.*

In other words, according to the census returns, the apparent production and consequently also the apparent consumption of women's clothing, per capita of female population, was only 70 cents in 1870, but $4.10 (or nearly six times as much) in 1890.**

Are we, then, to believe that the average American woman spent on her personal attire six times as much in 1890 as in 1870? Obviously not; although a number of persons of the female sex, wifes and daughters of parvenus, have no doubt in the period under consideration increased a hundredfold, or perchance a thousandfold, their expenditure of this kind.

The fact is simply, as already stated, that a large portion of the women's clothing, which was made at home in 1870 and therefore not reported in the census of that year, was made in "manufacturing establishments" in 1890.

And it had to be made there. Not because of greater cheapness, since the price of a factory-made garment includes, besides the materials, the wages of the worker and the exorbitant profits of the various capitalists (manufacturer, merchant, landlord, etc.) whose capital is directly or indirectly engaged in the industry; whereas the woman who can make her own garments at home pays only for materials and does not count as an expenditure her own time, or even fuel, or light, or rent, or anything else otherwise needed anyhow in the family circle. But because fewer women (in proportion to the female population) could spare the time required; in other words, because of the considerable increase of female wage labor; this increase being especially enormous, and vastly out of proportion with the increase of population, in those city employments which impose upon the employees an expenditure for clothing far above the average of rural districts, where women's garments are still largely home made.

* * *

With the above prefatory remarks we now submit a table showing the comparative number of women in occupations in 1870 and 1890; also the number and percentage of increase in each occupation. The classification speaks for itself. There are three leading groups, namely, I. Wage-Workers; II. Professional Pursuits; III. Capitalist and Middle Class. Group I. (Wage-Workers) is subdivided into four sections, as follows: 1. Manufacturing and Mechanical; 2. Trade and Transportation; 3. Domestic Service; 4. Miscellaneous. Group III. (Capitalist and Middle Class) is divided into two sections, as follows: 1. Commercial Pursuits; 2. Agricultural. For the general purpose in view Group II. (Professional Pursuits) requires no subdivision. Despite the comprehensiveness of this arrangement of the census returns, special attention is called to the observations that follow the table, inasmuch as they may serve their intended object of preventing erroneous conclusions.

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* For further particulars see elsewhere the Statistics of the Clothing Industry.

** We hope that this paragraph will not be quoted by careless or dishonest persons without referring to the subsequent comments, that show the absurdity of the conclusions to which the census figures might otherwise mislead the unwary.

Number of Women in Occupations, 1870 and 1890; Also, Number and Per cent. of Increase from 1870 to 1890.

Occupations.	1870.	1890.	Increase from 1870 to 1890.	
			Number.	Per c.
GROUP I.—WAGE WORKERS.				
1. Manufacturing & mechanical trades:				
Clothing makers	197,970	604,257	406,287	202.5
Food preparers	2,234	9,664	7,430	332.6
Leather workers	9,418	34,769	25,351	269.1
Metal workers	4,886	15,329	10,443	213.7
Mine and quarry workers	18	319	301	1672.2
Printers, engravers, bookbinders, etc.	3,912	23,461	19,549	499.7
Textile workers	90,834	208,216	117,382	129.2
Tobacco workers	3,458	25,853	22,395	647.6
Wood workers	1,614	7,554	5,940	368.0
Other mechanical and manufacturing	14,969	65,766	50,797	339.3
Total	329,313	995,188	665,875	202.2
2. Trade and transportation:—				
Agents, collectors, commercial travelers, etc	140	5,466	5,326	3804.3
Bookkeepers, clerks, saleswomen, etc.	10,335	178,204	167,869	1624.3
Messengers, packers, etc.	285	8,156	7,871	2761.7
Steam-railroad employees	62	1,412	1,350	2048.4
Total	10,822	193,238	182,416	1685.6
3. Domestic service:—				
Servants	853,361	1,490,664	637,303	74.6
Farm servants	300,831	366,294	65,463	21.7
Laborers, (not specified)	18,677	50,321	31,644	169.4
Total	1,172,869	1,907,279	734,410	62.6
4. Miscellaneous:—				
Fishing and seafaring	63	304	241	382.5
All others	2,642	6,597	3,955	149.7
Total	2,705	6,901	4,196	155.1
Grand total Group I.	1,515,709	3,102,606	1,586,897	104.7
GROUP II.—PROFESSIONAL PURSUITS.				
Teachers, artists, doctors, lawyers, etc.	91,914	311,241	219,327	238.6
GROUP III.—CAPITALIST AND MIDDLE CLASS.				
1. Commercial pursuits:—				
Bankers, brokers, manufacturers, etc.	284	1,141	857	301.7
Merchants and dealers	14,321	68,316	53,995	377.0
Total	14,605	69,457	54,852	375.5
2. Agricultural:—				
Farmers, planters, etc.	22,960	228,840	205,880	896.6
Grand total Group III.	37,565	298,297	260,732	694.1

Occupations.	1870.	1890.	Increase from 1870 to 1890	
			Number.	Per c.
RECAPITULATION.				
Group I.—Wage workers	1,515,709	3,102,606	1,586,897	104.7
Group II.—Professional pursuits	91,914	311,241	219,327	238.6
Group III.—Capitalist and middle class	37,565	298,297	260,732	694.1
Grand total of women in occupations	1,645,188	3,712,144	2,066,956	125.6

In commenting on the above table we may properly begin with the last group (Capitalist and Middle Class), the figures of which, and especially the percentage of increase, may be misleading. That the number of enterprising women engaged in commerce and finance on their own account should have largely increased from 1870 to 1890 can readily be understood. It is a notorious fact that numbers of men who fail in business resume operations for a more or less extended period of time under the name of their wives. The steady increase of failures during the twenty years under review would therefore of itself account for a large portion of the apparent growth of female enterprise which the census figures indicate. Nevertheless, a part of the reported increase under the head of "Commercial Pursuits" is no doubt genuine; and it may safely be added that most of the women reported as "dealers," although necessarily included here in the middle-class, are small shopkeepers, with hardly any capital and actually belonging to the proletariat. But it cannot be so easily understood why the number of women farmers should have increased nearly tenfold while the number of men farmers increased only 71 per cent. Observe also that three quarters of this particular female increase was in the ten years 1880—1890, during which the growth of the total number of farmers and of the agricultural population generally, was considerably less than it had ever been. There is certainly no reason to suppose that a large number of women are developing an unprecedented taste, aptitude, or enterprise for agriculture at a time when machinery is driving away from the land not only the longest-bearded farmers but their equally competent wives and daughters. Nor is there any reason to believe that the proportion of widows in agriculture has increased at a rate unparalleled in the records of vital statistics. The only sensible explanation that occurs to us is that many farmers' wives, who were reported without occupation in 1870, were reported as farmers in 1890.

Turning back to Group I. (Wage Workers), we find for the whole of it an average increase of about 105 per cent., which is high as compared with the 60 per cent. increase in female population, yet considerably lower than the average per cent. increase of 238 in Group II. and 694 in Group III. This group, however, is by far the largest, comprising as it does more than five-sixths of the total number of women in occupations, while its numerical increase was 1,586,000 as against only 422,000 for the two other groups taken together. Moreover, when we consider separately (1) its subdivisions and (2) the occupations in each subdivision, we find a wide range of percentages of increase, which most suggestively reflects the disconnected progress of the various industries and the consequently chaotic distribution of employments under capitalism. We find, for instance, that these percentages vary from

62 per cent. for subdivision 3 (domestic service), to 202 for subdivision 1 (manufactures), and 1,685 for subdivision 2 (trade and transportation). Again—leaving aside as an insignificant quantity the number of women employed in mines and quarries—we find that in the subdivision of manufactures the percentages range from 129 in textiles to 647 in tobacco.

There are also in the wage-workers' group two features more remarkable and significant than any other.

One is the fact that the percentage of increase in the number of women employed in domestic service not only is the lowest in the whole list of occupations, but does not sensibly surpass the 60 per cent. increase of female population, and is even as low as 22 in the case of farm servants (denominated as "agricultural laborers" in the census). And this fact derives additional importance from the further statement that while the rate of increase in domestic service had been very great for every decade until 1880, it was very small and fell considerably below that of the population from 1880 to 1890, which was the most prosperous period in the history of American capitalism, but at the same time a period of unprecedented concentration. Yet there is nothing puzzling in this phenomenon, remarkable as it is. Its explanation is quite simple and easy. With the decline of the middle-class consequent upon the centralization of capital the degrading avenue of employment in domestic service became proportionately narrower.

The other notable feature is the stupendous increase of women wage workers in trade and transportation already referred to above. There is evidently no limit to the possible substitution of female for male labor in such occupations as bookkeepers, clerks, store attendants, agents, commercial travelers, messengers, packers, etc.; and the time is obviously coming when all soft-handed men who are not "brainy" enough to live by robbing their horny-handed fellows will of necessity cease to exist.

CHILD LABOR.

Flagrant Inaccuracy of the Census Returns—11,000,000 Children of School Age Out of School; Where are they?

By the last census it is made to appear that the number of children employed in "gainful occupations" decreased largely from 1880 to 1890. According to the classification adopted by the Department of Labor (Bulletin 11, July, 1897), which differs somewhat from that of the census but does not affect the totals, the figures are as follows:

	1880.	1890.	Increase.	Decrease
In agriculture	721,029	328,115	....	392,914
In fisheries, seafaring, etc.	1,776	1,115	....	661
In mining and quarrying	12,488	11,101	....	1,387
In professional services	924	908	....	16
In domestic service	120,644	90,584	....	30,060
In transportation	3,519	5,130	1,611	.....

	1880.	1890.	Increase.	Decrease
In manufacturing and mechanical industries	120,255	90,664	....	29,591
In trade (messengers, porters, clerks, etc.)	32,832	37,774	4,942	.....
Laborers (not specified) and all others	104,889	37,622	....	67,267
Total	1,118,356	603,013	6,553	521,896
Apparent net decrease				515,343

Upon investigation it is readily found that these figures are grossly incorrect; so much so, indeed, as to induce the suspicion that their inaccuracy was not altogether the accidental result of carelessness or inefficiency in the primary and fundamental work of enumeration.

In the first place, the comparison of 1880 with 1890 is radically vitiated by a most important difference in age classification. In 1880 the period of age for the persons enumerated as "Children at work" was from 10 to 15, whereas in 1890 the period was only from 10 to 14 years, leaving out the year in which the largest number of children enter "gainful occupations," or wage slavery.

For the purpose of making a comparison possible, a writer in the above mentioned Bulletin 11 of the Department of Labor (July, 1897), without otherwise disputing the census returns so far as they go, assumes that 20 per cent. of the 1,288,864 children 15 years old in 1890, or 257,773, were at work. Adding these to the 603,013 reported as workers from 10 to 14 years of age, his result is a total of 860,786, which apparently shows for the ten years 1880—1890 a reduction of 257,570 (instead of 515,343), in the number of workers from 10 to 15 years old. "This number," he says, "without doubt" approximates "very closely" the actual conditions. Then, evidently well pleased to find that his own correction still leaves some room for just such conclusions as the census would naturally suggest to the unwary, he further observes: "Since 1880 there has been a considerable diminution in the number and proportion of children at work, illustrating the spread of the common school system and the growth of public sentiment against the employment of children of school age in any capacity which tends to deprive them of the opportunity to acquire an education."

Of course it is absurd to say, as the Labor Department does through this writer, that the census figures concerning child labor "illustrate" in any way the school system. What might be true to some extent would be the inverse statement, that the school system—or rather the school attendance—corroborated or failed to corroborate the census figures of child labor. A failure to corroborate would at least be prima facie evidence of the incorrectness of those figures: for the reason, among others, that the statistics of school attendance are carefully and systematically collected by an intelligent corps of teachers, who have at hand the most direct, positive and complete data that it is possible to obtain concerning the children at school, and therefore not at work during the school term; whereas the census statistics of child labor are in most instances collected by untrained enume-

rators, who moreover depend for their information upon the careless and unverified statements made to them by all sorts of people.

Now, had the writer in question looked into the statistics of the school system for evidences of its own growth he would have had a very different kind of "illustration." He would have found, for instance, that in the great manufacturing States which compose the North Atlantic group—comprising New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and the whole of New England—the proportion of school attendance to school population (that is, to the number of children between the ages of 5 to 17 inclusive), fell from 47 per cent. in 1880 to 46 per cent. in 1890, and that in the large cities it fell at a much higher rate. These are notoriously the States in which capitalism "consumes" the largest proportion of that quantity of child labor which comes under the head of "wage workers." Again, he would have found that the reported increase of school attendance was in the Southern States, where the average school term is only about 90 days, and in the Western States, where agriculture is still, as in the South, the leading pursuit of the population; which no doubt accounts for the fact that four-fifths of the reported decrease of child labor is in agriculture, although the apparent falling off in this particular pursuit is itself a mere fiction, for it is a notorious fact that many of the country children who attend school in winter time are employed in the fields during the remainder of the year, yet are not counted as "workers" when they work, as most of them do, for their own parents.

By these vague words, "the growth of public sentiment against the employment of children of school age," is no doubt meant the supposed efficacy of the so-called "factory laws" which in various States were passed from 1880 to 1890. Yet it must be well known at the Department of Labor that these laws, even where they are enforced to any extent, do not in the least prevent such employment but simply divert it from manufacturing into commercial establishments. Moreover, in the very light of its own figures, for which it boldly claims the merit of "very close approximation," the Department cannot honestly or intelligently assert that "there has been a considerable diminution in the employment of child labor" in manufacturing and mechanical establishments, since by accepting and taking into account the Department's proportion of children from 14 to 15 years old the already small diminution of 29,000 given by the census of 1890 as compared with the census of 1880 would be cut down to one half of that number.

It may also be observed that in the above table the reported decrease in the large number of children sweepingly classed under the vague heading of "Laborers, not specified," is 67,000, or over 64 per cent. If the vast and growing army of "bootblacks" and "newsboys" is included under this head, no such decrease can have taken place; if it is not included an important omission has been made. On the other hand, considering what we daily see of the growing employment of small children in all commercial establishments, and especially in "department stores," the reported increase of 4,900 under the head of "Trade" (even if corrected by the addition of a proportionate number of children between 14 and 15 years old) is on its face ridiculously small.

That the two last censuses are entirely unreliable in this matter of child labor, is furthermore shown by the stupendous discrepancies between the tables of manufactures and the tables of occupations. In the first, which are made up of figures supplied by the manufacturers themselves, that is,

by persons interested in understating the amount of child labor in their service, the number of children employed is 182,000 for 1880 and 121,000 for 1890; whereas in the second, which are made up of data loosely collected by the enumerators, the number (according to the classification of the Department of Labor) is 120,000 for 1880 and 90,000 for 1890. True, it may be observed in extenuation of those discrepancies that the age periods in the two sets of tables do not exactly correspond; but it may again be replied that they are by that fact rendered the more worthless for comparison and conclusion.

There is, indeed, good ground for the prevailing suspicion that the object of such census work, conducted by men sufficiently versed in arithmetic to know what should be done in order to obtain comprehensive and comprehensible results, is only to hide the truth and confuse the public mind.

But there stands glaring above all this statistical darkness the portentous and undeniable fact, that with a total school population between 5 and 18 years, numbering 20,865,000 in 1896, the average school attendance was only 9,747,000, or 46.7 per cent., and that the average school term for the whole country was only 140 days. From which it may safely be asserted that ignorance is growing apace throughout the United States and that the number of children and youths between the said ages, actually employed for a more or less extended portion of the year in mean, hard and brain-stunting labor cannot be less and is probably more than 5,000,000.

WOMEN WAGE-WORKERS AND MATRIMONY.

According to a report of the Department of Statistics of Indiana for 1894, of 500 women employed in various mills, factories, shops and stores of Indianapolis, ranging in age from 19½ to 32½ years, 27 were married, 24 were widows and 449 were single.

AGRICULTURE.

THE FARMS OF THE UNITED STATES in 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880 and 1890.

[From the U. S. Census Reports.]

Census Year.	Total number of farms.	Average size of farms.	Acres in Farms.			Per cent. of unimproved to total land in farms.	Number of farmers, planters and overseers.
			Total.	Improved.	Unimproved.		
1890	4,564,641	137	623,218,619	357,616,755	265,601,864	42.62	5,281,557
1880	4,008,907	134	536,081,835	284,771,042	251,310,793	46.88	4,229,051
1870	2,659,985	153	407,735,041	188,921,099	218,813,942	53.67	2,981,320
1860	2,044,077	199	407,212,538	163,110,720	244,101,818	59.94	2,509,456
1850	1,449,073	203	293,560,614	113,032,614	180,528,000	61.50	

VALUATIONS.

Census Year.	Total value of farms.	Land, fences and buildings.	Implements & machinery.	Live stock on hand June 1.	Estimated value of products.
1890	$15,982,267,689	$13,279,252,649	$494,247,467	$2,208,767,573	$2,460,107,454
1880	12,104,001,538	10,197,096,776	406,520,055	1,500,384,707	2,212,540,927
1870	11,124,958,747	9,262,803,861	336,878,429	1,525,276,457	2,447,538,658
1860	7,980,493,063	6,645,045,007	246,118,141	1,089,329,915	1,675,724,972
1850	3,967,343,580	3,271,575,426	151,587,638	544,180,516	.....

Agricultural Increase Compared with Increase of Population from 1880 to 1890.

	1890	1880	Increase.	
Population	62,622,250	50,155,783	12,466,467	24.85 %
Number of farms	4,564,641	4,008,907	555,734	13.86 %
Tot.land in farms(acres)	623,218,619	536,081,835	87,136,784	16.25 %
Improved land (acres) ..	357,616,755	284,771,042	72,845,713	25.52 %
Unimproved land (acres)	265,601,864	251,310,793	14,291,071	5.68 %
Total value of farms ...	$15,982,267,689	$12,104,001,538	$3,878,266,151	32.40 %
Land, fences, buildings	$13,279,252,649	$10,197,096,776	$3,082,155,873	30.32 %
Implements & Machinery	$494,247,467	$406,520,055	$87,727,412	21.58 %
Live stock	$2,208,767,573	$1,500,384,707	$708,382,866	47.21 %
Value of products	$2,460,107,454	$2,212,540,927	$247,566,527	11.19 %

Number of Farms Classified According to Acreage in 1880 and 1890.

Year.	Total.	Under 10 acres	10 and under 20	20 and under 50	50 and under 100	100 and under 500	500 and under 1000	1000 and over
1890 ..	4,564,641	150,194	265,550	902,777	1,121,485	2,008,694	84,395	31,546
1880 ..	4,008,907	139,241	254,749	781,574	1,032,810	1,695,983	75,972	28.578
Increase	555,734	10,953	10,801	121,203	88,675	312,711	8,423	2,968

The foregoing census classification of farms according to their size is insufficient and otherwise very defective. In the first place, throughout the great farming districts of this country the land is divided into sections of one square mile, or 640 acres, which in turn are subdivided into half-sections, quarter-sections, etc., respectively containing 320 acres, 160 acres, 80 acres and 40 acres. The classification of farms above 20 acres, in order to correspond to the existing conditions, should therefore be as follows: From 20 to 40; from 40 to 80; from 80 to 160; from 160 to 320; from 320 to 640, etc. Within these classes would fall the farms of intermediary sizes, chiefly located in the Eastern States. Instead of the one great class from 100 to 500 acres, which is given in the census, and which comprises under one head people differing greatly in property and means of production, there would be three classes, each comprising people of substantially the same productive power. In the second place, the total area covered by each class should be given; for, in the absence of this all-important datum, it is impossible to accurately calculate the proportions in which the farm land of the country is divided among the various classes of farmers. Upon the figures supplied by the census, and by carefully considering all other available data, we have, however, arrived at the following result, which we believe to be as approximately correct as possible, the number of farms being, of course, absolutely the same as in the census for each class of farms, and the total area obtained with our estimate of the average size of farms of each class being so nearly the same as the census figures for both 1880 and 1890 that the small difference is practically of no account.

Proportions in which the Farming Land was Divided into Farms in 1880 and 1890.

Class of farms in acres.	Estimated Average.	1880.		1890.	
		Number of farms.	Total area.	Number of farms.	Total area.
Under 10	5 acres	139,241	696,205	150,194	750,970
10 and under 20	15 acres	254,749	3,821,235	265,550	3,983,250
20 and under 50	40 acres	781,574	31,262,960	902,777	36,111,080
50 and under 100 ...	80 acres	1,032,810	82,624,800	1,121,485	89,718,800
Total under 100		2,208,374	118,405,200	2,440,006	130,564,100

Class of farms in acres.	Estimated Average.	1880. Number of farms.	1880. Total area.	1890. Number of farms.	1890. Total area.
100 and under 500 ..	200 acres	1,695,983	339,196,600	2,008,694	401,738,800
500 and under 1,000	600 acres	75,972	45,583,200	84,395	50,637,000
1,000 and over	1,200 acres	28,578	34,293,600	31,546	37,855,200
Total 100 and over		1,800,533	419,073,400	2,124,635	490,231,000
Grand total		4,408,907	537,478,600	4,564,641	620,795,100
Census total of area			536,081,835		623,218,619

From the above figures we derive the following table, which already shows —though not fully, as we shall presently see—the tendency to concentration in agriculture:

	Number of farms. under 100 acres	Number of farms. over 100 acres	Total area of farms. under 100 acres	Total area of farms. over 100 acres
1890	2,440,006	2,124,635	130,564,100	490,231,000
1880	2,208,374	1,800,533	118,405,200	419,073,400
Increase	241,632	324,102	12,158,900	71,157,600
Proportions of Increase ..	10.9 %	18 %	10.2 %	16 %

From the above tables it also appears that in 1890 the number of farms under 100 acres (2,440,006) represented 53.45 per cent. of the total number of farms, but only 21.34 per cent. of the total land in farms; whereas the number of farms over 100 acres (2,124,635) represented only 46.55 of the total number of farms, but covered 78.66 per cent. of the total farm area. In other words, *more than one-half of the farmers occupied together about one-fifth of the soil, while less than one-half occupied four-fifths.*

CAPITALIST CONCENTRATION IN AGRICULTURE.

The first inquiry into the tenure of land in this country was made in 1880. It disclosed the fact that of the 4.008,907 farms and plantations reported in that year, 1,024,601—or over 25 per cent.—were cultivated by tenants. It was at the same time shown by the table of occupations that of the 7,670,493 persons reported as engaged in agriculture 3,323,876 were "agricultural laborers," while a large portion of the 1,859,223 persons reported simply as "laborers" under the head of "professional and personal services" were also, according to a foot-note in the census, "agricultural laborers." From these two facts it therefore appeared, in flat contradiction of all previous notions concerning the independence of our agricultural population, that in 1880 about 5 persons in 8 were not the owners of the land which they cultivated. Nevertheless, the false impression that the land was not undergoing the same process of concentration that was already then noticeable in all the other means of production, not only continued to prevail but was reinforced by the remarkable statement of Prof. Walker, Superintendent of the Censuses of 1870 and 1880, namely, (1) that the "average size of farms," including improved and unimproved lands, had been steadily decreasing from 199 acres in 1860 to 153 in

1870, and 134 in 1880; and (2) that the "average area of improved land in farms"—meaning thereby, if it meant anything, the average number of acres of improved land held by one person as owner or tenant—had decreased from 80 acres in 1860 to 71 acres in 1880.

In an exhaustive analysis of the census figures, made by L. Sanial, and published in the Tenth Report of the New York Bureau of Labor Statistics (1893), it was shown that the "averages" of Prof. Walker were arithmetical fictions, produced by entirely ignoring the conditions under which 900,000 "new farms" had been created in the Southern States after the abolition of slavery. As regards these States and these "new farms," it was shown that the enfranchised slaves had been converted into three classes: One class numbered about 600,000 "tenants," who cultivated "on shares" a portion of the land owned by their former masters. The second class was composed of about 300,000 "farm owners," whose holdings as such, however, were very small, chiefly ranging from 3 to 25 acres. As to the third one, numbering at least 2,200,000, it was entirely composed of "agricultural laborers," working for wages. Leaving aside this new tenantry and this new proprietary, formidable numerically but insignificant economically and created under the abnormal conditions brought about by the abolition of chattel slavery, it was found that both in the South and in the North the real average quantity of "improved land" held by one person as owner (which is from a true economic standpoint the actual "average" size of farms) had actually—and contrary to Prof. Walker's misstatement—increased instead of decreased. In the South it increased only 4 per cent. from 1860 to 1880, but in the North and West, where no great political or social revolution interfered with the economic development, it increased nearly 36 per cent. during the same period.

By the same analysis it was shown that in the New England States, from 1860 to 1880, the number of farmers decreased 23,000, but the number of farm laborers increased 24,000, the decrease on one side and the increase on the other being nearly equal, so that every farmer that disappeared was replaced by a farm laborer. In the meantime, however, the "improved land" increased 922,000 acres; and this gives us some idea of the addition made to the "efficiency of labor" by agricultural machinery, even on the rocky soil of New England, where such machinery cannot be used to the same extent as in more favored regions.

Likewise (or still worse) in New York State, the number of farmers decreased 13,300, but the number of farm laborers increased only 10,000, while the area of improved land increased 3,360,000 acres, or about 23 per cent. Nor was this all; we quote:

"The number of farms under 10 acres—the 'poverty farms,' upon which here and there one among many a country mechanic and agricultural laborer has built or inherited a shanty, keeps a cow and raises some vegetables—increased 1,835 in New York State, while the farms of more than 500 acres, the bonanza farms of this State, increased 1,351. On the other hand, the number of farms ranging from 10 to less than 100 acres, that require a fair agricultural equipment to eke out of the soil a scanty living by the hard personal labor of the owners and their families, decreased 18,706; while those ranging from 100 to 500 acres, worked chiefly by wage labor, with costly machinery, adequate live stock, extensive accommodations and ready cash, increased 40,325." It is quite evident that Prof. Walker's method of 'averaging with a vengeance' produces results the very reverse of actual facts.

"Pennsylvania, with an increase of 3,000,000 acres in improved land, showed an increase of only 14,000 farmers as against 31,000 farm laborers. Ohio, with an increase of 5,500,000 acres to its cultivated area, showed an increase of 38,000 farmers as against 55,000 farm laborers. In brief, every State in the North Atlantic, Northern Central and Western groups, shows the same tendency, either to an actual decrease in the number of farmers, or to an increase of much less proportion than the area improved; but in all cases a tendency to a disproportionate increase in the number of agricultural laborers as compared with the number of farmers."

The further progress of capitalistic concentration in Agriculture from 1880 to 1890 is shown to some extent and in various ways by the foregoing tables. It has been so great during this period that although the Walker method of "averaging with a vengeance" was continued in the census of 1890, the general "average size of farms," arrived at in simply dividing the total farm area by the total number of farms, shows an increase (from 134 to 137 acres) for the first time in the history of the country. In so far as one of the effects of concentration, at the present stage of development reached by capitalistic agriculture, is the growth of that kind of sweating system which is termed "Tenantry," the following table is highly instructive:

NUMBER AND SIZE OF FARMS ACCORDING TO TENURE in 1880 and 1890.

Size of farms.	1880.				1890.			
	Cultivated by owners.	Held by Tenants.			Cultivated by owners.	Held by Tenants.		
		Rented for money.	Rented for share.	Total held by tenants		Rented for money.	Rented for share.	Total held by tenants.
Under 10 acres.....	88,057	23,779	27,405	51,184	98,990	26,181	25,023	51,204
10 and under 20 acres.....	122,411	41,522	90,816	132,338	132,970	46,921	85,659	132,580
20 and under 50 acres.....	460,486	97,399	223,689	321,088	505,313	137,709	259,755	397,464
50 and under 100 acres.....	804,522	69,663	158,625	228,288	840,178	100,613	180,694	281,307
Total under 100 acres..	1,475,476	232,363	500,535	732,898	1,577,451	311,424	551,131	862,555
100 and under 500 acres....	1,416,618	84,645	194,720	279,365	1,594,641	135,748	278,305	414,053
500 and under 1,000 acres..	66,447	3,956	5,569	9,525	70,911	5,216	8,268	13,484
1,000 acres and over.....	25,765	1,393	1,420	2,813	26,725	2,271	2,550	4,821
Total over 100 acres....	1,508,830	89,994	201,709	291,703	1,692,277	143,235	289,123	432,358
Grand total.....	2,984,306	322,357	702,244	1,024,601	3,269,728	454,659	840,254	1,294,913

From the above table it appears:

1—That of the total number of farms, 25.5 per cent. in 1880, and 28.4 per cent. in 1890, were held by tenants.

2—That of the total number of farms under 100 acres, 33.1 per cent. in 1880, and 35.3 per cent. in 1890, were held by tenants.

3—That of the total number of farms over 100 acres, 16.2 per cent. in 1880, and 20.3 per cent. in 1890, were held by tenants.

4—That of the total number of farms of less than 50 acres, 43 per cent in 1880, and 44 per cent. in 1890, were held by tenants. This small—and we need not say, miserable—tenantry, was chiefly located in the Southern States, where it was the best product of the abolition of slavery. With the intro-

duction of agricultural machinery, it is, of course, bound to disappear very rapidly.

5—That while the total number of farms of all sizes increased only 555,734, or 13.86 per cent., the number of farms occupied by tenants increased from 1,024,601 to 1,294,913, or 26.3 per cent. The increase in the number of tenanted farms was 270,312, or very nearly one-half of the total increase of farms.

AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY.

According to the census returns, the total value of farm implements and agricultural machinery compared as follows in 1880 and 1890:

1890	$494,247,467
1880	406,520,055
Increase	$87,727,412 or 21.58 per cent.

These figures, at first sight, appear very large; and, no doubt, when compared with the value of the agricultural implements and machinery used in other countries (not only such as India, Egypt, Russia, etc., where primitive tools and methods are still largely prevailing, but such as France, Germany, etc., where modern instruments of production are revolutionizing agriculture), they justify the claim of "American superiority." When they are examined a little more closely, however, they simply show the unprogressive condition of agriculture, even in this, the most advanced of all countries, during the period of transition through which agricultural capitalism is now passing.

Indeed, when we divide the total value ($494,227,467) of implements and machinery in 1890 by the total number of farms (4,564,641) reported for the same year, we find as follows:

Average Value of Implements and Machinery per Farm.....$108.

Again, the reported increase of $87,727,412 for 10 years, gives an average annual increase of only $8,772,741, which, divided by the aforesaid number of farms, gives the following result:

Average Annual Increase of Implements and Machinery per Farm..$1.70.

From these ridiculously small "averages per farm," and from what we know of the actually large and growing quantity and value of agricultural machinery on the farms owned by great capitalists, it is evident that there is no mechanical improvement whatever on the vast number of those which are still held by an immense majority of poor or comparatively poor farmers. If the census figures are correct, there is not 1 farm in 5 that is on an average provided with machinery to the value of $500; for if there were 913,000 farms thus provided, their capital invested in machinery would amount to $456,500,000, leaving for the other farms (3,650,000 in number), implements to the total value of $37,700,000, or a trifle over $10 per farm.

With these facts and considerations to guide us, we may, then, quite safely say that for some reason inherent in the present economic conditions, agriculture in this country is not yet supplied with one-fourth (or possibly one-fifth) of the machinery already available.

What this reason is can readily be perceived. The very fact that machines of a constantly more improved and costly type are used on the farms owned by wealthy capitalists, precludes their introduction on the land owned by men of small means or small holdings; not only because of their cost, but because of their immediate consequences and effects. In the first place,

machines involve production on a large scale; therefore, specialization of product and subdivision of labor.* These two conditions alone would of themselves place machinery beyond the reach of the small farmer, even if he could procure enough money to get it. Again, through these new factors—machinery, specialization of product and division of labor—the price of the product is reduced to a point below its former labor cost, until the small farmer, for whom this cost has remained the same, is driven so deeply into poverty that he must finally abandon his farm. No alternative, then, is left him but to become an agricultural laborer; and even the prospect of his employment as such, owing to the increase (ever so small) of machinery, becomes every day more uncertain, as the following figures ominously show:

	1880.	1890.	Decrease.
Number of agricultural laborers	**3,323,876**	**3,004,061**	**319,815**

But this is, as we have already observed, a period of transition in the development of agricultural capitalism; a period corresponding to the early one in manufacturing industry, when the individual manufacturer, not yet seriously threatened in his existence by the advent of the corporation, was fast supplanting the artisan. This period is necessarily longer in agriculture than it has been in manufacture. And for obvious reasons. In the latter, machinery was the only factor and immediately knocked out of the artisan's hand his insignificant tool; whereas, in the former, land was and is still an element of considerable value, which it takes more time for the capitalist to wrest from its present owners through the operation of his machinery.

As this process developes, however, its rapidity increases at an extraordinary rate. Then its almost sudden effects—widespread, powerful, and seemingly out of proportion with their real cause—illustrate more and more vividly the great capitalistic fact, always prominently held up to view by the Socialists, but stupidly or wilfully ignored by Silverites, Single-taxers, Anti-monopolists and all such schools of blind "Reformers"; namely, that *the Machine is the All-Important Factor;* from which naturally flows the conclusion, that *Its Ownership is of Necessity the Only True Issue,* for the owner of the machine necessarily becomes the owner of the land.

Nothing, indeed, is more suggestive than the profound changes already wrought out in the economic conditions of agriculture by the introduction of a quantity of machinery which is insignificant as compared with what it could, should and will be. Observe that this quantity, including not only the superior mechanical appliances but all the inferior implements in use, is valued in the Census returns of 1890 at less than $500,000,000, and therefore represents hardly a thirty-second part of the total value of the farms, which is estimated (in round figures) at $16,000,000,000. Imagine what the effect would be—upon agricultural labor, upon agricultural prices, upon the owners of the 2,200,000 farms of less than 100 acres, and upon the country at large—of a mere doubling of that sum in appliances of the most improved kind, as may be the case within a few years if the electrical experiments now being made in some great farming establishments should result in inducing only the

* It is estimated that on the bonanza farms of Dakota and California 400 single men—agricultural laborers—employed only during the season and supplied with the most improved machinery, produce as much wheat as is obtained by 5,000 French peasants on the rich plains of the Beauce and the Brie with the comparatively primitive tools at their command.

50,000 wealthiest farm-owners to spend each on an average $10,000 for mechanical plants of the most modern and effective type.

WHEAT:—Production, Acreage, Yield per acre, Value of Crop, Price per bushel, Exports and Quantity Retained for Consumption (including Seed and Stocks), from 1867 to 1897.

Year.	Area of crop.	Production	Yield per acre.	Value		Exports.	Retained for consumption.	
				of total crop.	per bush.		Net total.	per capita
	Acres.	Bushels.	Bush.	Dollars.	Cts.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bush.
1867	18,321,561	212,441,400		421,796,460		25,284,803	187,156,597	
1868	18,460,132	224,036,600		319,195,290		29,717,201	194,319,399	
1869	19,181,004	260,146,900		244,924,120		53,900,780	206,246,120	
1870	18,992,591	235,884,700		245,865,045		52,580,111	183,304,589	
Average	18,738,822	233,127,400	12.44	307,945,229	132	40,370,724	192,756,676	5.1
1871	19,943,893	230,722,400		290,411,820		38,995,755	191,726,645	
1872	20,858,359	249,997,100		310,180,375		52,014,715	197,982,385	
1873	22,171,676	281,254,700		323,594,805		91,510,398	189,744,302	
1874	24,967,027	309,102,700		291,107,895		72,912,817	236,189,883	
1875	26,381,512	292,136,000		294,580,990		74,750,682	217,385,318	
Average	22,864,493	272,642,580	11.92	301,975,177	129	66,036,873	206,605,707	5.0
1876	27,627,021	289,356,500		300,259,300		57,043,936	232,312,564	
1877	26,277,546	364,196,146		394,695,779		92,071,726	272,154,520	
1878	32,108,560	420,122,400		326,346,424		150,502,506	269,619,894	
1879	32,545,950	448,756,630		497,030,142		180,304,180	268,452,450	
1880	37,986,717	498,549,868		474,201,850		186,321,514	312,228,354	
Average	31,309,159	404,196,309	12.91	398,506,699	98	133,248,772	270,947,537	5.6
1881	37,709,020	383,280,090		456,880,427		121,892,389	261,387,701	
1882	37,067,194	504,185,470		445,602,125		147,811,316	356,374,154	
1883	36,455,593	421,086,160		383,649,282		111,534,182	309,551,978	
1884	39,475,885	512,765,000		330,862,260		132,570,366	380,194,634	
1885	34,189,246	357,112,000		275,320,390		94,565,793	262,546,207	
Average	36,979,387	435,685,744	11.83	378,462,897	85	121,674,809	314,010,935	5.8
1886	36,806,184	457,218,000		314,226,020		153,804,969	303,413,031	
1887	37,641,783	456,329,000		310,612,960		119,624,344	336,704,656	
1888	37,336,138	415,868,000		385,248,030		88,600,742	327,267,258	
1889	38,123,859	490,560,000		342,491,707		109,430,467	381,129,533	
1890	36,087,154	399,262,000		334,773,678		106,181,316	293,080,684	
Average	37,199,023	443,847,400	11.93	337,470,479	76	115,528,368	328,319,032	5.4
1891	39,916,897	611,780,000		513,472,711		225,665,812	386,114,188	
1892	38,554,430	515,949,000		322,111,881		191,912,635	324,036,365	
1893	34,629,418	396,131,725		313,171,381		164,283,129	231,848,596	
1894	34,882,436	460,267,416		225,902,025		144,812,718	315,454,698	
1895	34,047,332	467,102,947		237,933,998		126,443,968	340,658,979	
Average	36,506,105	490,246,218	13.42	322,519,399	65	170,623,652	319,622,566	4.6
1896	34,618,646	427,684,346		310,602,539		145,124,972	282,559,374	

NOTE.—The figures of production are for the calendar year, while the exports are for the fiscal year ending six months later. For instance, the crop of the calendar year ending December 31, 1896, was 427,684,346 bushels; while the exports (chiefly of that crop) were 145,124,972 bushels for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1897.

The imports and exports of "foreign" wheat were comparatively insignificant, and have been omitted from this table, which they would needlessly complicate.

CORN:—Production, Acreage, Yield per acre, Value of Crop, Price per bushel, Exports and Quantity Retained for Consumption (including Seed and Stocks), from 1867 to 1897.

Year.	Area of crop.	Production.	Yield per acre.	Value		Exports.	Retained for consumption.	
				of total crop.	per bush.		Net total.	per capita.
	Acres.	Bushels.	Bush.	Dollars.	Cts.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bush.
1867	32,520,249	768,320,000		610,948,400		12,493,522	755,826,478	
1868	34,887,246	906,527,000		569,512,400		8,286,665	898,240,335	
1869	37,103,245	874,520,000		658,532,700		2,140,487	872,269,041	
1870	38,646,977	1,094,255,000		601,839,000		10,676,873	1,083,689,471	
Average	35,789,429	910,905,500	25.45	610,208,125	67	8,399,386	902,506,114	24.1
1871	34,091,137	991,898,000		478,275,900		35,727,010	956,170,990	
1872	35,526,836	1,092,719,000		435,149,290		40,154,374	1,052,564,626	
1873	39,197,148	932,274,000		447,133,020		35,985,834	896,288,166	
1874	41,036,918	850,148,500		550,043,080		30,025,036	820,123,464	
1875	44,841,371	1,321,069,000		555,445,930		50,910,532	1,271,158,468	
Average	38,938,682	1,037,821,700	26.64	493,219,445	47.5	38,560,557	999,261,143	24.1
1876	49,033,364	1,283,827,500		475,491,210		72,652,611	1,211,174,889	
1877	50,369,113	1,342,558,000		480,643,400		87,192,110	1,255,365,890	
1878	51,585,000	1,388,218,750		441,153,400		87,884,892	1,300,333,858	
1879	53,085,450	1,547,901,790		580,486,200		99,572,329	1,448,329,461	
1880	62,317,842	1,717,434,540		679,714,500		93,648,147	1,623,786,396	
Average	53,278,155	1,455,988,116	27.06	531,497,742	36.6	88,190,018	1,367,798,098	28.7
1881	64,262,025	1,194,916,000		759,482,170		44,340,683	1,150,575,317	
1882	65,659,545	1,617,025,100		783,867,175		41,655,653	1,575,369,447	
1883	68,301,389	1,551,066,900		658,051,485		46,258,606	1,504,808,289	
1884	69,683,780	1,795,528,000		640,735,560		52,876,456	1,742,651,544	
1885	73,130,150	1,936,176,000		635,674,630		64,829,617	1,871,346,383	
Average	68,207,478	1,618,942,500	23.73	695,562,204	42.9	49,992,200	1,568,950,300	29.2
1886	75,694,208	1,665,441,000		610,311,000		41,368,584	1,624,072,416	
1887	72,392,720	1,456,161,000		646,106,700		25,360,869	1,430,800,131	
1888	75,672,763	1,987,790,000		677,561,600		70,841,673	1,916,948,327	
1889	78,319,651	2,112,892,000		597,919,000		103,418,709	2,009,473,291	
1890	71,970,763	1,489,970,000		754,433,000		32,041,529	1,457,928,471	
Average	74,810,021	1,742,450,800	23.29	657,266,260	37.7	54,606,273	1,687,844,527	28.1
1891	76,204,515	2,060,144,000		836,439,223		76,602,285	1,983,551,715	
1892	70,626,658	1,628,464,000		642,146,630		47,121,894	1,581,342,106	
1893	72,036,465	1,619,496,131		591,625,627		66,489,529	1,553,006,602	
1894	62,582,269	1,212,770,052		554,719,162		28,585,405	1,184,184,647	
1895	82,075,830	2,151,138,580		544,985,534		101,100,375	2,050,038,205	
Average	72,705,147	1,734,402,552	23.85	633,983,235	36.5	63,979,897	1,670,422,655	24.1
1896	81,027,156	2,283,875,165	28.19	491,006,967	21.5	178,817,417	2,105,057,748	

NOTE.—The figures of production are for the calendar year, while the exports are for the fiscal year ending six months later. For instance, the crop of the calendar year ending December 31, 1896, was 2,283,875,165 bushels, while the exports (chiefly of that crop) were 178,817,417 bushels for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1897.

The imports and exports of "foreign" corn were comparatively insignificant, and have been omitted from this table, which they would needlessly complicate.

Comments on the Tables of Wheat and Corn Production.

Before pointing out the remarkable lessons which these tables teach, let us first call attention to one of their important features. The yield per acre, as everybody knows, varies greatly from year to year according to weather conditions; in other words there are "good crops" and "bad crops." But the average is, as a rule, found to be about the same when periods of five years are compared. For this reason and others that will appear sufficiently obvious upon inspection, we have divided the 30 years, 1867-1897, into six periods; the first one (1867-1870) comprising 4 years, and the next five (which together extend from 1871 to 1895) comprising each 5 years, so that the current period begins with 1896. While the figures for each year are interesting and frequently very instructive, we have therefore given also the annual average for each period, as being the matter of chief import.

1—*Wheat.*—The fall of the average price of this great agricultural staple has been constant from period to period. It declined from $1.32 in the period 1867-70 to $0.65 in the period 1891-95. The crop of the latter period was in quantity considerably more than twice as great as that of the former, and it was raised on a land surface nearly double; yet both yielded about the same amount of money. In other words, the gross returns of a farm, producing the same quantity of wheat as thirty years ago, are only one-half of what they were at that time, and unless its cost of production has been reduced its net returns are not probably now one quarter of what they were formerly.

The point has obviously been reached where wheat can no longer be profitably raised except on bonanza farms, provided with the most improved machinery, and owned by men closely allied with the railroad, trust and banking magnates who control the enginery of transportation, storage and international commerce.

That the small farmers are being fast driven out of competition, is shown by the acreage under wheat cultivation. The area in wheat reached its maximum in 1891, when it attained the figure of nearly 40,000,000 acres. Since then, despite the increase of population and exports, it fell steadily and was only 34,600,000 acres in 1896.

Not less significant in another direction is the steady decline of the quantity of wheat "per capita" retained for domestic uses. Generally we dismiss as fraudulently misleading the so-called "per capita" statistics; but wheat, as a staple of universal necessity, must here be excepted, with a few reservations. For every head of the population there were on an average 5.8 bushels from 1881 to 1885 (including the quantity kept for seed and in stock). Of late years there were only 4.6 bushels, or half a bushel less than thirty years ago. It is evident from this that there are many people who, for some reason, eat less wheat bread than formerly. Do they eat more corn bread or purchase more meat? Let us see.

2—*Corn.*—This is essentially—almost exclusively—an American cereal. Our production of it, measured in bushels, is about four times our production of wheat. It enters largely into the food of our people as a breadstuff, but is still more largely used to feed cattle and swine, and is then consumed in the form of meat, butter, cheese, lard, etc., not only by us, but by foreigners to the extent of our exports of those products. For the past two years, owing to

special conditions which may or may not result in a continued foreign demand, we have exported large quantities of it, which, however, constituted only a small percentage of the crop. Until quite lately the market for our Indian corn was therefore almost entirely in the United States, and the influence upon it of the world's market was not direct, as in the case of wheat, but indirect; in other words, it was not affected by the competition of foreign corn, as our wheat is by foreign wheat, although as a breadstuff and to the extent only that it was such, it would naturally be affected by the wheat market. Again, as it was a most important factor in the production of meat, and as the price of meat was upon the whole rather steady, with an occasional tendency to a rise, it might have seemed reasonable to expect that Indian corn would at least hold its own better than wheat had done. And such was the case for a time, as the figures in our tables show. True, its average price fell from 67 cents a bushel for the period 1867-70 to 36.6 cents for the period 1876-80; but it recovered more than 6 cents in the following period, whereas wheat continued to fall. Since 1885, however, its decline has been constant, and the average price at which the great crop of 1896 was marketed was only 21½ cents!

The fact is that while the transportation and elevator combinations hold the farmer by the throat on the wheat side, the meat trusts hold him likewise on the corn side. The great ranches owned by these trusts and their associates act upon the value of cattle on the hoof, and therefore also upon the value of corn, in the same manner as the bonanza farms owned by great capitalists in combination with the same class of associates act upon the value of wheat on the farm.

It is no wonder that the small farmer, bred in the notions of early-day capitalism, and unable to perceive that the development of industrial and commercial machinery has forever put an end to the small farm as well as to the small shop, fondly listens to the fairy tales of the silver baron, who tells him that he of the few cows and antiquated horse plow can kill the trust giant, the "money power," the gold octopus, with a silver brick.

Nothing but a large increase of consumption could give our little farmer some relief; and such relief would necessarily be of a temporary character. This increase could not come from the wealthy classes. It could only come from the poor masses of cities—the wage workers. In regard to these, what are the facts? Enforced idleness and reduced wages are constantly decreasing their purchasing power. Therefore, the same phenomenon already noted under the head of Wheat is noticeable to a still greater extent concerning Corn and Meat. The area planted in corn fell from 76,000,000 to 62,600,000 in 1894, or lower than it had been since 1880. True, under the temporary encouragement of higher prices produced by a short crop, it ran in 1895 and 1896 to over 80,000,000 acres; but it is safe to say that low prices must soon again cause a decline, the increased production being unwarranted by the condition of the consuming masses, which places meat more and more beyond their reach. Moreover, the extent to which electricity is displacing animal power is fast narrowing an important outlet for corn. All these conditions are reflected in the following tables, which show the considerable decline in the number of horses, cattle, sheep and swine, and in the value of farm animals, especially during the past few years:

OUR MEAT AND DAIRY SUPPLY.

1—Table Showing the Increase or Decrease in the Number of Farm Animals from 1880 to 1894; the Increase of Population in the Same Period being about 36 per cent.

	1894.	1880.	Increase or Decrease.	
			Number.	Per cent.
Milch cows	15,487,400	12,443,120	+ 3,044,280	+ 24.4
Oxen and other cattle	36,608,168	23.482,391	+13,125,777	+ 55.9
Sheep	45,048,017	35,192,074	+ 9,855,943	+ 28.0
Swine	45,206,498	47,681,700	— 2,475,202	— 5.1

2—Table Showing the Increase or Decrease in the Number of Farm Animals from 1880 to 1890; the Increase of Population in the Same Period being 24.85 per cent.

	1890.	1880.	Increase.	
			Number.	Per cent.
Milch cows	15,952,883	12,443,120	+ 3,509,762	+ 28.2
Oxen and other cattle	36,608,168	23,482,391	+13,125,777	+ 55.9
Sheep	44,336,072	35,192,074	+ 9,143,998	+ 26.0
Swine	51,602,780	47,681,700	+ 3,921,080	+ 8.2

3—Table Showing the Increase or Decrease in the Number of Farm Animals from 1890 to 1894; the Increase of Population in the Same Period being about 9 per cent.

	1894.	1890.	Increase or Decrease.	
			Number.	Per cent.
Milch cows	15,487,400	15,952,883	— 465,483	— 2.2
Oxen and other cattle	36,608,168	36,849,024	— 240,856	— 0.6
Sheep	45,048,017	44,336,072	+ 711,945	+ 1.6
Swine	45,206,498	51,602,780	— 6,396,282	—12.4

Less Meat for the People.

From the above table it appears:

1—That from 1880 to 1894, the number of milch cows was about 12 per cent. less, and the number of sheep 8 per cent. less, than the increase of the population.

2—That from 1880 to 1894, the number of farm animals under the head "Oxen and Other Cattle," from which our supply of "beef" is derived, increased nearly 56 per cent., or about 20 per cent. more than the population. But if the increased exportation of cattle and beef be taken into account, it is safe to say that the number of animals of this class which contribute to the domestic supply was actually no greater in 1894 than in 1880.

3—That in spite of the increase in the exportation of hog products, the number of swine was 5 per cent. less in 1894 than in 1880.

4—That the increase in the number of horned cattle took place from 1880 to 1890, which was a period of great capitalistic prosperity; but that, from 1890 to 1894, the number declined; and it was also during the latter period that the number of swine fell off about 6,400,000, or nearly one-eighth.

From the above facts the conclusion is obvious that, upon the whole, our production—and therefore also our consumption—of meat and dairy products (milk, butter and cheese) has not increased in proportion to the population; in other words, that, while the wealthy and well-to-do class may consume or waste more food, *the masses of the people are actually eating less.*

[In further confirmation of this statement, see elsewhere the statistics of wheat and corn production.]

We now come to a fact of still greater significance.

The Meat Supply Is Now Smaller than it Was in 1860.

To those who claim that we are better off than our fathers were, the following figures are dedicated:

Table Showing the DECREASE in the Number of Cattle, Sheep and Swine, PER 100 INHABITANTS, from 1860 to 1894.

	1894.	1860.	Decrease.	
			Number	Per cent.
Population	67,608,836*	31,443,321		
Total Number of Cattle ..	53,095,568	25,616,019		
Number of Cattle per 100 inhabitants	78.53	81.46	2.93	3.6
Total Number of Sheep ...	45,048,017	22,471,275		
Number of Sheep per 100 inhabitants	66.63	71.46	4.83	6.0
Total Number of Swine ..	45,204,498	33,512,867		
Number of Swine per 100 inhabitants	66.86	105.31	38.45	36.5

* The increase of population since 1890 is estimated on the low basis of 1,246,646 per year, which was the average annual increase from 1880 to 1890.

From the above table it appears that there were in 1894 nearly 3 heads of horned cattle, about 5 sheep and 38 swine less than in 1860 for every 100 inhabitants.

Nor is this all. A comparison with 1850 would show that there were in that year nearly 2 heads of horned cattle less, but 27 sheep and 64 swine more than in 1894 for every 100 inhabitants. In other words, the source of supply in 1850 was capable of producing for every inhabitant about as much beef as in 1894, besides 40 per cent. more mutton and twice as much pork.

The effect of the recent crisis upon agriculture and especially upon the sources of meat and dairy supply is strikingly shown in the following figures:

FARM ANIMALS—Number and Value from 1892 to 1897.

[From the Annual Reports of the Department of Agriculture.]

Jan. 1,	Horses.	Mules.	Milch cows	Oxen, &c.	Sheep.	Swine.	Total value farm animals.
	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	
1892	15,498,140	2,314,699	16,416,351	37,651,239	44,938,365	52,398,019	$2,461,755,698
1893	16,206,802	2,231,128	16,424,087	35,954,196	47,273,553	46,094,807	2,483,506,681
1894	16,061,139	2,352,231	16,487,400	36,608,168	45,048,017	45,206,498	2,170,816,754
1895	15,893,318	2,333,108	16,504,629	34,364,216	42,294,064	44,165,716	1,819,446,306
1896	15,124,057	2,278,946	16,137,586	32,085,409	38,298,783	42,842,750	1,727,926,084
1897	14,364,667	2,215,654	15,941,727	30,508,408	36,818,643	40,600,276	1,655,414,612
Decrease in 5 years	1,133,473	99,045	474,624	7,142,831	8,119,722	11,797,743	$806,391,086

NOTE.—As a rule the value fell in a much higher ratio than the number.

The value of horses fell from $1,007,593,000, in 1892, to $452,649,000, in 1897.

The value of mules fell from $175,000,000, in 1892, to $92,000,000, in 1897.

The value of oxen and other cattle fell from $570,000,000, in 1892, to $507,000,000, in 1897.

The value of sheep fell from $126,000,000, in 1893, to $67,000,000, in 1897.

The value of swine fell from $295,000,000, in 1893, to $166,000,000, in 1897.

The value of milch-cows alone shows a slight increase (from $351,000,000, in 1892, to $369,000,000, in 1897), although their number fell nearly 475,000.

The total value of farm animals was $29,000,000 less in 1897 than in 1873.

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

[Incompleteness and Consequent Inaccuracy of the Census Returns—Corrected Estimates upon Data Supplied by Prof. J. R. Dodge, late Statistician of the Department of Agriculture.]

According to the Census returns, the estimated value of agricultural products (as already given in our general table under the head, "The Farms of the United States,") was as follows in 1880 and 1890:

1880 2,212,540,927
1890 ..... $2,460,107,454

Increase ..... $257,566,527 or 11.19 per cent.

These figures are very incomplete and, therefore, grossly inaccurate. Items of considerable import were unaccountably left out by the Census Office, making in the aggregate, for 1880, a sum of over $1,500,000,000; and the same omissions were made in the Census of 1890, despite the fact that in the meantime Prof. J. R. Dodge, Statistician of the Department of Agriculture from 1863 to 1893, had in the Appendix to a pamphlet entitled, "Farm and Factory," published in 1883, given a more complete estimate, as follows:

Quantity, Price and Value of Products of Agriculture, for the Calendar Year 1879 (which is the Crop Year Reported in the Census of 1880).

Products.	Quantity.	Price.	Value.
Corn, bushels	1,754,591,676	$0 39.6	$694,818,304
Wheat, bushels	459,483,137	95.1	436,968,463
Oats, bushels	407,858,999	36	146,829,240

Products.	Quantity.	Price.	Value.
Rye, bushels	19,831,595	75.6	14,992,686
Barley, bushels	43,997,495	66.6	29,302,332
Buckwheat, bushels	11,817,327	59.4	7,019,492
Rice, pounds	110,131,373	6	6,607,882
Irish Potatoes, bushels	169,458,539	48.3	81,848,474
Sweet Potatoes, bushels	33.378,693	45	15,020,412
Hay, tons	35,150,711	11 65	409,505,783
Cotton, pounds	2,771,797,156	9.8	271,636,121
Tobacco, pounds	472,661,157	8.2	38,758,215
Peas and Beans, bushels	9,590,027	1 50	14,385,041
*Market Garden	.....	....	21,761,250
*Orchard Products	.....	....	50,876,154
Hops, pounds	26,546,378	24	6,371,131
Hemp, tons	5,025	200 00	1,005,000
Flax, pounds	1,565,546	25	391,387
Flax Seed, bushels	7,170,951	1 25	8,963,689
Cane Sugar, hogsheads	178,872	90 00	16,098,480
Maple Sugar, pounds	36,576,061	13	4,754,888
Cane Molasses, gallons	16,573,273	35	5,800,646
Sorghum Syrup, gallons	28,444,202	33	9,386,587
Maple syrup, gallons	1,796,048	1 00	1,796,048
Beeswax, pounds	1,105,689	33	364,877
Honey, pounds	25,743,208	22	5,663,506
Grass Seed, bushels	1,317,701	1 50	1,976,552
Clover Seed, bushels	1,922,982	6 00	11,537,892
Wines, gallons	20,000,000	60	12,000,000
†Wool, pounds	240,681,751	28	67,390,890
†Meats	.....	....	800,000,000
†Butter, pounds	900,000,000	21	189,000,000
†Cheese, pounds	300,000,000	9.5	28,500,000
†Milk Consumed, gallons	1,800,000,000	7.5	135,000,000
†Poultry Products	.....	....	180,000,000
Aggregate values			3,726,331,422

* As reported in the census, not including an immense home consumption.
† Census returns of farms, supplemented by estimates of ranch and town production.

Value of Agricultural Products in 1890.

Assuming that the rate of increase (11.19 per cent.) given by the Census for the period 1880-1890 is substantially correct and that it can safely be applied to the more complete figures given above, we find that the total value of the products of agriculture enumerated in the foregoing table was, for the calendar year 1889, which was the crop year reported in 1890, $4,169,000,000.

AVERAGE YIELD OF GRAIN PER ACRE

in the United States, as Compared with Other Countries.

Many people believe that the great surplus of grain which is produced in the United States, and which must find a market in Europe in competition

with both the foreign product of the other exporting countries and the domestic product of the importing ones, is chiefly owing to the "superior fertility of the American soil," from which our farmers are supposed to derive a great advantage. A glance at the following figures, compiled by the English statistician, Mulhall, from the best sources of information, will dispel this common and somewhat mischievous error:

Countries.	Average yield per acre.				
	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Maize.
	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels	Bushels.
United States	12	22	26	11	23
European countries:—					
United Kingdom	28	33	37	..	..
Denmark	36	30	33	25	..
Belgium	25	33	36	20	..
Germany	22	20	18	16	..
Sweden	22	26	30	25	..
France	18	20	26	16	19
Hungary	18	19	22	15	18
Austria	16	18	22	16	20
Roumania	16	..	20	..	30
Spain	12	18	20	..	18
Italy	12	15	19	..	20
Russia	8	9	15	10	15
European average ...	14	17	22	14	20
Other countries:—					
Canada	16	27	48	..	63
Argentina	10	..	..	..	20
Egypt	13	14	..	..	18
India	10	..	..	..	20

The above table shows that all the wheat-exporting countries, namely, Russia, Hungary, Roumania, Canada, Argentina, Egypt, India, Canada and the United States, have an average smaller yield of wheat per acre than the countries to which they chiefly export, namely, the United Kingdom, Germany, France and Belgium. The so-called advantage of the former over the latter is in their relative cost of production. In such countries as Russia, Egypt and India, "cheaper labor" is the great factor; and their labor must indeed be very much cheaper in order to counteract not only the inferior productivity of their soil, but the comparative inefficiency of the labor itself, unaided as it generally is by improved machinery. On the other hand, in such countries as the United States, Canada and Argentina, the chief factor is in the "extensive" mode of production, as opposed to the "intensive" one of the countries to which they export; that is, in the cultivation of more land by machinery, and therefore with less labor, in order to obtain with a less yield per acre the same total product as is obtained in the importing countries from less land, more fertile, but cultivated without or with less machinery.

Extensive agriculture, as carried on in this country, requires, of course, a large territory thinly settled, and can only be carried on in the same region for a limited period of years, because of the final exhaustion of the soil, to which none of the natural elements taken from it are returned. The country that exports crops raised by that mode of production actually exports its soil, and sows ruin or hard labor for the coming generation. It has been rightly called a vampire system, and is essentially the capitalistic system of agriculture in the comparatively new countries, where the profit-seeking adventurer can, under our capitalist laws, enrich himself not only by appropriating the land but by robbing it of its natural wealth.

WAGES OF FARM LABOR.

The most complete and authoritative statement which we now possess concerning the wages of farm labor in this country is the result of nine statistical inquiries, conducted by Prof. Dodge, Statistician of the Department of Agriculture. The first of this series of investigations into the local rates paid for this class of labor was made in 1866; that is, a year after the Civil War, when the disbandment of the armies and the stoppage of the industries previously engaged in supplying a million soldiers with food, clothing, arms, ammunitions, etc., had "overstocked the labor market" with hundreds of thousands of idle veterans, vainly seeking employment. The latest was made in 1892, when "the country"—that is, the capitalist class—was at the height of its prosperity. In that period of 26 years, despite the enormous advance made in all branches of production, and contrary to the persistent claim that the condition of the working class had greatly improved, the wages of regular farm labor decreased about 31 per cent., and those of transient labor about 40 per cent, as may be seen from the following statistical summary of Prof. Dodge's extensive inquiries, covering every State and Territory.

A 1—Wages per Month by the Year or Season—Without Board.

	1892.	1890.	1888.	1885.	1882.	1879.	1875.	1869.	1866.
Average ...	$18.60	$18.33	$18.24	$17.97	$18.94	$16.42	$19.87	$25.92	$26.87

A 2—Wages per Month by the Year—With Board.

	1892.	1890.	1888.	1885.	1882.	1879.	1875.	1869.	1866.
Average ...	$12.54	$12.45	$12.36	$12.34	$12.41	$10.43	$12.72	$16.55	$17.45

B 1—Day Wages in Harvest—Without Board.

	1892.	1890.	1888.	1885.	1882.	1879.	1875.	1869.	1866.
Average ...	$1.30	$1.30	$1.31	$1.40	$1.48	$1.30	$1.70	$2.20	$2.20

B 2—Day Wages in Harvest—With Board.

	1892.	1890.	1888.	1885.	1882.	1879.	1875.	1869.	1866.
Average ...	$1.02	$1.02	$1.02	$1.10	$1.15	$1.00	$1.35	$1.74	$1.74

C 1—Day Wages for Transient Farm Labor—Without Board.

	1892.	1890.	1888.	1885.	1882.	1879.	1875.	1869.	1866.
Average ...	$0.92	$0.92	$0.92	$0.91	$0.93	$0.81	$1.08	$1.41	$1.49

C 2—Day Wages for Transient Farm Labor—With Board.

	1892.	1890.	1888.	1885.	1882.	1879.	1875.	1869.	1866.
Average ...	$0.67	$0.68	$0.67	$0.67	$0.67	$0.59	$0.78	$1.02	$1.08

It goes without saying that these important figures, which show the growing degradation of over 3,000,000 wage workers, have never been quoted, either in the press or on the stump, by Republican, Democratic or Populist writers or politicians. They show a steady decline of rates from 1866 to 1879, followed by a partial recovery of small amount until 1885, since which time they remained about stationary until 1892, the tendency, however, being in the direction of a decline. While a similar investigation would now serve the desirable purpose of supplying exact figures, we may safely assert that it would show a stupendous fall of wages, consequent upon the crisis of 1893, and from which there is absolutely no chance of recovery under any future circumstances.

Wages and Profits on the Truck Farms.

In a Census monograph on the "Truck Farms of the United States," Mr. J. H. Hale, special census agent, gives as follows the rates of wages per day paid on those farms, from which the great cities, and even many villages, derive their supply of vegetables:

Districts.	Men.	Women.	Children.
New England	$1.25	....	$0.65
New York and Philadelphia	1.19	....	50
Peninsular	75	$0.50	35
Norfolk	75	50	35
Baltimore	77	50	25
South Atlantic	85	65	35
Mississippi	75	50	25
Southwest	1.01	50	35
Central	1.16	62	50
Northwest	1.15	....	....
Mountain	1.40	....	....
Pacific Coast	1.35	....	

As a rule, however, the piecework prevails, and the earnings of men and women are not sensibly larger than those of children. From further statistics, compiled by Mr. Hale, it appears that of the net product of the labor engaged in truck farming in 1890, about $9,500,000 went to the laborers as wages, and over $48,000,000 went to the truck-farming capitalists as profits.

INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY OF FARM LABOR.

In an extensive review of the conditions of agricultural production and prices, published in the report of the Minnesota Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1896, the compiler comes to the conclusion that in the Mississippi Valley there has been an increase (by new machinery and methods, of course) of not less than 60 and possibly 75 per cent., in the productive power of the farm worker since 1862.

MANUFACTURES.

Comparative Summary of Totals for 1890, 1880 and 1870.

Items.	1890.	1880.	1870.
Number of establishments.....	355,401	253,852	252,148
Capital:—			
Land	$775,713,649	*	*
Buildings	878,832,137	*	*
Machinery, tools, etc.....	1,584,155,710	*	*
Live Assets	3,285,773,809	*	*
Total capital	$6,524,475,305	$2,790,272,606	$2,118,208,769
Persons employed:—			
Officers, firm members and clerks:—			
Males	418,014	*	*
Females	43,035	*	*
Total employers and clerks....	461,049	*	*
Operators, skilled and unskilled:			
Males	3,327,196	*	*
Females	802,393	*	*
Children	121,194	*	*
Total operatives.....	4,250,783	*	*
Grand total persons employed:—			
Males	3,745,210	2,019,035	1,615,598
Females	845,428	531,639	323,770
Children	121,194	181,921	114,628
Grand total.....	4,711,832	2,732,595	2,053,996
Wages:—			
Officers, firm members and clerks	$391,914,518	*	*
Operatives, skilled and unskilled	1,890,908,747	*	*
Total wages.....	$2,282,823,265	$947,953,795	$775,584,343
Cost of materials used.....	$5,158,868,353	$3,396,823,549	$2,488,427,242
Value of products.....	$9,370,107,624	$5,369,579,191	$4,232,325,442

In comparing the returns of 1890 with those of 1880, it should first be noted that several industries—numbering together, in 1890, 32,777 establishments which employed 235,738 persons, with a capital (in round figures) of $385,000,000 and a product of $315,000,000—were omitted in 1880. Chief among these industries figured custom dressmaking and custom millinery, number-

* Not reported separately at the censuses of 1880 and 1870.

ing 25,586 establishments and 91,500 employees (mostly seamstresses); also, 716 construction shops of steam railroad companies, occupying over 108,500 mechanics, laborers, foremen, etc., and 742 gas works, employing nearly 15,000 people. A few others, namely bottling, cotton-ginning and cleaning, druggists' preparations, and coffin trimmings—were comparatively unimportant. When the necessary correction is consequently made, it is found that the percentages of increase in 1890 and 1880 were substantially as follows:

Items.	Increase per cent.	
	From 1880 to 1890	From 1870 to 1880.
Number of establishments	27.27	.06
Capital	120.76	31.72
Number of persons employed	65.74	•33.04
Total sum paid in salaries to officers, firm members and clerks, and in wages to operatives	131.13	22.22
Cost of materials used	47.77	36.54
Value of products	69.27	26.87

The foregoing figures tell a wonderful story of manufacturing "progress" during the last census decade. Nothing like it had ever been seen and when they were made known the capitalistic world went into ecstasy. Yet they do not tell the whole story. In some cases they fail to adequately express the real magnitude of the gains made; in some others they are peculiarly misleading in that they give an inverted view of certain capitalistic tendencies. Let us look into the matter a little more closely.

When the number of establishments and the capital engaged are considered the totals of 1880, as compared with those of 1870, afford no basis for erroneous conclusions. They plainly reflect the tendency to capitalistic concentration in manufacture, and an analysis of the returns simply corroborates the fact which they express. In those ten years (1870—1880), although capital increased nearly $700,000,000, or 31.72 per cent., the total number of establishments remained substantially the same, increasing only 1,704, or a fraction of one per cent.

Not so with the totals of 1890, as compared to those of 1880. They show a large increase in the number of establishments, and although they show at the same time a comparatively much larger increase of capital, they convey no idea whatever of the stupendous concentration of industry which took place from 1880 to 1890. Until they are properly analyzed they rather induce the entirely opposite and absolutely false conclusion, that the notable increase in the number of establishments, coincident with the still larger increase of capital, was the result of greater prosperity more widely diffused.

But an examination of the returns for each industry, separately, soon begins to show the existence, magnitude and character of the concentration. It also supplies at every step additional evidence of the most positive nature in support of the conclusions already presented in our chapters on "The Classes" and the "Progress of Bankruptcy." With this inquiry we shall now proceed as briefly as possible, yet as far as necessary to make the matter clear beyond the possibility of dispute.

Of the 363 industries tabulated in the last census of manufactures, 67 reported a product valued at $30,000,000 or over, during the year ending May 31, 1890, and represented in the aggregate four-fifths of the total number of establishments, capital invested, number of employees, wages paid, materials used and product turned out in all classes of manufacturing and mechanical production. Of these 67 greater industries, six are among those for which a comparison cannot be established between 1890 and 1880 (five because they were not reported in 1880, and one—sugar refining—because the returns in both years were incomplete); while twenty-one show each a decrease in the number of establishments, but a large increase of capital, as appears from the following table:

Table A.—GREAT INDUSTRIES in which the NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS DECREASED and the AVERAGE CAPITAL PER ESTABLISHMENT INCREASED, from 1880 to 1890.

Industries.	Number of establishments.			Average capital per establishment.	
	1880.	1890.	Decrease	1880.	1890.
Agricultural implements	1,943	910	1,033	$31,900	$159,700
Blacksmithing and wheelwrighting	38,802	28,000	10,802	780	1,230
Carpets and rugs	195	173	22	110,000	220,800
Chemicals	592	563	29	48,300	96,100
Cooperage	3,898	2,652	1,246	3,120	6,710
Cordage and twine	165	140	25	43,200	162,700
Cotton goods	1,005	905	100	218,400	391,100
Flouring and grist mills	24,338	18,470	5,868	7,280	11,300
Iron and steel	1,005	645	360	229,800	579,000
Iron and steel pipe, wrought	35	22	13	175,100	1,028,200
Leather, tanned and curried	5,424	1,596	3,828	12,300	50,900
Liquors, distilled	844	440	404	28,700	70,400
Liquors, malt	2,191	1,248	943	41,600	186,200
Lumber, from logs	25,708	21,011	4,697	7,040	23,600
Paper	692	567	125	66,800	145,200
Saddlery and harness	7,999	7,931	68	2,060	4,450
Shipbuilding	2,188	1,010	1,178	9,580	52,360
Soap and candles	629	578	51	23,100	42,900
Tinsmithing and sheet iron working	7,693	7,002	691	3,010	5,490
Tobacco, chewing, smoking and snuff	477	395	82	36,000	78,000
Woolen goods	1,990	1,311	679	48,300	99,900
Total	127,813	95,569	32,244	.....	.....

In seventeen of the twenty-one industries figuring in the foregoing table, trusts or combines had already been formed in 1890, and have since then largely extended their work of amalgamation; so that the reported decrease in the number of establishments generally means in such cases not an actual disappearance but an absorption. In the case of flour and lumber, however, the disappearance was complete, owing to the vast equipments and other advantages possessed by the great combines which more and more fully control those products, and are fast wiping out of the face of the earth the country grist mill and the village saw mill. But special attention is called to the four other industries, which, great in the aggregate amount of product turned out, are still carried on by comparatively small and numerous establishments; namely, blacksmithing, cooperage, saddlery and tinsmithing. These have ob-

viously reached a stage where the greater amount of capital required to more or less successfully engage in them is not only an impassable barrier to the mechanic of much skill and very limited means, but an eliminating factor of considerable power. In the case of blacksmithing and saddlery, the trolley and the bicycle are now additional factors, the full force of which had not yet been felt in 1890.

Of the 41 remaining greater industries, 20 were carried on chiefly or entirely in large factories, mills or works, each of which required a considerable capital. These show in the aggregate a small increase of 4,454 establishments, but an enormous increase in the average capital per establishment, as follows:

Table B.—GREAT INDUSTRIES, in which the NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS INCREASED SLIGHTLY, while the AVERAGE CAPITAL PER ESTABLISHMENT INCREASED LARGELY.

Industries.	Number of establishments.			Average capital per establishment	
	1880.	1890.	Increase	1880.	1890.
Boots and shoes (factory product)	1,959	2,082	123	$21,900	$45,800
Brick and tile	5,631	5,828	197	4,900	14,100
Cars and construction shops (not belonging to railroad companies)	130	166	36	71,300	292,000
Coffee and spice (roasting and grinding)	300	358	58	21,200	47,500
Fertilizers	364	390	26	49,200	104,100
Foundry and machine shops	4,958	6,475	1,517	31,100	59,100
Furniture and upholstering	5,624	5,633	9	7,300	14,000
Glass	211	294	83	94,100	139,600
Gold, reducing and refining	28	38	10	29,000	125,000
Hats and caps	489	705	216	11,100	19,400
Hosiery and knit goods	359	796	437	43,400	63,900
Ironwork, architectural and ornamental	220	724	504	6,300	30,300
Iron and steel nails and spikes	62	138	76	62,500	176,300
Jewelry	739	783	44	15,400	28,400
Paints	244	382	138	55,500	89,000
Petroleum refining	86	94	8	317,700	823,500
Shirts	549	869	320	12,400	16,400
Silk and silk goods	382	472	90	50,600	108,000
Slaughtering and meat packing	872	1,367	495	56,600	86,300
Worsted goods	76	143	67	268,000	476,000
Total	23,283	27,737	4,454	.....	.....

Two of the industries enumerated in the foregoing table require here special comment.

It will be observed that nearly one-quarter of the total number of establishments in this table, and over one-third of the increase of that number, consisted in "foundry and machine shops." The fundamental part acted by machinery in the diversification of industry and in the development of capitalism would of itself readily account not only for this increase in the number of machine shops but for the increase of their average capital from $31,100 in 1880 to $59,100 in 1890. It is quite safe to predict, however, that while the tendency to an increase of capital per establishment will become constantly more accentuated, the tendency to an increase in the number of establishments will not only disappear but be reversed. Among the 6,475 machine shops reported in 1890, there were many small ones, which either could hardly make the two ends meet, or were just enabled to subsist on the manufacture of

some special and patented piece of machinery. Could the number and capital of these be ascertained, it would unquestionably be found that the number of great shops had hardly increased, if at all, but that the capital at their command had grown enormously.

Next in the number of establishments enumerated in Table B (though not in the increase thereof, which was only 9, or in the average amount of capital per establishment, which, however, rose in ten years from $7,300 to $14,000), may be noted the furniture and upholstery industry. But it must be stated that owing to a difference in classification an intelligent comparison of 1890 with 1880 is not possible. In 1880 the factory product was not reported separately from the repairing and custom work. In 1890 these two distinct products were separately reported and the returns showed 1,579 factories with an aggregate capital of $66,393,864, or an average of over $42,000 per establishment. This left an aggregate of $12,861,208 for the custom and repairing branch of the industry, numbering 4,054 establishments; or an average capital of only $3,072 per establishment. From these figures and from what we know, in general, of the inroads made upon the small shops by the common output of factories as well as by the artistic product of a few great firms that monopolize the custom of our millionaire parvenus, we feel justified in asserting that the very limited means with which a number of artisans in this industry were striving to maintain their independence had not increased in 1890, and may, indeed, by this time, have almost entirely vanished into smoke.

To further counterbalance in part the loss of 32,244 establishments suffered by the 21 industries enumerated in Table A, we may look into the returns of the building trades, seven of which figured in the greater industries that turned out a product of over $30,000,000 in 1890 and compared as follows with 1880:

Table C.—Increase of the NUMBER of ESTABLISHMENTS and of the AVERAGE CAPITAL PER ESTABLISHMENT in the BUILDING INDUSTRIES, 1880-1890.

Industries.	Number of establishments.			Average capital per establishment.	
	1880.	1890.	Increase	1880.	1890.
Carpentering	9,184	16,917	7,733	$ 2,100	$ 4,800
Lumber, planing mill products, including sash, doors and blinds	2,491	3,670	1,179	15,200	32,700
Marble and stone work	2,846	3,373	527	5,800	11,000
Masonry, including plastering	1,591	7,715	6,124	2,500	7,100
Painting and paperhanging	3,968	10,043	6,075	1,400	2,300
Paving and paving materials	46	704	658	16,200	18,000
Plumbing and gasfitting	2,161	5,327	3,166	2,700	5,500
Total	22,287	47,749	25,462	.....	.....

Of the seven great building industries in the above table, four—namely, carpentering, masonry, plumbing and painting—were chiefly carried on in 1880 by very small "bosses"; by mechanics who had saved a little money. The vast increase of wealth from 1880 to 1890 brought about a profound change in this as in many other industrial conditions. A large portion of it was crystallized in the form of buildings, many of which were of unprecedented size and splendor. Here was an opportunity for the great contractor, the man of

superior means, information and enterprise, who could assume the entire responsibility of a "job" involving hundreds of thousands or millions of dollars, treat on equal terms with wealthy owners of marble and stone quarries, iron works, lumber mills, etc., obtain the lowest rates of transportation, divide his contract into special parts, all of considerable importance, and sublet them to men of less means but sufficiently responsible to make him perfectly secure in his undertakings. These, calling themselves contracting masons, carpenters, painters, etc., would in turn subdivide the work allotted to them and distribute it among small bosses like those of former days, whose number now multiplied in proportion to the increase of the building business and even more rapidly. Throughout this industrial hierarchy the profits went up, as on a ladder, highest at the top. Yet the cost was less than it would otherwise have been. This was indeed the sweating system. The actual workers, the men whose horny hands actually constructed the great building from foundation to flag-pole, and whose bodies were frequently mangled in the operation, fondly believed that their wages were the same as before or even higher. They took no account of the greater intensity of their toil; nor of the greater efficiency of their labor through the use of powerful machinery; nor of the higher rent they had to pay for miserable hovels because of the enhanced value given far and wide to "real estate" by the palaces which they were erecting.

Surely it is no wonder that in a period during which a part of the enormous surplus value created by and stolen from the working people was converted into buildings at the rate of from 800 to 1,200 millions a year, and under the sweating system which we have just mentioned briefly without attempting to describe it, the number of establishments engaged in the leading branches of the building industry should have increased to the extent it did. As to the increase of the average capital per establishment the above figures, however, are misleading in so far at least as they relate to the four branches in which small bosses are still in a majority. The capital of the latter, we dare say, has not increased at all; rather the contrary; the average is simply swelled by the large amounts of capital at the command of a comparatively few contractors and sub-contractors, who use the little bosses as sweating agents, to get from the workmen the largest possible amount of labor for the least possible money.

The following six industries (among those which in 1890 turned out a product of over $30,000,000) showed an increase in both the number of establishments and the average capital per establishment.

Table D.—Other **GREAT INDUSTRIES** in which the **NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS** and the **AVERAGE CAPITAL PER ESTABLISHMENT INCREASED** from 1880 to 1890.

Industries.	Number of establishments.			Average capital per establishment.	
	1880.	1890.	Increase	1880.	1890.
Bread and bakery products	6,396	10,484	4,088	$ 2,995	$ 4,364
Carriages and wagons (including repairing)	3,841	8,614	4,773	9,800	12,100
Cheese, butter and condensed milk (factory product)	3,932	4,712	780	2,460	3,550
Clothing, women's (factory product)	562	1,224	662	14,600	17,300
Confectionery	1,450	2,921	1,471	5,850	7,980
Tobacco, cigars and cigarettes	7,145	10,956	3,811	3,000	5,400
Total	23,326	38,911	15,585	.....	.....

In all the above industries, with the exception of women's factory-made clothing, a large majority of the reported establishments are small and struggling concerns, whose average capital did not increase but rather decreased, the average given in the table being abnormally swelled by the inclusion of a comparatively few great and growing firms. The bakery trade, of course, was greatly promoted during the period under review by the growth of cities, the birth of new towns, and especially by the enlarged employment of women as wage workers, to which may be traced also the enormous development of women's factory-made clothing. (See in this connection our chapter on "Female Labor.") But in the case of cigarmaking the trade was obviously invaded by men of very limited and constantly decreasing means, driven by lack of employment or reduced earnings to the necessity of attempting to compete with establishments of wide repute and steadily increasing magnitude.

Leaving aside the patent medicine branch of capitalism—the product of which in 1890 was over $32,000,000 as against $14,000,000 in 1880, and in which the number of establishments increased from 563 to 1,127 while the average capital per establishment decreased from $18,300 to $16,500—we now present the highly suggestive returns of two great industries that modern machinery is sorely trying, and of a third, still greater, that the subdivision of labor and the sweating system have profoundly revolutionized with the aid of but little machinery.

Table E.—GREAT INDUSTRIES in which the NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS INCREASED and the AVERAGE CAPITAL PER ESTABLISHMENT DECREASED from 1880 to 1890.

Industries.	Number of establishments			Average capital per establishment.	
	1880.	1890.	Increase	1880.	1890.
Boots and shoes, custom work and repairing	16,013	20,803	4,790	$ 709	$ 684
Printing and publishing	3,467	16,539	13,072	18,100	11,800
Clothing, men's	6,166	18,658	12,492	12,950	9,780
Total	25,646	56,000	30,354	.....	.....

These three industries must be considered separately; for, although the tendencies indicated by the returns appear to be the same for all, the conditions of each differ materially from the conditions of the others. Moreover, the same principles of classification have not been observed in the collection of census data, the census officials having displayed in this circumstance and many others an ignorance and carelessness that would be discreditable to a school boy fairly versed in arithmetic.

The classification is more complete in the boot and shoe industry, for which we have, separately, the returns of custom work (including repairing) and of factory product in 1880 and 1890. The result is plain, comprehensive and striking. We can see at a glance the relative importance and comparative progress of the two distinct sections into which the industry is divided by their respective mode of production. In the factory product (see Table B) the number of establishments is small, its increase is insignificant, but the average

capital per establishment is large and its increase is considerable. It is just the reverse in the custom and repairing product (Table E); the number of establishments is large and its increase (30 per cent.) is even larger than that of the population; but the average capital is practically insignificant and actually decreasing. In relation to the product of both the same opposite developments are even more accentuated. We have here a typical example, an exact picture of the particular phase through which every old industry must pass, when the artisan class that once controlled it exclusively, then more and more vainly, more and more desperately, struggled for existence by opposing its traditional skill to the enginery of modern capitalism, is at last on the eve of its final collapse. A numerical swelling of its body, a contraction of its pecuniary organs, a diminution of its productive activity, all these are symptoms of its approaching death. Were the census data for all such industries as discriminating as they are in this case, we would surely find that nearly the whole increase in the number of establishments from 1880 to 1890 came from that doomed class, was produced by the same causes and had the same funerary meaning.

The comparative statement of "printing and publishing" for 1880 and 1890, as given out by the Census Office, and by which it is made to appear that the number of establishments increased from 3,467 to 16,539, upon a closer examination of the very returns themselves seems to be grossly incorrect and misleading. In the table of manufactures for 1880, the above figure of 3,467 is indeed given as the total number of establishments in that year, together with the capital, number of workers, materials used and total product; but in a separate and special report on "Newspapers and Periodicals" (Compendium, Vol. II., p. 1,628) the number of such publications is given as 11,314, all the other data concerning capital, etc., being, however, omitted. Now, when we turn to the Census of 1890 we find the "printing and publishing" industry divided into two parts, namely, "book and job" and "newspapers and periodicals," for each of which all these data are given. Assuming that in 1880 as in 1890 each periodical should in most cases be considered an establishment, the comparative statement would need correction substantially as follows:

Printing and Publishing.	1890.	1880.	Increase.	Decrease.
Book and job:				
Number of establishments ..	4,098	3,467	631	.....
Capital	$67,146,445	$62,983,704	$4,162,741	.....
Average capital per establishment	$16,400	$18,100	.....	$1,700
Number of employees	58,139	58,478	.....	339
Total product	$93,540,831	$90,789,341	$2,751,490	.....
Newspapers and periodicals:				
Number of establishments ..	12,362	11,314	1,043	.....
Capital	$126,269,885	Not reported	.....	.....
Average capital per establishment	$10,200	?	.....	.....
Number of employees	106,095	Not reported	.....	.....
Total product	$179,859,750	Not reported	.....	.....

It may be—and it is even probable—that in the census of 1880 a limited number of the newspapers and periodicals were included in the figure 3,467 given as the total number of printing and publishing establishments. If such was the case, the increase of book and job printing offices from 1880 to 1890 was a little larger than our corrected figures indicate, and the number of their employees would be found to have somewhat increased instead of decreased. But our figures are obviously much nearer the truth than those of the census. During the period 1880-1890, the increase of printers was unquestionably very large, but it was chiefly in the newspaper business that it took place.

At any rate, granting this industry and its employees the past enjoyment of any amount of prosperity, the fact is that since 1890 the type-setting machine and other improvements have revolutionized it. The more printers there were at work eight years ago, the more there must now be out of work. The next census may not show a marked decrease, or any decrease at all, in the number of establishments, owing to the fact that newspapers subsidized by capitalists and politicians are steadily multiplying; but it will undoubtedly show a large decrease in the number of typos. Let us hope that at the same time the polls will show a proportionate awakening of the latter and a repudiation by them of the Democratic and Republican bunco-steerers that have turned their International "pure and simple, non-political" union into a den of boodle politics.

As everybody knows, it is in the clothing industry that the sweating system reached its highest degree of hideous perfection in the latter part of the census decade 1880-1890. To this fact is plainly due the enormous increase of over 200 per cent. in the number of so-called establishments, together with an apparent decrease of over 32 per cent. in the average capital per establishment.

The new "firms" were for the most part contractors and sub-contractors, or "sweaters," with scanty means and scantier scruples, while the capitalists for whom they "worked" the working people were constantly adding to their "working capital," not to speak of other "savings of abstinence"—that is to say, the abstinence of their victims. In the census of 1890 the returns of factory product and custom work were not given separately, so that the relative development of those two distinct sections of the men's clothing industry during the last census decade cannot be ascertained. In 1890, however, the necessary discrimination was made, with the following result:

Men's clothing.	Factory product.	Custom and repairing.
Number of establishments	4,867	13,591
Average capital per establishment	$26,350	$3,980
Average number of employees per establishment	32.1	6.4
Average product per establishment	$51,600	$9,300

In conclusion of this part of our subject we may call attention to the following summary of important facts:

I. CAPITALIST CONCENTRATION IN MANUFACTURE.

Leaving out of Table A the four industries (blacksmithing, cooperage, saddlery and tinsmithing) that are still almost entirely carried on either by individual artisans or by small firms, we find that the 17 remaining industries

in that table and the 20 in Table B showed in the aggregate a net decrease of 15,928 establishments, as against an increase of capital amounting to $1,864,383,281, as follows:

Industries.	Increase (+) or Decrease (—) of establishments.	Increase of Capital.
Agricultural implements	— 1,033	$83,204,329
Carpets and rugs	— 22	16,740,255
Chemicals	— 29	26,433,994
Cordage and twine	— 25	15,645,544
Cotton goods	— 100	134,516,049
Flouring and grist mills	— 5,868	31,111,622
Iron and steel	— 360	142,506,134
Iron and steel pipe, wrought	— 13	16,492,802
Leather, tanned and curried	— 3,828	17,161,122
Liquors, distilled	— 404	6,758,581
Liquors, malt	— 943	138,263,066
Lumber from logs	— 4,697	315,153,846
Paper	— 125	36,132,897
Shipbuilding	— 1,178	33,413,200
Soap and candles	— 51	10,279,775
Tobacco, chewing, smoking and snuff	— 395	13,633,915
Woolen goods	— 1,311	34,894,376
Boots and shoes (factory product)	+ 123	52,288,283
Brick and tile	+ 197	54,904,950
Car construction shops	+ 36	39,188,007
Coffee and spice, roasting and grinding	+ 58	10,629,617
Fertilizers	+ 26	22,680,508
Foundry and machine shops	+ 1,517	228,278,853
Furniture and upholstering	+ 9	37,699,907
Gold, reducing and refining	+ 10	3,946,297
Hosiery and knit goods	+ 437	35,028,147
Ironwork, architectural	+ 504	20,567,975
Jewelry	+ 44	10,815,344
Paints	+ 138	20,453,911
Petroleum refining	+ 8	50,090,550
Shirts	+ 320	7,431,833
Silk and silk goods	+ 90	31,882,237
Slaughtering and meat packing	+ 495	68,596,853
Worsted goods	+ 67	47,711,073
Total	—15,928	$1,864,383,281

Among the above industries those that show the largest numerical decrease of establishments—namely, Flouring and grist mills, Leather, tanned and curried, Lumber from logs, Shipbuilding, and Woolens—are those in which there are still a greater or less number of small establishments, whose capital does not increase and the number of which will steadily continue to diminish until they are entirely wiped out by the concentration of capital in the in-

dustries to which they respectively belong. Among those that show an increase, the machine shops, furniture establishments, and some others (as already stated elsewhere) are now undergoing a similar process and will soon show similar results. These remarks also apply to many industries that are not enumerated in the above table but are in similar conditions.

Again, some of the above industries, that are carried on exclusively upon a large scale, show an increase numerically small but relatively large. These (and some others not enumerated in the above table but similarly situated) are —or rather were in 1890—in the stage of development immediately preceding trustification. A rush of capital and capitalists into profitable industries leads at first to unprofitable competition, soon followed by extra profitable amalgamation.

From the industries turning out in 1890 a total product valued at more than $30,000,000, we might pass to those of less real or apparent magnitude, many of which are considerable or sufficiently developed, capitalistically, to have entered since 1890, or to be now entering, the trust stage of their economic evolution. But a more lengthy statement of the results of the extensive investigation which we have made might prove tedious to the student without compensation, as it would only accentuate the facts and tendencies already brought out with enough clearness and emphasis in the preceding pages.

II. SMALLNESS OF THE CLERICAL FORCE IN MANUFACTURE, AND MEANING OF THIS FACT.

From the "Comparative Summary" at the head of this chapter it appears that while the number of establishments in 1890 was 355,401, the number of officers of corporations, firm members and clerks was 461,049, the difference between these two numbers being 105,648.

It is to be regretted that the clerks were not in all cases enumerated separately, for a question is here involved which is of considerable import, as we shall presently perceive.

According to the above returns, on the necessary supposition that there was at least one firm member or officer per establishment, the possible maximum number of clerks was 105,648. Small as this figure may seem a priori, it is probably above rather than below the actual one and affords another striking illustration of the concentration of capital. Most of the great establishments in manufacturing industry, like those in commerce and transportation, have adopted the corporate form and are conducted by "officers." Their number is limited and they are, with comparatively few exceptions, the only ones that can afford to hire clerks. The industries in which the number of establishments is greatest employ no clerks or very few. Such, for instance, are the carpenters, the masons and other "boss" mechanics in the building trades, the blacksmiths, most of the custom and repairing shoemakers, the bakers and retail confectioners, the country millers and lumbermen, the custom dressmakers and milliners, many tailors, cigarmakers, cabinetmakers, small machinists, printers, etc., etc. A list can be made of such industries, comprising nearly 250,000 "establishments," while in other branches there are still many small employers struggling for life against powerful rivals and whose business is not sufficiently extensive or profitable to allow of expenditure for clerical service. With the present conditions and inevitable fate of all this deteriorating

middle class we have dealt at length in our Chapters on "The Classes," the "Progress of Bankruptcy" and the "Trusts." But the particular fact here brought out, that the number of clerks in the manufacturing and mechanical industries is comparatively small, should be kept in mind, not only because of its significance, but because it is a factor in the computation, made below, of the proportions in which the value of the net product of those industries is divided between "Capital and Labor"—that is, between the idle capitalist and the overworked laborers.

III. NET PRODUCT OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY.

By this expression, "the net product of manufacturing and mechanical industries," is meant the value added by the labor employed in those industries to the materials upon which it is exerted and the value of which has been produced by the previous labor of other workers.

For the industries reported in 1880 and 1890, respectively, the account stood as follows:

	1890.	1880.
Gross product	$9,370,107,624	$5,369,579,191
Materials	5,158,868,353	3,396,823,549
Net product	$4,211,239,271	$1,972,755,642

Two important facts must right here be noted.

In the first place, the materials represented 63 per cent. of the gross product in 1880 and only 55 per cent. in 1890. This difference was mainly brought about by the simultaneous action of two chief causes, namely: (1) A marked decline in the prices of various materials, especially the cruder ones, such as cereals, cotton, pig iron, etc.; and (2) the progress of art in industry, the greater perfection of finished products and other factors of the same order, most of which were developed by the more luxurious living of the wealthy.

In the second place, computed in money the average net product per person employed was about 24 per cent. greater in 1890 than in 1880. This, however, does not give an adequate idea of the actual increase in quantity; that is, in the efficiency or productive capacity of the average worker, chiefly resulting from the improvement of machinery and the division and subdivision of labor. In all the commodities that may be called "capitalistic" (because they are bought, used, consumed or preserved exclusively by the capitalist class), there was a large fall of prices from 1880 to 1890. Had the prices remained the same the net product, computed in money, would appear much larger. It is safe to say that even among the industries that were least affected by machinery, there were hardly any in which the quantity of product per worker did not increase more than 24 per cent. In the clothing trades, for example, the intensity of toil consequent upon the sweating system was the only new operating force of considerable power, yet made the worker yield fully 50 per cent. more product than formerly. In iron and steel and many other industries revolutionized by invention, the increase was phenomenal. Our conclusion, resting upon a mass of data which cannot be presented here, is moderately expressed by the statement, that the general productive capacity of labor in manufacturing and mechanical industry has certainly been more than doubled in the ten years under consideration.

IV. DIVISION OF THE NET PRODUCT.

Accepting as the actual number of clerks the possible maximum of 105,648 above referred to and granting to each the average salary of $850, given by the census to the persons enumerated together under the general head of "Officers, firm members and clerks," we find that the net product of manufacturing industry computed in money, wholesale value at the works—that is, at a price much inferior to that which the workers must subsequently have paid for the things they purchased—was divided as follows in 1890:

To wage workers:—	Totals.	Percent.
Wages of operatives	$1,890,908,747	44.90
Salaries of clerks	89,800,800	2.13
Total to wage workers	$1,980,709,547	47.03
To capitalists:		
Salaries of officers and firm members	$ 302,113,718	7.17
Profits of idle capitalists	1,928,416,006	45.80
Total to capitalists	$2,230,529,724	52.97

Deductions, however, amounting in the aggregate to about $300,000,000, should be made from the profits of capital for taxes, actual losses by fire or water, and repairs of buildings and machinery. But, contrary to an absurd notion which is very widely prevailing, no deduction whatever should be made for such items as rent, interest, cost of insurance above actual destruction of property, failures, etc. In relation to this matter we may here repeat what we said elsewhere: "We sometimes hear it said, quite seriously and most honestly, even by men who know more than the four fundamental rules of arithmetic, that certain items, such as rent and interest, are part of the cost of production and should therefore, like the materials used, be deducted from the value of the product at the works. But it is self-evident that they are simply a part of the profits made upon production by the various owners of the means of producing. Therefore, while such items are unquestionably of paramount importance to those among the more direct employers of labor, who, financially weak, must pay a part of the profits of production to money lenders, real estate owners, merchants, etc., they do not in the least alter the share of capital as a whole; they simply alter the proportions in which this share is divided among the capitalists."

V. SHARE OF LABOR IN ITS PRODUCT.

We have, so far, considered only the account of the workers in manufacturing industries, as a body, with the capitalists who, as a body, are the direct employers of those workers. What the individual accounts of those particular capitalists may be among themselves or with other capitalists is a matter which concerns themselves alone, individually. Under all circumstances the fact remains that for every hundred dollars' worth of merchandise, factory price, which they produced, the workers received in the good wage year 1890, the sum of $47.03 in money.

And once more mark this well, for it is of fundamental importance. They did not receive 47.03 per cent. of their product in kind; they received $47.03 in money; which is a very different thing, as we shall now see.

The hatmaker, for instance, who made 200 hats valued in the aggregate $100 at the works, factory price, did not receive 94 hats or their equivalent in flour, meat and other commodities; he received $47, with which he could probably buy on the retail market 47 hats only, or their equivalent in other commodities.

The fact is that not until the last market is reached—the market on which consumers must buy—does the capitalistic process of dividing and subdividing among capitalists the surplus value produced by the workers come to an end. The difference between the factory price and the retail price is made up in small part of the cost of the labor employed in transporting and distributing the product, but in much greater part represents that portion of surplus value which the direct employers of labor must abandon to the capitalists engaged in trade. They "must" abandon that portion, simply because the capital of the traders, used in carrying stocks of merchandise, is a factor in the capitalistic process of production and, as such, is entitled to the benefits of that process. Should the hat manufacturer establish a retail store, he would certainly sell his hats at the price which the retailer can get. Of every 200 hats made by his workpeople he would get 153 (less the cost of retailing) and his workpeople would get 47; whereas, as matters stand, he gets 53, the transporters, commission merchants and retailers (together with the capitalists directly or indirectly associated with them as stockholders, money lenders, business real estate owners, etc.) get 100 (less the cost of the labor employed by them), and the work people who made the hats get anyhow 47.

We have just said that under our supposition as to the difference between the factory price and the retail price the wage working hatmaker gets only 47 hats (or, of course, the equivalent thereof in other commodities) for every 200 hats which he turns out; in other words, that he gets 23½ per cent. of the actual value of his product. But upon further inquiry we find that he does not even get that, unless the space which his proletarian body occupies on this planet and the shelter which he must first procure be deemed an honest labor equivalent for the rent which he must pay to the landlord.

In making up a concrete example for the sake of reasoning, we have supposed that the retail price was double the factory price; a supposition approximately correct in the case of hats but no doubt inapplicable to many other products, the prices of which are variously enhanced from 10 per cent. or less to 1,000 per cent. or more in passing from the place of production to the place of consumption. Again, with a view to simplification, we have temporarily neglected in our example the important item of materials, thus assuming that the hat in its entirety was the product of the hatmaker. Of course, in order to arrive at a fairly correct estimate of the share of labor in its product, all the factors should be taken into account.

Now, according to the census, the average money value of the materials entering into the factory price of the finished product at the works is 55 per cent., and the remaining 45 per cent., or so-called net product, is divided not in kind, but in money between the manufacturers and their employees in the proportion of $53 to the employers for every $47 that their employees receive. In other words, of every $100 paid by merchants for manufactures, factory price at the works, $55 go to the producers of materials (including capitalists and workers engaged in this line of production); $21.15 go to the working people engaged in manufacturing industry, and $23.85 go to the manufacturing

capitalists. Let the retail price, which is the final money value of the finished product, be only 50 per cent higher than the factory price, we shall have the following account:

Persons among whom the value of the finished product is divided.	Retail price of finished product.	Per cent. of retail price.
To the producers of materials	$55.00	36.67
To the workmen in manufacturing industry	21.15	14.10
To the manufacturing capitalists	23.85	15.90
To the traders, including the labor employed by them	50.00	33.33
Total	$150.00	100.00

That on an average the retail price of the commodities consumed by the masses of the people is fully 50 per cent. higher than the factory price, probably no one will undertake to deny. Any person conversant with the subject will consider such an average as rather excessively conservative than fairly moderate. We have personally made extensive researches in this field of inquiry—the most extensive on record in the city of New York and covering the period of thirteen years, 1880—1892. We have carefully compared our results with those of similar investigations conducted by statisticians of high repute; and we know for certain that in accepting this average as a basis of computation the only risk we run is to make the share of labor in its product appear greater than it actually is.

On that basis, as the above figures show, we first find that the workers engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries receive in payment for their labor an amount of money with which they can buy on the retail market an amount of commodities representing 14.10 per cent. of the "gross product" upon which their labor has been spent. In this gross product, however, is also embodied a certain amount of other labor, supplied in part by producers of materials and in part by workers in trade and transportation. In order to get what we are after—namely, the share of manufacturing labor in its "net product"—these two quantities of other labor, embodied also in the "gross product," must obviously be taken into account.

Here, however, a difficulty arises. The census supplies no direct data from which these two particular quantities can be ascertained. Nevertheless, the problem is not insoluble.

In the first place it may safely be taken for granted that the 55 per cent. of the gross product of manufactures, factory price (or 36.67 per cent. of the same, retail price) paid by the manufacturing capitalists to the capitalists engaged in the production and transportation of materials, represent the full value of those materials on the last market; in other words, that it includes the surplus value created by the labor that produced and transported them, and that the whole of this surplus value, whatever it may have been, was duly appropriated by the particular capitalists who employed this particular labor. Therefore, by deducting $55 (cost of materials) from $150 (retail price of the finished product), we have a remainder of $95, which is exclusively the net product of the joint labor of the work people in manufacturing and mechanical industries and of those in trade and transportation who handle the finished

products of those industries. We know the quantity of manufacturing labor which enters into the finished product. The question now is therefore reduced to this: "What is the quantity of trade and transportation labor added to that product in its passage from the factory to the last market?"

In the absence of positive census data we must answer with an estimate. Obviously, the quantity in question cannot relatively be large. The labor of transporting and selling a pair of shoes, a suit of clothes, a hat, a barrel of flour, a can of preserved meat, fish or fruit, a set of furniture, or any other necessary that has undergone a manufacturing process, is small as compared with the labor required for producing it. When we come to costly fabrics, watches, jewelry, or to such products as sewing machines or agricultural implements—not to speak of such highly capitalistic commodities as mill machinery, locomotives, etc., which are usually bought directly at the works at factory prices without passing through the hands of dealers—we find that the amount of such labor is actually an infinitesimal quantity. Of course, owing to the wasteful methods of distribution that are still largely prevailing, supplemented in many products by trafficking practices of a purely speculative character, there is much labor needlessly wasted in the operations of commerce and a consequent social loss of productive human forces. But while this socially criminal waste affects the individual capitalists who commit it, and to its extent reduces their own individual profits, it no more is a factor in determining the price at which they must sell, or the quantity of surplus value produced by useful necessary labor, than is their expenditure in frivolities.* On the other hand, the useful necessary labor of transportation and distribution is unquestionably a factor; but, as previously observed, it is a comparatively small one. In estimating it at ten per cent. of that which is required for the conversion of materials into finished products, and in furthermore liberally applying to it the same average rate of wages as in manufacturing industry, we need not apprehend that any competent person may deem our figure too low.

If this be admitted, we find that the above stated net value of $95 is distributed as follows between the workers who jointly produced it, as a body on one side, and the capitalists who, as a body on the other side, owned the means of employing those workers:

Persons among whom the net product is divided.	Net product.	Per cent. of net product.
To the workers in manufacturing industry.....	$21.15	22.27
To the additional workers engaged in transporting and selling the finished product.....	2.12	2.23
Total to the workers.....	$23.27	24.50
Total to the capitalists.....	71.73	75.50
Grand total.....	$95.00	100.00

It may be taken for granted that the labor engaged in the production and transportation of materials, most of which is unskilled and lowest paid

* On this important and interesting subject much more might be said, that we must omit here for the sake of brevity, but that will no doubt suggest itself to the thoughtful reader.

of all, did not get a larger share of its net product than did of its own the more skilled and better paid labor in manufacturing and trade. As shown by the above figures, the share of the latter in the values which it actually produces is only 24.50 per cent. Our general conclusion, therefore, is that *the Share of Labor in its Product is hardly One-Quarter of that product.*

VI. COMPARATIVE "EARNINGS" OF WAGE WORKERS AND PROFIT MAKERS.

We may properly supplement the foregoing facts and considerations with a statement that vividly illustrates the distributive workings of Capitalism. The following table shows the average annual earnings of each wage worker and the average annual profits of each employer in twenty great industries, according to the census of 1890; some of the industries therein mentioned being those in which the earnings of labor were highest:

Industries.	For the worker.	For the boss.
Iron and steel	$531	$242,000
Boots and shoes, leather (factory)	453	19,800
Cotton goods	301	52,000
Worsted goods	348	94,700
Silk and silk goods	359	39,000
Rubber goods	399	28,000
Tobacco, chewing, smoking and snuff	233	75,000
Sewing machines	538	77,000
Horseshoes (factory product)	510	118,000
Beer	684	95,000
Fertilizers	378	27,000
Women's clothing (factory)	394	15,000
Paints	535	18,000
Pianomaking	673	29,000
Boots and shoes, rubber	417	288,000
Bicycles	546	32,000
Brass and copper, rolled	511	94,000
Silverware	697	72,000
Slaughtering and meat packing	545	75,000
Chemicals	486	32,000

VII. "SAVINGS" AND WASTE OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

We have previously seen that, according to the census returns of 1890, the net profits collected in that year by the direct employers of manufacturing and mechanical labor, and a portion of which had to be distributed by these among the various money lenders, real estate owners, etc., whose capital was directly or indirectly engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, amounted in the aggregate to about $1,928,000,0000, after making all legitimate deductions for taxes, repairs and destruction of property. A similar computation would show that, allowing $150,000,000 for corresponding legitimate deductions, those profits were $874,000,000 in 1880; so that (supposing the increase to have been regular and gradual) the annual average for the ten

years 1880—1890 was about $1,400,000,000, or fourteen billions for the whole period. Yet we find that the increase of capital in those industries during that period was less than four billions, leaving ten billions unaccounted for. What became of this enormous sum?

No sensible portion of it can have been applied to the development of other economic branches, such as agriculture, transportation or commerce, since the profits of the capitalists engaged in these branches were likewise far more than sufficient to provide for any required increase of the capital engaged therein. We are, in fact, confronted with the same question as to what became of the enormous portion of the profits which cannot be accounted for by an increase of capital.

The only possible answer is that the capitalist tribe had to live, and lived well. With an annual income of one billion from the manufacturing and mechanical product alone it could afford to waste and did waste right royally. And under the capitalist system it was meet that this class did so waste to its heart's content; for, what would otherwise have become of all the labor engaged in the production of luxuries and in domestic service and in artistic pursuits and in many professions? No wonder it is that this class poses as the benefactor of mankind and the advance agent of civilization. Who can so liberally dance for charity, dine at Seeley's for the elevation of art and attend Bradley-Martin parties for the benefit of diamond cutters, goldsmiths, silk weavers, dressmakers, upholsterers and all suchlike hungry people, whose crust of bread lies at the bottom of imperial magnificence. No magnificence, no bread. So says Matthew Marshall, of the New York "Sun," and, given capitalism, this wiseacre is right.

It is, indeed, a law of the capitalist system—a law the mere statement of which might instantly cause a social upheaval if the understanding of those who hear it were as broad as their ears are long—that the plane of life of the wage-working class, ever so low must fall lower with every improvement in the machinery and methods of production, unless the capitalist class keeps on increasing its waste of wealth in direct proportion to the increase of the productive power at its command.

VIII. LAND VALUES IN MANUFACTURES.

The total capital of manufacturing and mechanical industries was composed as follows in 1890:

Items.	Sums.	Per cent. of total capital.
Value of plant:—		
Land	$775,713,649	11.89
Buildings	878,832,137	13.47
Machinery, tools and implements	1,584,155,710	24.28
Total value of plant	$3,238,701,496	49.64
Live assets:—		
Merchandise, accounts, notes, money, etc	3,285,773,809	50.36
Grand total capital	$6,524,475,305	100.00

The foregoing table is so suggestive of important conclusions that we must call special attention to it.

In the first place it shows that the value of land, upon which the single-taxers rest their imaginary scheme for the salvation and perpetuation of the middle class, is a relatively small factor in manufacturing industry, amounting to less than 12 per cent. of the total capital engaged in that branch of production. It may be added that its power as a factor is constantly declining with the expansion of the factory system and the concentration of industry, less land being needed for one large establishment than for many small ones. Striking illustrations of this general fact are afforded by the industries in which custom work has survived the introduction of the factory system, even though the methods of the latter have necessarily to a large extent affected the methods of the former. In the following industries, for instance, the percentage of land value in the capital of custom work establishments on one side, and of factories on the other side, compared as follows:

Industries.	Per cent. of land in capital.
Boots and shoes:—	
Custom work	20.3
Factory product	2.3
Men's clothing:—	
Custom work	7.7
Factory product	1.6
Women's clothing:—	
Custom work	18.3
Factory product	2.6
Furniture:—	
Custom work	12.5
Factory product	9.4

Again, in such industries as blacksmithing, bread-baking, which are still largely in the middle-class stage, the land occupied by the establishments represents about 21 per cent. of their total capital, whereas the proportion is only 4. 3 in agricultural implements, 8.4 in iron and steel, 6.5 in cotton mills. 4.7 in woolen and worsted mills, 3.3 in silk mills, etc., all of which have reached a high stage of capitalistic development and concentration. It may further be observed that the forests from which a number of saw mills derive their timber, and some of the ore, gas and clay lands from which a number of iron, gas and brick works get a part of their prime materials, constitute four-tenths of the total value of the land credited by the census to the manufacturing industries as owners or tenants.

IX. MACHINERY.

It may rightly be claimed that no matter how small the portion of manufacturing capital invested in land may be or become, some of it must be so invested, and, therefore, that land is an indispensable factor. It may also be correctly observed that when several things are necessary to accomplish a certain result, it were idle to ask which of them contributed most to that result. On this ground, all the component parts of manufacturing capital—namely, land, buildings, machinery and "live assets"—being indispensable, none of them can be considered more important than the others as factors of production, regardless of their respective value. But the pending question between

Capitalism and Socialism is not as to what things are necessary to carry on production of any sort. The question is simply as to the means through which these necessary things are obtained by some persons to the exclusion of others. Now, it is quite plain that he who owns land and buildings and stocks of merchandise but inferior machinery must in the end lose all his possessions to him who, similarly conditioned in other respects, has the advantage of superior mechanical appliances. Manifestly, then, machinery is the controlling factor in the distribution of wealth under the present economic system. It is through its economic operation, as determined in its mode by the private ownership feature of that system, that not only in manufacture and transportation, which need but little land in proportion to their other requirements, but in agriculture, where land is the component of chief value, men otherwise inferior to none are driven out of competition and finally dispossessed. Again it is through its operation that the wage worker's labor power is depreciated by the very increase of his efficiency, and that, the item of "live assets" in the capital of his employers, including among other things his own necessaries of life and comprising only a part of the surplus value which he produces, is steadily swelling in an even greater ratio that any other portion of that capital.

Machinery itself—which is thus used by its possessors as a double-edged instrument, with one side of which they cut out for their own idle persons a constantly larger share of the increasing product, while cutting down with the other side the meagre pittance of the overworked producers—machinery itself, we say, is of course a part of the surplus value created by the workers and appropriated by the capitalists. How large a portion of this surplus value is embodied in that mighty weapon, it were at least interesting to know.

According to the last figures above given, the total money value of the machinery, tools and implements used in manufacturing and mechanical industries was $1,584,000,000 in 1890, or about 24 per cent. of the total capital employed in those industries. On the other hand, we had previously seen (under the head, "Division of the Net Product"), that the net profits of manufacturing capitalists, all legitimate deductions having been made for taxes, repairs, etc, amounted to about $1,930,000,000.

Therefore, the manufacturing and mechanical workers produced in one year, over and above their own sustenance, a net value, factory price, exceeding by $346,000,000 the whole cost of the machinery by means of which they were exploited and through which they and their posterity will keep enslaved until Capitalism is abolished.

We shall now present, in statistical form, the condition of the leading manufacturing and mechanical industries in 1890, classified in general groups, according to their nature, correlation, or object.

MACHINE SHOP PRODUCTS IN 1890.

Industries.	Number of establishments.	Capital.	Number of employees.	Materials.	Total products.
Agricultural implements	910	$145,313,997	42,544	$31,603,265	$81,271,651
Bells	22	590,420	430	389,701	823,010

Industries.	Number of establishments.	Capital.	Number of employees.	Materials.	Total products.
Brass castings	453	18,663,286	11,903	12,249,607	24,344,434
Bronze castings	14	710,190	311	695,485	1,165,163
Carriage and wagon materials	539	13,028,161	10,928	7,387,904	16,262,293
Car and construction shops of steam R. R. Co's	716	76,192,477	108,585	66,561,526	129,461,698
Car and construction shops (not of steam R. R. Co's)	71	43,641,210	32,062	44,674,486	70,083,737
Car and construction shops of street R. R. Co's	78	2,351,162	2,034	1,154,840	2,966,347
Car and construction shops (not of street R. R. Co's)	17	2,468,315	1,833	1,699,235	3,302,115
Clocks	27	5,727,202	3,585	1,457,778	4,228,846
Cutlery and edge tools	474	12,082,638	9,487	3,465,124	11,110,614
Electrical apparatus and supplies	189	18,997,337	9,485	8,819,498	19,114,714
Files	140	2,991,988	2,666	1,038,943	3,179,649
Firearms	34	4,672,424	2,759	485,946	2,922,514
Foundries and machine shops, not otherwise specified	6,475	382,798,337	247,754	171,145,156	412,701,872
Gas and lamp fixtures	108	7,218,964	5,530	2,208,124	7,825,672
Gas machines and meters	38	1,603,426	1,071	675,542	1,838,644
Gas stoves	24	1,199,528	1,031	840,126	2,137,944
Hand stamps	234	998,873	1,068	432,687	1,583,872
Hardware	350	26,271,840	19,671	10,186,442	26,726,463
Hardware, saddlery	102	3,376,356	3,179	1,624,849	4,118,195
Horse shoes, factory product	4	1,299,065	493	519,449	1,110,032
Iron and steel bolts, etc	82	10,789,821	7,341	6,746,304	12,373,031
Iron and steel forgings	90	7,152,145	4,448	4,875,697	9,042,563
Lock and gun smithing	1,308	1,867,220	2,560	822,557	3,153,834
Plumbers' supplies	122	9,678,107	5,485	5,853,709	11,960,464
Pumps (not steam)	256	3,540,097	2,140	1,681,275	4,103,410
Refrigerators	82	3,367,329	2,373	2,377,958	4,513,616
Registers, car fare	7	74,725	101	32,618	141,320
Registers, cash	5	292,150	742	222,576	1,281,500
Safes and vaults	39	4,603,118	4,131	2,635,313	6,641,844
Saws	95	6,313,373	2,943	2,346,401	5,572,992
Scales and balances	76	1,658,655	1,500	867,955	2,322,744
Screws, machine	20	1,672,343	1,113	331,701	1,183,341
Screws, wood	7	5,572,237	1,651	900,676	2,326,645
Sewing machines and attachments	59	16,043,136	9,121	3,502,173	12,823,147
Sewing machine repairing	166	192,593	335	86,816	385,941
Springs, steel	57	3,459,422	1,892	2,219,408	4,331,571
Steam fittings and heating apparatus	217	17,017,364	11,779	10,628,314	23,147,434
Stencils and brands	106	445,165	499	167,590	732,611
Tools, not elsewhere specified	462	11,376,622	7,095	3,517,269	10,528,025
Typewriters	30	1,421,783	1,735	632,723	3,630,126
Ventilators	15	175,225	205	185,529	455,413
Washing machines, etc	163	1,712,953	1,239	1,354,550	2,489,175
Watches	19	10,106,114	6,675	995,740	6,051,066
Wire work, rope and cable	569	11,757,902	7,919	8,325,435	15,552,857
Total	15,071	$902,486,795	503,431	$430,626,000	$973,024,149

It is estimated: 1. That of the total annual product of machine shops about $400,000,000 worth consists in improved machines and implements destined to replace inferior ones in old establishments or intended for new plants, railroads, etc.; 2. that the productive power thus annually gained is equal to

the productive power of 4,000,000 men working with the machinery of fifty years ago; 3. that the additional cost of running this improved machinery and obtaining from it this additional power is equal to the sum which 4,000,000 workers would earn if they were paid at the rate of 8 cents per day of ten hours. In the face of such facts, what becomes of the immigration question?

THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY IN 1890.

Industries.	Number of establishments.	Capital.	Number of employees.	Materials.	Total products.
Men's clothing, factory product	4,867	$128,253,547	156,341	$128,846,857	$251,019,609
Men's clothing, buttonholes, factory product	200	190,118	1,373	84,167	784,055
Men's clothing, custom work and repairing	13,591	54,109,273	86,143	50,494,637	126,219,151
Women's clothing, factory product	1,224	21,259,528	42,008	34,277,219	68,164,019
Women's clothing, dressmaking	19,587	12,883,079	67,598	23,393,829	57,071,732
Shirts, factory product	869	14,273,611	32,750	15,704,353	33,638,593
Millinery and lace goods, fac'y product	278	6,630,210	11,827	8,588,342	18,047,067
Millinery, custom work	5,999	16,309,220	23,976	18,756,776	36,983,082
Artificial flowers and feathers	251	3,081,828	6,835	4,645,850	9,078,683
Corsets	205	6,640,056	11,370	5,662,140	12,401,575
Furnishing goods, men's	586	12,299,011	22,211	15,280,572	29,870,946
Fur goods	484	11,115,840	8,075	11,742,508	20,526,988
Hats and caps	705	13,724,002	27,193	16,160,802	37,311,599
Straw hats, bonnets, etc	6	106,750	433	134,945	329,987
Wool hats	32	4,142,224	3,592	2,802,041	5,329,921
Hat and cap materials	73	1,709,650	1,705	2,059,001	3,465,524
Gloves and mittens	324	5,977,820	8,669	5,021,144	7,474,911
Hosiery	796	50,607,738	61,209	35,861,585	67,241,013
Hooks and eyes	10	449,618	243	325,615	593,604
Buttons	106	3,089,265	4,036	1,551,603	4,216,795
Collars and cuffs, paper	3	237,764	91	223,077	301,093
Needles and pins	45	1,820,089	1,680	450,442	1,515,865
Umbrellas and canes	435	5,646,289	6,863	7,562,921	13,771,927
Total	50,676	$374,556,530	586,221	$389,630,426	$805,357,773

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRIES IN 1890.

Industries.	Number of establishments.	Capital.	Number of employees.	Materials.	Total products.
Carpets and rugs	173	$ 38,208,842	29,121	$ 28,644,905	$ 47,770,193
Cotton goods	905	354,020,843	221,585	154,912,979	267,981,724
Dyeing and finishing textiles	248	38,450,800	20,267	12,385,220	28,900,560
Linen goods	3	908,589	583	268,907	547,273
Shoddy	94	3,754,063	2,299	6,003,035	7,887,000
Silk and silk goods	472	51,007,537	50,913	51,004,425	87,298,454
Woolen goods	1,311	130,989,940	79,351	82,270,335	133,577,977
Worsted goods	143	68,085,116	43,593	50,706,769	79,194,652
Total	3,349	$685,425,730	447,712	$386,196,575	$653,157,833

With the exception of carpets, most of the product of the textile industries —certainly not less and probably more than three-quarters of it—is used in the making of clothing. A body of at least 800,000 workers,—or about 1 in 80 of population—was therefore required in 1890 to provide the people of this country with the necessary—or luxury, as the case may be—called raiment. But this does not include the large amount of labor employed in the production of the raw materials, such as cotton, silk, wool, flax, etc., not to speak of the grasses and other adulterants that the capitalists, with the aid of chemistry and machinery, are able to convert into textiles not less beautiful if less serviceable than the genuine articles. Nor does it include the labor engaged in the transportation and sale of clothing.

THE BUILDING INDUSTRY IN 1890.
(Including its Chief Materials)

Industries.	Number of establishments.	Capital.	Number of employees.	Materials.	Total product.
Mechanical industries:—					
Carpentering	16,917	$81,542,845	140,021	$137,847,002	$281,195,162
Masonry, brick and stone	5,969	51,660,111	108,405	91,791,109	190,704,818
Monuments and tombstones	2,052	13,073,232	12,101	7,636,474	20,671,498
Painting and paperhanging	10,043	23,135,781	56,281	23,102,359	74,067,998
Paving and paving materials	704	12,648,093	22,730	13,891,005	30,644,072
Plastering and stuccowork	1,746	3,309,297	10,624	4,416,053	13,460,824
Plumbing and gas fitting	5,327	29,335,247	42,513	37,735,671	80,905,925
Roofing and roofing materials	2,140	13,303,597	13,333	14,712,379	29,412,813
Wood turning and carving	872	7,825,668	8,430	3,947,227	10,939,647
Total mechanical industries	45,770	$235,833,871	414,438	$335,079,279	$732,002,757
Building materials:—					
Brick and tile	5,828	$ 82,578,566	109,151	$ 12,639,597	$ 67,770,695
Iron and steel doors and shutters	7	42,550	53	29,792	88,515
Ironwork, architectural	724	21,968,172	18,672	18,630,510	37,745,294
Lime and cement	873	18,752,396	13,710	5,667,863	15,741,801
Lumber, planing mill products, including sash, doors and blinds	3,670	120,271,440	86,888	104,926,834	183,681,552
Mantels, slate, marble, etc	90	1,854,759	1,704	1,254,667	3,127,662
Marble and stone work	1,321	24,041,961	23,888	16,232,430	41,924,264
Paper hangings	27	5,709,909	2,814	3,572,027	7,431,726
Total building materials	12,540	$275,219,753	256,880	$162,943,720	$357,511,509
Grand total building industries	58,310	$511,053,624	671,318	$498,022,999	$1,089,514,266

For the sake of accuracy it should be stated that the whole product of planing mills does not enter into buildings. On the other hand, there is a large quantity of labor in the forests and in saw mills, not included in the above enumeration, engaged in preparing timber which in one form or another is used in building operations; and this labor should be added to the figure of 256,880 given above as the total number of persons employed in the production of building materials. So should also the labor employed in quarrying stone and marble. Furthermore, there are several industries omitted from the above list, such as nails and spikes, hardware, steam fittings, tinsmithing, paints, etc., because it is impossible to ascertain with accuracy the proportion

of their product that enters into buildings. These will nearly all be found in our table of "Machine Shop Products."

Again, it must be understood that in our grand total the value of the largest portion of the building materials is counted twice, namely, once as a "product" of the industries that turn out building materials, and once as "materials" used by the mechanical industries. Not so, however, with the "number of establishments," the "capital" used and the "number of employees," all of which it is more especially our purpose here to deal with.

As to the actual value of the buildings erected in the census year 1890, the above data are obviously insufficient to calculate it with any degree of approximation. At any rate the census returns, we should say, were very incomplete; for if a sum of $68,000,000 be added for work or materials directly supplied by industries other than the "mechanical," the total product of the latter, as given above, being $732,000,000, we would arrive at a grand total of only $800,000,000, exclusive, however, of the profits of general contractors; whereas the figures published by building departments of great cities, supplemented by trade information concerning the progress of building throughout the country, would warrant the opinion that it cannot have been short of $1,100,000,000.

THE BOOT AND SHOE INDUSTRY

in 1870, 1880 and 1890.

Branch of production.	Year.	Number of establishments.	Capital.	Number of employees.	Materials.	Total product.
Custom work and repairing.....	1870	20,277	$11,475,347	44,187	$13,079,810	$34,940,035
	1880	16,013	11,364,273	22,667	12,524,133	30,870,127
	1890	20,803	14,230,081	35,046	10,322,557	34,531,340
Factory product	1870	3,151	$37,519,019	91,702	$89,502,718	$146,704,055
	1880	1,959	42,994,028	111,152	102,442,442	166,050,354
	1890	2,082	95,282,311	139,333	118,785,831	220,649,358
Grand totals, custom and factory...	1870	23,428	$48,994,366	135,889	$93,582,528	$181,644,090
	1880	17,972	54,358,301	133,819	114,966,575	196,920,481
	1890	22,885	109,512,392	174,379	129,108,388	255,180,698

The foregoing table deserves careful study. It shows some of the phases through which an old industry is passing on its evolution from the artisan to the factory process of production. Its value is somewhat impaired, however, by the fact that the "factory product" of 1890 includes all the "custom work" establishments reporting an annual output of $5,000 and over. Had the census classification been the same in that year as in 1880 and 1890, the decline of the custom work branch of the industry from 1870 to 1880 would have been exhibited more strikingly and its apparent recovery during the following decade, weak as the above figures make it, would have proved an unreality. Nevertheless, as the data stand, we can plainly see in the first place the wiping out, from 1870 to 1890, of a large number of custom work and repairing establishments, together with a "displacement"—that is, practically, an extermination—of one-half of the skilled shoemakers, whose numbers fell from 44,000 to 22,000, while the number of factory operatives increased 19,500, including

7,600 women and children. Then, from 1880 to 1890, under unparalleled conditions of capitalistic prosperity, tending to favor the development of higher grade custom work, we see a desperate irruption of a portion of the skilled labor previously displaced, the trade, however, being obviously monopolized by a few great custom firms, whose superior means account for the reported increase of capital, while the rank and file of the so-called custom work establishments are in part of the lowest middle class order and in still greater part nothing more than cobbler's shops.

Of the labor "displacements" that resulted from the transformation accomplished in the boot and shoe industry by the capitalistic factory system, during the twenty years under consideration, a still more comprehensive view is afforded in the following supplementary table, which speaks for itself:

Number of Men, Women and Children Employed in the Boot and Shoe Industry in 1870, 1880 and 1890.

Branch of production.	Year.	Males.	Females.	Children.	Total.
Custom work and repairing	1870	42,727	905	555	44,187
	1880	21,474	824	369	22,667
	1890	34,426	497	123	35,046
Decrease from 1870 to 1880	....	21,253	81	186	21,520
Decrease from 1870 to 1890	....	8,301	408	432	9,141
Factory product	1870	70,688	18,208	2,806	91,702
	1880	82,547	25,122	3,483	111,152
	1890	96,270	40,418	2,645	139,333
Increase from 1870 to 1880	....	11,859	6,914	677	19,450
Decrease from 1870 to 1890	....	.....	.....	161	.....
Increase from 1870 to 1890	....	25,582	22,210	....	.....
Net increase from 1870 to 1890	....	.....	.....	....	47,631

From the above figures it appears that, taking together custom work and factory product, there was from 1870 to 1890 a net increase of 38,490 employees in the whole boot and shoe industry, as follows: A net increase of 17,281 men; a net increase of 21,802 women, and a net decrease of 593 children. It moreover appears that in the same period 8,301 skilled shoemakers were entirely superseded by female operatives.

THE PRINTING, ENGRAVING AND PUBLISHING INDUSTRY (including Materials), in 1890.

Industries.	Number of establishments.	Capital.	Number of employees.	Material.	Total product.
Printing and publishing, book and job	4,098	$ 67,146,445	58,139	$29,387,211	$ 93,540,831
Printing and publishing, newspapers and periodicals	12,362	126,269,885	106,095	38,955,322	179,859,750
Printing and publishing, music	79	1,816,205	701	401,415	1,683,333
Engraving, steel, including plate printing	134	2,924,125	2,560	742,765	3,347,804
Engraving, wood	285	480,990	1,286	157,656	1,555,418
Lithographing and engraving	219	15,490,127	10,590	6,265,464	17,988,157
Photolithographing and engraving	89	1,134,873	1,352	541,395	2,071,580

Industries.	Number of establishments.	Capital.	Number of employees.	Material.	Total product.
Stereotyping and electrotyping	81	1,332,129	1,475	500,744	2,183,909
Type founding	38	4,968,309	2,172	1,434,092	3,916,904
Printing materials (not otherwise specified)	64	1,370,487	866	567,638	1,459,434
Paper	567	82,374,099	29,568	42,223,314	74,309,388
Bookbinding and blank-book making	805	10,062,034	13,815	6,007,417	17,067,780
Total	18,821	$315,369,708	228,619	$127,184,433	$398,984,288

COAL PRODUCTION (Anthracite and Bituminous).

In the Census Years 1880 and 1890, and in the Calendar Years from 1893 to 1896, inclusive.

(Tons of 2240 pounds.)

Year.	Tons.	Year.	Tons.	Year.	Tons.
1880	70,478,426	1893	162,814,977	1895	172,426,366
1890	140,882,729	1894	152,447,791	1896	171,416,390

The production of coal in 1870 was only 32,863,690 tons. It more than doubled from 1870 to 1880, and doubled again from 1880 to 1890. The increase in the 5 years 1890-1895 was about 32,000,000 tons, or nearly equal to the total production in 1870.

It will be observed that while the production of coal, in consequence of the crisis, fell off about 10,000,000 tons from 1893 to 1894, it went up to 172,426,000 tons in 1895, or nearly 10,000,000 tons more than the largest quantity ever turned out in any previous year. Yet the crisis was said to be still very intense in 1895, and the actual earnings of the miners were about one-half of what they were in 1893. To be sure, there was a crisis—not for the capitalist but for the laborer.

PIG IRON PRODUCTION.

Also, Number of Furnaces, in the Census Years 1870 and 1880, and in Each Year from 1885 to 1896, inclusive.

(Tons of 2,240 pounds.)

Year.	Furnaces.	Tons.	Year.	Furnaces.	Tons.
1870	574	2,052,821	1890	562	9,202,703
1880	701	3,835,191	1891	569	8,279,870
1885	591	4,044,526	1892	562	9,157,000
1886	577	5,683,329	1893	518	7,124,502
1887	582	6,417,148	1894	511	6,657,388
1888	589	6,489,738	1895	468	9,446,308
1889	570	7,603,642	1896	470	8,623,127

It is a common saying of mercantile wiseacres that the power, progress and prosperity of a nation are correctly measured by its production of iron. According to that standard not only is this country the most powerful and pro-

gressive, for it passed England in 1890, but it was more prosperous in 1895 than at any previous time in its history. From a capitalistic standpoint, however, the above saying is absolutely true. For obvious reasons the rate at which wealth is increasing may be better inferred from the figures of iron and coal production than from the returns of any other branch of industry. Likewise the rate at which wealth is concentrating. In this last respect the above figures are suggestive. The number of blast furnaces—which from 1870 to 1880 increased 127, or 22 per cent., while the production increased 87 per cent.—show an almost uninterrupted decrease from 701 in 1880 to 470 in 1896, as against a quadrupling of the annual production. Mark, furthermore, that of the 470 furnaces remaining in existence, only 196 were actually in blast on June 30, and 159 on December 31, 1896.

The statistics of crude steel production presented in the following table, are even more instructive than those of pig iron, as they show the enormous extent to which the latter is now converted into the former, instead of being chiefly, as before, converted into iron. By this great change quality has been added to quantity and a vast power has been gained which is suggested but not expressed by the figures.

CRUDE STEEL PRODUCTION.
In Each Calendar Year from 1867 to 1896.
(Tons of 2,240 pounds.)

Year.	Tons.	Year.	Tons.	Year.	Tons.	Year.	Tons.
1867..	19,643	1875..	389,799	1883..	1,673,535	1891..	3,904,240
1868..	26,786	1876..	533,191	1884..	1,550,879	1892..	4,927,481
1869..	31,250	1877..	569,618	1885..	1,711,920	1893..	4,019,995
1870..	68,750	1878..	731,977	1886..	2,562,503	1894..	4,412,032
1871..	73,214	1879..	935,278	1887..	3,339,071	1895..	6,114,834
1872..	142,954	1880..	1,247,335	1888..	2,899,440	1896..	5,281,689
1873..	198,796	1881..	1,588,314	1889..	3,385,732		
1874..	215,727	1882..	1,736,692	1890..	4,277,071		

In 1896 the various kinds of crude steel produced and their respective quantities were as follows: Bessemer ingots and castings, 3,919,906 tons; Open hearth ingots and castings, 1,298,700 tons; Crucible ingots and castings, 60,689 tons; All other steel, 2,394 tons; Total, 5,281,689 tons.

FOOD PREPARING INDUSTRIES IN 1890.

Industries.	Number of establishments.	Capital.	Number of employees.	Materials.	Total product.
Bread and other bakery products...	10,484	$ 45,758,489	52,762	$ 72,507,579	$128,421,535
Baking and yeast powders.....	150	3,587,919	1,867	4,273,796	7,406,806
Cheese and butter, urban dairy product	160	607,590	552	1,545,273	2,050,338
Cheese, butter, and condensed milk, factory product	4,552	16,016,573	14,369	49,819,301	60,635,705
Chocolate and cocoa products.....	11	2,630,067	963	2,892,219	4,221,675

Industries.	Number of establishments.	Capital.	Number of employees.	Materials.	Total product.
Coffee and spice, roasting and grinding	358	16,996,009	5,122	65,961,465	75,042,010
Confectionery	2,921	23,326,799	27,211	31,116,629	55,997,101
Cordials and sirups	40	783,567	387	1,231,141	1,903,200
Fish, canning and preserving	110	3,186,975	5,202	4,710,709	6,972,268
Food preparations (not otherwise specified)	302	6,715,535	4,152	8,129,925	14,105,485
Flour and grist mill products	18,470	208,473,500	63,481	434,152,290	513,971,474
Fruits and vegetables, canning and preserving	886	15,315,185	50,881	18,665,163	29,862,416
Flavoring extracts	148	1,361,800	769	1,430,120	2,614,514
Glucose	7	5,991,023	1,759	5,029,131	7,756,686
Ice, artificial	222	9,846,468	3,265	940,699	4,900,983
Lard, refined	17	3,898,910	1,018	12,654,360	15,474,848
Liquors, distilled	440	31,006,176	5,343	14,909,173	104,178,969
Liquors, malt	1,248	232,471,290	34,800	64,003,347	182,731,622
Liquors, vinous	236	5,792,783	1,282	1,318,012	2,846,148
Malt	202	24,293,364	3,694	17,100,074	23,442,559
Mineral and soda waters	1,377	10,781,817	7,717	4,562,803	14,353,745
Bottling	716	5,656,705	3,929	7,937,001	13,583,418
Oil, cottonseed and cake	119	12,808,996	6,301	14,363,126	19,335,947
Oleomargarine	12	634,532	328	2,175,264	2,988,525
Oysters, canning and preserving	16	1,106,962	3,514	2,088,867	3,260,766
Pickles, preserves and sauces	316	4,913,459	4,252	5,328,541	9,790,855
Rice cleaning and polishing	32	2,073,884	743	5,601,206	6,693,196
Salt	200	13,437,749	4,455	1,826,770	5,484,618
Slaughtering and meat packing, wholesale	611	98,190,766	40,409	366,993,662	433,252,315
Slaughtering, wholesale, not including meat packing	507	18,696,738	7,537	113,968,549	128,359,353
Sausage	249	1,128,562	1,106	1,935,170	3,055,367
Sugar and molasses, refining	393	24,013,008	7,529	107,758,811	123,118,259
Vinegar and cider	694	5,858,395	3,388	3,268,455	6,649,300
Total	46,206	$857,362,095	370,087	$1,450,198,631	$2,014,480,906

SAVINGS BANKS.

Condition of Savings Banks in the United States in 1897.

Number of Savings Banks	980
Number of depositors	5,201,132
Amount deposited as "savings"	$1,939,376,035
Average deposit	$373
Deposits subject to immediate withdrawal	$44,037,529
Undivided Profits:—	
Surplus fund	$159,954,756
Other undivided profits	23,984,822
Total undivided profits	$183,939,578
Investments:—	
Real estate, furniture and fixtures	$ 47,412,066
Loans on real estate	822,012,228
Loans on personal and other collateral security	48,413,410
Loans and discounts of other kinds	196,082,048
United States bonds	163,886,928
State, county and municipal bonds	466,137,050
Railroad bonds and stocks	121,864,076
Bank stocks	40,928,803
All other stocks, bonds and securities	143,444,814
Total investments	$2,050,181,423
Cash on hand and balances in commercial banks:—	
Cash on hand	$ 42,507,816
Cash items	1,203,071
Due from banks and bankers (net)	89,440,221
Total cash on hand, etc	$ 133,151,108
Less:—Deposits subject to immediate withdrawal	$ 44,037,529
Net cash on hand, etc	$ 89,113,579

Number of Depositors, Total Amount Deposited, and Average to Each Depositor, in the Savings Banks of Each State in 1897.

States, &c.	Number of depositors.	Amount of deposits.	Average to each depositor
Maine	163,115	$ 57,476,896	$352.37
New Hampshire	126,563	49,493,056	391.05
Vermont	106,169	32,600,627	307.19
Massachusetts	1,340,668	453,220,257	338.06
Rhode Island	136,148	68,683,698	504.48
Connecticut	356,445	149,496,556	419.41
Total New England States..	2,229,108	$810,971,090	363.81

States, &c.	Number of depositors.	Amount of deposits.	Average to each depositor
New York	1,736,968	$718,176,889	413.46
New Jersey	161,710	43,271,047	267.58
Pennsylvania	294,852	77,429,348	262.60
Delaware	19,326	4,030,153	208.53
Maryland	161,058	51,810,877	321.69
District of Columbia	1,195	14,000	11.71
Total Eastern States	2,375,109	$894,732,314	376.71
West Virginia	3,737	249,333	66.72
North Carolina	18,743	905,477	48.31
South Carolina	16,759	4,533,459	270.51
Georgia	5,384	288,010	53.49
Louisiana	9,822	2,519,393	256.50
Texas	2,000	355,531	177.76
Tennessee	12,426	1,627,877	131.01
Total Southern States	68,871	10,479,080	152.16
Ohio	87,302	29,950,871	343.07
Indiana	17,437	4,082,359	234.18
Illinois	101,710	26,589,141	261.42
Wisconsin	1,546	200,498	129.69
Minnesota	44,643	3,545,008	79.48
Iowa	78,967	28,585,655	361.99
Total Middle States	331,605	92,953,532	280.31
California	186,028	127,929,281	687.69
Utah	4,942	1,187,257	240.24
Montana	5,469	1,123,481	205.43
Total Pacific States	196,439	130,240,019	663.00
Total United States	5,201,132	1,939,376,035	372.88

Number of Depositors, Amount of Deposits and Average Deposit in all the Savings Banks (Postal and Other) of Various Countries in 1895.

Country.	Population.	Number of depositors.	Amount deposited.	Average deposit.	Per cent. of depositors in population.
Austria	25,000,000	3,924,902	$658,921,560	$167.88	15.7
Hungary	18,000,000	995,397	226,151,760	227.19	5.5
Bavaria	6,000,000	665,943	57,638,605	86.55	11.1
Belgium	6,850,000	1,145,408	113,500,080	99.09	16.7
Denmark	2,200,000	999,854	165,920,525	165.95	45.4
France	38,000,000	8,986,631	829,783,735	92.33	23.6
Italy	31,000,000	4,137,908	331,330,100	80.07	13.3

Country.	Population.	Number of depositors.	Amount deposited.	Average deposit.	Per cent. of depositors in population.
Netherlands	4,250,000	740,024	43,073,460	58.20	17.4
Norway	2,000,000	540,053	60,533,905	112.08	27.
Prussia	32,000,000	6,255,507	939,757,555	150.23	19.5
Sweden	5,000,000	1,460,858	98,170,720	67.20	29.2
Switzerland	3,000,000	1,196,590	178,792,290	149.42	39.8
United Kingdom..	38,000,000	7,969,826	815,686,750	102.35	20.9
Australasia	4,200,000	894,879	130,485,880	145.81	21.3
Canada	5,250,000	175,560	57,578,975	327.97	3.3
Cape Colony	1,600,000	50,161	8,490,920	169.21	3.1
India	290,000,000	653,892	28,413,460	43.46	.2
Natal	550,000	6,963	861,520	123.01	1.3
Newfoundland	198,000	6,401	2,821,420	440.71	3.2
Other British colonies	2,000,000	114,491	12,275,455	107.22	5.7
United States	69,000,000	4,875,519	1,844,357,798	378.31	7.1
Total	584,098,000	45,796,767	$6,604,546,473	$144.21	7.8

WHO OWNS THE SAVINGS?

It is a stock argument of capitalist mouthpieces on the stump and in the press that the number of deposits and the amount deposited in the savings banks demonstrate that upon the whole the working class of this country is highly prosperous. Their assumption, of course, is that those deposits, or a large portion thereof, come from wage-working people; and, singular to say, this falsehood is generally accepted as unquestionable truth. In reply to several inquiries concerning this matter an article appeared in "THE PEOPLE" of Nov. 29, 1896, which is here partly reproduced and in which we showed clearly that at least nine-tenths of the deposits—and probably more—belonged to the middle class. The figures used in the article were for 1895 and therefore differ a little from those for 1897 given in the above tables. But the changes that have taken place, far from impairing our arguments and conclusions of two years ago, emphasize them strongly.

"In 1895, the number of depositors in savings banks, or, to be more accurate, the number of "deposits" (as in many instances the same depositor had several deposits in different banks), was in round figures 4,880,000, and the total amount deposited was $1,811,000,000 (eighteen hundred and eleven million dollars.)

"In these grand totals, the State of Ohio, with a population of 4,000,000, figured for only 86,000 deposits, amounting in the aggregate to the comparatively insignificant sum of less than $35,000,000; while New Hampshire, with a population of 400,000 (or one-tenth that of Ohio), showed very nearly 164,000 deposits, aggregating about $67,000,000 (or almost double the number and amount of deposits credited to Ohio). Mark, furthermore, that the number of wage-workers engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries was (in 1890)

64,000 in New Hampshire (or 100,000 LESS than the number of deposits), as against 331,000 in Ohio (or 245,000 MORE than the number of deposits).

"To facilitate perception I tabulate as follows:

States.	Population.	Number of mfg. and mech. wage workers.	Number of deposits.	Sums deposited.	Excess of workers over deposits.	Excess of deposits over workers.
Ohio	4,000,000	331,000	86,000	$35,000,000	245,000	.....
New Hampshire	400,000	64,000	164,000	67,000,000	.....	100,000

"There are no statistics showing the employment of savings bank depositors. The case of New Hampshire, however, immediately shows the absurdity of the prevailing notion—carefully nurtured by capitalistic mouthpieces— that the wage workers engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries constitute the bulk of the army of depositors; for, if every one of the 64,000 mechanics and mill operatives of New Hampshire had a savings bank account, there would still be 100,000 depositors belonging to the other classes of people.

Again, on the other hand, if every one of the 86,000 Ohio depositors was a shop or factory worker, there would still be in that State 245,000 such workers (or 3 in 4) without a savings bank account; in other words, under this extreme supposition only 1 in 4 such workers would save money in Ohio, where the conditions of labor are certainly, on an average, no worse if no better than in New Hampshire. Applying to New Hampshire this MAXIMUM (and obviously exaggerated) proportion of 1 in 4, we would find that the deposits in the latter State were contributed as follows:

By one quarter of the 64,000 workers in manufacturing and mechanical employments..16,000 deposits, or 10 per cent. of the total number
By persons belonging to other classes.....148,000 deposits, or 90 per cent. of the total number

"New Hampshire, then, supplies us a maximum proportion, that we can safely use as a basis for the whole country in estimating the percentage of savings bank deposits contributed by the whole wage working class. This percentage can only be 10, at the utmost, and may be considerably less. For, in the first place, due allowance must be made for the obviously gross exaggeration in the above fundamental supposition that one manufacturing or mechanical worker in every four saves money (since under that supposition all the savings bank deposits in Ohio would come from such workers); and, in the second place, it is safe to say that, with the exception of domestic servants (besides superintendents, overseers, well-paid clerks, and such-like, who consider themselves as members of the middle class, and are in thorough sympathy with it), very few of the wage-workers engaged in other than manufacturing and mechanical occupations can save money; these being chiefly farm and common laborers, miners, teamsters, 'longshoremen and other freight handlers, sailors, office boys, messengers, "cash girls," saleswomen, etc., etc., who are all paid the lowest rate of wages.

"In that proportion the savings bank deposits of the whole country would therefore be contributed as follows:

By the Middle class (90 per cent.).....	4,392,000	$1,630,000,000
By the Wage-working class (10 per cent.).....	488,000	181,000,000
Total.....	4,880,000	$1,811,000,000

(Observe, also, that in the above estimate, not only one-tenth of the number of deposits, but one-tenth of the total sum deposited, is credited to the working class, thereby making the average deposit of a person of this class equal to the average deposit of a person of the middle class, or $370; a sum probably too large by one-half or more.)

"I took New Hampshire and Ohio for a comparison because, in the absence of statistics of depositors' employments, the great excess of deposits over workers in the first State, and the great excess of workers over deposits in the second State, obviously afforded a wider and therefore more correct basis to work upon in order to arrive, through arithmetic reasoning, at an approximation of the distribution of savings bank deposits between the wage working class and the middle class. But similar contrasts, not less suggestive, exist between other States, as, for instance, between Pennsylvania and New York, which compare as follows:

States.	Population.	No. of wage workers in mfg. and mech. employments.	Number of deposits.	Sums deposited.	Excess of workers over deposits.	Excess of deposits over workers.
Pennsylvania .	5,700,000	620,000	264,000	$ 68,500,000	356,000	.....
New York	6,600,000	850,000	1,615,000	643,000,000	.....	765,000

"Here are two contiguous great States—the greatest in the Union—that do not very largely differ in population or in the number of wage workers employed. The rates of wages paid in similar employments, the cost of living and the mode of life of the laboring people are substantially alike in both. Yet in New York the number of savings bank deposits is more than 6 times, and the amount deposited nearly 10 times, as great as in Pennsylvania.

"Manifestly, no possible difference in the conditions and habits of the laboring classes of those two States can account for the enormous difference in their savings bank returns. But if the conditions of their respective middle classes are considered, the difference in question is readily explained. In New York City, which, including its immediate suburbs, comprises nearly one-half of the population of the "Empire" State, there is a very numerous and active middle class, that is still upon the whole, quite prosperous, despite the inroads made upon it by concentrated capital. It is, at any rate, far more numerous, active and prosperous than that of any other great city on this continent, not excluding Boston, which, with its suburbs, comprises about one-third of the population of Massachusetts, and where, for similar reasons, the savings bank deposits are also very large. To this middle class, composed of small merchants, shopkeepers, dealers and business agents, fairly paid clerks, professional people (male and female), etc., can unquestionably be traced the bulk of deposits in the gigantic savings banks of the American metropolis. Likewise, to the middle class of other commercial centres, according to its local importance and special conditions, can be traced the standing of those centres in the matter of savings banks. In Philadelphia, the middle class has in great part made it a point to "own its homes," and has, therefore, but little money to deposit in savings institutions. In Chicago the middle class is largely speculating, and the result is seen in the fact that Illinois, with a population greater than that of Ohio, and with a city that aspires to be centre of the universe, has only $24,000,000 in its savings banks, as against $35,000,000 in the "Buckeye" State.

"If all the above statements were not deemed sufficient to show the absurdity of measuring the welfare of the working people by the returns of savings banks, I might further observe that by this measure the wage workers of New York State would be 102 times as well off as those of Wisconsin, which, with a population of 1,900,000, has only 1,439 deposits aggregating less than $180,000; or that in Austria-Hungary, where the reported savings are $885,000,000, the workers are better off than in Great Britain, where the reported savings are only $815,000,000; and so on, ad infinitum.

"But the point of importance, which I think I have made quite clear, is that the bulk of savings bank deposits in this country is supplied by the middle class, to the extent of at least 90 per cent. of their amount. And right here, before passing to the next consideration, I might also remark that the large and growing deposits of the middle class in such States as New York and Massachusetts are by no means an evidence of its permanent solidity and safety. This fact rather betrays a sense of insecurity, which impels the people of that class to lay by some money for their wives and children in the fear of possible failure, or of death under circumstances that would make a settlement of their affairs somewhat uncertain in its results. A Gould, a Vanderbilt, a Rockefeller, or any such, does not deposit money in a savings bank or take an insurance policy, unless, perchance, he desires to "boom up," for his own purposes or to oblige a friend, the concern which he may thus patronize.

"Now, if the maximum contribution of the wage-working class to the sums accumulated in the savings banks is only, at the very utmost, 10 per cent. (which upon the basis of the latest returns would foot up $180,000,000), how foolish is it to imagine that this class, with that sum of "savings" as "capital," could, through co-operation, free itself from the yoke of capitalism!

"To be sure, $180,000,000 is a formidable sum; but it is formidable only, (1) when concentrated in a few hands working together for some special object, and (2) on condition that the object shall not be opposed by the infinitely greater mass of other capital.

1. The very purpose of "saving," which in the sense here considered is to lay by money for immediate use in case of emergency, would naturally forbid any combination—not only between the 480,000 depositors of the working class, but between the 4,392,000 depositors of the middle class—through which their money might be tied up in commercial, financial or manufacturing ventures. Necessarily limited in their operations by this purpose, the savings banks invest their money chiefly in mortgages on first-class improved real estate, municipal or State bonds, and loans strongly secured, that can be called in on the shortest possible notice. They keep a large amount of cash on hand, in their own coffers, and their deposits in banks are subject to immediate withdrawal.

"2. Were such a combination possible it would, as soon as attempted, immediately be met with the combined opposition of all the great capitalistic forces, for which it would be mere child's play to break it down and wipe it out. Not only the $180,000,000 of the working class, but the $1,600,000,000 of the middle class, if those two classes entered into the combination, would promptly disappear in the huge maw of the forty-billion-power plutocratic octopus."

FINANCIAL STATISTICS.

THE WORLD'S BANKING POWER.

In 1885, and again in 1894, the English statistician, M. G. Mulhall, undertook to figure out the aggregate capital, circulation (or bank note issues) and deposits of the great public banks in all the countries where such institutions are in existence. This he called, somewhat inaccurately, the "Banking Power of the World." We say, "inaccurately," because his statistical results did not include the vast number of private firms, and also many companies more or less important, whose capital is entirely or partially employed in banking operations. These firms and corporations, of course, use the public banks of discount and issue for their special purposes, but they have a capital of their own and receive deposits from a multitude of merchants, investors, etc., the total amount of which constitutes an unknown but very large proportion of the so-called "Banking Power." Not only are their portfolios always filled with notes, drafts and securities, but it is chiefly through them that many corporate enterprises issue their stocks or bonds, and that various governments contract their loans. For obvious reasons, however, their actual resources cannot be ascertained with any degree of accuracy, and the following table, compiled in 1897, from data supplied by the consular agents of this country to the State Department at the request of the Comptroller of the Currency, leaves out, as did Mulhall's previous tables, not only all the private bankers of the world, from the Rothschild's down, but also many European financial institutions, or banking companies, whether they are or are not compelled by the laws of their respective countries to publish annual accounts of their operations. For the United States these figures are more complete, because they comprise not only the national banks, which are banks of issue, but all the other stock banks, except savings. But for most of the other countries the banks of issue alone—such as the Bank of France, the Imperial Bank of Germany, the Imperial Bank of Russia, the National Bank of Belgium, etc., are reported. This table leaves out also the savings banks, postal and other, an account of which is given elsewhere under a special heading.

Items.	Europe.	United States.	Other countries.	Total.
Capital	$904,609,720	$878,411,190	$363,509,370	$2,146,530,280
Surplus and other undivided profits..	337,437,978	444,224,146	107,791,194	889,453,318
Circulation	2,714,768,668	198,920,670	235,939,769	3,149,629,107
Deposits	4,942,011,246	2,627,268,166	1,151,706,375	8,720,985,787
Total.....	8,898,827,612	4,148,824,172	1,858,946,708	14,906,598,492

From the above figures it would appear that the banking power of the United States is about 28 per cent. of the total banking power of the capitalist world (and not 33 per cent., as incorrectly stated by the Comptroller of the

Currency in his official report for 1897). But from the nature and insufficiency of the data upon which this table has been constructed, it is obvious that while the figures for all countries are much smaller than they ought to be, those for Europe, in particular, are much more below the real than those given for the United States. Taking all things, as far as we know, into consideration, it may, indeed, well be doubted that as much as one-fifth of the banking power of the world lies on this side of the Atlantic.

On the other hand, however, it must be observed that the banking capital and bank deposits are growing in this country at a very high rate, probably unequalled elsewhere, even in England.

PRODUCTION OF GOLD AND SILVER
in the World Since the Discovery of America.

[From 1493 to 1885, estimated by Dr. Adolph Soetbeer; from 1886 to 1895, estimated by U. S. Mint Bureau.]

Period.	Gold. (Coining Value.)	Silver. (Coining Value.)	Period.	Gold. (Coining Value.)	Silver (Coining Value.)
1493—1520.....	$107,931,000	$54,703,000	1851—1855.....	$662,566,000	$184,169,000
1521—1544.....	114,205,000	89,986,000	1856—1860.....	670,415,000	188,092,000
1545—1560.....	90,492,000	207,240,000	1861—1865.....	614,944,000	228,861,000
1561—1580.....	90,917,000	248,990,000	1866—1870.....	648,071,000	278,313,000
1581—1600.....	98,095,000	348,254,000	1871—1875.....	577,883,000	409,322,000
1601—1620.....	113,248,000	351,579,000	1876—1880.....	572,931,000	509,256,000
1621—1640.....	110,324,000	327,221,000	1881—1885.....	495,582,000	594,773,000
1641—1660.....	116,571,000	304,525,000	1886.....	106,163,900	120,626,800
1661—1680.....	123,084,000	280,166,000	1887.....	105,774,900	124,281,000
1681—1700.....	143,088,000	284,240,000	1888.....	110,196,000	140,706,400
1701—1720.....	170,403,000	295,629,000	1889.....	123,489,200	155,427,700
1721—1740.....	253,611,000	358,480,000	1890.....	118,848,700	163,032,000
1741—1760.....	327,116,000	443,232,000	1891.....	130,650,000	177,352,300
1761—1780.....	275,211,000	542,658,000	1892.....	146,815,100	198,014,400
1781—1800.....	236,464,000	730,810,000	1893.....	157,287,600	214,745,300
1801—1810.....	118,152,000	371,677,000	1894.....	180,626,100	216,892,200
1811—1820.....	76,063,000	224,786,000	1895.....	203,000,000	226,000,000
1821—1830.....	94,479,000	191,444,000	1896.....	202,956,000	213,463,700
1831—1840.....	134,481,000	247,930,000			
1841—1850.....	363,928,000	342,400,000	Total 1493—1896	$8,983,320,600	$10,556,706,800

BULLION VALUE of 371½ Grains of Pure SILVER
at the Annual Average Price of Silver each year from 1850 to 1897.

Year.	Bullion value.	Year.	Bullion value.	Year.	Bullion value.	Year.	Bullion value.
1850....	$1.018	1862....	$1.041	1874....	$0.988	1886....	$0.769
1851....	1.034	1863....	1.040	1875....	0.964	1887....	0.756
1852....	1.025	1864....	1.040	1876....	0.894	1888....	0.727
1853....	1.042	1865....	1.035	1877....	0.929	1889....	0.723
1854....	1.042	1866....	1.036	1878....	0.891	1890....	0.809
1855....	1.039	1867....	1.027	1879....	0.868	1891....	0.764
1856....	1.039	1868....	1.025	1880....	0.886	1892....	0.673
1857....	1.046	1869....	1.024	1881....	0.880	1893....	0.603
1858....	1.039	1870....	1.027	1882....	0.878	1894....	0.491
1859....	1.052	1871....	1.025	1883....	0.858	1895....	0.506
1860....	1.045	1872....	1.022	1884....	0.861	1896....	0.522
1861....	1.031	1873....	1.004	1885....	0.823	1897....	0.468

COMMERCIAL RATIO OF SILVER TO GOLD
From 1687 to 1897.

(NOTE.—From 1687 to 1832 the ratios are taken from the tables of Dr. A. Soetbeer; from 1833 to 1878 from Pixley and Abell's tables; and from 1879 to 1896 from the reports of the U. S. Bureau of the Mint).

Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.
1687.....	14.94	1775....	14.72	1861....	15.50	1879....	18.40
1690.....	15.02	1780....	14.72	1862....	15.35	1880....	18.05
1695.....	15.02	1785....	14.92	1863....	15.37	1881....	18.16
1700.....	14.81	1790....	15.04	1864....	15.37	1882....	18.19
1705.....	15.11	1795....	15.55	1865....	15.44	1883....	18.64
1710.....	15.22	1800....	15.68	1866....	15.43	1884....	18.57
1715.....	15.11	1805....	15.79	1867....	15.57	1885....	19.41
1720.....	15.04	1810....	15.77	1868....	15.59	1886....	20.78
1725.....	15.11	1815....	15.26	1869....	15.60	1887....	21.13
1730.....	14.81	1820....	15.62	1870....	15.57	1888....	21.99
1735.....	15.41	1825....	15.70	1871....	15.57	1889....	22.09
1740.....	14.94	1830....	15.82	1872....	15.63	1890....	19.75
1745.....	14.98	1835....	15.80	1873....	15.92	1891....	20.92
1750.....	14.55	1840....	15.62	1874....	16.17	1892....	23.72
1755.....	14.68	1845....	15.92	1875....	16.59	1893....	26.49
1760.....	14.14	1850....	15.70	1876....	17.88	1894....	32.56
1765.....	14.83	1855....	15.38	1877....	17.22	1895....	31.60
1770.....	14.62	1860....	15.29	1878....	17.94	1896....	30.66
						1897....	34.28

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC DEBT IN THE UNITED STATES.

(From data compiled by the Department of Labor.)

The total estimate of private and public debt, as given by the Department of Labor, is $20,227,170,546, or 31.10 per cent. of the total wealth, but the difference of $1,085,298,151 between this and the itemized estimate given below is not accounted for.

AMOUNT AND RATE OF INTEREST, 1890.

Description of Debt.	Debt.	Interest.	Rate per cent.
Private Debt.			
Railroad companies, funded debt (partly estimated)	$5,669,431,114	a $255,124,400	4.50
Street railway companies, funded debt.....	182,240,754	10,733,980	b5.89
Telephone companies, funded debt	4,992,565	294,062	b5.89
Telegraph companies (partly estimated).....	20,000,000	1,178,000	b5.89
Public water companies, not owned by municipalities (partly estimated)	89,127,489	5,249,609	5.89
Gas companies (estimated).....	75,000,000	4,417,500	b5.89
Electric lighting and power companies (estimated).....	45,000,000	2,650,500	b5.89
Transportation companies, not otherwise specified, and canal, turnpike, bridge, and other quasi public corporations (estimated)	114,208,078	6,726,856	b5.89
Real estate mortgages	6,019,679,985	397,442,792	6.60
Crop liens in the South (estimated).....	300,000,000	120,000,000	c40.00
Crop liens outside the South and chattel mortgages (estimated)	350,000,000	35,000,000	c10.00

Description of Debt.	Debt.	Interest.	Rate per cent.
National banks, loans and overdrafts	1,904,167,351	125,675,045	d6.60
Other banks, loans and overdrafts, not including real estate mortgages	1,172,918,415	77,412,615	d6.60
Other net private debt (estimated) (c)	1,212,761,236	84,893,286	c7.00
Total	17,114,701,849	1,126,798,645	6.58
Public Debt.			
United States	891,960,104	28,997,603	4.08
States			
Counties			
Municipalities	1,135,210,442	65,541,776	5.29
School districts			
Total	2,027,170,546	94,539,379	4.85
Private and Public Debt.			
Private debt	17,114,701,849	1,126,798,645	6.58
Public debt	2,027,170,546	94,539,379	4.85
Total	19,141,872,395	1,221,338,024	6.38

a Actually paid and not including interest due and unpaid.
b The rate for water companies is adopted.
c Arbitrarily adopted.
d The rate for real estate mortgages is adopted.

Total Wealth, and Annual Value of All Products, in 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880 and 1890.

(From the Census Reports.)

Census Year.	Population.	Wealth.	Annual value of manufactures, and farm, fishery and mineral products.
1850	23,191,876	$ 7,135,780,228	$ 1,029,106,798
1860	31,443,321	16,159,616,068	1,898,785,768
1870	38,558,371	30,068,518,507	6,843,559,616
1880	50,155,783	43,642,000,000	7,974,097,438
1890	62,622,250	65,037,091,197	12,148,380,626

WEALTH OF NATIONS.

[From Estimates by Mulhall, 1888.]

In Million Dollars.

Items.	United Kingdom	United States.	France.	Germany.	Russia.	Canada.	Australia.
Lands	7,720	12,800	13,440	9,075	7,535	1,410	2,665
Cattle, etc.	2,070	5,680	2,705	2,460	4,265	400	520
Houses	12,120	14,250	8,520	6,160	3,505	635	1,195
Furniture	6,060	7,125	4,260	3,080	1,750	320	600
Railways	4,325	9,745	2,850	2,475	1,570	755	470
Ships	670	300	75	50	35	30	5
Merchandise	1,715	800	775	920	295	105	325
Bullion	620	1,140	1,640	835	265	20	120
Sundries	11,700	12,280	8,725	7,100	6,225	1,225	965
Total	47,000	64,120	42,990	32,155	25,445	4,900	6,865

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS.

I. UNITED STATES.

The following statistics of strikes and lockouts in the United States, from January 1, 1881, to June 30, 1894, are taken from the Tenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor (Washington, D. C., 1895):

Year.	Strikes.	Establishments.	Average establishments to a strike.	Employees thrown out of employment.
1881	471	2,928	6.2	129,521
1882	454	2,105	4.6	154,671
1883	478	2,759	5.8	149,763
1884	443	2,367	5.3	147,054
1885	645	2,284	3.5	242,705
1886	1,432	10,053	7.0	508,044
1887	1,436	6,589	4.6	379,726
1888	906	3,506	3.9	147,704
1889	1,075	3,786	3.5	249,559
1890	1,833	9,424	5.1	351,944
1891	1,718	8,117	4.7	299,064
1892	1,298	5,540	4.3	206,671
1893	1,305	4,555	3.5	265,914
1894 (6 months)	896	5,154	5.8	482,066
Total	14,390	69,167	4.8	3,714,406

WAGE LOSS OF EMPLOYEES, ASSISTANCE TO EMPLOYEES, AND LOSS OF EMPLOYERS, JANUARY 1, 1881, TO JUNE 30, 1894.

Year.	Strikes.			Lockouts.		
	To date when strikers were reemployed or employed elsewhere.		Loss of employers.	To date when employees locked out were reemployed or employed elsewhere.		Loss of employers.
	Wages loss of employees.	Assistance to employees by labor organizations.		Wage loss of employees.	Assistance to employees by labor organizations.	
1881	$3,372,578	$287,999	$1,919,483	$18,519	$3,150	$6,960
1882	9,864,228	734,339	4,269,094	466,345	47,668	112,382
1883	6,274,480	461,233	4,696,027	1,069,212	102,253	297,097
1884	7,666,717	407,871	3,393,073	1,421,410	314,027	640,847
1885	10,663,248	465,827	4,388,893	901,173	89,488	455,477
1886	14,992,453	1,122,130	12,357,808	4,281,058	549,452	1,949,498
1887	16,560,534	1,121,554	6,698,495	4,233,700	155,846	2,819,736
1888	6,377,749	1,752,668	6,509,017	1,100,057	85,931	1,217,199
1889	10,409,686	592,017	2,936,752	1,379,722	115,389	307,125
1890	13,875,338	910,285	5,135,404	957,966	77,210	486,258
1891	14,801,714	1,132,557	6,177,288	883,709	50,195	616,888
1892	10,772,622	833,874	5,145,691	2,856,013	537,684	1,695,080
1893	9,938,048	563,183	3,406,195	6,659,401	364,268	1,034,420
1894 (6 months)	28,238,471	528,869	15,557,166	457,231	31,737	596,484
Total	163,807,866	10,914,406	82,590,386	26,685,516	2,524,298	12,235,451

RESULTS OF STRIKES FOR EMPLOYEES, JANUARY 1, 1881, TO JUNE 30, 1894.

Year.	Number thrown out of employment.				Per cent thrown out of employment.		
	In successful strikes.	In partly successful strikes.	In strikes which failed.	In total strikes.	In successful strikes.	In partly successful strikes.	In strikes which failed.
1881	55,600	17,482	56,439	129,521	42.93	13.50	43.57
1882	45,746	7,112	101,813	154,671	29.58	4.60	65.82
1883	55,140	17,024	77,599	149,763	36.82	11.37	51.81
1884	52,736	5,044	89,274	147,054	35.86	3.43	60.71
1885	115,375	23,855	103,475	242,705	47.54	9.83	42.63
1886	a195,400	a74,167	a238,229	508,044	a38.46	a14.60	a46.90
1887	127,629	26,442	225,655	379,726	33.61	6.96	59.43
1888	41,106	11,130	95,468	147,704	27.83	7.54	64.63
1889	72,099	62,607	114,853	249,559	28.89	25.09	46.02
1890	b158,787	b48,444	b144,681	351,944	b45.12	b13.76	b41.11
1891	80,766	22,885	195,413	299,064	27.01	7.65	65.34
1892	61,125	16,429	129,117	206,671	29.58	7.95	62.47
1893	c62,018	c41,765	c160,741	265,914	c23.32	c15.71	c60.45
1894 (6 months)	65,048	88,391	228,627	482,066	13.49	18.34	68.17
Total	d1,188,575	d462,777	d2,061,384	3,714,406	d32.00	d12,46	d55.50

a Not including 248 engaged in strikes still pending December 31, 1886.
b Not including 32 engaged in strikes not reporting result.
c Not including 1,390 engaged in strikes still pending June 30, 1894.
d Not including 1,670 for the reason stated in the preceding notes.

DURATION OF STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS, JANUARY 1, 1881, TO JUNE 30, 1894.

[The duration involves the number of days from date of strike or lockout to date when employees returned to work or when their places were filled by others.]

Year.	Strikes.		Lockouts.	
	Establishments.	Average duration (days).	Establishments.	Average duration (days).
1881	2,928	12.8	9	32.2
1882	2,105	21.9	42	105.0
1883	2,759	20.6	117	57.5
1884	2,367	30.5	354	41.4
1885	2,284	30.1	183	27.1
1886	10,053	23.4	1,509	39.1
1887	6,589	20.9	1,281	49.8
1888	3,506	20.3	180	74.9
1889	3,786	26.3	132	57.5
1890	9,424	24.2	324	73.9
1891	8,117	34.9	546	37.8
1892	5,540	23.4	716	72.0
1893	4,555	20.6	305	34.7
1894 (6 months)	5,154	37.8	369	18.7
Total	69,167	25.4	6,067	47.6

SEX OF EMPLOYEES THROWN OUT OF EMPLOYMENT, JANUARY 1, 1881, TO JUNE 30, 1894.

Year.	Strikes.			Lockouts.		
	Employees thrown out of employment	Males per cent.	Females per cent.	Employees thrown out of employment.	Males per cent.	Females per cent.
1881.....	129,521	94.08	5.92	655	83.21	16.79
1882.....	154,671	92.15	7.85	4,131	93.80	6.20
1883.....	149,763	87.66	12.34	20,512	73.58	26.42
1884.....	147,054	88.78	11.22	18,121	78.93	21.07
1885.....	242,705	87.77	12.23	15,424	83.77	16.23
1886.....	508,044	86.17	13.83	101,980	63.02	36.98
1887.....	379,726	91.77	8.23	59,630	94.76	5.24
1888.....	147,704	91.50	8.50	15,176	79.53	20.47
1889.....	249,559	90.48	9.52	10,731	73.91	26.09
1890.....	351,944	90.53	9.47	21,555	72.49	27.51
1891.....	299,064	94.90	5.10	31,014	59.13	40.87
1892.....	206,671	93.57	6.43	32,014	96.02	3.98
1893.....	265,914	93.06	6.94	21,842	84.95	15.05
1894, 6 months	482,066	95.13	4.87	13,905	95.83	4.17
Total.....	3,714,406	91.22	8.78	366.690	77.47	22.53

The foregoing table affords a remarkable illustration of the brutality and cowardice of the capitalist class as a body. Study it well; it speaks volumes. It shows on the one hand that the percentage of wage-working women involved in strikes is very small. Compelled by the direst necessity to leave the home for the shop, they generally submit to any extortion rather than put in jeopardy by a protest the mite upon which an aged parent, a younger sister, a child, perchance also a sick or unemployed husband, may depend for subsistence. But it shows on the other hand that they figure in very large proportion among the locked-out employees. In the year of great capitalistic prosperity 1891, the percentage of female labor in lockouts was nearly 41 per cent! The capitalists struck the women down in order to compel the men to surrender.

II. GREAT BRITAIN.

Having received from England our trade-unionism, as well as our capitalism, we should naturally take a deep interest in the development of both, there as well as here, so that the lessons taught by their evolution in that country—be that evolution upward or downward—may not be lost upon us. Moreover, the international relations of the two countries are becoming closer every day and their reciprocal effects upon labor in all branches of industry will soon be instantaneous and equal on both sides of the Atlantic.

The British trade-unions should be considered in their double aspect, namely:

1.—As militant labor bodies, originating from the very nature of the class struggle under the capitalist system, instituted to promote the ele-

vation and resist the degradation not of their own members alone but of the whole working class, and destined, therefore, consciously or unconsciously, to act an important part in the war for social emancipation;

2.—As mutual benefit associations, having for their incidental object while this war is lasting, the relief of their sick, maimed and decrepit members, injured and pauperized by the capitalist system.

The following tables, compiled from reports of the Labor Department, British Board of Trade, conclusively show that the incidental has become the principal feature of those institutions; in other words, that in England to a not less extent than in America, trade-unionism has been woefully sidetracked, has moved backward instead of forward, and cannot too soon change its spirit and reverse its course if it is not to become (in the words of Jaurès at the London International Congress) "the Westminster Abbey of the labor movement."

Of the $6,815,000 (in round figures) expended by the 100 principal unions of Great Britain in 1895, only $926,000—or 13½ per cent.—went to the "dispute benefit" account; by which is obviously meant the cost of "fighting capital with capital," in accordance with the principle of "pure and simple, non-political" trade-unionism, as formulated by a certain Mr. Holmes, "friendly delegate" of the British Trade Union Congress to the American Federation of Labor; the said "friendly delegate," by the way, being one of the labor politicians, or decoy ducks, of a British capitalistic party.

Again, $1,247,000 (or over 18 per cent.) were expended in collecting the dues, distributing the benefits, and generally officering the unions; in accordance, no doubt, with that other "principle" formulated by the same friendly delegate and authorized mouthpiece, that "the rank and file of the unions must imitate the capitalists by leaving the management of their affairs in the hands of capable and well-paid men." So well, indeed, does this "principle" appear to have been acted upon, so well do the rank and file imitate the capitalists in providing for their brainy managers, that the percentage of cost in the administration of their unions is considerably higher than in the administration of any capitalistic mutual benefit concern on this highly capitalistic side of the Atlantic. In the savings banks of Massachusetts, for instance, this cost is only one-fourth of one per cent. In the 56 great life insurance companies of the United States the whole expenditure was about 25 per cent. in 1895, but it included all the commissions paid to agents, and the regular cost of administration did not exceed 5 per cent. It is small consolation to say that our American unions make a still worse showing than the British in this and all other respects.

Deducting the above two items, there remained $4,642,000, of which $2,122,000 (or nearly one-half) were spent in supporting unemployed members, as against a total of only $1,652,000 for sick, accident and funeral benefits; enforced idleness necessarily becoming a constantly more prominent feature than even sickness, accident and death in wage slavery, which trade unionism, "pure and simple and non-political," mournfully accepts as a finality.

The "funds on hand" at the close of the year 1895 footed up the handsome total of $8,304,000. Formidable as this sum appears in a block, it only gave an average of $9.11 per member, or just enough to meanly support an average workingman's family for two weeks at the most. Is it with a

"capital" of $9.11 per worker that Mr. Holmes and those of his school will undertake to "fight the capital" engaged in the industries that employ 1,330,000 such workers? If not, how long will they have to wait for the required amount, seeing that it took 72 years of "pure and simple, non-political" trade unionism to reach such an average?

Other results, not less suggestive, are exhibited in the table "Changes in rates of wages and hours." According to that table, in the two years 1895 and 1896, taken together, 462,000 workers had their wages increased and 519,000 had their wages decreased. And to what did all those changes amount? In 1895 there was an **average decrease of 34 cents per week**; in 1896 there was an **average increase of 21 cents per week**! Again, in 1896 the hours of labor were decreased for 34,000 workers, but they were increased for 73,000.

Fortunately, under the pressure of capitalistic despotism, and as the growing impotency of the old "pure and simple, non-political" trade-unionism becomes manifest, the truths of Socialism impress themselves upon the minds of British workers and its spirit pervades more and more their organizations. In the light cast upon the class struggle by the recent conflict between the engineers and their coalesced masters, the notion that workingmen can "fight capital with capital" is, we trust, a dead absurdity, and a complete change of front may soon be expected.

NUMBER AND MEMBERSHIP OF BRITISH TRADE UNIONS, BY GROUPS OF INDUSTRIES, 1894 and 1895.

Groups of industries.	Unions reporting.		Membership as far as known.	
	1894.	1895.	1894.	1895.
Building	111	208	174,284	186,605
Metal, engineering, and ship building*	153	219	239,401	243,069
Furnishing and wood working	58	89	22,241	26,086
Mining and quarrying	67	78	272,159	268,384
Food and tobacco preparation	29	40	15,465	17,442
Glass, pottery, india rubber, and leather	35	61	16,095	19,216
Paper, printing, and book binding	47	53	45,933	48,674
Textile	126	211	156,790	197,035
Clothing	38	61	82,242	83,823
Transportation (land and sea)	47	56	107,089	111,084
Agriculture and general labor	39	44	89,053	75,458
Miscellaneous	82	130	35,696	53,228
Total	832	1250	1,256,448	1,330,104

* By the term "engineering" is meant such occupations as machinists, machine builders, turners, pattern makers, etc.

The larger membership given in the above table for 1895 (namely 1,330,104, as against 1,256,448 in 1894) does not indicate a corresponding growth in the actual number of trade union members. It is due to the greater completeness of the returns, 1,250 unions reporting in 1895 as against only 832 in 1894.

EXPENDITURES OF 100 PRINCIPAL BRITISH TRADE UNIONS ON VARIOUS BENEFITS, ETC., 1894 and 1895.

Object.	Expenditures.		Increase (+) or decrease (—).
	1894.	1895.	
Unemployed benefit	$2,248,133	$2,121,775	—$126,358
Dispute benefit	744,823	926,353	+ 181,530
Sick benefit	1,016,208	1,157,259	+ 141,051
Accident benefit	99,904	126,840	+ 26,936
Superannuation benefit	587,309	632,231	+ 44,922
Funeral benefit	337,930	368,282	+ 30,352
Other benefits	173,768	131,571	— 42,197
Grants to other societies	427,230	103,661	— 323,569
Working expenses	1,357,330	1,246,763	— 110,567
Total	6,992,635	6,814,735	— 177,900

FINANCIAL OPERATIONS OF 100 PRINCIPAL BRITISH TRADE UNIONS, 1892 to 1895.

Year.	Income.		Expenditure.		Funds on hand at end of year.	
	Total.	Per head.	Total.	Per head	Total.	Per head
1892	$7,070,470	$7.82½	$6,894,064	$7.63	$7,707,699	$8.53
1893	7,877,540	8.75½	8,980,576	9.98	6,576,617	7.31
1894	7,904,812	8.52½	6,992,635	7.57	7,548,394	8.16½
1895	7,561,105	8.29½	6,814,735	7.47	8,304,765	9.11

CHANGES IN RATES OF WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOR, IN GREAT BRITAIN, 1893 to 1896.

Items.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.
WAGES:				
Separate individuals affected—				
By increases in rates of wages	142,364	175,615	79,867	382,225
By decreases in rates of wages	256,473	488,357	351,895	167,357
By changes leaving wages same at end as at beginning of year.	151,140	6,414	4,956	58,072
Total	549,977	670,386	436,718	607,654
Average weekly increase in rates of wages	$0.11	.....	.....	$0.21
Average weekly decrease in rates of wages	.....	$0.33	$0.34	.....
HOURS OF LABOR:				
Separate individuals affected—				
By increases in hours of labor	1,530	128	1,287	73,616
By decreases in hours of labor	33,119	77,030	21,448	34,655
Total	34,649	77,158	22,735	108,271

MEMBERSHIP OF 100 PRINCIPAL BRITISH TRADE UNIONS AND FUNDS ON HAND AT END OF YEAR 1895.

Trade unions.	No. of unions.	Minor branches	Members.	Amount of funds at end of year
Bakers and confectioners	2	35	6,997	$23,291
Brush makers	1	34	1,411	2,647
Building trades:				
Bricklayers	2	362	27,623	321,841
Carpenters and joiners	3	1,032	57,116	467,632
Painters and decorators	2	195	10,091	75,329
Plasterers	1	151	8,486	56,018
Plumbers	1	163	8,146	47,195
Sawyers and woodcutting machinists	1	48	2,208	7,762
Stone masons	2	387	25,503	132,719
Builders' laborers	3	70	13,285	27,014
Cabinetmaking and furniture trades	4	149	8,406	39,823
Cigar and tobacco trades	1	.....	1,921	10,964
Clothing trades:				
Boot and shoe manufacture	1	61	40,720	152,876
Hat manufacture	2	15	4,434	35,024
Hosiery manufacture	1	.....	3,386	326
Tailoring	2	390	19,170	44,674
Coach-making and carriage-building trades	2	159	6,808	119,643
Engineers and firemen, stationary	3	40	4,787	19,442
Glass trades	2	38	4,671	131,809
General labor	5	452	58,778	86,225
Leather trades	1	66	1,064	34,372
Metal trades:				
Iron and steel smelters	2	46	6.742	14,833
Iron and steel workers	1	22	5,000	24,795
Iron founders	2	138	21,788	253,978
Engine makers	2	656	86,219	1,151,385
Pattern makers	1	61	3,160	38,557
Spindle and flyer makers	1	13	1,432	16,823
Blacksmiths and strikers	2	44	4,681	50,427
Brass workers	1	20	5,751	29,111
Mining and quarrying:				
Coal mining	11	34	192,229	1,141,496
Ironstone mining	1	23	2,847	9,110
Quarrying	1	.....	1,423	6,025
Paper making	1	.....	1,469	1,859
Printing and bookbinding:				
Printing	4	191	29,911	408,908
Bookbinding	2	.....	4,614	31,369
River navigation, dock and water-side labor	4	75	25,853	65,956
Shipbuilding	2	365	53,376	941,025
Textile trades:				
Cotton manufacture	9	40	77,839	1,087,196

Trade unions.	No. of unions.	Minor branches	Members.	Amount of funds at end of year
Flax manufacture	2	.....	2,516	14,517
Lace manufacture	1	5	3,528	122,276
Woolen manufacture	2	7	7,096	20,941
Transportation (land):				
General railway workers	2	529	41,913	775,905
Engineers and firemen, locomotive	1	113	7,920	230,735
Street-railway employees, hack drivers, hostlers, teamsters, etc.	3	.....	9,548	30,912
Total	100	6,229	911,866	8,304,765

RECEIPTS OF 100 PRINCIPAL BRITISH TRADE UNIONS, 1895.

Trade unions.	Contributions.		Entrance fees.	Interest on funds.	Other sources.	Total.
	Amount.	Average per member (a)				
Bakers and confectioners	$11,913	$1.70½	$438	$219	$2,910	$15,480
Brush makers	27,574	19.54	418	10	608	28,610
Building trades:						
Bricklayers	187,472	6.78½	8,458	4,497	4,312	204,739
Carpenters and joiners	649,157	11.36½	16,498	6,555	12,283	684,493
Painters and decorators	72,769	7.21	4,720	886	526	78,901
Plasterers	41,200	4.85½	1,353	997	1,270	44,820
Plumbers	70,243	8.62½	2,229	472	647	73,591
Sawyers and woodcutting machinists	18,162	8.22½	540	194	88	18,984
Stone masons	118,207	4.63½	8,979	822	2,088	130,096
Builders' laborers	28,274	2.13	1,898	282	1,407	31,861
Cabinetmaking & furniture trades	85,913	10.22	3,611	190	1,343	91,057
Cigar and tobacco trades	15,962	8.31	433	278	29	16,702
Clothing trades:						
Boot and shoe manufacture	199,434	4.90	.....	2,107	15,860	217,401
Hat manufacture	52,252	11.78½	180	360	1,382	54,174
Hosiery manufacture	19,558	5.77½	.....	.....	4,482	24,040
Tailoring	142,550	7.43½	433	837	1,747	145,572
Coach-making and carriage-building trades	65,162	9.57	1,587	2,034	4,555	73,338
Engineers and firemen, stationary	17,617	3.68	725	297	233	18,872
Glass trades	90,541	19.38½	667	3,222	433	94,863
General labor	157,709	2.68½	4,112	1,177	1,606	164,604
Leather trades	15,602	14.66½	49	730	160	16,541
Metal trades:						
Iron and steel smelters	23,885	3.54½	1,139	107	404	25,535
Iron and steel workers	11,938	2.39	24	389	.....	12,351
Iron founders	378,385	17.36½	6,560	3,708	11,553	400,206
Engine makers	1,475,250	17.11	22,444	23,496	16,517	1,537,707
Pattern makers	41,229	13.04½	939	740	234	43,142
Spindle and flyer makers	25,136	17.55½	870	589	277	26,372
Blacksmiths and strikers	43,151	9.22	895	565	584	45,195
Brass workers	34,299	5.96½	195	696	58	35,248
Mining and quarrying:						
Coal mining	1,002,090	5.21½	6,842	16,279	12,546	1,037,757
Ironstone mining	5,314	1.86½	.....	24	44	5,392
Quarrying	944	.86½	.....	.....	29	973

Trade unions.	Contributions.		Entrance fees.	Interest on funds.	Other sources.	Total.
	Amount.	Average per member (a)				
Papermaking	3,825	2.60½	87	15	49	3,976
Printing and bookbinding:						
Printing	260,475	8.71	4,044	5,913	4,136	274,568
Bookbinding	35,024	7.59	.....	73	205	35,302
River navigation, dock, and waterside labor	71,567	2.77	3,504	773	2,005	77,849
Shipbuilding	623,739	11.68½	22,469	26,435	14,809	687,452
Textile trades:						
Cotton manufacture	615,033	7.90	.....	8,278	26,776	650,087
Flax manufacture	13,685	5.44	63	297	418	14,463
Lace manufacture	47,560	13.48	.....	2,672	34	50,266
Woolen manufacture	23,416	3.30	633	379	1,299	25,729
Transportation (land):						
General railway workers	179,734	4.29	1,913	15,398	42,752	239,797
Engineers and firemen, locomotive	61,308	7.74	691	5,888	3,071	70,958
Street-railway employees, hack drivers, hostlers, teamsters, etc.	30,893	3.23½	433	350	365	32,041
Total	7,095,153	7.78	130,578	139,240	196,134	7,561,105

a The averages are based on the number of members at the close of the year.

III. OTHER COUNTRIES.

Trade Unions in France.

Not until 1884 were the coalition laws so amended in France as to make the organization of labor into "syndicats ouvriers," or trade unions, a possibility. Even then the freedom granted was subject to many vexatious restrictions. In the ten years that followed, thanks to the activity of the Socialists, the "syndical" movement progressed rapidly. On July 1, 1893, there were in the country, officially known, 2,178 societies of this character, numbering 408,025 members. Many trade federations had been formed, and there were also, in 36 cities, central bodies called "Bourses du Travail" (Labor Exchanges), for some of which the municipalities of their respective towns had provided public accommodations and a money subsidy to cover a part of their expenses. The City of Paris had already, in 1891-92, erected for her Bourse du Travail a spacious and handsome building at a cost of 1,500,000 francs ($300,000), and made annually a liberal appropriation for the printing of labor documents, stationery, etc. But the great organization had hardly taken official possession when the Prime Minister Dupuy availed himself of a disturbance in the Latin Quarter, far away from the Bourse, and in which the working class had no part whatever, to invade the municipal building with soldiery and close it down, giving as a reason that the unions located there had not complied with a certain provision of the law, which required them to place in the hands of the minister of the interior (in other words, in the hands of the police), a list containing the names and addresses of their members. The Socialist workingmen of Paris retaliated in 1893 by carrying 24 of the 30 seats to which the great French capital was entitled in the Chamber of Deputies, and the result of the election in the provinces raised to 58 the number of Socialist representatives in the national legislature. At the very opening of Parliament, Dupuy

made a boastful, provoking and threatening speech, to which Jaurès immediately replied. This was the end of Dupuy as a prime minister. On the very evening of that day he resigned his position. Never did a rocket rise so high to fall down so swiftly.

But the fall of a capitalist minister is not of much consequence to labor under a capitalist government. The Bourse du Travail remained closed for a long time, and when at last it was reopened a number of trade organizations, including the powerful French Railway Union, refused to re-enter it, deeming it safe to wait until capitalism was abolished. Then, they thought, the workingmen would take possession, not merely of a little Bourse, but of everything that rightly belonged to them. And it must be admitted that at the present rate of progress they will not have very long to wait. In a few years the membership of the French Railway Union, for instance, rose from a few hundred to 84,000.

There is hardly a tinge of "pure-and-simplery" in the French organizations of labor. "No politics in the union" only means, there, "no capitalistic politics and no labor factions in the movement." A member that would vote for a "bourgeois" party would be branded as a traitor to his class.

They thought at first of copying some of the benevolent, beneficent, "benefit" features of their celebrated British sisters. Upon an examination of their constitutions the Government's Labor Office found in 1893 that 487 of these fundamental instruments contained provisions for the relief of members out of employment. A schedule of inquiry was sent out. Of the 246 bodies that replied 159 reported that this clause had become a dead letter either immediately or after a brief trial, for the simple reason that the workingmen had no control over employment, and under capitalistic conditions enforced idleness became more and more the rule and steady work the exception. Only 87 out of 2,178 societies were known as having undertaken the impossible task of filling the hole, ever enlarging, made in the stomachs of their 16,000 members by the capitalistic system.

STRIKES IN FRANCE.

[From the reports of the Office du Travail.]

Number of Strikes, Establishments and Strikers Involved, and Work-Days Lost, 1890 to 1896.

Year.	Strikes.	Establishments.	Strikers.	Work-days lost.
1890	313	813	118,929	.....
1891	267	402	108,944	.....
1892	261	466	47,903	920,000
1893	634	4,286	170,123	3,174,000
1894	391	1,731	54,576	1,062,480
1895	405	1,298	45,801	617,469
1896	476	2,178	49,851	644,168

Results of Strikes in 1896.

Results.	Strikes.		Strikers.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Succeeded	117	24.58	11,579	23.23
Succeeded partly	122	25.63	17,057	34.21
Failed	237	49.79	21,215	42.56
Total	476	100.00	49,851	100.00

The great majority of strikes involved only one or two establishments. Of the 476 strikes, 384 involved but one establishment, 28 from 2 to 5 establishments, 27 from 6 to 10, 21 from 11 to 25, and 16 over 25 establishments.

Only 33 strikes lasted a month or over, and 72 over 15 days; 306 lasted from 1 to 7 days, and 98 from 8 to 15 days.

Arbitration in France.

Many disputes which in this country and in England lead to strikes are settled in France without a recourse to these costly methods. The Councils of Prud'hommes are an institution founded by Napoleon I, who, despot as he was, took more interest in the working population, among which he recruited his armies, than in the profit-making and substitute-buying class. They are tribunals composed in equal number of employers, elected by employers, and of wage-workers, elected by their fellow wage-workers. Disputes, relating to non-payment of wages, non-fulfilment of contract, etc., are referred to those tribunals, who first try to conciliate, and failing to do so, render judgment. Many thousands of such cases are thus disposed of every year, and not only the number of appeals to a higher tribunal is an insignificant quantity, but it is very seldom that an appeal results in a reversal of judgment. Similar Councils of Prud'hommes have been established in other European countries —Belgium and Germany among them—where they give satisfaction. Employers, however, generally dislike them and have in many instances opposed their establishment in various trades or cities, or attempted to have their powers curtailed by legislation, but with little success.

With a view to the promotion of arbitration in other classes of disputes, which do not come within the jurisdiction of the Councils of Prud'hommes, a law was passed in December, 1892 (when the legislators began to feel and fear the growth of Socialism), providing for a council of conciliation when the dispute first arises, and for a council of arbitration if the strike has already been declared. This council consists of delegates chosen in equal number by each party, and is presided over by a justice of the peace. If the delegates fail to reach an agreement, they can appoint one or more arbitrators. The submission of a dispute to arbitration, however, is entirely voluntary, and the decision, no matter how arrived at, cannot be legally enforced. Under that law, in three years, arbitration was requested in 295 out of 1,430 strikes, and 140 were adjusted as follows: In 29 cases the strikers were granted all their demands; in 75 they were granted a part, and in 36 they failed entirely. This law, of course, has not fulfilled the expectations of its promoters and is likely to become of less effect as the class struggle grows in magnitude and bitterness; but the Prud'hommes is a valuable institution, which relieves organized labor of much petty trouble and considerable expenditure.

STRIKES IN AUSTRIA.

[From statistical reports of the Austrian Government.]

Number of Strikes, Establishments and Strikers Involved, and Work-Days Lost, 1891 to 1895.

Year.	Strikes.	Establishments involved.	Strikers.	Per cent. of strikers in total employees.	Days lost.
1891	104	1,917	14,025	34.64	247,086
1892	101	1,519	14,123	57.36	150,992
1893	172	1,207	28,120	61.75	518,511
1894	159	2,468	44,075	72.59	566,463
1895	205	869	28,026	60.88	297,845

More than one-third (35.48 per cent.) of the total number of strikers in 1895 were employees of potteries and glass works. Next in order with respect to the number of strikers came the building trades, with 19.13 per cent.; then the textile workers with 14.85 per cent.; then the metal workers with 13.18 per cent.; all the other trades representing together only 17.63 per cent.

The average duration of strikes in 1895 was 13 days. The longest strike lasted 122 days.

Results of Strikes in 1895.

Results.	Strikes.	Strikers.
Successful	55	3,489
Partly successful	51	17,310
Failed	99	7,227
Total	205	28,026

During the same year lockouts were reported in 17 establishments, employing 4,521 persons, of whom 2,317 were locked out. Of the latter 2,183 were re-employed and 134 were dismissed. The chief cause of the lockouts was the observance of the International May Day.

STRIKES IN SWITZERLAND.

[Compiled by the Swiss Labor Federation.]

Offensive Strikes, Defensive Strikes and Demands not followed by Strikes, from 1860 to 1894.

Years.	Offensive strikes.	Defensive strikes.	Demands not followed by strikes.
1860—1864	2	2	10
1865—1869	24	6	19
1870—1874	43	12	30
1875—1879	11	11	2
1880—1884	2	8	..
1885—1889	44	34	44
1890—1894	63	54	99

During the first five-year period nearly all the disputes affected only the printers, and most of the demands were amicably settled without strike. In the two succeeding periods other occupations appear and the number of offensive strikes shows a large increase. From 1875 to 1884 the industrial crisis reduced the number of strikes and of demands to a minimum. In the sixth period business revives, the organization of labor reaches a high degree of efficiency, and the Swiss Labor Federation, supplied with a "reserve fund," becomes aggressive. The number of labor disputes increases rapidly, but the number of demands amicably settled equals that of the offensive strikes. On the other hand, capital also becomes aggressive and the number of defensive strikes is likewise rapidly increasing. During the last period the aggressiveness continues on both sides, but the number of demands amicably settled considerably exceeds either that of the offensive or of the defensive strikes. This is the period during which the spirit of Socialism begins to pervade the Swiss Federation.

Strikes, etc., in 1895.

The following is a summary of the results of the class struggle in the economic field for the year 1895:

Form of conflict.	Successful.	Partly successful.	Failed.	Total.
Wage demands	30	13	12	55
Offensive strikes	8	4	5	17
Defensive strikes	7	1	8	16
Lockouts	..	..	6	6
Total	45	18	31	94

STRIKES IN ITALY.

[From statistical reports of the Italian Government.]

Number of Strikes and Strikers, and Days Lost, 1879 to 1895.

Year.	Strikes.	Strikers.	Days lost.	Year.	Strikes.	Strikers.	Days lost.
1879.....	32	4,011	21,896	1888.....	101	28,974	191,204
1880.....	27	5,900	91,899	1889.....	126	23,322	215,880
1881.....	44	8,272	95,578	1890.....	139	38,402	167,657
1882.....	47	5,854	25,119	1891.....	132	34,733	258,059
1883.....	73	12,900	111,697	1892.....	119	30,800	216,907
1884.....	81	23,967	149,215	1893.....	131	32,109	234,323
1885.....	89	34,166	244,393	1894.....	109	27,595	323,261
1886.....	96	16,951	56,772	1895.....	126	19,307	125,968
1887.....	69	25,027	218,612				

Of the 19,307 participants in the 126 strikes of 1895, 11,788 were males, 5,192 were females, and 2,327 were children of both sexes, 15 years of age or under.

The following table shows the percentages of success, partial success, and failures, by strikes and by strikers involved, from 1878 to 1895:

Year.	Per cent. of strikes.			Per cent. of strikers.		
	Successful.	Partly successful.	Failed.	Successful.	Partly successful.	Failed.
1878—1891	16	43	41	25	47	28
1892	21	29	50	29	19	52
1893	28	38	34	29	44	27
1894	34	28	38	19	24	57
1895	33	31	36	33	40	27

From the above figures it appears that while the percentages of successful and partly successful strikes have almost steadily increased, the percentages of strikers benefited have upon the whole decreased. These opposite tendencies were most marked in the year 1894. With a better organization of labor the small industries that are still in the competitive stage afford to the workers increased chances of victory; but in the large ones which have entered the period of concentration, defeat is the rule in Italy, as everywhere else, and the number of workers affected by one defeat in this class of industries is usually many times larger than the number of workers benefited by a victory in the competitive industries.

TRADE UNIONS OF HOLLAND.

There were in 1895 a total of 668 trade societies reported, of which 28 were national unions or federations, and 640 were independent local trade unions. Thirteen of these trade societies were founded from 1811 to 1855, 7 from 1855 to 1865, 37 from 1865 to 1875, 23 from 1875 to 1885, and 245 from 1885 to 1896. In the case of 343 societies this information could not be obtained. The largest Body of organized labor appears to be the Netherland Diamond Workers' Union, with 10 branches, numbering 7,500 members. It was this union, imbued with the Socialist spirit of solidarity, that some years ago brought back home at its own expense the diamond workers decoyed to America by our "protected" manufacturers. There are elsewhere "pure and simple" unions who favor the emigration of their members to the extent of buying for them tickets to foreign countries in order to "relieve" the "domestic labor market," but we never heard of any such union buying for them a return ticket.

MISCELLANEOUS.

RAILROAD FINANCES.

The capital stock and bonded debt of the railroads are about equal and represent in the aggregate a sum of $11,000,000,000 (eleven billion dollars). But it may safely be asserted that the railway system of the United States could be duplicated for half that sum, probably less. Everybody knows, in fact, that most of this capital stock and even a sensible portion of the bonded debt of railway companies are pure (or rather impure) "water," intended partly to enrich their promoters, officers, etc., at the expense of bona fide "investors," and chiefly to deceive the public on the actual rate of profits in the railroad business.

In 1896, the reported "gross earnings" of lines operating 180,891 miles were $1,125,000,000 and their "net earnings" $332,000,000. By these figures it was made to appear that the cost of operating, including expenses of all sorts, was about $793,000,000, or 70 per cent. of the receipts, leaving a net sum of $332,000,000 to be distributed among the bondholders for interest and the stockholders for dividends. Of this net sum the bondholders received $242,415,000, or an average rate of interest of 4.50 per cent. on their bonds, which amounted in the aggregate, par value, to $5,416,000,000; whereas the stockholders received $81,304,000, or a dividend at the average rate of 1.50 per cent. on the par value of their stock, amounting to $5,292,000,000. Poor bondholders—only 4½ per cent! Poorer stockholders—only 1½ per cent!

Of course, no one is simple enough to believe that the actual cost of operating the roads is 70 per cent. of their gross earnings, and that the proportion of this cost to receipts, despite constant mechanical improvement and reductions of wages, is steadily increasing from year to year (as is boldly shown by the annual reports of railroad companies and obligingly testified to by State and National Railroad Commissioners). The actual fact is, that—leaving aside the pickings or stealings of the officers, contractors, etc., and the various corruption funds with which the political parties, the legislatures and the press are bribed—the companies not only improve and extend their plant and other possessions, but really pay for all with their undivided profits. For it is with those profits, partly carried to their account of construction and equipment, and partly used not only to redeem their bonds but to buy in their stocks, that they will in the end reach a point where the railroads will have cost them nothing and will be entirely owned by a few remaining stockholders. In 1895, according to the report of the Interstate Commission, the companies already held bonds and stocks—previously issued by themselves and bought in under favorable conditions—to the value, market price, of $1,600,000,000.

RAILROAD LABOR.

The number of railroad employees fell from 873,602 in 1893 to 779,608 in 1894. The companies naturally availed themselves of the crisis to dismiss a number of their previously overworked employees far in excess of

the actual reduction in the transportation business, so that they might exact a still greater amount of labor for less pay from those who deemed themselves fortunate in keeping their jobs. They dismissed 16,000 mechanics employed in their construction shops; 30,000 trackmen; 30,000 freight handlers and other laborers; 3,000 clerks; 3,000 engineers; 4,000 firemen; 3,000 conductors; 3,000 switchmen, flagmen and watchmen, etc., making in all a grand total of 94,000 strong, energetic, willing workers added to the reserve army of the unemployed.

In 1896, the new basis of exaction having been firmly established, the number of employees increased to 826,620, which was still 47,000 less than in 1893.

The working of this great human force may be better understood if we divide it into four classes, as follows:

1.—Administration and station service:	
General officers	5,572
Other officers	2,718
General office clerks	26,328
Telegraph operators and dispatchers	21,682
Station agents	29,723
Other station men	75,919
Total, class 1	161,742

2.—Train service:	
Engine men	35,851
Firemen	36,762
Conductors	25,457
Other trainmen	64,806
Total, class 2	162,876

3.—Track service:	
Section foremen	30,372
Other trackmen	169,664
Switchmen, flagmen and watchmen	44,266
Total, class 3	244,302

4.—Construction shops:	
Machinists	29,272
Carpenters	38,846
Other Shopmen	95,613
Total, class 4	163,731

The above 4 classes number in the aggregate 732,651 workers, but there were, besides 5,502 employees in the floating equipment, and 88,467 employees and laborers not classified.

According to the figures supplied by the companies themselves, the average earnings of their employees ranged from $1.17 per day for trackmen, to $3.65 per day for locomotive engineers. The average compensation of "general officers" was given as $9.19, and that of "other officers" as $5.96. The best paid, next to the engineers, were: Conductors, $3.05; machinists, $2.26; general office clerks, $2.21; firemen, $2.06, and carpenters, $2.03. All the others earned less than $2, and most of them less than $1.70 per day. It goes without saying that all were overworked while employed, but that many were idle part of the time.

RAILROAD ACCIDENTS.

The employees in the train service—engineers, firemen, brakemen, conductors, etc.—are of course those most exposed to loss of life or limb by accident. In the other services the danger is not considerably greater than in ordinary mechanical and manufacturing pursuits requiring the use of machinery. But among the trainmen, owing to the criminal avarice of the companies, the rate of mortality and permanent injury is simply appal-

ling. In the seven years 1890-1896, inclusive, the number of railroad employees killed was 15,887 and the number sufficiently injured to be reported was 187,619, making a grand total of 203,506 killed and injured, chiefly among the trainmen, whose total number in 1896, as appears from the above enumeration, was only 162,876.

Observe that these figures are supplied by the companies themselves; and they do not include the probably much larger number of injuries which for one reason or another are not reported, yet may ultimately cause the death or disability of the victim.

The two greatest causes of accident to trainmen are: (1) Coupling and uncoupling, and (2) falling from trains. In 1896, 229 were killed and 8,457 injured while coupling and uncoupling cars; 472 were killed and 3,898 injured by falling from trains; making a total of 13,056 reported casualties in that one year on those two accounts alone. The first cause could long ago have been entirely removed by the use of automatic couplers; the second one could have been greatly lessened by providing the roofs of cars with low guard rails or some other cheap contrivance. But the companies have to this day successfully resisted the passage of any bill, intended on its face to compel them to provide such life and limb saving appliances, but usually gotten up for political or blackmailing purposes. Some of the "pure-and-simple" leaders of organized labor actually declared in the Railroad Committee of Congress that "the companies should be given time!"

NUMBER of MILES of RAILROAD in OPERATION and CONSTRUCTED Each Year in the UNITED STATES, from 1830 to 1896, inclusive.

Year.	In operation end of year.	Constructed each year.	Year.	In operation end of year.	Constructed each year.
1830.....	23	....	1864.....	33,908	738
1831.....	95	72	1865.....	35,085	1,177
1832.....	229	134	1866.....	36,801	1,742
1833.....	380	151	1867.....	39,250	2,449
1834.....	633	253	1868.....	42,229	2,979
1835.....	1,098	465	1869.....	46,844	4,615
1836.....	1,273	175	1870.....	52,864	6,070
1837.....	1,497	224	1871.....	60,291	7,379
1838.....	1,913	416	1872.....	66,171	5,878
1839.....	2,302	389	1873.....	70,268	4,107
1840.....	2,818	516	1874.....	72,383	2,105
1841.....	3,535	717	1875.....	74,096	1,712
1842.....	4,026	491	1876.....	76,808	2,712
1843.....	4,185	159	1877.....	79,088	2,281
1844.....	4,377	192	1878.....	81,774	2,687
1845.....	4,633	256	1879.....	86,497	4,721
1846.....	4,930	297	1880.....	93,543	7,174
1847.....	5,598	668	1881.....	103,332	9,789
1848.....	5,996	398	1882.....	114,928	11,591

Year.	In operation end of year.	Constructed each year.	Year.	In operation end of year.	Constructed each year.
1849.....	7,365	1,369	1883.....	121,455	6,743
1850.....	9,021	1,656	1884.....	125,379	3,924
1851.....	10,982	1,961	1885.....	128,361	2,982
1852.....	12,908	1,926	1886.....	136,379	8,018
1853.....	15,360	2,452	1887.....	149,257	12,878
1854.....	16,720	1,360	1888.....	156,169	6,912
1855.....	18,374	1,654	1889.....	161,353	5,184
1856.....	22,016	3,647	1890.....	166,691	5,345
1857.....	24,503	2,647	1891.....	170,769	4,071
1858.....	26,968	2,465	1892.....	175,188	4,419
1859.....	28,789	1,821	1893.....	177,485	2,997
1860.....	30,635	1,846	1894.....	179,393	1,908
1861.....	31,286	651	1895.....	180,912	1,519
1862.....	32,120	834	1896.....	182,600	1,688
1863.....	33,170	1,050			

TELEPHONES.

[Statements of the American Bell Telephone Co., January 1, 1890, 1895, 1896 and 1897.]

	1890.	1895.	1896.	1897.
Exchanges	757	867	927	967
Branch offices	471	572	686	832
Miles of wire on poles.....	154,009	232,008	260,324	286,632
Miles of wire on buildings	11,484	14,525	12,861	12,594
Miles of wire under ground.....	27,117	148,285	184,515	234,801
Miles of wire submarine.....	603	1,856	2,028	2,818
Total miles of exchange service wire.....	193,213	396,674	459,728	536,845
Total circuits	156,780	212,074	237,837	264,645
Total employees	6,758	11,094	11,930	14,425
Total subscribers	185,003	243,432	281,695	325,244

This company practically conducts the telephone business of the United States. The aggregate length of wire operated is 805,711 miles (1897). The number of instruments in the hands of licensees under rental at the beginning of 1897 was 772,627. The number of exchange connections daily in the United States was 2,630,071, or a total per year of about 847,000,000. The average number of daily calls per subscriber is about $8^1/_8$. The company received in rental of telephones in 1896, $1,450,033. It paid its stockholders in dividends in 1896, $3,361,233. The capital of the company was $23,650,000. Its gross earnings for 1896 were $4,538,979; net earnings, $3,383,580. The Long Distance Telephone Company represents about $20,000,000 of capital.

TELEGRAPHS.

Mileage of lines and wires, number of offices and traffic of the Western Union Telegraph Company.

	1870.	1880.	1890.	1897.
Miles of line	54,109	85,645	183,917	190,614
Miles of wire	112,191	233,534	678,997	841,002
Number of offices	3,972	9,077	19,382	21,769
Number of messages	9,157,646	29,215,509	55,878,762	58,151,684
Receipts	$7,138,737	$12,782,894	$22,387,029	$22,638,859
Profits	$4,910,772	$6,948,957	$15,074,304	$16,906,656
Expenses	$2,227,965	$5,833,937	$7,312,725	$5,732,203

The capital of the W. U. T. Co. is 100,000,000. In 1881 it absorbed by purchase all the lines of the American Union and the Atlantic & Pacific Telegraph Co's, the former having previously in operation over 12,000 miles of line and the latter 8,706 miles.

The W. U. has exclusive contracts with several international cable companies and guarantees 5 per cent. annual dividends on the stock of the Am. Tel. & Cable Co.; capital, $14,000,000.

The W. U. also operates the N. Y. Mutual Teleg. Co., which it rents at 6 per cent. on a capital stock of $2,500,000, representing 8,000 miles of line, 60,000 miles of wire and 1,200 offices.

The B. & O. R.R. Telegraph was bought for $5,000,000 in 1887 by the W. U.: 6,711 miles of road, 54,087 miles of wire; also, for $550,000 (capital stock at par) the Am. Rapid Teleg. Co., with 2,684 miles of line, 20,370 miles of wire.

The Northwestern Tel. Co. with over 8,000 miles of wire is leased by the W. U. for 99 years, which guarantees 6 per cent. dividend on stock and interest on bonds.

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
White and Colored, in Each Census Year from 1790 to 1890.

Year.	Population.			Increase of Population.			Increase per cent.		
	White.	Colored.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	White	Col.	Total
1790	3,172,006	757,208	3,929,214	.....	.....	.....	...	...	....
1800	4,306,446	1,002,037	5,308,483	1,134,440	244,829	1,379,269	35.7	33.6	35.10
1810	5,862,073	1,377,808	7,239,881	1,555,627	375,771	1,931,398	36.1	37.5	36.38
1820	7,862,166	1,771,656	9,633,822	2,000,093	393,848	2,393,941	34.1	28.4	33.06
1830	10,537,378	2,328,642	12,866,020	2,675,212	556,986	3,232,198	34.0	31.4	33.55
1840	14,195,805	2,873,648	17,069,453	3,658,427	545,006	4,203,433	34.7	23.4	32.67
1850	19,553,068	3,638,808	23,191,876	5,357,263	765,160	6,122,423	37.7	26.6	35.87
1860	27,001,491	4,441,830	31,443,321	7,448,423	803,022	8,251,445	38.1	22.0	35.57
1870	33,678,362	4,880,009	38,558,371	6,676,871	448,179	7,115,050	24.7	10.0	22.63
1880	43,574,990	6,580,793	50,155,783	9,896,628	1,700,784	11,597,412	29.3	34.8	30.07
1890	55,152,210	7,470,040	62,622,250	11,577,220	889,247	12,466,467	26.5	13.5	24.85

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
in Each Year from 1891 to 1897.

[Estimated by the Actuary of the Treasury Department.]

1891 64,062,000	1894 68,275,000	1896 71,263,000
1892 65,403,000	1895 69,753,000	1897 72,807,000
1893 66,826,000		

Population by Occupation and Sex, in 1870, 1880 and 1890.

[From the U. S. Census Reports.]

Occupations and Sex.	1870.	1880.	1890.	Inc. from 1890.	
				Number	Per c.
Agriculture, fisheries and mining	6,141,363	8,004,624	9,013,201	1,008,577	12.60
Males	5,744,314	7,400,970	8,333,692	923,722	12.47
Females	307,049	594,654	679,509	84,855	14.27
Professional service	371,650	603,202	944,323	341,121	56.55
Males	279,347	425,947	632,641	206,694	48.53
Females	92,303	177,255	311,682	134,427	75.84
Domestic and personal service	2,301,877	3,503,443	4,360,506	857,063	24.46
Males	1,329,242	2,321,937	2,692,820	370,883	15.97
Females	972,635	1,181,506	1,667,686	486,180	41.15
Trade and transportation	1,240,161	1,866,481	3,325,962	1,459,481	78.19
Males	1,219,800	1,803,629	3,097,653	1,294,024	71.15
Females	20,361	62,852	228,309	165,457	263.25
Manufacturing and mechanical	2,450,872	3,414,349	5,091,669	1,677,320	49.13
Males	2,096,932	2,783,459	4,064,144	1,280,685	46.01
Females	353,940	630,890	1,027,525	396,635	62.87
All occupations	12,506,923	17,392,099	22,735,661	5,343,562	30.72
Males	10,669,635	14,744,942	18,820,950	4,076,008	27.64
Females	1,836,288	2,647,157	3,914,711	1,267,554	47.88

POPULATION OF GERMANY.

The total population of the German empire in 1895 was 51,770,284, as against 45,222,113 in 1882, showing an increase of 6,548,171, or 14.43 per cent., in 13 years. This is a very large increase, and the more remarkable in view of the considerable emigration of Germans, chiefly adult persons, not only to the United States but to many other countries. The following statement shows the population classified according to sex and condition:

POPULATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE, BY SEX AND CONDITION.

Condition.	Males.				Females.			
	1895.		1882.		1895.		1882.	
	Number.	Per cent. of total male population.	Number.	Per cent. of total male population.	Number.	Per cent. of total female population.	Number.	Per cent. of total female population.
Persons gaining a livelihood in various occupations	15,506,682	61.03	13,372,905	60.38	5,264,408	19.97	4,259,103	18.46
Domestic servants	25,364	.10	42,510	.19	1,313,954	4.99	1,282,414	5.56
Dependents	8,850,061	34.83	8,082,973	36.49	18,667,214	70.81	16,827,722	72.94
Persons having no occupation	1,027,052	4.04	652,361	2.94	1,115,549	4.23	702,125	3.04
Total	25,409,159	100.00	22,150,749	100.00	26,361,125	100.00	23,071,364	100.00

The following table shows the population of Germany in 1895, classified according to occupations; it shows also the total number of persons, working and not working, dependent on the workers in each occupation. It will be

observed that the number dependent on agriculture decreased from 47.32 per cent. in 1882 to 40.40 per cent. in 1895:

POPULATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE ENGAGED IN VARIOUS INDUSTRIES.

Industry.	Persons earning a livelihood at their principal occupations.			Total persons dependent upon the industry.		
	1895.		1882.	1895.		1882.
	Number.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Agriculture, gardening and live stock	8,156,045	43.13	50.12	18,068,663	40.40	47.32
Forestry and fisheries	136,647	.72	.72	432,644	.97	.97
Mining, smelting, salt and peat extraction	567,774	3.00	2.72	1,847,307	4.13	3.39
Stone work and earthenware	501,315	2.65	2.05	1,316,641	2.94	2.25
Metal work	862,035	4.56	3.26	2,152,789	4.81	3.37
Machinery, tools, instruments, etc	385,223	2.04	1.76	1,041,127	2.33	2.01
Chemicals	102,923	.54	.36	289,526	.65	.42
Forestry products, lighting materials, grease, oils, and varnishes	42,997	.23	.19	134,070	.30	.24
Textiles	945,191	5.00	5.25	1,899,904	4.25	4.65
Paper	135,863	.72	.56	306,547	.68	.50
Leather	168,358	.89	.80	429,327	.96	.83
Woodenware and carved goods	647,019	3.42	3.22	1,688,592	3.78	3.45
Food products	878,163	4.64	4.09	2,078,607	4.65	4.29
Clothing	1,513,124	8.00	8.23	2,973,700	6.65	6.86
Building trades	1,353,447	7.16	5.84	3,705,773	8.29	6.98
Printing and publishing	119,291	.63	.43	251,503	.56	.37
Painting, sculpture, decoration, and artistic work of all kinds	28,546	.15	.15	61,080	.14	.13
Manufacturers, factory hands, artisans, etc., of whom the industry cannot be classified	29,961	.16	.56	76,748	.17	.59
Commercial pursuits	1,205,133	6.37	5.20	2,939,619	6.57	5.73
Insurance	25,384	.13	.07	69,664	.16	.09
Transportation	615,331	3.25	2.70	2,002,706	4.48	3.66
Hotels, restaurants, etc	492,660	2.61	1.72	964,856	2.13	1.99
Total	18,912,430	100.00	100.00	44,721,393	100.00	100.00

Capital Stock of National Banks (July 23, 1897), **and of State Banks, Stock Savings Banks, Private Banks, and Loan and Trust Companies** (according to their latest reports to the Comptroller of the Currency in 1897).

Groups of States.	National banks.	State banks.	Stock savings banks.	Private banks.	Loan and trust companies.	Total.
New England	$159,777,800	$ 3,156,675	.....	.....	$16,557,887	$179,492,362
Eastern	195,269,875	43,117,700	$ 32,500	$ 1,785,739	78,577,240	318,783,054
Southern	67,007,300	43,577,700	2,505,000	1,664,678	.....	114,754,678
Middle	159,653,967	77,297,450	14,700,000	13,246,221	11,833,126	276,730,764
Western	32,654,100	21,843,673	200,000	519,517	.....	55,217,290
Pacific	17,790,000	39,683,890	8,761,930	1,029,852	.....	67,265,672
Total U. S.	$632,153,042	$228,677,088	$26,199,430	$18,246,007	$106,968,253	$1,012,243,820

Aggregate Banking Power of National Banks, State Banks, Private Banking Companies, Stock and Mutual Savings Banks, and Loan and Trust Companies in the United States, for the Year 1897.

Classification.	Number of banks	Capital.	Circulation.b	Surplus and undivided profits.	Deposits.	Total.
Commercial banks:						
National banks (a).....	3,610	$631,488,095	$198,920,670	$334,752,001	$1,853,349,128	$3,018,509,894
State banks	3,857	228,677,088	.....	102,359,024	723,640,795	1,054,676,907
Private banks	759	18,246,007	.....	7,113,121	50,278,243	75,637,371
Total for commercial banks	8,226	878,411,190	198,920,670	444,224,146	2,627,268,166	4,148,824,172
Savings and Trust:						
Savings banks	980	26,199,430	.....	183,939,578	1,939,376,035	2,149,515,043
Loan & Trust Co.'s....	251	106,968,253	.....	89,025,267	566,922,205	762,915,725
Total for savings banks and Trust Co.'s.....	1,231	133,167,683	.....	272,964,845	2,506,298,240	2,912,430,768
Total all banks.....	9,457	1,011,578,873	198,920,670	717,188,991	5,133,566,406	7,061,254,940

(a) As reported on October 5, 1897.
(b) Notes issued by the National Banks.

Failures of National Banks.

Since the establishment, in 1863, of the national banking system, until October 31, 1897, the number of national banks that failed was 368, representing a capital of $61,627,420.

Of this number 229, representing a capital of nearly $35,000,000, failed in the past seven years (1891—1897), as follows:

Year.	Number of insolvent banks.	Capital.
1891.....	25.....	$ 3,622,000
1892.....	17.....	2,450,000
1893.....	65.....	10,935,000
1894.....	21.....	2,770,000
1895.....	36.....	5,235,020
1896.....	27.....	3,805,000
1897.....	38.....	5,851,500
Total	229	34,668,520

From the above figures it also appears that as many national banks failed in the three years 1893, 1895 and 1897, as in the 28 years 1863—1890. It should not be hastilly concluded, however, that this shows an obvious tendency to rottenness in the banking organ of the capitalistic body. The banks that fail are weak institutions, chiefly dealing with middle-class concerns and located for the most part in States where Populism flourishes. In the general list Kansas, for instance, figures for 29 failures, Texas for 22, Nebraska for 19, Washington State for 21, etc.; whereas Massachusetts figures only for 3, New Jersey for 4, Maine and Rhode Island for none. Of the 473 national banks in New York only 36 failed since 1863, and they were of but little importance among the financial institutions of the Empire State. In other words the reported increase in the number of bank failures is only a sign of the rapid decay of the middle-class.

MINERAL PRODUCTS OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1896.

[Prepared by the United States Geological Survey.]

Products.	Quantity.	Value.
Metallic.		
Pig iron, value at Philadelphia, long tons	8,623,127	$90,250,000
Silver, coining value, troy ounces	58,834,800	76,069,236
Gold, coining value, troy ounces	2,568,132	53,088,000
Copper, value at New York City, pounds	460,061,430	49,456,603
Lead, value at New York City, short tons	188,000	10,528,000
Zinc, value at New York City, short tons	81,499	6,519,920
Quicksilver, value at San Francisco, flasks	30,765	1,075,449
Aluminum, value at Pittsburg, pounds	1,300,000	520,000
Antimony, value at San Francisco, short tons	601	84,290
Nickel, value at Philadelphia, pounds	17,170	4,464
Tin, pounds	.....	.....
Platinum, value at San Francisco, troy ounces	163	944
Total value of metallic products	.....	$287,596,906
Non-metallic (spot values.).		
Bituminous coal, short tons	137,640,276	$114,891,515
Anthracite coal, long tons	48,523,287	81,748,651
Building stone	.....	31,346,171
Petroleum, barrels	60,960,361	58,518,709
Natural gas	.....	13,002,512
Brick clay	.....	9,000,000
Clay (all other than brick), long tons	360,000	800,000
Cement, barrels	9,513,473	6,473,213
Mineral waters, gallons	25,795,312	4,136,192
Phosphate rock, long tons	930,779	2,803,372
Salt, barrels	13,850,726	4,040,839
Limestone for iron flux, long tons	4,120,102	2,060,000
Zinc, white, short tons	20,000	1,400,000
Gypsum, short tons	224,139	572,344
Borax, pounds	13,508,000	675,400
Mineral paints, short tons	48,032	530,455
Grindstones	.....	326,826
Fibrous talc, short tons	46,089	399,443
Asphaltum, short tons	80,503	577,563
Soapstone, short tons	22,183	354,065
Precious stones	.....	97,850
Other nonmetallic products	.....	1,365,262
Total value of nonmetallic products	.....	$335,120,382
Estimated value of products unspecified	.....	$1,000,000
Grand total, metallic and nonmetallic	.....	$623,717,288

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

The Socialist Labor party of the United States was reorganized and its present platform was adopted by the national convention held at Chicago in October, 1889. Until then the party had been an educational rather than a political organization. True, it had on several occasions and in several places nominated tickets, and some of its candidates in Chicago had actually been elected. But in those days the lines between Anarchism and Socialism were not as tightly drawn as they are to-day. Again, the hope of inducing the old trade-unions to place themselves at the head of a great proletarian class movement by jointly taking independent political action—a hope that for a fleeting moment seemed about to be realized in 1886 but quickly turned into bitter disappointment—prevented the Socialists from adopting against the "labor fakirs" those aggressive tactics which have since then made their party known, feared and respected throughout the land. Nor was their attitude towards side-tracking movements so sternly uncompromising as it now is. In the early eighties Greenbackism had been looked upon as a "step forward," deserving of support because, although side steps might not be the best way of advancing, such was apparently "the American way." Later, it had been chiefly through the instrumentality of Socialist delegates in the New York Central Labor Union that Henry George was nominated for Mayor, and even for some time after the Chicago convention of 1889 it was deemed best to benignantly smile upon the Nationalist abortion. In fact, Socialism never was at so low an ebb on this side of the Atlantic as in 1888, after the collapse of the George movement and the execution of the Chicago Anarchists. The only attempt of the party to run a ticket in that year was made in New York City and resulted in a vote of about 2,000, or hardly one-third of the vote cast the previous year for the municipal candidates of the so-called Progressive Labor party, which was nothing else than the Socialist Labor party in very thin disguise.

Under those circumstances the new departure of 1889, involving as it did a most aggressive policy in the economic as well as in the political field, caused so much surprise even within the party, that a number of its sections in various parts of the country, misapprehending disaster, refused to follow. But while it compelled the labor fakirs to unmask themselves and changed their contemptuous "kindness" into venomous opposition, it soon rallied the scattered elements upon which Socialism had to depend for its active propagation. The surprise increased and the policy was vindicated when in 1890 the New York organization, having boldly come out with a State ticket, more than 13,000 votes were cast for it, all the counties but one showing the existence of a Socialist nucleus within their respective borders. In 1892 the party for the first time entered the national field by nominating a ticket for the Presidency.

At the same time the effective organization of the party was being pushed with vigor and its active membership was steadily increasing. In 1889 there were in existence about 70 sections in a comparatively few cities, such great centers as New York, Brooklyn, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, etc., having each several sections. In 1893, the number had increased to 113, in-

cluding some in Canada, which later formed themselves into a Canadian Socialist Labor party. At the national convention of 1896, the Executive Committee reported 200 sections in 25 States.

As we write, the number of sections is 343, distributed as follows: Alabama, 5; Arizona, 1; California, 16; Colorado, 8; Connecticut, 19; Delaware, 1; Illinois, 10; Indiana, 16; Iowa, 5; Kansas, 9; Kentucky, 3; Maine, 3; Maryland, 3; Massachusetts, 38; Michigan, 3; Minnesota, 6; Missouri, 7; Nebraska, 2; New Hampshire, 3; New Jersey, 11; New York, 39; Ohio, 40; Oklahoma, 2; Pennsylvania, 62; Rhode Island, 7; Texas, 5; Vermont, 5; Virginia, 5; Washington, 4; Wisconsin, 5. The 26 States in which there are 3 sections or more have effected a State organization. It must further be stated that in each of the larger cities, with the exception of Boston, the several sections originally existing have amalgamated into one. Greater New York, for instance, has only one section, subdivided into 60 Assembly District, Ward and language branches.

SOCIALIST VOTE BY STATES, FROM 1890 TO 1897.

States.	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897
California	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,611	*a*1,726
Colorado	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	*b* 158	160	1,444
Connecticut	.....	.....	329	.....	870	.....	1,223	**1,223**
Illinois	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,147	**1,147**
Indiana	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	324	**324**
Iowa	.....	.....	.....	.....	537	.....	453	910
Kentucky	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	*c* 68
Maine	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	*d* 83	*e*	*e*
Maryland	.....	.....	315	.....	.....	403	587	508
Massachusetts	.....	1,429	676	2,033	3,104	3,249	2,114	6,301
Michigan	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	*f* 358	*f* 297	2,166
Minnesota	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	867	**867**
Missouri	.....	.....	.....	*g*1,631	1,537	.....	596	**596**
Nebraska	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	186	**186**
New Hampshire	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	228	**228**
New Jersey	.....	472	1,338	2,018	5,309	4,147	3,985	4,360
New York	13,704	14,651	17,956	19,984	15,868	21,497	17,667	20,854
Ohio	.....	.....	.....	.....	*h* 470	1,867	1,167	4,242
Pennsylvania	.....	.....	898	.....	1,733	1,329	1,683	5,048
Rhode Island	.....	.....	.....	.....	592	1,730	558	1,386
Utah	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	*i* 124
Vermont	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	48	*j*	*j*
Virginia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	108	528
Wisconsin	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,314	**1,314**
Total	13,704	16,552	21,512	25,666	30,020	34,869	36,275	55,550

a, Local election in San Francisco. *b*, Local election in Denver. *c*, Local vote in Louisville. *d*, Local election in Rockland. *e*, No returns. *f*, Local elections in Detroit. *g*, Local election in St. Louis. *h*, Local election in Cleveland. *i*, Local vote of Salt Lake City. *j*, No returns.

NOTE.—The figures of 1892 and 1896 represent the vote for President. For the other years the figures represent the vote cast for State tickets, unless otherwise specified. The figures in heavy type in the 1897 column are the Presidential vote of the preceding year in States where no State ticket was in the field in 1897.

NEW YORK.

Counties.	1890	1891	1892		1893	1894	1895	1896		1897
	Judge Court of Appeals.	Governor.	President.	Chief Justice.	Secretary of State.	Governor.	Secretary of State.	President.	Governor.	Chief Justice.
Albany	371	341	366	358	294	262	214	187	224	279
Allegany	112	79	92	95	84	43	14	4	4	59
Broome	131	153	166	166	150	58	61	9	9	17
Cattaraugus	142	102	139	145	123	81	43	12	14	40
Cayuga	108	119	144	134	158	77	44	30	23	37
Chautauqua	103	90	189	195	166	62	68	17	24	49
Chemung	91	85	167	157	127	62	51	19	18	50
Chenango	64	82	68	74	79	33	38	14	14	29
Clinton	74	79	60	71	62	33	9	12	12	18
Columbia	80	82	110	107	101	37	8	3	3	9
Cortland	....	57	63	64	63	17	11	1	2	1
Delaware	102	104	137	140	104	49	7	9	10	18
Dutchess	199	160	209	211	172	91	64	30	34	66
Erie	488	779	862	854	1,041	615	804	508	411	809
Essex	70	81	88	88	73	32	33	4	4	10
Franklin	54	72	65	60	74	30	4	14	14	14
Fult'n & H'milt'n	110	81	126	125	133	77	95	73	82	151
Genesee	44	69	88	89	73	35	18	9	9	14
Greene	82	73	115	11	80	33	25	18	21	21
Herkimer	126	90	153	141	126	52	21	10	10	38
Jefferson	5	101	174	161	155	60	80	6	6	25
Kings	1,669	1,965	2,715	2,677	2,751	2,890	4,961	3,481	3,515	3,964
Lewis	55	64	63	63	72	28	4	5	5	3
Livingston	81	65	75	78	88	30	36	4	5	12
Madison	190	124	120	116	118	70	63	32	32	53
Monroe	294	436	548	535	514	405	387	466	455	520
Montgomery	137	104	138	134	148	41	41	36	32	30
New York	5,029	5,190	5,945	6,127	7,975	7,614	10,993	10,025	10,644	10,564
Niagara	106	116	161	158	147	52	54	13	22	47
Oneida	326	242	356	247	299	202	173	161	144	243
Onondaga	555	447	445	447	537	504	610	713	706	951
Ontario	67	73	115	115	91	41	8	9	9	24
Orange	187	169	217	218	227	106	93	57	61	223
Orleans	51	52	58	59	64	33	5	6	6	12
Oswego	79	127	173	160	174	78	35	3	7	16
Otsego	4	105	112	106	108	56	132	9	12	54
Putnam	54	40	35	35	34	18	2	9	6	2
Queens	299	291	425	411	606	558	670	774	788	1,045
Rensselaer	210	217	277	265	282	173	188	92	92	170
Richmond	111	81	128	102	152	129	142	138	137	165
Rockland	55	62	60	59	52	24	11	11	10	19
St. Lawrence	153	130	157	286	147	47	49	5	6	47
Saratoga	86	128	183	195	137	30	13	17	19	24
Schenectady	76	52	114	113	114	78	236	75	71	78
Schoharie	58	67	65	62	70	32	3	4	4	6
Schuyler	31	34	56	58	37	9	2	1	1	7
Seneca	68	46	73	69	93	20	9	3	3	12
Steuben	146	172	221	225	182	67	154	18	19	46
Suffolk	118	109	151	150	152	78	47	61	67	74
Sullivan	6	114	69	66	79	32	9	10	11	9
Tioga	40	36	68	68	62	17	19	4	6	15
Tompkins	76	58	81	20	77	27	14	9	10	14
Ulster	169	210	206	220	204	85	22	12	14	31
Warren	72	93	67	69	113	33	6	7	6	13

Counties.	1890	1891	1892		1893	1894	1895	1896		1897
	Judge Court of Appeals.	Governor.	President.	Chief Justice.	Secretary of State.	Governor.	Secretary of State.	President.	Governor.	Chief Justice.
Washington	79	95	129	130	78	36	8	4	10	7
Wayne	84	72	119	115	85	37	18	8	10	10
Westchester	262	292	339	341	416	305	550	388	461	558
Wyoming	43	69	54	55	61	32	10	5	5	11
Yates	38	25	57	56	50	12	9	3	3	22
Total	13,704	14,651	17,956	17,856	19,984	15,868	21,497	17,667	18,362	20,854

CONNECTICUT.

Vote for Governor, by Counties, in 1892, 1894 and 1896.

Counties.	1892	1894	1896
Hartford	63	108	271
New Haven	152	490	672
New London	....	5	12
Fairfield	27	188	202
Windham	....	....	....
Litchfield	4	....	5
Middlesex	23	21	12
Tolland	48	58	80
Total	317	870	1,254

MASSACHUSETTS.

Counties.	1891	1892		1893	1894	1895	1896		1897
	For Gov. Robinson.	For Pres. Wing.	For Gov. Putney.	For Gov. O'Neil.	For Gov. Taylor.	For Gov. Ruther.	For Pres Matchett.	For Gov. Brophy.	For Gov. Brophy.
Barnstable	5	4	5	8	6	11	2	49	8
Berkshire	83	55	61	125	266	270	130	257	315
Bristol	80	54	61	127	301	180	103	405	371
Dukes	—	—	—	3	5	5	4	18	10
Essex	274	114	135	324	533	760	370	755	1032
Franklin	13	1	3	7	27	32	7	45	29
Hampden	128	86	111	224	362	423	209	401	641
Hampshire	33	8	18	31	51	82	29	121	93
Middlesex	147	38	80	212	244	279	175	567	743
Nantucket	1	—	1	—	2	2	1	11	—
Norfolk	53	26	29	71	98	91	60	166	177
Plymouth	36	3	15	34	41	42	16	117	332
Suffolk	402	177	254	653	897	666	729	1119	1147
Worcester	174	83	98	214	271	406	277	517	1403
Total	1429	649	871	2033	3104	3249	2112	4548	6301

MASSACHUSETTS.

Socialist Vote, by Counties, for State Offices in 1897.

Counties.	For Governor.	For Lt. Gov.	For Secretary.	For Treas'r.	For Auditor.	For Att'y Gen'l.
Barnstable	8	15	13	11	13	23
Berkshire	315	304	327	353	331	349
Bristol	371	472	486	513	471	487
Dukes	10	11	9	10	7	14
Essex	1,032	1,253	1,319	1,554	1,320	1,404
Franklin	29	56	46	52	40	46
Hampden	641	704	747	782	744	684
Hampshire	93	124	109	118	114	116
Middlesex	743	943	1,020	1,136	1,045	1,094
Nantucket	....	3	5	2	4	3
Norfolk	177	197	236	240	241	259
Plymouth	332	384	347	418	413	416
Suffolk	1,147	1,493	1,681	1,770	1,868	1,700
Worcester	1,403	1,420	1,915	1,636	1,579	1,520
Total	6,301	7,379	8,260	8,595	8,190	8,115

NEW JERSEY.

Countries.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.		1897.
	Ass'y.	Pres.	Ass'y	Ass'y	Gov.	Ass'y	Pres.	Ass'y.
Atlantic	...	16	...	...	17	...	19	...
Bergen	...	31	...	156	119	125	126	175
Burlington	...	17	...	...	21	...	19	...
Camden	...	31	...	131	114	103	97	...
Cape May	...	3	...	...	11	...	12	...
Cumberland	...	25	...	...	25	...	28	...
Essex	...	204	512	964	843	893	885	908
Gloucester	...	6	...	...	11	...	8	...
Hudson	*	463	670	1,089	1,117	1,120	1,140	1,532
Hunterdon	...	20	...	...	23	...	8	...
Mercer	...	11	...	...	64	74	71	...
Middlessex	...	49	...	165	124	62	64	...
Monmouth	...	10	...	...	43	...	19	...
Morris	...	9	...	...	25	...	26	...
Ocean	...	3	...	...	10	...	7	...
Passaic	...	211	458	2,352	1,108	980	940	1,098
Salem	...	8	...	...	12	...	3	...
Somerset	...	1	...	...	10	...	10	...
Sussex	...	7	...	...	15	...	11	...
Union	*	187	378	452	411	477	447	647
Warren	...	26	...	...	24	...	15	...
Total	472	1,338	2,018	5,309	4,147	3,834	3,985	4,360

* Not separately ascertained. The aggregate vote of Hudson and Union for Assembly, men in 1891, was, as stated in the line of totals, 472.

RHODE ISLAND.

Counties.	1894 for Gov., Baylor.	1895* for Gov., Boomer.	1896 for Gov., Theinert	1897 for Gov., Burton.	1898 for Gov., Reid.
Bristol	2	9	6	6	22
Kent	17	24	15	42	168
Newport	8	137	73	59	67
Providence	553	1,524	1,145	1,229	2,563
Washington	8	36	33	50	57
Total	592	1,730	1,272	1,386	2,877

* The vote of 1895 was only in part a socialist vote. A large portion of it was cast by Populists, among whom Boomer had been a leader. This conversion to militant Socialism, however, was not as thorough as the Rhode Island comrades had been induced to believe. He left the State, the Populist party broke up, and most of his followers dropped into Bryanism. Since then the S. L. P. has steadily progressed. Its spring vote of 1898 represented about 6.75 per cent. of the total vote of Rhode Island.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

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