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The Significance of the Frontier in American History.¹

IN a bulletin of the Superintendent of the Census for 1890 appear these significant words: "Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it cannot, therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports."² This brief official statement marks the closing of a great historic movement. Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development. Behind institutions, behind constitutional forms and modifications, lie the vital forces that call these organs into life, and shape them to meet changing conditions. The peculiarity of American institutions is, the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people—to the changes involved in crossing a continent, in winning a wilderness, and in developing at each area of this progress out of the primitive economic and political conditions of the frontier into the complexity of city life. Said Cal-

¹ The article here reprinted was published in the Report of the American Historical Association, 1893, pp. 199-227; in the Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society, XLI, 79-112; and in an enlarged form, in Fifth Year Book of the National Herbart Society, 7-40.

²Extra Census Bulletin, No. 2, April 20, 1892.

houn in 1817, "We are great, and rapidly—I was about to say fearfully—growing!"¹ So saying, he touched the distinguishing feature of American life. All peoples show development; the germ theory of politics has been sufficiently emphasized. In the case of most nations, however, the development has occurred in a limited area; and if the nation has expanded, it has met other growing peoples whom it has conquered. But in the case of the United States we have a different phenomenon. Limiting our attention to the Atlantic coast, we have the familiar phenomenon of the evolutions of institutions in a limited area, such as the rise of representative government; the differentiation of simple colonial governments into complex organs; the progress from primitive industrial society, without division of labor, up to manufacturing civilization. But we have in addition to this a recurrence of the process of evolution in each western area reached in the process of expansion. Thus American development has exhibited not merely advance along a single line, but a return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development for that area. American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character. The true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is the great West. Even the slavery struggle, which is made so exclusive an object of attention by some historians, occupies its important place in American history because of its relation to westward expansion.

In this advance, the frontier is the outer edge of the wave—the meeting point between savagery and civilization. Much has been written about the frontier from the point of view of border warfare and the chase, but as a field for the serious study of the economist and the historian it has been neglected.

The American frontier is sharply distinguished from the European frontier—a fortified boundary line running through dense populations. The most significant thing about the American frontier is, that it lies at the hither edge of free land. In the census reports it is treated as the margin of that settlement which has a density of two or more to the square mile. The term is an elastic one, and for our purposes does not need sharp definition. We shall consider the whole frontier belt, including the Indian country and the outer margin of the "settled area" of the census reports. This paper will make no attempt to treat the subject exhaustively; its aim is simply to call at-

¹ Abridgment of Debates, v., p. 706.

tention to the frontier as a fertile field for investigation, and to suggest some of the problems which arise in connection with it.

In the settlement of America we have to observe how European life entered the continent, and how America modified and developed that life, and reacted on Europe. Our early history is the history of European germs developing in an American environment. Too exclusive attention has been paid by institutional students to the Germanic origins, too little to the American factors. The frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization. The wilderness masters the colonist. It finds him a European in dress, industries, tools, modes of travel, and thought. It takes him from the railroad car and puts him in the birch canoe. It strips off the garments of civilization, and arrays him in the hunting shirt and the moccasin. It puts him in the log cabin of the Cherokee and Iroquois and runs an Indian palisade around him. Before long he has gone to planting Indian corn and plowing with a sharp stick; he shouts the war cry and takes the scalp in orthodox Indian fashion. In short, at the frontier the environment is at first too strong for the man. He must accept the conditions which it furnishes, or perish, and so he fits himself into the Indian clearings and follows the Indian trails. Little by little he transforms the wilderness, but the outcome is not the old Europe, not simply the development of Germanic germs, any more than the first phenomenon was a case of reversion to the Germanic mark. The fact is, that here is a new product that is American. At first, the frontier was the Atlantic coast. It was the frontier of Europe in a very real sense. Moving westward, the frontier became more and more American. As successive terminal moraines result from successive glaciations, so each frontier leaves its traces behind it, and when it becomes a settled area the region still partakes of the frontier characteristics. Thus the advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines. And to study this advance, the men who grew up under these conditions, and the political, economic, and social results of it, is to study the peculiarly American part of our history.

STAGES OF FRONTIER ADVANCE.

In the course of the seventeenth century the frontier was advanced up the Atlantic river courses, just beyond the "fall line," and the tidewater region became the settled area. In the first half of the eighteenth century another advance occurred. Traders followed the Delaware and Shawnese Indians to the Ohio as

early as the end of the first quarter of the century.¹ Gov. Spotswood, of Virginia, made an expedition in 1714 across the Blue Ridge. The end of the first quarter of the century saw the advance of the Scotch-Irish and the Palatine Germans up the Shenandoah Valley into the western part of Virginia, and along the Piedmont region of the Carolinas.² The Germans in New York pushed the frontier of settlement up the Mohawk to German Flats.³ In Pennsylvania the town of Bedford indicates the line of settlement. Settlements had begun on New River, a branch of the Kanawha, and on the sources of the Yadkin and French Broad.⁴ The King attempted to arrest the advance by his proclamation of 1763,⁵ forbidding settlements beyond the sources of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic; but in vain. In the period of the Revolution the frontier crossed the Alleghanies into Kentucky and Tennessee, and the upper waters of the Ohio were settled.⁶ When the first census was taken in 1790, the continuous settled area was bounded by a line which ran near the coast of Maine, and included New England except a portion of Vermont and New Hampshire, New York along the Hudson and up the Mohawk about Schenectady, eastern and southern Pennsylvania, Virginia well across the Shenandoah Valley, and the Carolinas and eastern Georgia.⁷ Beyond this region of continuous settlement were the small settled areas of Kentucky and Tennessee, and the Ohio, with the mountains intervening between them and the Atlantic area, thus giving a new and important character to the frontier. The isolation of the region increased its peculiarly American tendencies, and the need of transportation facilities to connect it with the East called out important schemes of internal improvement, which will be noted farther on. The "West," as a self-conscious section, began to evolve.

¹ Bancroft (1860 ed.), iii., pp. 344, 345, citing Logan MSS.; [Mitchell] Contest in America, etc. (1752), p. 237.

² Kercheval, *History of the Valley; Bernheim, German Settlements in the Carolinas; Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America*, v., p. 304; *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, iv., p. xx.; Weston, *Documents Connected with the History of South Carolina*, p. 82; Ellis and Evans, *History of Lancaster County, Pa.*, chs. iii., xxxvi.

³ Parkman, *Pontiac*, ii.; Griffis, *Sir William Johnson*, p. 6; *Simms's Frontiersmen of New York*.

⁴ Monette, *Mississippi Valley*, i., p. 311.

⁵ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi., p. 50; Hinsdale, *Old Northwest*, p. 121; Burke, "Oration on Conciliation," *Works* (1872 ed.), i., p. 473.

⁶ Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, and citations there given; *Cutler's Life of Cutler*.

⁷ *Scribner's Statistical Atlas*, xxxviii., plate 13; McMaster, *Hist. of People of U. S.*, i., pp. 4, 60, 61; Imlay and Filson, *Western Territory of America* (London, 1783); Rochefoucault-Liancourt, *Travels Through the United States of North America* (London, 1790); Michaux's "Journal," in *Proceedings American Philosophical Society*, xxvi., No. 129; Forman, *Narrative of a Journey Down the Ohio and Mississippi in 1780-'90* (Cincinnati, 1888); Bartram, *Travels Through North Carolina, etc.* (London, 1792); Pope, *Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories, etc.* (Richmond, 1792); Weld, *Travels Through the State of North America* (London, 1799); Baily, *Journal of a Tour in the Unsettled States of North America, 1796-'97* (London, 1856); *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, July, 1886; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vii., pp. 491, 492, citations.

From decade to decade distinct advances of the frontier occurred. By the census of 1820¹ the settled area included Ohio, southern Indiana and Illinois, southeastern Missouri, and about one-half of Louisiana. This settled area had surrounded Indian areas, and the management of these tribes became an object of political concern. The frontier region of the time lay along the Great Lakes, where Astor's American Fur Company operated in the Indian trade,² and beyond the Mississippi, where Indian traders extended their activity even to the Rocky Mountains; Florida also furnished frontier conditions. The Mississippi river region was the scene of typical frontier settlements.³

The rising steam navigation⁴ on western waters, the opening of the Erie canal, and the westward extension of cotton culture⁵ added five frontier states to the Union in this period. Grund, writing in 1836, declares: "It appears then that the universal disposition of Americans to emigrate to the western wilderness, in order to enlarge their dominion over inanimate nature, is the actual result of an expansive power which is inherent in them, and which by continually agitating all classes of society is constantly throwing a large portion of the whole population on the extreme confines of the state, in order to gain space for its development. Hardly is a new state or territory formed before the same principle manifests itself again and gives rise to a further emigration; and so is it destined to go on until a physical barrier must finally obstruct its progress."⁶

In the middle of this century the line indicated by the present eastern boundary of Indian Territory, Nebraska, and Kansas, marked the frontier of the Indian country.⁷ Minnesota and

¹Scribner's Statistical Atlas, xxxix.

²Turner, *Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin*, (Johns Hopkins University Studies, Series ix.), pp. 61 ff.

³Monette, *History of the Mississippi Valley*, ii.; Flint, *Travels and Residence in Mississippi*; Flint, *Geography and History of the Western States*; *Abridgment of Debates of Congress*, vii., pp. 397, 398, 404; Holmes, *Account of the U. S.; Kingdom, America and the British Colonies* (London, 1820); Grund, *Americans*, ii., chs. i., iii., vi. (although writing in 1836, he treats of conditions that grew out of western advance from the era of 1820 to that time); Peck, *Guide for Emigrants* (Boston, 1831); Darby, *Emigrants' Guide to Western and Southwestern States and Territories*; Dana, *Geographical Sketches in the Western Country*; Kinzie, *Waubun*; Keating, *Narrative of Long's Expedition*; Schoolcraft, *Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi River, Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley, and Lead Mines of the Missouri*; Andreas, *History of Illinois*, i., 86-99; Hurlbut, *Chicago Antiquities*; McKenney, *Tour to the Lakes*; Thomas, *Travels Through the Western Country*, etc. (Auburn, N. Y., 1819).

⁴Darby, *Emigrants' Guide*, pp. 272 ff.; Benton, *Abridgment of Debates*, vii., p. 397.

⁵DeBow's Review, iv., p. 254; xvii., p. 428.

⁶Grund, *Americans*, ii., p. 8.

⁷Peck, *New Guide to the West* (Cincinnati, 1848), ch. iv.; Parkman, *Oregon Trail*; Hall, *The West* (Cincinnati, 1848); Pierce, *Incidents of Western Travel*; Murray, *Travels in North America*; Lloyd, *Steamboat Directory* (Cincinnati, 1856); "Forty Days in a Western Hotel" (Chicago), in Putnam's Magazine, December, 1894; Mackay, *The Western World*, ii., ch. ii., iii.; Meeker, *Life in the West*; Bogen, *German in America* (Boston, 1851); Olmstead, *Texas Journey*; Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life*; Schouler, *History of United States*, v., 261-267; Peyton, *Over the Alleghenies and Across the Prairies* (London, 1870); Peyton, *Suggestions on Railroad Communication with the Pacific, and the Trade of China and the Indian Islands*; Benton, *Highway to the Pacific* (a speech in the U. S. Senate, Dec. 16, 1850).

Wisconsin still exhibited frontier conditions,¹ but the distinctive frontier of the period is found in California, where the gold discoveries had sent a sudden tide of adventurous miners, and in Oregon, and the settlements in Utah. As the frontier had leaped over the Alleghanies, so now it skipped the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains; and in the same way that the advance of the frontiersmen beyond the Alleghanies had caused the rise of important questions of transportation and internal improvement, so now the settlers beyond the Rocky Mountains needed means of communication with the East, and in the furnishing of these arose the settlement of the Great Plains and the development of still another kind of frontier life. Railroads, fostered by land grants, sent an increasing tide of immigrants into the far West. The United States Army² fought a series of Indian wars in Minnesota, Dakota, and the Indian Territory; cessions made way for settlement.

By 1880 the settled area had been pushed into northern Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, along Dakota rivers, and in the Black Hills region, and was ascending the rivers of Kansas and Nebraska. The development of mines in Colorado had drawn isolated frontier settlements into that region, and Montana and Idaho were receiving settlers. The frontier was found in these mining camps and the ranches of the Great Plains. The superintendent of the census for 1890 reports, as previously stated, that the settlements of the West lie so scattered over the region, that there can no longer be said to be a frontier line.

In these successive frontiers we find natural boundary lines which have served to mark and to affect the characteristics of the frontiers, namely: The "fall line;" the Alleghany Mountains; the Mississippi; the Missouri, where its direction approximates north and south; the line of the arid lands, approximately the 99th meridian; and the Rocky Mountains. The fall line marked the frontier of the seventeenth century; the Alleghanies that of the eighteenth; the Mississippi that of the first quarter of the nineteenth; the Missouri that of the middle of this century (omitting the California movement); and the belt of the Rocky Mountains and the arid tract, the present frontier. Each was won by a series of Indian wars.

¹ A writer in *The Home Missionary* (1850), p. 239, reporting Wisconsin conditions, exclaims: "Think of this, people of the enlightened East. What an example, to come from the very frontiers of civilization!" But one of the missionaries writes: "In a few years Wisconsin will no longer be considered as the West, or as an outpost of civilization, any more than Western New York, or the Western Reserve."

² Bancroft (H. H.), *History of California, History of Oregon, and Popular Tribunals; Shinn, Mining Camps.*

³ Rodenbough and Haskins, *Army of the United States.*

See *Atlantic Monthly*, lxxix., p. 410.

THE FRONTIER FURNISHES A FIELD FOR COMPARATIVE STUDY OF
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

At the Atlantic frontier one can study the germs of processes repeated at each successive frontier. We have the complex European life sharply precipitated by the wilderness into the simplicity of primitive conditions. The first frontier had to meet its Indian question, its question of the disposition of the public domain, of the means of intercourse with older settlements, of the extension of political organization, of religious and educational activity. And the settlement of these and similar questions for one frontier served as a guide for the next. The American student needs not to go to the "prim little townships of Sleswick" for illustrations of the law of continuity and development. For example, he may study the origin of our land policies in the colonial land policy; he may see how the system grew by adapting the statutes to the customs of the successive frontiers.¹ He may see how the mining experience in the lead region of Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa was applied to the mining laws of the Rockies,² and how our Indian policy has been a series of experimentations on successive frontiers. Each tier of new states has found in the older ones material for its constitutions.³ Each frontier has made similar contributions to American character, as will be discussed farther on.

But with all these similarities there are essential differences, due to the place element and the time element. It is evident that the farming frontier of the Mississippi Valley presents different conditions from the mining frontier of the Rocky Mountains. The frontier reached by the Pacific railroad, surveyed into rectangles, guarded by the United States Army, and recruited by the daily immigrant ship, moves forward in a different way and at a swifter pace than the frontier reached by the birch canoe or the pack horse. The geologist traces patiently the shores of ancient seas, maps their areas, and compares the older and the newer. It would be a work worth the historian's labors to mark these various frontiers, and in detail compare one with another. Not only would there result a more adequate conception of American development and characteristics, but invaluable additions would be made to the history of society.

Loria,⁴ the Italian economist, has urged the study of colonial life as an aid in understanding the stages of European develop-

¹ See the suggestive paper by Prof. Jesse Macy, *The Institutional Beginnings of a Western State*.

² Shinn, *Mining Camps*.

³ Compare Thorpe, in *Annals American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1891; Bryce, *American Commonwealth* (1888) ii., p. 680.

⁴ Loria, *Analisi della Proprieta Capitalista*, ii., p. 15.

ment, affirming that colonial settlement is for economic science what the mountain is for geology, bringing to light primitive stratifications. "America," he says, "has the key to the historical enigma which Europe has sought for centuries in vain, and the land which has no history reveals luminously the course of universal history." There is much truth in this. The United States lies like a huge page in the history of society. Line by line as we read this continental page from west to east we find the record of social evolution. It begins with the Indian and the hunter; it goes on to tell of the disintegration of savagery by the entrance of the trader, the path-finder of civilization; we read the annals of the pastoral stage in ranch life; the exploitation of the soil by the raising of unrotated crops of corn and wheat in sparsely settled farming communities; the intensive culture of the denser farm settlement; and finally, the manufacturing organization with city and factory system.¹ This page is familiar to the student of census statistics, but how little of it has been used by our historians. Each of these areas has had an influence in our economic and political history; the evolution of each into a higher stage has worked political transformations. But what constitutional historian has made any adequate attempt to interpret political facts by the light of these social areas and changes?

The Atlantic frontier was compounded of fisherman, fur trader, miner, cattle raiser and farmer. Excepting the fisherman, each type of industry was on the march toward the West, drawn by an irresistible attraction. Each passed in successive waves across the continent. Stand at Cumberland Gap and watch the procession of civilization, marching single file—the buffalo following the trail to the salt springs, the Indian, the fur trader and hunter, the cattle raiser, the pioneer farmer,—and the frontier has passed by. Stand at South Pass in the Rockies a century later, and see the same procession with wider intervals between. The unequal rate of advance compels us to distinguish the frontier into the trader's frontier, the rancher's frontier, or the miner's frontier, and the farmer's frontier. When the mines and the cowpens were still near the fall line the traders' pack trains were tinkling across the Alleghanies, and the French on the Great Lakes were fortifying their posts, alarmed by the British trader's birch canoe. When the trappers scaled the Rockies, the farmer was still near the mouth of the Missouri.

¹ Compare Observations on the North American Land Company, London, 1796, pp. 15, 144; Logan, History of Upper South Carolina, i., pp. 149-151; Turner, Character and Influence of Indian Trade in Wisconsin, p. 18; Peck, New Guide for Emigrants (Boston, 1837), ch. iv.; Compendium Eleventh Census, i., p. xl.

THE INDIAN TRADER'S FRONTIER.

Why was it that the Indian trader passed so rapidly across the continent? What effects followed from the trader's frontier? The trade was coeval with American discovery. The Norsemen, Vespuccius, Verrazani, Hudson, John Smith, all trafficked for furs. The Plymouth pilgrims settled in Indian cornfields, and their first return cargo was of beaver and lumber. The records of the various New England colonies show how steadily exploration was carried into the wilderness by this trade. What is true for New England is, as would be expected, even plainer for the rest of the colonies. All along the coast from Maine to Georgia the Indian trade opened up the river courses. Steadily the trader passed westward, utilizing the older lines of French trade. The Ohio, the Great Lakes, the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Platte, the lines of western advance, were ascended by traders. They found the passes in the Rocky Mountains and guided Lewis and Clark,¹ Fremont, and Bidwell. The explanation of the rapidity of this advance is connected with the effects of the trader on the Indian. The trading post left the unarmed tribes at the mercy of those that had purchased fire-arms—a truth which the Iroquois Indians wrote in blood, and so the remote and unvisited tribes gave eager welcome to the trader. "The savages," wrote La Salle, "take better care of us French than of their own children; from us only can they get guns and goods." This accounts for the trader's power and the rapidity of his advance. Thus the disintegrating forces of civilization entered the wilderness. Every river valley and Indian trail became a fissure in Indian society, and so that society became honeycombed. Long before the pioneer farmer appeared on the scene, primitive Indian life had passed away. The farmers met Indians armed with guns. The trading frontier, while steadily undermining Indian power by making the tribes ultimately dependent on the whites, yet, through its sale of guns, gave to the Indians increased power of resistance to the farming frontier. French colonization was dominated by its trading frontier, English colonization by its farming frontier. There was an antagonism between the two frontiers as between the two nations. Said Duquesne to the Iroquois, "Are you ignorant of the difference between the king of England and the king of France? Go see the forts that our king has established and you will see that you can still hunt under their very walls. They have been placed for your advantage in places which you frequent. The English, on the contrary, are no sooner in possession of a place than the game is driven away. The forest falls before them as they

¹ But Lewis and Clark were the first to explore the route from the Missouri to the Columbia.

advance, and the soil is laid bare so that you can scarce find the wherewithal to erect a shelter for the night."

And yet, in spite of this opposition of the interests of the trader and the farmer, the Indian trade pioneered the way for civilization. The buffalo trail became the Indian trail, and this became the trader's "trace;" the trails widened into roads, and the roads into turnpikes, and these in turn were transformed into railroads. The same origin can be shown for the railroads of the South, the far West, and the Dominion of Canada. The trading posts reached by these trails were on the sites of Indian villages which had been placed in positions suggested by nature; and these trading posts, situated so as to command the water systems of the country, have grown into such cities as Albany, Pittsburg, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Council Bluffs, and Kansas City. Thus civilization in America has followed the arteries made by geology, pouring an ever richer tide through them, until at last the slender paths of aboriginal intercourse have been broadened and interwoven into the complex mazes of modern commercial lines; the wilderness has been interpenetrated by lines of civilization, growing ever more numerous. It is like the steady growth of a complex nervous system for the originally simple, inert continent. If one would understand why we are to-day one nation, rather than a collection of isolated states, he must study this economic and social consolidation of the country. In this progress from savage conditions lie topics for the evolutionist.¹

The effect of the Indian frontier as a consolidating agent in our history is important. From the close of the seventeenth century various intercolonial congresses have been called to treat with Indians and establish common measures of defense. Particularism was strongest in colonies with no Indian frontier. This frontier stretched along the western border like a cord of union. The Indian was a common danger, demanding united action. Most celebrated of these conferences was the Albany congress of 1754, called to treat with the Six Nations, and to consider plans of union. Even a cursory reading of the plan proposed by the congress reveals the importance of the frontier. The powers of the general council and the officers were, chiefly, the determination of peace and war with the Indians, the regulation of Indian trade, the purchase of Indian lands, and the creation and government of new settlements as a security against the Indians. It is evident that the unifying tendencies of the Revolutionary period were facilitated by the previous co-operation in the regulation of the frontier. In this connection may be

¹ On the effect of the fur trade in opening the routes of migration, see the author's *Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin*.

mentioned the importance of the frontier, from that day to this, as a military training school, keeping alive the power of resistance to aggression, and developing the stalwart and rugged qualities of the frontiersman.

THE RANCHER'S FRONTIER.

It would not be possible in the limits of this paper to trace the other frontiers across the continent. Travelers of the eighteenth century found the "cowpens" among the canebrakes and pea-vine pastures of the South, and the "cow drivers" took their droves to Charleston, Philadelphia, and New York.¹ Travelers at the close of the war of 1812 met droves of more than a thousand cattle and swine from the interior of Ohio going to Pennsylvania to fatten for the Philadelphia market.² The ranges of the Great Plains, with ranch and cowboy and nomadic life, are things of yesterday and of to-day. The experience of the Carolina cowpens guided the ranchers of Texas. One element favoring the rapid extension of the rancher's frontier is the fact that in a remote country lacking transportation facilities the product must be in small bulk, or must be able to transport itself, and the cattle raiser could easily drive his product to market. The effect of these great ranches on the subsequent agrarian history of the localities in which they existed should be studied.

THE FARMER'S FRONTIER.

The maps of the census reports show an uneven advance of the farmer's frontier, with tongues of settlement pushed forward and with indentations of wilderness. In part this is due to Indian resistance, in part to the location of river valleys and passes, in part to the unequal force of the centers of frontier attraction. Among the important centers of attraction may be mentioned the following: fertile and favorably situated soils, salt springs, mines, and army posts.

ARMY POSTS.

The frontier army post, serving to protect the settlers from the Indians, has also acted as a wedge to open the Indian country, and has been a nucleus for settlement. In this connection mention should also be made of the government military and exploring expeditions in determining the lines of settlement. But all the more important expeditions were greatly indebted to the earliest pathmakers, the Indian guides, the traders and trappers, and the French voyageurs, who were inevitable parts of govern-

¹ Lodge, *English Colonies*, p. 152 and citations; Logan, *Hist. of Upper South Carolina*, i., p. 151.

² Flint, *Recollections*, p. 9.

³ For example see Monette, *Mississippi Valley*, i., p. 344.

mental expeditions from the days of Lewis and Clark.¹ Each expedition was an epitome of the previous factors in western advance.

SALT SPRINGS.

In an interesting monograph, Victor Hehn² has traced the effect of salt upon early European development, and has pointed out how it affected the lines of settlement and the form of administration. A similar study might be made for the salt springs of the United States. The early settlers were tied to the coast by the need of salt, without which they could not preserve their meats or live in comfort. Writing in 1752, Bishop Spangenburg says of a colony for which he was seeking lands in North Carolina, "They will require salt & other necessaries which they can neither manufacture nor raise. Either they must go to Charleston, which is 300 miles distant. * * * Or else they must go to Boling's Point in Va on a branch of the James & is also 300 miles from here * * * Or else they must go down the Roanoke—I know not how many miles—where salt is brought up from the Cape Fear."³ This may serve as a typical illustration. An annual pilgrimage to the coast for salt thus became essential. Taking flocks or furs and ginseng root, the early settlers sent their pack trains after seeding time each year to the coast.⁴ This proved to be an important educational influence, since it was almost the only way in which the pioneer learned what was going on in the East. But when discovery was made of the salt springs of the Kanawha, and the Holston, and Kentucky, and central New York, the West began to be freed from dependence on the coast. It was in part the effect of finding these salt springs that enabled settlement to cross the mountains.

From the time the mountains rose between the pioneer and the seaboard, a new order of Americanism arose. The West and the East began to get out of touch of each other. The settlements from the sea to the mountains kept connection with the rear and had a certain solidarity. But the overmountain men grew more and more independent. The East took a narrow view of American advance, and nearly lost these men. Kentucky and Tennessee history bears abundant witness to the truth of this statement. The East began to try to hedge and limit westward expansion. Though Webster could declare that there were no Alleghanies in his politics, yet in politics in general they were a very solid factor.

¹Coues, *Lewis and Clark's Expedition*, i., pp. 2, 253-259.

²Hehn, *Das Salz* (Berlin, 1873).

³Col. Records of North Carolina, v., p. 3.

⁴Findley, *History of the Insurrection in the Four Western Counties of Pennsylvania in the Year 1794* (Philadelphia, 1796), p. 35.

LAND.

Good soils have been the most continuous attraction to the farmer's frontier. The land hunger of the Virginians drew them down the rivers into Carolina, in early colonial days; the search for soils took the Massachusetts men to Pennsylvania and to New York. The exploitation of the beasts took hunter and trader to the west, the exploitation of the grasses took the rancher west, and the exploitation of the virgin soil of the river valleys and prairies attracted the farmer. As the eastern lands were taken up migration flowed across them to the west. Daniel Boone, the great backwoodsman, who combined the occupations of hunter, trader, cattle raiser, farmer, and surveyor—learning, probably from the traders, of the fertility of the lands on the upper Yadkin, where the traders were wont to rest as they took their way to the Indians, left his Pennsylvania home with his father, and passed down the Great Valley road to that stream. Learning from a trader whose posts were on the Red River in Kentucky of its game and rich pastures, he pioneered the way for the farmers to that region. Thence he passed to the frontier of Missouri, where his settlement was long a landmark on the frontier. Here again he helped to open the way for civilization, finding salt licks, and trails, and land. His son was among the earliest trappers in the passes of the Rocky Mountains, and his party is said to have been the first to camp on the present site of Denver. His grandson, Col. A. J. Boone, of Colorado, was a power among the Indians of the Rocky Mountains, and was appointed an agent by the government. Kit Carson's mother was a Boone.¹ Thus this family epitomises the backwoodsman's advance across the continent.

The farmer's advance came in a distinct series of waves. In Peck's *New Guide to the West*, published in Boston in 1837, occurs this suggestive passage:

"Generally, in all the western settlements, three classes, like the waves of the ocean, have rolled one after the other. First, comes the pioneer, who depends for the subsistence of his family chiefly upon the natural growth of vegetation, called the 'range,' and the proceeds of hunting. His implements of agriculture are rude, chiefly of his own make, and his efforts directed mainly to a crop of corn and a 'truck patch.' The last is a rude garden for growing cabbage, beans, corn for roasting ears, cucumbers, and potatoes. A log cabin, and, occasionally, a stable and corn-crib, and a field of a dozen acres, the timber girdled or 'dead-ened,' and fenced, are enough for his occupancy. It is quite immaterial whether he ever becomes the owner of the soil. He

¹ Hale, Daniel Boone (pamphlet).

is the occupant for the time being, pays no rent, and feels as independent as the 'lord of the manor.' With a horse, cow, and one or two breeders of swine, he strikes into the woods with his family, and becomes the founder of a new county, or perhaps state. He builds his cabin, gathers around him a few other families of similar tastes and habits, and occupies till the range is somewhat subdued, and hunting a little precarious, or, which is more frequently the case, till neighbors crowd around, roads, bridges, and fields annoy him, and he lacks elbow room. The pre-emption law enables him to dispose of his cabin and cornfield to the next class of emigrants; and, to employ his own figures, he 'breaks for the high timber,' 'clears out for the New Purchase,' or migrates to Arkansas or Texas to work the same process over.

"The next class of emigrants purchase the lands, add field to field, clear out the roads, throw rough bridges over the streams, put up hewn log houses with glass windows and brick or stone chimneys, occasionally plant orchards, build mills, schoolhouses, courthouses, etc., and exhibit the picture and forms of plain, frugal, civilized life.

"Another wave rolls on. The men of capital and enterprise come. The settler is ready to sell out and take the advantage of the rise in property, push farther into the interior and become, himself, a man of capital and enterprise in turn. The small village rises to a spacious town or city; substantial edifices of brick, extensive fields, orchards, gardens, colleges, and churches are seen. Broadcloths, silks, leghorns, crapes, and all the refinements, luxuries, elegancies, frivolities, and fashions are in vogue. Thus wave after wave is rolling westward; the real Eldorado is still further on.

"A portion of the two first classes remain stationary amidst the general movement, improve their habits and condition, and rise in the scale of society.

"The writer has traveled much amongst the first class, the real pioneers. He has lived many years in connection with the second grade; and now the third wave is sweeping over large districts of Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. Migration has become almost a habit in the West. Hundreds of men can be found, not over fifty years of age, who have settled for the fourth, fifth, or sixth time on a new spot. To sell out and remove only a few hundred miles makes up a portion of the variety of backwoods life and manners."¹

Omitting those of the pioneer farmers who move from the love of adventure, the advance of the more steady farmer is easy

¹ Compare Baily, *Tour in the Unsettled Parts of North America* (London, 1856), pp. 217-219, where a similar analysis is made for 1796.

to understand. Obviously the immigrant was attracted by the cheap lands of the frontier, and even the native farmer felt their influence strongly. Year by year the farmers who lived on soil whose returns were diminished by unrotated crops were offered the virgin soil of the frontier at nominal prices. Their growing families demanded more lands, and these were dear. The competition of the unexhausted, cheap, and easily tilled prairie lands compelled the farmer either to go West and continue the exhaustion of the soil on a new frontier, or to adopt intensive culture. Thus the census of 1890 shows, in the Northwest, many counties in which there is an absolute or a relative decrease of population. These states have been sending farmers to advance the frontier on the plains, and have themselves begun to turn to intensive farming and to manufacture. A decade before this, Ohio had shown the same transition stage. The demand for land and the love of wilderness freedom drew the frontier ever onward.

Having now roughly outlined the various kinds of frontiers, and their modes of advance, chiefly from the point of view of the frontier itself, we next inquire what were the influences on the East and on the Old World. A rapid enumeration of some of the more noteworthy effects is all that I have space for.

COMPOSITE NATIONALITY.

First, we note that the frontier promoted the formation of a composite nationality for the American people. The coast was preponderantly English, but the later tides of continental immigration flowed across to the free lands. This was the case from the early colonial days. The Scotch-Irish and the Palatine-Germans, or "Pennsylvania Dutch," furnished the dominant element in the stock of the colonial frontier. With these peoples were also the freed indented servants, or redemptioners, who, at the expiration of their time of service, passed to the frontier. Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, writes, in 1717, "The inhabitants of our frontiers are composed generally of such as have been transported hither as servants, and, being out of their time, settle themselves where land is to be taken up and that will produce the necessaries of life with little labor."¹ Very generally these redemptioners were of non-English stock. In the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized, liberated, and fused into a mixed race, English in neither nationality nor characteristics. The process has gone on from the early days to our own. Burke and other writers in the middle of the eighteenth century believed that Pennsylvania² was "threatened with the danger of being wholly foreign in

¹ "Spotswood Papers," in Collections of Virginia Historical Society, i., ii.

² Burke, *European Settlements*, etc. (1765 ed.), ii., p. 200.

language, manners, and perhaps even inclinations." The German and Scotch-Irish elements in the frontier of the South were only less great. In the middle of the present century the German element in Wisconsin was already so considerable that leading publicists looked to the creation of a German state out of the commonwealth by concentrating their colonization.¹ Such examples teach us to beware of misinterpreting the fact that there is a common English speech in America into a belief that the stock is also English.

INDUSTRIAL INDEPENDENCE.

In another way the advance of the frontier decreased our dependence on England. The coast, particularly of the South, lacked diversified industries, and was dependent on England for the bulk of its supplies. In the South there was even a dependence on the Northern colonies for articles of food. Governor Glenn of South Carolina writes in the middle of the eighteenth century: "Our trade with New York and Philadelphia was of this sort, draining us of all the little money and bills we could gather from other places for their bread, flour, beer, hams, bacon, and other things of their produce, all which, except beer, our new townships begin to supply us with, which are settled with very industrious and thriving Germans. This no doubt diminishes the number of shipping and the appearance of our trade, but it is far from being a detriment to us."² Before long the frontier created a demand for merchants. As it retreated from the coast it became less and less possible for England to bring her supplies directly to the consumer's wharfs, and carry away staple crops, and staple crops began to give way to diversified agriculture for a time. The effect of this phase of the frontier action upon the northern section is perceived when we realize how the advance of the frontier aroused seaboard cities like Boston, New York, and Baltimore, to engage in rivalry for what Washington called "the extensive and valuable trade of a rising empire."

EFFECTS ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION.

The legislation which most developed the powers of the national government, and played the largest part in its activity, was conditioned on the frontier. Writers have discussed the subjects of tariff, land, and internal improvement as subsidiary to the slavery question. But when American history comes to be rightly viewed it will be seen that the slavery question is an incident. In the period from the end of the first half of the present

¹Everest, in Wisconsin Historical Collections, xii., pp. 7 ff.

²Weston, Documents connected with History of South Carolina, p. 61.

century to the close of the Civil War slavery rose to primary, but far from exclusive, importance. But this does not justify Dr. von Holst (to take an example) in treating our constitutional history in its formative period down to 1828 in a single volume, and giving six volumes chiefly to the history of slavery from 1828 to 1861, under the title of "Constitutional History of the United States." The growth of nationalism and the evolution of American political institutions were dependent on the advance of the frontier. Even so recent a writer as Rhodes, in his history of the United States since the compromise of 1850, has treated the legislation called out by the western advance as incidental to the slavery struggle.

This is a wrong perspective. The pioneer needed the goods of the coast, and so the grand series of internal improvement and railroad legislation began, with potent nationalizing effects. But the West was not content with bringing the farm to the factory. Under the lead of Clay—"Harry of the West"—protective tariffs were passed, with the cry of bringing the factory to the farm.

THE PUBLIC DOMAIN.

The public domain has been a force of profound importance in the nationalization and development of the government. The effects of the struggle of the landed and the landless states, and of the ordinance of 1787, need no discussion.¹ Administratively the frontier called out some of the highest and most vitalizing activities of the general government. The purchase of Louisiana was perhaps the constitutional turning point in the history of the Republic, inasmuch as it afforded both a new area for national legislation and the occasion of the downfall of the policy of strict construction. But the purchase of Louisiana was called out by frontier needs and demands. As frontier states accrued to the Union the national power grew. In a speech on the dedication of the Calhoun monument, Lamar explained: "In 1789 the states were the creators of the federal government; in 1861 the federal government was the creator of a large majority of the states."

When we consider the public domain from the point of view of the sale and disposal of the public lands,² we are again brought face to face with the frontier. The policy of the United States in dealing with its lands is in sharp contrast with the European system of scientific administration. Efforts to make this domain a source of revenue, and to withhold it from emigrants in order that settlement might be compact, were in vain. The jealousy

¹ See the admirable monograph by Prof. H. B. Adams, *Maryland's Influence on the Land Cessions*; and also President Welling, in *Papers American Historical Association*, iii., p. 411; Barrett, *Evolution of the Ordinance of 1787*.

² Sanborn, *Congressional Land Grants in Aid of Railroads* (*Bulletin of University of Wisconsin*); Donaldson, *Public Domain*.

and the fears of the East were powerless in the face of the demands of the frontiersmen. John Quincy Adams was obliged to confess: "My own system of administration, which was to make the national domain the inexhaustible fund for progressive and unceasing internal improvement, has failed." The reason is obvious; a system of administration was not what the West demanded; it wanted land. Adams states the situation as follows: "The slave holders of the South have bought the co-operation of the western country by the bribe of the western lands, abandoning to the new western states their own proportion of the public property and aiding them in the design of grasping all the land into their own hands. Thomas H. Benton was the author of this system, which he brought forward as a substitute for the American system of Mr. Clay, and to supplant him as the leading statesman of the West. Mr. Clay, by his tariff compromise with Mr. Calhoun, abandoned his own American system. At the same time he brought forward a plan for distributing among all the states of the Union the proceeds of the sales of the public lands. His bill for that purpose passed both Houses of Congress, but was vetoed by President Jackson, who, in his annual message of December 1832, formally recommended that all public lands should be gratuitously given away to individual adventurers and to the states in which the lands are situated."¹

"No subject," said Henry Clay, "which has presented itself to the present, or perhaps any preceding, congress, is of greater magnitude than that of the public lands." When we consider the far-reaching effects of the government's land policy upon political, economic, and social aspects of American life, we are disposed to agree with him. But this legislation was framed under frontier influences, and under the lead of Western statesmen like Benton and Jackson. Said Senator Scott, of Indiana, in 1841: "I consider the pre-emption law merely declaratory of the custom or common law of the settlers."

NATIONAL TENDENCIES OF THE FRONTIER.

It is safe to say that the legislation with regard to land, tariff, and internal improvements—the American system of the nationalizing Whig party—was conditioned on frontier ideas and needs. But it was not merely in legislative action that the frontier worked against the sectionalism of the coast. The economic and social characteristics of the frontier worked against sectionalism. The men of the frontier had closer resemblances to the middle region than to either of the other sections. Pennsylvania had been the seed-plot of southern frontier emigration,

¹ J. Q. Adams's *Memoirs*, ix., pp. 247, 248.

and, although she passed on her settlers along the Great Valley into the west of Virginia and the Carolinas, yet the industrial society of these Southern frontiersmen was always more like that of the middle region than like that of the tide-water portion of the South, which later came to spread its industrial type throughout the South.

The middle region, entered by New York harbor, was an open door to all Europe. The tide-water part of the South represented typical Englishmen, modified by a warm climate and servile labor, and living in baronial fashion on great plantations; New England stood for a special English movement—Puritanism. The middle region was less English than the other sections. It had a wide mixture of nationalities, a varied society, the mixed town and county system of local government, a varied economic life, many religious sects. In short, it was a region mediating between New England and the South, and the East and the West. It represented that composite nationality which the contemporary United States exhibits, that juxtaposition of non-English groups, occupying a valley or a little settlement, and presenting reflections of the map of Europe in their variety. It was democratic and non-sectional, if not national; "easy, tolerant, and contented;" rooted strongly in material prosperity. It was typical of the modern United States. It was least sectional, not only because it lay between North and South, but also because with no barriers to shut out its frontiers from its settled region, and with a system of connecting waterways, the middle region mediated between East and West as well as between North and South. Thus it became the typically American region. Even the New Englander, who was shut out from the frontier by the middle region, tarrying in New York or Pennsylvania on his westward march, lost the acuteness of his sectionalism on the way.¹

Until the spread of cotton culture into the interior gave homogeneity to the South, the western part of it showed tendencies to fall away from the faith of the fathers into internal improvement legislation and nationalism. In the Virginia convention of 1829-30, called to revise the constitution, Mr. Leigh, of Chesterfield, one of the tide-water counties, declared:

"One of the main causes of discontent which led to this convention, that which had the strongest influence in overcoming our veneration for the work of our fathers, which taught us to condemn the sentiments of Henry and Mason and Pendleton, which weaned us from our reverence for the constituted authorities of the state, was an overweening passion for internal

¹ Author's article in *The Aegis* (Madison, Wis.), Nov. 8, 1892, and *Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1896, p. 294, and April, 1898, pp. 436, 441, 442.

improvement. I say this with perfect knowledge, for it has been avowed to me by gentlemen from the West over and over again. And let me tell the gentleman from Albemarle (Mr. Gordon) that it has been another principal object of those who set this ball of revolution in motion, to overturn the doctrine of state rights, of which Virginia has been the very pillar, and to remove the barrier she has interposed to the interference of the federal government in that same work of internal improvement, by so reorganizing the legislature that Virginia, too, may be hitched to the federal car."

It was this nationalizing tendency of the West that transformed the democracy of Jefferson into the national republicanism of Monroe and the democracy of Andrew Jackson. The West of the War of 1812, the West of Clay, and Benton, and Harrison, and Andrew Jackson; shut off by the Middle States and the mountains from the coast sections, had a solidarity of its own with national tendencies. On the tide of the Father of Waters, North and South met and mingled into a nation. Interstate migration went steadily on—a process of cross-fertilization of ideas and institutions. The fierce struggle of the sections over slavery on the western frontier does not diminish the truth of this statement; it proves the truth of it. Slavery was a sectional trait that would not down, but in the West it could not remain sectional. It was the greatest of frontiersmen who declared: "I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. It will become all of one thing, or all of the other." Nothing works for nationalism like intercourse within the nation. Mobility of population is death to localism, and the western frontier worked irresistibly in unsettling population. The effects reached back from the frontier and affected profoundly the Atlantic coast, and even the Old World.

GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY.

But the most important effect of the frontier has been in the promotion of democracy here and in Europe.¹ As has been pointed out, the frontier is productive of individualism. Complex society is precipitated by the wilderness into a kind of primitive organization based on the family. The tendency is anti-social. It produces antipathy to control, and particularly to any direct control. The tax-gatherer is viewed as a representative of oppression. Professor Osgood, in an able article,² has pointed out that the frontier conditions prevalent in the colonies are important factors in the explanation of the American Revo-

¹ See Turner, "Contributions of the West to American Democracy," in *Atlantic Monthly*, xci., January, 1908. [Ed.]

² *Political Science Quarterly*, ii., p. 457. Compare Sumner, *Alexander Hamilton*, chs. ii-vii.

lution, where individual liberty was sometimes confused with absence of all effective government. The same conditions aid in explaining the difficulty of instituting a strong government in the period of the Confederacy. The frontier individualism has from the beginning promoted democracy.

The frontier states that came into the Union in the first quarter of a century of its existence came in with democratic suffrage provisions, and had reactive effects of the highest importance upon the older states whose peoples were being attracted there. It was *western* New York that forced an extension of suffrage in the constitutional convention of that state in 1820; and it was *western* Virginia that compelled the tide-water region to put a more liberal suffrage provision in the constitution framed in 1830, and to give to the frontier region a more nearly proportionate representation with the tide-water aristocracy. The rise of democracy as an effective force in the nation came in with western preponderance under Jackson and William Henry Harrison, and it meant the triumph of the frontier—with all of its good and with all of its evil elements.¹ An interesting illustration of the tone of frontier democracy in 1830 comes from the same debates in the Virginia convention already referred to. A representative from western Virginia declared: "But, sir, it is not the increase of population in the West which this gentleman ought to fear. It is the energy which the mountain breeze and western habits impart to those emigrants. They are regenerated, politically I mean, sir. They soon become *working politicians*; and the difference, sir, between a *talking* and a *working* politician is immense. The Old Dominion has long been celebrated for producing great orators; the ablest metaphysicians in policy; men that can split hairs in all abstruse questions of political economy. But at home, or when they return from congress, they have negroes to fan them asleep. But a Pennsylvania, a New York, an Ohio, or a western Virginia statesman, though far inferior in logic, metaphysics, and rhetoric to an old Virginia statesman, has this advantage, that when he returns home he takes off his coat and takes hold of the plough. This gives him bone and muscle, sir, and preserves his republican principles pure and uncontaminated."

So long as free land exists, the opportunity for a competency exists, and economic power secures political power. But the democracy born of free land, strong in selfishness and individualism, intolerant of administrative experience and education, and pressing individual liberty beyond its proper bounds, has its dangers as well as its benefits. Individualism in America has allowed a laxity in regard to governmental affairs which has

¹ Compare Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, pp. 15, 24.

rendered possible the spoils system, and all the manifest evils that follow from the lack of a highly developed civic spirit. In this connection may be noted also the influence of frontier conditions in permitting inflated paper currency and wild-cat banking. The colonial and revolutionary frontier was the region whence emanated many of the worst forms of paper currency.¹ The West in the War of 1812 repeated the phenomenon on the frontier of that day, while the speculation and wild-cat banking of the period of the crisis of 1837 occurred on the new frontier belt of the next tier of states. Thus each one of the periods of paper money projects coincides with periods when a new set of frontier communities has arisen, and coincides in area with these successive frontiers, for the most part. The recent radical Populist agitation is a case in point. Many a state that now declines any connection with the tenets of the Populists, itself adhered to such ideas in an earlier stage of the development of the state. A primitive society can hardly be expected to show the appreciation of the complexity of business interests in a developed society. The continual recurrence of these areas of paper-money agitation is another evidence that the frontier can be isolated and studied as a factor in American history of the highest importance.

ATTEMPTS TO CHECK AND REGULATE THE FRONTIER.

The East has always feared the result of an unregulated advance of the frontier, and has tried to check and guide it. The English authorities would have checked settlement at the headwaters of the Atlantic tributaries and allowed the "savages to enjoy their deserts in quiet lest the peltry trade should decrease." This called out Burke's splendid protest:

"If you stopped your grants, what would be the consequence? The people would occupy without grants. They have already so occupied in many places. You cannot station garrisons in every part of these deserts. If you drive the people from one place, they will carry on their annual tillage and remove with their flocks and herds to another. Many of the people in the back settlements are already little attached to particular situations. Already they have topped the Appalachian mountains. From thence they behold before an immense plain, one vast, rich, level meadow; a square of five hundred miles. Over this they would wander without a possibility of restraint; they would change their manners with their habits of life; would soon forget

¹ On the relation of frontier conditions to Revolutionary taxation, see Sumner, Alexander Hamilton, ch. iii.

a government by which they were disowned; would become hordes of English Tartars; and, pouring down upon your unfortified frontiers a fierce and irresistible cavalry, become masters of your governors and your counselors, your collectors and controllers, and of all the slaves that adhered to them. Such would, and in no long time must, be the effect of attempting to forbid as a crime and to suppress as an evil the command and blessing of Providence, 'Increase and multiply.' Such would be the happy result of an endeavor to keep as a lair of wild beasts that earth which God, by an express charter, has given to the children of men."

But the English government was not alone in its desire to limit the advance of the frontier, and guide its destinies. Tidewater Virginia¹ and South Carolina² gerrymandered those colonies to ensure the dominance of the coast in their legislatures. Washington desired to settle a state at a time in the Northwest; Jefferson would reserve from settlement the territory of his Louisiana purchase north of the thirty-second parallel, in order to offer it to the Indians in exchange for their settlements east of the Mississippi. "When we shall be full on this side," he writes, "we may lay off a range of states on the western bank from the head to the mouth, and so range after range, advancing compactly as we multiply." Madison went so far as to argue to the French minister that the United States had no interest in seeing population extend itself on the right bank of the Mississippi, but should rather fear it. When the Oregon question was under debate, in 1824, Smyth, of Virginia, would draw an unchangeable line for the limits of the United States at the outer limit of two tiers of states beyond the Mississippi, complaining that the seaboard states were being drained of the flower of their population by the bringing of too much land into market. Even Thomas Benton, the man of widest views of the destiny of the West, at this stage of his career, declared that along the ridge of the Rocky Mountains "the western limits of the republic should be drawn and the statue of the fabled god Terminus should be raised upon its highest peak, never to be thrown down."³ But the attempts to limit the boundaries, to restrict land sales and settlement, and to deprive the West of its share of political power were all in vain. Steadily that frontier of settlement advanced and carried with it individualism, democracy, and nationalism, and powerfully affected the East and the Old World.

¹ Debates in the Virginia Constitutional Convention, 1829-1860.

² Calhoun, Works, i., p. 145.

³ Speech in the Senate, March 1, 1825; Register of Debates, i., 721.

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION.

The most effective efforts of the East to regulate the frontier came through its educational and religious activity, exerted by interstate migration and by organized societies. Speaking, in 1835, Dr. Lyman Beecher declared: "It is equally plain that the religious and political destiny of our nation is to be decided in the West," and he pointed out that the population of the West "is assembled from all states of the Union and from all the nations of Europe, and is rushing in like the waters of the flood, demanding for its moral preservation the immediate and universal action of those institutions which discipline the mind and arm the conscience and the heart. And so various are the opinions and habits, and so recent and imperfect is the acquaintance, and so sparse are the settlements of the West, that no homogeneous public sentiment can be formed to legislate immediately into being the requisite institutions. And yet they are all needed immediately in their utmost perfection and power. A nation is being 'born in a day.' * * * But what will become of the West if her prosperity rushes up to such a majesty of power, while those great institutions linger which are necessary to form the mind and the conscience and the heart of that vast world? It must not be permitted. * * * Let no man at the East quiet himself and dream of liberty, whatever may become of the West. * * * Her destiny is our destiny."

With the appeal to the conscience of New England, he adds appeals to her fears lest other religious sects anticipate her own. The New England preacher and school teacher left their mark on the West. The dread of western emancipation from New England's political and economic control was paralleled by fears lest the West cut loose from her religion. Commenting, in 1850, on reports that settlement was rapidly extending northward in Wisconsin, the editor of *The Home Missionary* writes: "We scarcely know whether to rejoice or to mourn over this extension of our settlements. While we sympathize in whatever tends to increase the physical resources and prosperity of our country, we cannot forget that with all these dispersions into remote and still remoter corners of the land, the supply of the means of grace is becoming relatively less and less." Acting in accordance with such ideas, home missions were established and western colleges were erected. As seaboard cities like Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore strove for the mastery of western trade, so the various denominations strove for the possession of the West. Thus an intellectual stream from New England sources fertilized the

¹ Plea for the West (Cincinnati, 1835), pp. 11 ff.

West. On the other hand, the contest for power and the expansive tendency, furnished to the various sects by the existence of a moving frontier, must have had important results on the character of religious organization in the United States. It is a chapter in our history which needs study.

INTELLECTUAL TRAITS.

From the conditions of frontier life came intellectual traits of profound importance. The works of travelers along each frontier from colonial days onward describe certain common traits, and these traits have, while softening down, still persisted as survivals in the place of their origin, even when a higher social organization succeeded. The result is that to the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic, but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy,¹ that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal, that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom—these are traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier. Since the days when the fleet of Columbus sailed into the waters of the New World, America has been another name for opportunity, and the people of the United States have taken their tone from the incessant expansion which has not only been open, but has even been forced upon them. He would be a rash prophet who should assert that the expansive character of American life has now entirely ceased. Movement has been its dominant fact, and, unless this training has no effect upon a people, the American energy will continually demand a wider field for its exercise.² But never again will such gifts of free land offer themselves. For a moment, at the frontier, the bonds of custom are broken, and unrestraint is triumphant. There is not *tabula rasa*. The stubborn American environment is there with its imperious summons to accept its conditions; the inherited ways of doing things are also there; and yet, in spite of environment, and in spite of custom, each frontier did indeed furnish a new field of oppor-

¹ Colonial travellers agree in remarking on the phlegmatic characteristics of the colonists. It has frequently been asked how such a people could have developed that strained nervous energy now characteristic of them. Compare Sumner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 98, and Adams, *History of the United States*, i., p. 60; ix., pp. 240, 241. The transition appears to become marked at the close of the War of 1812, a period when interest centered upon the development of the West, and the West was noted for restless energy. Grund, *Americans*, ii., ch. i.

²The commentary upon this sentence—written in 1893—lies in the recent history of Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and the Isthmian Canal.

tunity, a gate of escape from the bondage of the past; and freshness, and confidence, and scorn of older society, impatience of its restraints and its ideas, and indifference to its lessons, have accompanied the frontier. What the Mediterranean Sea was to the Greeks, breaking the bond of custom, offering new experiences, calling out new institutions and activities, that, and more, the ever retreating frontier has been to the United States directly, and to the nations of Europe more remotely. And now, four centuries from the discovery of America, at the end of a hundred years of life under the Constitution, the frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American history.

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Poets of the Social Revolution.

SOMEONE has said something to the effect that when any great movement begins to have its poets it is not so very far from victory. It is certainly a sign that it is becoming a very vital part of the race life of the age in which it exists. Socialism has from the very beginning been an inspirer of poets and can count a long list who have sung its purpose and its mission. Three volumes have recently appeared filled with the work of men who have attuned their music to the harmony of the social revolution.*

All three show the influence of Whitman. In form and matter they must be counted as followers of this great rude, rough singer of America. Neither, I think, will any of them complain, if we say that they have fallen much behind the master. There has been but the one Whitman, and I wonder if he ever dreamed of founding a "school." Perhaps Horace Traubel may object to his book being called poetry, but if the work of the others is to be so classified then his must claim the same name. The mere fact that he is more prodigal with periods, and less free with paragraphs than the other two is something the proofreader might easily have remedied. I am not sure but what some such changes might have been an improvement in some instances that might be cited from all three readers. All write largely in the same prophetic, ecstatic tones so characteristic of Whitman. All pay the highest possible homage to conventionality, by their conscious straining to avoid it, something in which they are in no way peculiar at the present time.

Traubel is staccato in style, assertive rather than argumentative, prophetic rather than explanatory. The following extract is one of his best:

"If it were not for the boys, or for the boy left over in the man, everything would remain about where it is. We draw a line up against which we halt the boy. The boy walks straight-way over. He does not defy us. He does not hear us. The boy has eye and ear for sights and sounds ahead. But no cries from the past arrest his impatient feet. Every boy brings the youth of the race back again. The hope you have lost your boy recovers. When you say rebellion you say boy. The boy is not a blank wall. He is an open way. You get rid of the boy at

*"CHANTS COMMUNAL," by Horace Traubel. Small, Maynard & Co. Cloth, 194 pp.

"BROAD CAST," by Ernest Crosby, Funk & Wagnalls Co., Cloth, 126 pp., 75c.

"THE VOICE OF EQUALITY," by Edwin Arnold Brenholtz. Richard G. Badger. Cloth, 107 pp.

your peril. You cannot save yourself. The boy can save you. You can go to bed heavy with sleep. He will dream for you. You can go down town and trade swindle for swindle in the greed of the world. He will study and play and be honest for you. The born striker, the boy. Have you ever built a wall so high some boy could not climb it? Have you ever cried a no so deep some boy could not spade below it? Have you ever taught any religion, or any philanthropy, so good some boy could not better it? The rebellion of the boy is the salvation of the man."

Ernest Crosby dedicates his "Broadcast" to Edward Carpenter, another member of the Whitman clan. He opens his work with a defiance to institutions.

"I saw laws and customs and creeds and Bibles rising like emanations from men and women.

I saw the men and women bowing down and worshipping these cloudy shapes, and I saw the shapes turn upon them and rend them.

Nay, but men and women are the supreme facts."

We would recommend the following for a motto for a Civic Federation temple:

"Peace between capital and labor, is that all that you ask?

Is peace then the only thing needful?

There was peace enough in southern slavery.

There is a peace of life and another peace of death.

It is well to rise above violence.

It is well to rise superior to anger.

But if peace means final acquiescence in wrong, if your aim is less than justice and peace, forever one—then your peace is a crime."

There is a keen insight and a beautiful thought in this extract from the poem on "Democracy:"

"The common people—why *common* people?

Does it not mean common life, common aspirations, community of interests, communion of man with man?

Does it not imply the spirit of communism, of fellowship, of brotherhood?

Does it not suggest that human life down at the bottom is more fluid and intermingled and social than up at the top?

Is not all this hidden away in the words 'common people'?"

Sometimes he drops into conventional rhyme and rhythm, in a few cases with success, in one or two with a distinct weakening. In "Spring Thoughts" he has something that is daintily beautiful and instinct with the spirit of poetry at every point. The same is true of some of his "Country Pictures," that, while written in Whitman form, without regular versification, carries the reader

along with a swing as compelling as a marching song. As for his philosophy, it is protesting, rebellious, suggestive, and destructive, rather than inspiringly constructive.

The work of Comrade Brenholtz is so well known to readers of the REVIEW that we shall not give any quotations from his "Voice of Equality." His muse is more in tune with the song of Socialism than either of the others. I believe, too, that, while there are times in which his work limps badly, and is really only good prose (though just why we should say "*only*" I do not know), there are other "purple spots" that touch a higher mark than anything that has been done by any of the many followers of the new form of prosody.

On the whole, however, the impression which is given by the poets of Socialism who have appeared thus far, is one of promise rather than achievement. If we except Morris and Whitman, the singers of the new social order have not yet gained a place in the world's literature. This does not say that there is not strength and beauty in the lines of these writers. There is plenty of both, and taken as a whole they certainly rank as high from any literary point of view as any of those of the present day whom capitalism delights to honor.

A. M. SIMONS.

The Labor Theory of Value in the Light of Recent Criticism.

Continued from November.

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* opens with the following passage: "The annual labor of *every* nation is the fund which originally supplies it with *all* the necessaries and conveniences of life which it annually consumes, and which consist *always* either in the immediate produce of that labor, or in what is purchased with that produce from other nations."

The opening passage of Ricardo's *Principles* reads as follows: "The produce of the earth,—all that is derived from its surface by the united application of labor, machinery and capital, is divided among three classes of the community, namely, the proprietor of the land, the owner of the stock or capital necessary for its cultivation, and the laborers by whose industry it is cultivated. But in different stages of society, the proportions of the whole produce of the earth which will be allotted to each of these classes, under the names of rent, profit, and wages, will be essentially different, depending mainly on the actual fertility of the soil, on the accumulation of capital and population, and on the skill, ingenuity and instruments employed in agriculture."

Jevons, the English head of the "Austrian" school, opens his book on the principles of political economy with the following words:—"The science of political economy rests upon a few *notions* of an apparently simple character. Utility, wealth, value, commodity, labor, land, capital, are the elements of the subject; and whoever has a thorough comprehension of their nature must possess or be soon able to acquire a knowledge of the whole science. As almost every economical writer has remarked, it is in treating the simple elements that we require the most care and precaution, since the least error of *conception* must vitiate all our *deductions*. Accordingly, I have devoted the following pages to an investigation of the conditions and relations of the above-named *notions*."

And the opening passage of Böhm-Bawerck's own book on capital reads:—"He who possesses a capital is as a rule in a position to derive from it a continued net income, which income is known to science under the head of Rent of Capital or Interest of Capital in the broader sense of the term. This income possesses certain remarkable qualities. It arises independent of any personal activity of the capitalist,—it comes to him even though

he never raised a finger to create it, and seems therefore most truly to flow from, or according to an ancient simile, to be generated by capital."

All of these great luminaries of the science seem to be ready to lay down general laws governing human society, without regard to time and place. They all seem to be oblivious of the fact that the laws which they are about to explain have no universal application and are limited to a certain form of society, far from being universal in space, and further still from being perpetual in time. Not one of them seems to have given the slightest thought to the fact that the phenomena which he was about to describe and examine were part of a certain historical situation and the result of a certain historical development. History, with its actual, real facts and relations does not exist for them. All the nations, all the ages, and all stages of human development are subject to the laws which they lay down. To one of them, and that one the great "modern" Jevons, one of the great triumvirate of the "modern" school,—Jevons,—Menger,—Böhm-Bawerck,—the laws of political economy are not only extra-historic but extra everything else that has a semblance of reality, and reduce themselves to a few purely logical "notions," a correct "conception" of which gives one the key to the science of political economy quite irrespective of the knowledge of the facts of life, which seem to be an entirely negligible quantity to our great "modern" scientist.

Contrast with all this the opening sentence of Marx's *Kapital*:—"The wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities." With one mighty stroke of the pen all the conditions and limitations of the problem are given, the picture put in its historical setting! No soaring in the air, superior to space and time. No generalizations that may fit everything in general and nothing in particular. But a real, live situation, with a definite burning problem. No wonder that instead of losing himself in generalities or wasting himself on definitions of all sorts of "conceptions" and "notions," he delves right into the heart of the problem, and declares immediately that "our investigation must therefore begin with the analysis of a commodity." This he immediately proceeds to do. And how he does it!

To be sure, he does not do it to the entire satisfaction of his critics, but we shall see that this is due mainly to failure on their part to understand his work, as in the claim of Böhm-Bawerck about the supposed purely logical argument employed by Marx. Where these critics do understand Marx, their dis-

satisfaction with his argument is due to their lack of knowledge of the subject itself.

Slonimski, for instance, objects to Marx's analysis for the reason that in this analysis "the conception of labor becomes independent of the purposes and necessities for which it was undertaken," and the value created by labor "becomes an independent quality inherent in the commodity irrespective of its usefulness and exchange-value." Aside from the evidently absurd statement that according to Marx the *exchange-value* of a commodity is inherent in the commodity irrespective of its *exchange-value*, (Marx knows of only two kinds of value: use-value and exchange-value, and wherever he says simply "value" he means exchange-value), the statement contains some important inaccuracies.

To begin with, Marx never forgets the "purposes and necessities" for which production is undertaken. Quite the reverse: this thought is ever present in his mind, and it is due to this very fact that Marx did not fall into some of the grievous errors into which his critics, particularly the "moderns," have fallen. These gentlemen talk of the "psychological" motives of exchange as the cause and measure of value, all the time forgetting that before a commodity can be exchanged it must be *produced*, and that there must therefore be, first of all, "psychological" motives of *production* which ought to be of quite some interest. Not so with Marx. He always remembers that in our capitalistic system, (Be it remembered: Unlike his critics, Marx never talks of eternity but of the present capitalistic system) production is undertaken for the *purpose* of *profit*. This implies two things: First, that the producer *does not* produce the thing for its use-value, he does not give a snap for that, it is absolutely *useless* to him, and he will just as soon manufacture chewing-gum as Bibles.—And, second, that he knows in advance, or at least thinks he knows, the value of the product he is going to produce; in other words, he knows that the value of his product will depend on something more substantial and rational than the whimsical "desire" of the prospective purchaser based on some individual, "psychological" motivation. And this knowledge on the part of Marx of the *purposes* of capitalistic production had something to do with his abstracting from the useful qualities of the particular commodities when examining their exchange-value, as well as with his refusal to follow Böhm-Bawerck's advice to arrive at the laws of exchange-value by way of an examination of the "psychological" motives of exchange.

It is also somewhat inaccurate to say that according to Marx, exchange-value is *inherent* in a commodity, or that it is independent of its usefulness. Marx, as we have already seen, spe-

cifically says that exchange-value is not something inherent in a commodity, that it could not be inherent in it for it changes with social relations; that the whole thing is merely the expression of a social relation and appears only under a certain social system. Marx also says specifically, as also already stated, that no commodity can have exchange-value without its having use-value, that use-value is the substratum of exchange-value although it is neither its cause nor its measure. But then, Marx contradicts himself! Poor Marx! he contradicts himself so much and so radically that one is forced to the conclusion that he must have been a raving maniac, and one is surprised to see the big regiment of these very learned and clever gentlemen bothering the scribblings of this poor wretch.

Böhm-Bawerck, who thinks that Marx's was one of the greatest minds that applied themselves to this subject, also finds great comfort in Marx's supposed neglect of *usefulness* as influencing the exchange-value of commodities. He does not say that Marx contradicts himself, but he thinks that he caught Marx in a mental *faux pas*. Indeed, this is one of the greatest, if not the chief point, in his whole argument against Marx's analysis of a commodity, by which he arrives, at his labor theory of value. Marx says:

"The exchange-values of commodities must be capable of being expressed in terms of something common to them all, of which thing they represent a greater or less quantity. This common "something" can not be either a geometrical, a chemical, or any other natural property of commodities. Such properties claim our attention only in so far as they affect the utility of these commodities, make them use-values. But the exchange of commodities is evidently an act characterized by a total abstraction from use-value. Then one use-value is just as good as another, provided, only, it be present in sufficient *quantity*. As use-values, commodities are, above all, of different qualities, but as exchange-values they are merely different quantities and consequently do not contain an atom of use-value. If, then, we leave out of consideration the use-value of commodities, they have only one common property left, that of being products of labor. But even the product of labor itself has undergone a change in our hands. If we make abstraction from its use-value we make abstraction at the same time from the material elements and shapes that make the product a use-value; we see in it no longer a table, a house, yarn, or any other useful thing. Its existence as a material thing is put out of sight. Neither can it any longer be regarded as the product of the labor of the joiner, the mason, the spinner, or of any other definite kind of productive labor. Along with the useful qualities of the products themselves, we

put out of sight both the useful character of the various kinds of labor embodied in them, and the concrete forms of that labor, there is nothing left but what is common to them all; all are reduced to one and the same sort of labor, human labor in the abstract."

To which Böhm-Bawerck: "How is that? Where is the difference between labor and utility? While it is true that in the exchange relation of commodities the particularly useful qualities of the articles exchanged does not matter, the general *usefulness* of the commodities is not abstracted from. On the contrary, it remains common to them all. It does not matter whether the commodity can be used as an eatable, wearing-apparel, or for shelter, but it does matter that it be of some use, of use in general. Why, then, is utility rejected as a cause and measure of exchange-value, what is it "abstracted" from? Again, when considering labor Marx is compelled to abstract from the particular kind of labor contained in the commodity, so that what is left to all commodities in common is general labor, labor in the abstract. Just as there still remains in common to all of them general usefulness, usefulness in the abstract. Why then, this partiality for labor as against usefulness? Where is the reason for the discrimination in favor of the one as against the other, which makes the one the sole cause and measure of value, and denies to the other any influence whatever on this phenomenon?" And all this with such an amount of emphasis, that if it depended on that alone, the whole Marxian theoretical edifice would be smashed to pieces, which Böhm-Bawerck naively imagines that he does.

We do not presume to know whether Marx was ever embarrassed by these questions. But we venture to say that if he ever were, and all the resources of logic failed him, he had only to turn to the *purposes* of capitalistic production to be relieved of any difficulty. Slonimski touched a sore spot of anti-Marxism when he broached the subject of *purposes* of production, which his more discreet colleagues usually pass in silence. We have already dwelt on the subject at some length, but it is of such paramount importance that we cannot dwell upon it too much or recur to it too often.

Before commodities are exchanged, they are produced. They are produced, however, with a view to their exchange, and to the value to be realized on such exchange, and in the exchange itself the question of how, and in what manner the commodity was produced has a good deal to do with the fixing of its value. It is not, however, the question of the usefulness of the production that is considered. We have already mentioned that a capitalist will just as soon manufacture chewing gum as Holy Bibles. But more than that. The *purposes* of the production of commodi-

ties being the realization of a *profit*, a capitalist will just as willingly manufacture an *absolutely useless* article, if he will be assured of a profit. He does not manufacture absolutely useless things, because in order to get a purchaser it must be of some use to somebody, but he personally *does not* care a rap whether it really is useful or not. Again, when the article is of some use to somebody, that is, salable, he does not care a bit about anything that goes to make it useful. This is absolutely indifferent to him. He will manufacture any shape, color, taste or other quality, and when he comes to exchange it,—sell it,—he will not be concerned a bit whether the commodity he produced and is about to exchange is white, black, orange, or any other color; whether it is square, round, pointed or any other shape; sweet, sour, fragrant or otherwise; hard or soft, or whether it possesses any other quality which may determine its particular usefulness. But he *will* care how much labor it contains! This can readily be seen in our “advanced” methods of doing business when goods are “ordered,” that is sold—exchanged—before they are produced. In making the sale-exchange the producer will comply with any request as to shape, color, taste, or any other natural quality which affects the usefulness of the commodity with alacrity, as it is a matter of complete indifference to him. But he will stand out against anything that will require him to put into the commodity more labor. In taking your order,—exchanging *in prospecto* his goods for yours—he will “abstract” from any and all natural qualities upon which the usefulness of the commodity depends, but he will absolutely refuse to “abstract” from labor, and will doggedly insist on considering it when making valuations. Further, he will gladly “abstract” from the *kind* of labor. If he is willing to give you for a certain price the labor of, say, one hundred men for ten days, he will just as soon give you the product of the labors of tailors as of shoemakers. But he will make a stand on the question of the *quantity* of labor. He wouldn’t give you any *more* than he can help.

These actual “experiences” of the exchange relation which we have recounted are perfectly represented in Marx’s “logical” analysis, with which Böhm-Bawerck finds fault. It is true that as regards both, labor and usefulness, we “abstract” in the exchange relation from the particular, the particular labor and the particular usefulness, and leave only the general labor and the general usefulness. But in abstracting from the particular utility we have abstracted from the *quality* of the utility and have shown the exchange-relation to be a purely *quantitative relation*. But general usefulness cannot be *measured* as to *quantity*. It is hard to measure qualities unless they are of the same kind. But it is absolutely impossible to measure the general, abstract usefulness

of different things. How do you find the different amount of usefulness contained in a piano as compared with a suit of clothes, of an extension-table as compared with an engine-boiler? How do you measure general usefulness? If you cannot measure it, it cannot serve as a *measure* of value. And if it cannot serve as a *measure* of value, it cannot be the *cause* of value, for we judge the cause of value from the *changes* in value as shown by the measure of value. We find the very *existence* of value only because of its *measure*. Besides, the residuum of general usefulness which remains after we abstract from the particular useful qualities, is *not general* usefulness to the parties concerned in the exchange, and who fix the exchange-value, but general usefulness to *somebody*, that is, to *society* at large. For the parties exchanging the commodity it has *no use-value whatsoever*.

No so with labor. When we abstract from the particular labor contained in the commodity we abstract only from the *kind* of labor, that is, from its *quality*, but not from its *quantity*. *And it is just the quantity that we want, as the exchange of commodities is a quantitative relation.* And this quantitative relation of labor exists for these very people who enter the exchange relation. Abstract, general, human labor can be measured quantitatively and quantitatively only. That is why Marx's analysis is perfect. Abstract human labor, irrespective of the particular qualities of the labor employed to produce this commodity, abstract human labor, whose only measure is *time*, is the cause and *measure* of exchange-value.

Marx, however, never rests his case on a purely logical argument. Logic is to him only an instrument to the proper analysis and understanding of the actual facts of "experience." We have seen that, as a "logical" proposition, usefulness is entirely eliminated from value. But we have seen from our examination of the "experiences" of the exchange relation that there is some residuum of usefulness, general usefulness to society, which plays some role in it. We have seen both as a matter of logic and of experience that it is not, nor could it be, either the cause or the measure of value. What, then, is its role? True to himself he would not leave any actual fact unaccounted for. It is absolutely untrue that Marx disregards usefulness as a factor of value. Notwithstanding the fact, that this is assumed by every critic of the Marxian theory of value, it is absolutely and unqualifiedly untrue, and is only one additional link in the long chain of proof that an absolute lack of understanding of the Marxian doctrine seems to be the first qualification of a modern Marx-critic.

General, social usefulness has some influence on exchange-value. It is not its cause nor its measure. What is it? *It is its*

limitation. The facts of exchange, the "experiences" of the "exchange-relation," prove that general, social usefulness, the only usefulness which plays any part in the exchange of commodities under our capitalistic system, is neither the cause nor the measure of exchange-value, but its *limitation*. And this is borne out by Marx's very "logical" analysis, which so much aroused the ire and indignation of Böhm-Bawerck, that he almost forgot the respectful attitude which he usually assumes towards Marx. This result of experience and analysis is one of the main features of Marx's theory value, that feature which more than any other, stamps it as peculiarly his own. We have already seen, that according to Marx it is not *every* labor that creates value, but *socially necessary* labor. We have also seen already that Marx's conception of "socially necessary" includes the *general* as well as the *relative usefulness* of the commodity to society. That is why, according to the Marxian theory, the value of a commodity is not measured by the labor actually contained in a commodity, but the labor socially necessary to reproduce it. In the last article we have seen the historical basis of Marx's theoretical conclusions, now we see their logical and "experimental" justification.

Strange as it may seem, the very critics who are most vehement in the denunciation of Marx's so-called abstractions as unwarranted, and his supposed disregard of the "category" of usefulness as unpardonable, are at the same time raising an outcry against Marx for his insistence that only "socially necessary" labor is the cause and measure of value! With all their astuteness they cannot see the very simple fact that Marx *does* include usefulness as a factor of value, and that this very inclusion, which they loudly demand, accounts for the "socially necessary" which they no less loudly abjure! Indeed, none are so blind as those who will not see.

L. B. BOUDIN.

Studies in the History of the Development of the North American Proletariat.

(Continued.)

THE old great parties of America have well been compared to the giant trusts that control such great masses of capital, since they so exclusively dominate all fields of activity that all competing "third" parties appear to be completely excluded. If a competitor does appear the old parties will do anything to drive it away, if necessary they will unite for a short time in order to drive the venturesome interloper out of their fields.

The history of "third" parties in America is therefore a mournful story of continuous defeats which leaves little hope for the future.

* * *

This tragical fate of all "third" parties has undoubtedly contributed to the difficulty of building up an independent party. It has brought "third" parties, as such, into discredit. Illustrations are drawn from the fate of the numerous "third" parties as reflections on the formation of new ones. The interest of the great parties is naturally most closely involved in building up an opinion to the effect that all "third" parties are "Utopian," ineffective, un-American, etc. The old parties thus draw new vitality from the mournful end of their competitors. This gives rise to one more obstacle to the evolution of an independent socialist party.

It must be admitted that the scientific reader will not find himself satisfied with this statement of the situation. Is it really only the external condition of party organization, he will ask, that up till the present time has prevented the appearance of a socialist movement in the United States. He also might well say: The reference to the fiasco following the formation of other parties is not sufficient proof, without something further. Have not all these parties possessed inherent weaknesses? Were they not all incapable of life because they lacked a clear view of any definite goal, and were not based upon a social body having uniform interests? Is not the socialist movement distinguished from all the movements which have been described, in that it possesses just these characteristics?

Cannot a party which actually follows a definite object and really serves a common interest of great masses finally succeed in

substituting itself for the old parties? The party history of the United States has indeed one important example of the fact that in extraordinary circumstances it is possible to break the monopoly of the "great parties" and to form a new party capable of living. This example is offered by that of the present Republican party which arose out of the agitation for the abolition of slavery and has been able to maintain the dominant position which it so quickly gained. To be sure the conditions of the time during which the Republican party arose were much more favorable for the development of third parties. Party discipline was not half so strong; especially in the West, where the new party first gained a footing. Party organization was everywhere very little developed. Indeed the whole carefully constructed "machine" has arisen since the Civil War and has been largely created by the Republican party.

At once the thought will arise that what was attained by one party under the rallying cry of "emancipation of the black slaves" is possible even amidst the great difficulties of to-day, with the much stronger and more comprehensive cries of "emancipation of the white slaves from the fetters of capitalism"—"emancipation of the proletariat." If it is really possible to unite broad sections of the working population on this programme, that is to awake their class-consciousness, then it appears to me that their triumphal procession could be prevented by no electoral machine, however complicated, or by ever so old or powerful a monopoly of the old parties.

If we are really to exhaust the reasons which up to the present time have retarded socialism in the United States we must carry our investigation into deeper strata, we must seek for more hidden causes. Yet I think that with a little consideration it is not so hard to find these. They lie in part (and for this reason they should be discussed in this relation) still on the political field. It is necessary that the political relation of the American union should be considered, not simply in their historical form, but also in their inner essence. To be sure the old parties possess their electoral monopoly to a large degree because they are large and because they are in possession of the machine. But their character also contributes to the maintenance of this monopoly. They are even to-day, because of all the historical grounds that I have discussed, the parties of the predominant portion of the proletariat. But they would not be this if they did not make it extremely easy for the wage worker, and even for the class conscious wage worker, to belong to them. Just how this is the case we shall now proceed to explain.

V

The American parties are always a riddle to the educated European. This is true even of the names. I remember the time

when I first took any interest in politics how difficult it was for me to distinguish between the two great parties. I knew nothing more of them than their names. Both of these names pleased me so well that the choice between them was difficult. In any other country I was sure to find a party with an acceptable name, such as the: "*Estrema Sinistra*," the "*Radicaux*," or the "*Ex-treme Gauche*" the "*Fortschritts partei*," or even the "*Freisinnige Volks Partei*." When I stood between the two designations of the American parties it was like the fabled donkey between the two bundles of hay. Democrat sounded just as nice as Republican. I could not discover in either the slightest indication of which was the more "radical" and to which therefore my sympathies would turn as a foreordained fact. I found that the Democrats could just as much be considered the "left" of the Republicans as the latter "left" from the former. This boyish position was perfectly natural. Even to the ripened judgment the opposition of these two names appears puzzling and even to those who understand the foundations of the two parties their official designation seems unfortunate. These names that the parties bear, not only indicate no antagonism, but not even a difference. They are absolutely meaningless.

Let us leave the names on one side for a moment and turn toward the platforms, in which, to be sure, even if we find no absolute antagonism, we must certainly discover a divergence on certain points. But there also expectations are destined to be destroyed. So far as any fundamental difference in principles or on the great question of politics are concerned there is no trace to be found in the two American parties.

Ordinarily it is claimed that they are distinguished with regard to their attitude to the federal government and the individual states. Republicans are said to favor centralization, the Democrats decentralization. It is very evident, however, that even this antagonism is much too historical and theoretical today to serve any purpose in practical politics. For years there has been no conflict between the national government and the individual states. If such a one were to arise it would be always questionable how the two parties would divide upon it. It is certain that they would take their position wholly with regard as to which position would give them the greatest strength and wholly independent of any previous position.

* * *

In all other political questions the antagonism between Republicans and Democrats is still smaller.

Some time ago the parties were for a short time in sharp antagonism in relation to the currency question. The Democrats strongly supported the interest of the silver mine owners and

took up the question of free coinage of silver. Today this question offers no means of distinguishing between Republicans and Democrats. So far as it still exists it is only a struggle within the ranks of the Democrats, as to which is the proper currency policy, there being both gold and silver democrats.

Occasionally it appears as if the Democrat party inclined more toward free trade, the Republican to high tariff, but it must not be forgotten that the Democrats came forward as supporters of free trade, at least so far as a lowering of a protective tariff was concerned, simply in opposition to the ruling Republican policy. If they had really had the power to decide, their free trade position would soon have suffered a weakening.

* * *

I think that the two great political parties in the United States can only be properly considered when we free ourselves from all the ideas arising from the relations of European political parties. This means that American parties must not be looked upon as groups of men who have united as supporters of a common political principle. They might have been this in their beginning. It was perhaps true that in the first decade of the Republic the representatives of a more centralizing tendency and those not inclined toward state rights were divided between Democrats and Republicans, and that the former of these held more closely to the ideal of "order" and the latter was more inclined toward "freedom," as is Bryce's opinion. However, this might have been, whatever might have been the principal antagonism which then existed; by 1820 they belong to the past. When in 1824 Van Buren organized the opposition against John Quincy Adams he was seeking only for a favorable battle ground. To be sure he found this in the defense of the alleged endangered "state rights," which, however, in reality were threatened by nobody.

He raised Jackson as his standard bearer and was a master in creating enthusiasm out of nothing for his man. Jackson appeared as a defender of the "sacred rights of the people." His opponents so far from denying the desirability of this position proceeded to immediately appropriate it themselves. Van Buren following Jackson in the presidential chair, found himself opposed by Harrison. Then it was that Harrison in turn was designated by his party followers as the "man of the people" in opposition to Van Buren, just as the latter had placed Jackson in opposition to Adams. Harrison was the "log cabin" candidate, who led a frugal, simple life, practicing all the virtues of the simple life, meanwhile Van Buren was said to live in a palace and eat with golden knives and forks.

This simply means that the grounds which had originally

given birth to the party had exhausted their activity. The *raison d'être* had disappeared, the party would consequently have dissolved if it had really been the defender of any definite political principle. It did not dissolve, however, thanks to its own inertia and its possibilities for another purpose, which a political organization can serve in a democratic community, i. e., the pursuit of offices. The defeated organization from henceforth recognized as its only purpose the regaining of power in order to divide the "spoils" among its members. Since in the beginning the population were actually divided into two camps which really rested upon principles, so for the future, a bi-party division of the political population was necessary.

* * *

At the time of the Civil war, the slave question once more introduced a principle over which to struggle. The Republican party appeared with a sharply distinguished programme, whose central point was the relentless fighting of slavery (1). But this ground of party antagonism disappeared even quicker than those which arose during the first decade of the Republic. With the abolition of slavery the Republican party lost its reason for existence, nevertheless it did not disappear. But now for the first time the absolutely non-principled character of the two great parties appeared in all its boldness. Today they are indeed only organizations for the purpose of hunting offices, "All has been lost except office, or the hope of it" (*Bryce*) and "Politics is merely a means for getting and distributing places" (*Ostrogorski*.) This shows itself especially clear in the fact that in the United States, the country of democracy, par excellence, there is no such thing as "party government." There are really no longer any parties in Congress. The strong discipline which rules during elections ends on the threshold of Congress. Here each individual representative acts on his own judgment. Politics resolves itself into a mass of private businesses in which the individual representatives are united, whether these belong to the government itself or to the various groups of interest in the population who have their representatives in Congress. Accordingly the decisive actions are taken in the half secrecy of the committee rooms, while the open proceedings have sunk into almost complete insignificance.

* * *

There is another peculiarity of the great parties which is noteworthy for the question which we are discussing, because of its effect upon the internal relations between the old parties and

(1) This statement contains a historical inaccuracy, which is the sooner pardoned, since it is universally accepted by American historians. The Republican party did not by any means enter upon the field as the antagonist of slavery, but simply as a representative of small capitalist interests, in antagonism to those of the chattel slave owners. This, however, does not effect the conclusions which are drawn in the text. *Trans.*

the proletariat. It is just these features which make it extremely easy for the worker to owe allegiance to the traditional parties; because they do not clearly represent any specific class interest, but are essentially only indefinite unions for purposes, to which as we have seen even the representatives of the proletariat, are in no way indifferent (the hunt for offices); so it is easy for even the "class conscious" laborer to unite with one of the two parties. I say one of the two, since the allegiance of the laborers to either of the parties is determined almost wholly by local accidents.

* * *

Undoubtedly both of the great parties have a strong popular side to their make-up. This is not simply because both of them have during their history had epochs in which they were the spokesman for some sort of "oppressed" class. The Republican party boasts of its defence of the slaves, while the Democrats tell of how they stood for the exploited farmer.

Still more important is the fact that even at present all their organizations have their roots in the mass of the people. Their bosses and the great majority of the workers have risen from the lower classes and often reach even the most leading party positions. We see the system of the Catholic church in operation here, which resting upon the purely democratic basis erects its hierarchy of party organization upon the faith of the people. The humblest worker in the saloon knows that the party boss has come from the ranks. This faith appears to me the most essential factor in all party organizations. It is in the end much more important than the most skillfully worked out programme. One of the great powers of attraction of the Social Democracy in Germany arises out of the faith that the masses have in their leaders, whom they have seen suffer for them. This is one of the great effects which still remains of the anti-socialist laws in building up a party.

This close sympathetic feeling between the people and the political leaders requires constant attention. The leaders must constantly use clever systematic methods in order to retain the good favor of the masses. Success in elections depends primarily upon the votes of the great masses. As a result the proletariat with all the lower classes of the people is in the fortunate situation that two great parties are in competition for its favor. These facts have had as a result that both parties seek to gain the favor of this electoral class, even by slight concessions (at least in some districts) to the predominant wage working class.

In order to utilize still further this condition in which the ruling parties find themselves, a very peculiar system has lately been developed by the representatives of labor interest "the system of questioning candidates," which its opponents (the members

of the Socialist party) have characterized with the somewhat contemptuous designation of the "begging policy" but which seems, however, to have obtained great favor in the great mass of the organized workers of America. It consists in the presentation, by the representative of labor interests, especially the leaders of the trades unions or of the great associations of trades unions, of a carefully worked out list of questions to the candidates who are about to appeal to the votes of the laborers, and then to cast their votes according to the answers to the questions. [Here follows a rather full explanation of the system of questioning candidates as explained in the extra number of the *American Federationist* for July 15, 1901, and with which most of our readers are familiar.]

The anti-socialist trades union leaders have great hopes of this system. They feel quite sure that by means of it they are going to be able to definitely avoid the threatening danger of an independent socialist working class party. There are others who see in the introduction of this system of questioning the beginning of the end of the old conditions, because they think that the lack of success which the working class, in their opinion, are experiencing, will necessarily lead those who have thus begun to participate in politics to a renunciation of the old parties. I shall not introduce this question here, since I am not here concerned with the probable future developments, but only with the reasons which have hitherto prevented the rise of a powerful socialist party in the U. S. Among these reasons one of the most important is undoubtedly the fact that the working class, even after they have begun to follow "independent politics," still live in the belief that they can secure what they desire by skillful utilization of the old two party system.

VI

All that I have so far said concerning the peculiar attitude of the American workingman to politics seems to be plausibly explained by the statement that the proletariat of the U. S., up to the present time, has not formed its own party, because of the lack of any official political representative of socialist views. This does not, however, completely explain it, because this in turn is so largely due to the attitude of unquestioned admiration for the state and society which rules in wide circles of the American working class. Nor is the working class so low that we can account for its joyful optimism regarding the state simply to the expectation of obtaining office. Here also we must seek for deeper reasons, and we shall find that the fundamental disinclination of the American worker to socialist tendencies, in the developed European sense, is in large part due to the peculiarity of the political conditions; his love for the existing state espe-

cially can certainly be explained from the political position which he occupies in this state.

Many observers have remarked the peculiarity of the American citizen that he looks upon the government of his country as a sort of divine institution, and which he honors with faithful respect. His attitude towards the constitution is as towards something holy that is removed from human criticism. This has been rightly designated as a "constitutional fetish worship." This position is drilled into the American worker from childhood in school and in public life. Indeed he has no reason to change the opinion which has been thus inoculated into him, when he comes to his own convictions. It is true that for him, as the representative of the great mass,—the people—there are rights granted in the government that are of great significance.

We have already discussed the radically democratic character of the government when we considered the extent of the suffrage. But all these individual rights are of much less significance than the declaration of the government that it can itself be changed by the people in direct balloting. Thereby the whole government is placed upon a basis of popular sovereignty. The sovereign people alone decide what shall be legal in the realm of the American union. This legal situation has a number of far reaching consequences in determining the mental attitude of public life. It has nourished what may be called the democratic *phrase* and brought it to an exaggerated development.

The many calls upon the citizens at election has assisted in forcing this development further. Over and over again sounds the appeal to the "holy rights of the people," again and again the individual man feels himself surrounded with the halo of "sovereignty." "We the free people of America"..... "we the people of the state of.....grateful to Almighty God for our freedom".....is drilled into the ears of the American from childhood. The least and most insignificant proletarian shares in this divine sovereignty, he is the people and the people is the state. (Nominally!)

From this there arise in each individual a boundless feeling of power, which, however, imaginary it may really be, is undoubtedly a reality in his consciousness. "The citizens believe that he is king in the state and that he can set things in order if he only wishes." The words of the popular speaker, "When the American people arise in their power and majesty" are by no means empty phrases to his hearers. Each individual among them believes in this mysterious power which he calls the "American people" and which nothing can withstand. He has a mystical faith in the effectiveness of the popular will and

speaks of it in a sort of religious ecstasy. This faith often stands in striking contrast with the actual results or even efforts. The citizen seldom moves a finger in order to abolish evils in the public life, but believes in the firm conviction that he has only to will it in order to bring about a desired end. And this conviction maintains in him a love of the legal and a hatred of the illegal which burns in him like a fire, of which, to be sure, a spark seldom shows itself, but it never goes out and may break out at any moment in a flame of enthusiasm which will spread light and warmth abroad.

In close connection with this there is another essential peculiarity of political life in the U. S., and that is the overpowering significance of "public opinion." This is fundamentally the actual ruling power which supports the departments of justice as well as the executive and legislative bodies. We saw that there was no "party government" in the sense that it exists in England, France or Italy. This depends upon the one side upon the peculiarities of the existing party relations, on the other hand it depends upon the conditions here set forth, that legally the sovereign people stands above all public powers and that they can send these whither they will at any moment. As a result of this the chosen representatives of the people whether they belong to the judicial, executive, legislative branches of government, depend for their existence upon continuous control of the masses, whose will, so far as it is not expressed in voting, finds expression in the mysterious "public opinion." The president and most of the governors have the right to veto acts of congress and the legislatures. They will use this, however, only when they are sure they have public opinion behind them. On the other hand the legislative body has the right to overthrow the veto by a two-third majority. The effectiveness of public opinion is naturally strengthened by the short electoral periods. This rulership of public opinion must once more contribute to immeasurably increase the consciousness of power in every ordinary citizen. If it is actually true that the general public opinion decides the course of politics, then naturally every citizen, including the laborer, feels himself a part, and an equal part with any trust magnate, of the great mass, which decides elections and determines "public opinion."

* * *

So it comes about that "public opinion" in America, at least until within very recent times, has been very sympathetic towards labor interests as such. In a twofold way this gave the laborer the consciousness that he amounted to something in the existence of the state. Shall he not then rejoice in the existence of this state? In a state that not only granted him a full share

in the public life, but in whom he was fully valued as a citizen politically and socially? He, in order to secure whose favor, everything must bend! The laborer certainly had subjectively, the full right to strike himself proudly on the breast and to raise his head and speak of himself as *civis Americanus sum*.

But certainly this formal equality in the state alone is not sufficient. As was said in the "*Doleances*" during the French Revolution, "The voice of freedom does not kindle the heart of a miserable one who is dying of hunger." A radical democratic constitution can attach the masses to the form of the state but it can not prevent his criticism of the ruling society and especially of the existing economic order, if this does not also grant to the people an endurable material existence. We should never seek to find the reasons for the lack of hostility to state and society exclusively in the peculiarities of the political position of the masses. This arises much more from what is comprehended in the phrase "economic condition." The task of the following studies shall be to bring forward the proof that the economic conditions also of the North American proletariat are suited, or more correctly, *were* suited to guard them from the entanglements of socialism.

WERNER SOMBART.

Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft.

Translated by A. M. Simons.

EDITORIAL

The Pittsburg Convention of the A. F. of L.

Comrade Hayes has described elsewhere the principal events of this convention, but there are a few things about it which "move us to remark." The financial report shows a steady falling off in receipts for the last two years. The history of trades unionism has never in any place offered a parallel to such a decline during a time of such rapidly advancing prices and increasing demand for laborers. Trades unions often decline during periods of industrial depression, and such a decline is no sign of weakness but a decline on the upward sweep of the industrial pendulum is a sign of approaching death.

Never before has the A. F. of L. shown itself so bound, body and soul, to plutocracy as at this convention. The Civic Federation, through its puppets, Gompers & Co., sought to impress upon that portion of the labor movement enrolled beneath the A. F. of L. the stamp of plutocracy and they succeeded. The few socialists in attendance presented almost a pitiable if not a ludicrous spectacle. If anything were wanted to justify the establishment of the I. W. W. it was furnished by the last convention of the A. F. of L.

While noticing this convention we cannot pass over the fact that in his eagerness to do the bidding of his masters Gompers overstepped his usual caution and placed in his opening address a falsehood so evident and a slander so vile as to be evident to all save those who have forgotten how to think. We refer to the words contained in his attack upon the Western Federation of Miners, where he stated that the money given by the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (which by the way is something wholly different from Gompers' clique) was only for the purpose of appealing the Colorado cases to higher court and "that up to this moment there it not a scintilla of evidence indicating the fulfilment of the expressed intention to carry any of the cases involved to the higher tribunal" and "that these funds have been prevented from their proper source and diverted to financing a hostile movement, a movement having for its avowed purpose of destruction of the trades unions."

Our space prevents any full and complete exposure of how particularly despicable this lying is, but those who wish to know the truth can well afford to send to the Miners' Magazine, Denver, Colo., and ask for their issue of November 23, in which the whole truth of the matter is set forth backed up by a mass of documentary proofs which admit of no denial. Suffice it to say here that not only are the cases being carried up and that they have been fought at every inch of the way, but that the Western Federation of Miners is practically the only union publishing a complete list of all its expenditures, whose accuracy is vouched for by a bonded firm of accountants.

We publish in this issue an article by Prof. Frederick J. Turner, of the University of Wisconsin, on "The Frontier in American History." Although this article has appeared before, it was in technical publications, having a circulation within an extremely limited circle, so that it is safe to say that not 10 per cent of our readers ever heard of it. This article is without a doubt the greatest contribution yet made in the application of the materialistic interpretation of history to American conditions. The positions here set forth for the first time have been adopted by many other writers and so have in a way become familiar, but the article itself still constitutes an indispensable preliminary study to the understanding of the development of American society.

Comrade Upton Sinclair is arranging a co-operative plan of publication for his new book "The Jungle". This book is without doubt the greatest socialist novel yet published. Those of our readers who wish to know more of the plan can address Comrade Sinclair, at Princeton, N. J.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

AUSTRIA.

The national convention of the Austrian Social Democracy met at Vienna the first of November. Its entire proceedings were dominated by the spirit of revolt inspired by the events taking place just over the border in Russia. It was determined to at once begin a revolutionary movement for the attainment of universal suffrage. Comrade Ellenbogen introduced a resolution on universal suffrage from which the following are extracts: "The decisive moment has arrived. The present parliament will shortly end its infamous existence. . . . In this crisis the convention of the Austrian Social Democracy must recognize as its highest and holiest duty to make every effort, to draw back before no sacrifice in order to prevent the people of Austria from enduring again at a new election the horrors that have existed at previous ones and that the people have endured during the six terrible years of the just disappearing parliament of privilege. The convention demands that the comrades enter upon a campaign of popular agitation for this right of equality and to draw back before no means that may be clearly seen to be necessary in carrying on this decisive battle among the masses. . . . Finally to be prepared in spite of the rulers' short-sightedness and cowardly inactivity to enter if necessary upon a *Massenstreik*."

Comrade Schuhmeier, representative in parliament from Vienna, in speaking of this resolution, declared: "We have had discussions enough, let us now proceed to deeds. When the news from Russia lies before us, our place is no longer here, but out on the streets of Vienna. We cannot wait until the meeting of parliament on the 21st of November, events call us to earlier action. It is not our position to stand here and speak, but to go out there where we belong among the people to arouse them to liberating inactivity."

Representative Daszynski spoke as follows: "It is our privilege to have lived in the moment for which so many races and so many millions of fighters have so long waited—the moment when the violent rulership of the Czar of all the Russias is sinking into its grave. A measureless feeling of liberation overcomes us and we shed tears of joy around this grave, for we know these tears are mixed with the fresh-flowed blood of our best and noblest; the best among us who have been conquered by the belief in justice and who have made the feeling of humanity something real among us, will make the very gallows upon which they die, change from dry wood into the holy tree of freedom and transform the prisons into the Meccas of the pilgrims of the free humanity of the future. The hot wind that blows from the east will dry up the tears of the working class and arouse many to a recognition of our slavery and

our shame. In this powerful stream of time in which we are fortunate to live, this miserable state of Austria will also play a part, whether with or against its will, will be driven forward. This Austria cannot stand still, this Austria of slavery, this Austria of injustice, this Austria of the savage outbreak of suicidal chauvinism, this Austria must also go down to its grave. (Thunderous applause.)”

On the last day of the meeting Victor Adler introduced the following resolution on the *Massenstreik*, which was unanimously adopted: “The convention stands upon the foundation of the resolutions of the Amsterdam congress. It accordingly rejects all fantastic projects of a national or international general strike for the purpose of overthrowing the social order, whether these projects come from anarchistic, ‘anarcho socialist’ or unionist side.

“Accordingly the congress recognizes in the *Massenstreik* a single great branch of an extreme but effective political means of fighting, that in certain decisive moments brings into effect, for clearly defined and limited purposes, the whole power of the politically and economically organized working class, in order either to prevent a reactionary attack of tyrants upon the political and economic rights of the proletariat or in order to conquer against a final resistance the granting of a long due right of the proletariat.

“In this sense the preparation of the *Massenstreik* does not endanger the political and economical organization of the workers, but is one of the most effective means with which to protect and maintain the possibility and security of every form of proletarian organization.

“The success of this method of fighting depends upon the same conditions as that of every proletarian battle: upon the degree of extension of class consciousness, upon the strength, firmness and unity in every form, and especially upon the economic form, of the organization of the working class, and finally from the clear, energetic and sacrificing manner in which it is carried out. The congress therefore demands of the workers of Austria that in these days of political crisis, which may at any hour require decisive action, to work with doubled energy for the building up of their political and economic organizations, which in the time of battle will be so much more effective and dangerous to their enemies, the firmer and the stronger they are.

“The congress leaves it in the hands of the trusted officials of the proletarian organization to decide at what moment in the battle for suffrage, whose attainment is a necessity of life to the proletariat, it is best to apply the political *Massenstreik*, and knows that in so doing the full weight of responsibility will be recognized, for an action which will lay heavy sacrifices upon the proletariat, and hold them responsible that nothing essential will be left undone to prepare the way for victory for the working class.”

AUSTRALIA.

From the *Worker*, of Brisbane, we learn that the wave of reaction which the socialists have long predicted is now striking New Zealand. The government now proposes to practically abolish the famous Arbitration Act. It has introduced a bill which, according to the above authority, “openly aims at three things: the destruction of trades unionism; the destruction of the principle of industrial arbitration; the return to the old system under which wages were regulated solely by the necessity of the individual workman.” In other words, the class struggle has now struck Australia good and hard, and the old reform movement has been driven aside as the field is being cleared for a straight fight. At the same time throughout Australia socialism is growing as never before.

This was shown in a recent communication to the *New York Nation*, which certainly will not be accused of having the slightest sympathy with the Socialist Party. According to the correspondent of this publication, the fight throughout Australia has now become clearly one between socialism and capitalism, and while the writer is most bitterly opposed to socialism he can not admit that as a result of the campaign "politics were lifted to a higher level. Men who in England had lived through the great days of Gladstone and Disraeli, Bright and Lowe, and who deplored the pettiness of Australian public life, were gratified to find the greatest questions brought within the field of discussion and to the verge of action. The mediocre personalities of political leaders were aggrandized by the cause they advocated." This writer also admits the socialist contention that when the competitive era begins to disappear into that of monopoly the reform legislation for which Australia has been so famous would be swept aside and he states that Mr. Seddon, the famous New Zealand socialistic minister, recently introduced a new bill providing for the building of cottages for the houseless "with the melancholy confession that in spite of all the beneficent industrial legislation of the past ten or twelve years, projected mainly in the interest of the laboring class, the condition of the worker had not been ameliorated. . . . The very prosperity of the country had penalized the worker and the entire mass of those who lived in other peoples' houses. The cost of living had risen fully as much as the wages of the workers had been raised."

Here is a lesson for those who are inclined to go off after the strange gods of Hearstism, and opportunism in general.

RUSSIA.

Russia has now entered upon a "permanent revolution," which was foretold in this department last month, and which may easily continue for one or two years yet. The capitalist press is now engaged in a frantic effort to show that the socialists are losing their grip on the revolutionary movement. The European papers, however, do not dare to serve out this sort of stuff, because they know that there are too many channels through which the truth can reach their readers. It is universally admitted that the one consistent coherent force in the midst of the chaos which now prevails throughout, what was once the kingdom of the Czar is furnished by the socialists. Every day sees new centers of revolt, new strikes, new defections from the army and navy, new uprisings among the peasantry, and these are all slowly but surely being formulated into a solidified class-conscious mass demanding universal suffrage without regard to sex, and the establishment of a government which in all respects shall be far more democratic than any that has hitherto existed.

In the meantime money is urgently needed with which to buy guns and ammunition to carry on the war for freedom. The cry is no longer for propaganda leaflets, but for powder and bullets and rifles. If the Russian workers will shed their blood in our fight, for it is our fight as much as theirs, we should not begrudge the dollars.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

The silver jubilee convention of the American Federation of Labor was held in Pittsburg during the past month, and, while from the standpoint of attendance of delegates and visitors it was a success, still when a retrospective view is taken of the affair it is difficult to mention a single act of the session that stands out above the mediocre routine of former gatherings. The officers' reports were fairly satisfactory—that is, if we can be satisfied when the federation holds its own and is practically at a standstill just at a period when it has been subjected to considerable attack from the employers' associations and so-called citizens' alliances.

There were upward of 350 delegates present representing 85 of the 116 affiliated international unions, as well as 23 state and 73 city central organizations. Some of the information contained in the exhaustive reports submitted is quite interesting, not only to union men and women directly, but also to people generally who are not connected with organized labor, and who have no time or opportunity to wade through the long columns of figures and words that are produced by the officials, or who only obtain a one-sided view of trade unions, as, for example, during periods of strikes.

Stripped of superfluous verbiage, 60 national unions—a few more than one-half of the total number—paid out in sick and death, traveling, tool insurance and out-of-work benefits over \$1,500,000 during the past year. For instance, the carpenters expended \$191,000 in death benefits, the cigarmakers \$151,752, molders \$58,000, and printers \$39,000. The disease that swelled the mortality list most was tuberculosis—the great white plague for which modern capitalism is largely responsible.

The cigarmakers paid their traveling members \$58,000, considerably more than an average of one dollar per capita, while the sum of \$30,000 was expended as unemployed benefits. The amalgamated carpenters, with a trifle less than 5,000 members (distinguished from the brotherhood carpenters, who have 144,000 members), expended \$18,500 in unemployed benefits, \$3,500 for lost tools, and \$8,250 sick benefits. The hat-ters paid \$10,000 to members out of work, the machinists paid \$50,000 to their sick, and the boot and shoe workers a fraction less than \$80,000 for the same purpose. Those among the molders who were ill received a total of \$176,000 in round numbers, while the barbers drew \$37,000 from a similar fund.

The tendency toward centralization in this industrial movement is as clearly reflected as in the world of capital. Of the unions reporting it is noteworthy that 2,359 charters were surrendered, while only 2,106 charters were issued, a net loss of 253. Yet the net gain in membership exceeded 38,000. Many of the charters that were surrendered were given up because local unions were merged.

Coming down to strike statistics, it is interesting to note that over \$2,500,000 was expended in waging contests upon the industrial field, in a total of 1,157 strikes. The number of persons involved is given as 107,268, the number of benefited 63,350, and 53,028 were worsted. Thirty-two national organizations reported gaining higher wages, with or without strikes, and thirteen secured reductions in hours of labor.

The unions that increased wages were: Asbestos workers, blacksmiths, blast furnace workers, broom makers, carpenters, carriage and wagon workers, commercial telegraphers, coopers, electrical workers, elevator constructors, stationary firemen, foundry employes, glass bottle blowers, glass workers, granite cutters, hatters, hod carriers, hotel and restaurant employes, lathers, leather workers (both national unions), paper box workers, printing pressmen, quarrymen, street railway employes, theatrical stage employes, tailors, tip printers, tobacco workers and wire weavers. The unions that reduced hours of labor were: Blacksmiths, boilermakers, carriage workers, cement workers, clerks, electrical workers, stationary firemen, leather workers, metal polishers and brass workers, paper makers, quarrymen, cotton mule spinners and tobacco workers.

Beyond these reports showing the activity of some of the affiliated international unions there is little if anything to record that will make the Pittsburgh convention live in history, or that tended in even the most remote degree to lend encouragement to the progressive element in the labor world. It is noticeable that President Gompers' reports become longer each year in proportion as they contain less of real merit. He consumed practically all of the time during the afternoon of the first day in inflicting his ponderous platitudes and generalizations upon the delegates who would listen, sandwiched in with the usual regrets, apologies, attacks, etc. In fact, Gompers persists in always monopolizing a greater part of the time the first three days, and thereafter insists on taking the center of the stage at the slightest provocation. There is nothing in the world that pleases President Gompers more than to be ceremonious to the limit and to pose before a gaping and admiring audience; he would have made quite a success as an actor if he were not so short and as slow as a seven-years' itch. During the first five days of the convention, when Gompers wasn't talking, adjournments were taken. The sessions became farcical; everybody complained of the tameness of the convention. "Start something! Why don't you Socialists start something?" was the cry of the delegates on every hand. "Start something yourselves," the Socialists replied.

Finally, along about Monday of the second week the good, old jurisdiction wrangle began; the painters succeeded in tearing loose a portion of the car workers; then came the struggle of the steamfitters for a charter, although for several years they had been told to get into the plumbers' union, and they were tentatively successful. But when it came to granting the stogiemakers a charter, the consistency of the brethren was rudely fractured, for they turned down the request and told the stogiemakers to hike into the cigarmakers' organization. The bitterest fights took place between the longshoremen and seamen, followed by the usual attack of the engineers, firemen, teamsters and coopers upon the brewery workers. It is becoming quite clear that the latter are singled out for dismemberment, and it was disgusting to observe the manner in which the craft unions, the so-called autonomists, combined against the brewers and crammed a compulsory arbitration scheme down their throats (although they professed to be opposed to compulsory arbitration themselves), and then forced the whole jurisdiction squabble into city central bodies, where some lovely family quarrels will doubtless be had during the coming year. It looks as though the longshoremen

will be up against the same fight in the near future that the brewers are, and then perhaps the reactionists, led by Gompers, will camp on the trail of the miners. If the autonomists are consistent, which, however, is not always the case, that will be the logical outcome. The discouraging feature about it is that the industrialists could control the conventions and the federation if they pulled together, but up to the present the big organizations have been unable to work in harmony. Some of them reach out and attempt to absorb those whom they consider rivals, and then prate beautifully about a "craft autonomy." For example, the carpenters swear they will swallow the amalgamated woodworkers, and yet oppose the industrialism of the brewers. Practically the only thing that was gained as the result of four days' jurisdiction fights was the adoption of a resolution to bring about a conference between the carpenters and woodworkers' representatives—no more and no less than what was accomplished at the New Orleans convention, three years ago. The chances are that nothing will come of any of the propositions adopted. All the unions involved in factional disputes will continue to waste a barrel of money and much time to show concentrated capitalism how not to unite in a compact, militant force that recognizes that an injury to one is the concern of all.

But perhaps the most reactionary move made in this farcical convention was Gompers' high-handed ruling that two resolutions—one introduced by the hat and cap workers' national organization and the other by the Wilkesbarre (Pa.) central body—which were couched in socialistic terms and suggested independent political action, WERE OUT OF ORDER in A. F. of L. conventions. The resolutions were not of a partisan nature—in fact, the hat and cap workers proposed that a commission be appointed to investigate and report at the next convention plans to organize the workers to make a combined attack upon capitalism along practical lines. Yet Wm. Mahon, president of the street railway employes, whether in jest or in earnest, made the point that the resolutions were in conflict with a provision of the constitution, which prohibited the convention from taking partisan political action, and which section has really been obsolete for years, and Gompers promptly ruled in his favor and choked off further debate. More than that, while Delegate Lavin, of the Wilkesbarre central body, was discussing his resolution his time expired. A motion was made that Lavin's time be extended, a courtesy that is shown scores of times in every convention. Because there was an objection Gompers refused to put the motion and Lavin was ruled off the floor. That is how the immaculate, fair-minded (?) Gompers performs. He has become completely intoxicated with his power, and unless one talks and writes as he dictates one receives little consideration. It has been remarked by some of his friends that Gompers is becoming very peevish and irritable; he is likely to lose his temper at the slightest provocation, and never misses an opportunity to display his annoyance if a Socialist or any other delegate who honestly differs from him criticizes his views or acts.

It was the belief of many delegates that the Pittsburg convention marked the turning point in A. F. of L. history. Events during the coming year will demonstrate whether or not their predictions are correct.

BOOK REVIEWS

GERMS OF MIND IN PLANTS, by R. H. Francé. Translated by A. M. Simons. Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1905, Cloth, 147 pp., 50c.

The history of modern scientific knowledge is the history of our advance toward a monistic conception of the universe. In the Cartesian philosophy a sharp division was conceived between man and the lower animals, the latter figuring as mere automata devoid of sensation. Though the progress of science quickly dispelled that illusion, still more than two centuries had to pass before men could discern all the links which make the unbroken chain of organic life. During that period no serious investigator dreamed of ascribing to the vegetable kingdom any power of feeling or of initiative. With the advent of the new botany all this was changed. Plants were seen to be endowed with sensation which differs only in degree from that possessed by their superiors in the scale of development, even by man himself. In the suggestive and poetic nature study now before us we see a picture of mind stuff in the making. We see trees and flowers taking rest and nourishment, defending themselves against injury and seeking spontaneously those conditions most favorable to their growth. We see indications of the actual presence of the senses of smell and taste among them. We observe their sensitiveness to temperature, to the force of gravity, to a multitude of stimuli, many of which are far too delicate for human perception. What then do we learn from revelations like this? Simply the underlying *oneness* of all life. What do we infer? Simply the unity of the universe. The author does not attempt more than an introduction to this subject, neither does he claim for himself any special originality, but he views nature with the eyes of a man of science and tells us of his visions in the language of a poet. A philosopher he is not, and perhaps it is just the poetic quality of his mind which colors and confuses his philosophical conceptions. For instance, this little treatise is beyond question a document in support of monism and the author recognizes the tendency of his own teaching. Nevertheless on more than one occasion we find him losing sight of his central truth as in the following passage:

"I have often thought that the peculiar riddle of life consisted in just this—how an apparently all powerful creativeness can be united to a scheme of physical forces. Perhaps the wisdom of Empedocles offers the true solution, and there is an unconfined spirit in everything, which can only gradually free itself from the bonds of matter—most of all in us, less in the animals, and still less in the plants, and becoming in its lowest manifestation only perceptible, as an eternal causal relation, in dead matter itself. This poetical figure is perhaps the best description of the reality."

We agree with Francé that this is a poetic figure, but we cannot

agree with him that it stands for reality. "Unconfined spirit" is unconceivable since we only know spirit as it exists within the *confines* of material substance, and as for the phrase "dead matter" it means nothing since not a particle of matter exists destitute of the power of initiative, destitute of the potentiality of life. Evidently, too, Francé still cherishes a belief in Kant's "thing in itself." On this point, however, the translator's note is a sufficient reply.

LILIAN HILLER UDELL.

MAX SCHIPPEL. AMERIKA UND DIE HANDELSVERTRAGSPOLITIK. *Sozialistischen Monatsheften. Paper, 133 pages, 2.30 Marks.*

We have here a careful statistical study of the commercial policy of the United States, such as no native writer has furnished us. The main portion of the work is taken up with a discussion of the probable outcome of the international tariff war which must arise as a result of the protective measures being taken by European nations against the United high tariff policy. The United States depends upon Europe as the foreign market for its agriculture produce but refuses to permit the introduction of European manufactured produce. As a result European manufacturers are shutting out American cereals and meats and the brunt of the fight, as always falls upon the producing classes of the two countries.

THOUGHTS OF A FOOL, EVELYN GLADYS. *Charles H. Kerr & Co., Cloth, 258 pages. Price \$1.00.*

This is a book that can best be described by the word clever. The author after having first assured us by her title that she lives in the thinnest kind of a glass house herself, proceeds to throw bricks at everything within her reach without any particular discrimination! In such a wholesale iconoclastic raid some idols are sure to be shattered that deserve it, and the book is full of bright, sharp things that can be quoted against different institutions. However, the author is utterly lacking in two fundamental essentials to any really intelligent instructive social criticism. She in no way recognizes the historical function of institutions, and never stops to consider whether they really might have played a part, or indeed as to whether they are playing an essential part to-day in social evolution. In the second place there is no recognition of the fact that the individual generally succeeds in the widest expression of his own personality through some social institution of which he is a part. Robinson Crusoe's individuality had very slight room for expression compared with that of even the most conventional members of modern society. Incidentally the author is guilty of a sin which is very common among such writers, of unconsciously bowing down before conventionality and accepting it as the standard from which all things are to be judged. Extremes have met once more, and the author and Mrs. Grundy accept the same standard and starting point, only measuring in opposite directions. One prays to good God, the other to good Devil, but neither makes great use of her reason.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

BOOKS FOR THE HOLIDAYS.

The buying of books for Christmas gifts is a custom that is on the increase. For socialists this gives a chance for education and propaganda that should not be passed by. Only it is necessary to use judgment. It is not advisable to give Marx's *Capital* to a sixteen-year-old nor Evelyn Gladys' "Thoughts of a Fool" to a preacher. In selecting a book for a non-socialist it is sometimes better to take a work of science or fiction that will subtly destroy some of his prejudice, rather than come at him with a book that obtrudes its socialism on the title page.

We shall try here to give clear enough descriptions of a few of our books to enable our readers to select the right presents for the right people.

LIBRARY OF SCIENCE FOR THE WORKERS. Four volumes in this library are now ready—"The Evolution of Man," by Wilhelm Boelsche; "Germs of Mind in Plants," by R. H. Francé; "The End of the World," by Dr. M. Wilhelm Meyer; and "Science and Revolution," by Ernest Untermann. All but the last are easy reading for young people, while all without exception contain much that is new even to university graduates. Comrade Untermann's work is especially of interest to socialists who wish to arrive at a clear understanding of the relation of the socialist philosophy to modern science. These four books are daintily bound in light blue silk, stamped with an attractive design, and are uniform in size and style. Price, 50 cents a volume.

STANDARD SOCIALIST SERIES. These books are uniform in size with the Library of Science for the Workers, but the binding is red instead of blue. The price is 50 cents a volume. The eleven volumes now ready, together with the four volumes of our Library of Science, make the best possible nucleus for a socialist library. New volumes in both series will be published during 1906 at the rate of at least one volume a month and probably more rapidly than this.

1. Liebknecht's *Memoirs of Marx* are full of human interest, humor and pathos—a thoroughly delightful book—and at the same time they are an important help to an understanding of the socialist movement.

2. Vandervelde's *Collectivism* is on the whole the most satisfactory single volume to consult for a clear statement of the whole socialist position.
3. Simons' *The American Farmer* is a history of agriculture in the United States, showing how the farmer has been affected by the growth of concentration, and that his material interests are now bound up with those of the wage-worker.
4. *The Last Days of the Ruskin Co-operative Association*, by Isaac Broome, is a graphic recital of facts that should be enough to convince any rational reader that the way to establish socialism is *not* to go into the wilderness and start a colony.
5. Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* is a clear, concise history of facts generally unknown, showing that wealth and poverty instead of being eternal are a transient phase of man's development.
6. Kautsky's *The Social Revolution* explains the real difference between reform and revolution, and answers the frequent question as to what socialists would do on the day after the revolution.
7. Engels' *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific* is one of the few absolutely indispensable books for the socialist student, giving as it does a clear idea of the difference between International Socialism and the various reform movements.
8. Engels' *Feuerbach* is a conclusive argument for the clear-cut, materialist philosophy of socialism, as opposed to the muddled systems which retain ideas belonging to traditional religion.
9. Ladoff's *American Pauperism* is a study of the last census, bringing out in clear relief the increasing exploitation of labor, which is intentionally obscured in the government reports.
10. Blatchford's *Britain for the British (America for the Americans)* is one of the best and most forcible presentations of the elementary principles of socialism ever written: just the thing for beginners.
11. Volume Eleven consists of two socialist classics bound together: the *Communist Manifesto*, by Marx and Engels, and *No Compromise, No Political Trading*, by Wilhelm Liebknecht.

SOCIAL SCIENCE SERIES. These handsome volumes are the cream of a large library issued by Swan Sonnenschein & Co., a prominent London publishing house. Everything in this list is well worth reading and preserving.

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The Student's Marx: an Introduction to Karl Marx's "Capital." By Edward Aveling, D. Sc.

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The Religion of Socialism: Being Essays in Modern Socialist Criticism. By Ernest Belfort Bax.

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Outlooks from the New Standpoint.' By Ernest Belfort Bax.

The New Reformation, and Its Relation to Moral and Social Problems. By Ramsden Balmforth.

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TOWARDS DEMOCRACY. By Edward Carpenter. Carpenter is well known to our readers through his delightful volume of essays entitled

"Love's Coming-of Age" (Cloth, \$1.00). But his reputation as a writer rests mainly on his poem "Towards Democracy." This poem, written at different times and enlarged by recent additions to a volume of 517 pages, is on the whole the best poetic interpretation of the socialist view of life that has yet been produced. The meter is the free rhythm introduced by Whitman, but Carpenter is no mere imitator of Whitman, and the artistic beauty of the poetry will appeal to those still unfamiliar with socialism. Extra cloth, gilt top, \$2.50.

THE STORY OF A DREAM. By Ethel Maude Colson. This is not a socialist story, but of the "new thought" order. It is humanitarian rather than capitalistic in its tendency and is decidedly entertaining. It is a handsome cloth-bound volume of 304 pages. The original price was a dollar, and the book is mechanically equal to the books usually sold at that price, but to close out the copies on hand (in perfect condition) we offer them at 30 cents postpaid or 20 cents if sent at purchaser's expense.

ROBERTA. A novel of Chicago. By Blanche Fearing. A graphic picture of capitalistic conditions by a writer who felt the injustice without clearly understanding it. This is another dollar novel which we are closing out at the same rates as "The Story of a Dream."

ON THE ROAD TO THE LAKE. By Sam Flint. A free thought novel bitterly lampooning certain shining lights of orthodox theology. This is another of the books issued before this was a socialist publishing house, and is also being reduced from one dollar to 30 cents postpaid or 20 cents by express.

One more book at this reduced rate is THE LAST TENET IMPOSED UPON THE KHAN OF THOMATHOZ, by Hudor Genone. This is a remarkably clever and witty story, with pictures as funny as the text. It is a good-humored satire on the Calvinistic theory of election and predestination.

THOUGHTS OF A FOOL. By Evelyn Gladys. A book of revolutionary essays, one of which, "Shoes, Pigs and Problems," is also published in booklet form at two cents. The essays are delightfully clever and entertaining, and while they are not written with a complete understanding of socialism, they are well worth circulating for the emphasis they give to the important principle involved in the socialist position, that we believe in doing away with the authority of the state over the individual morals of its citizens, and confining our elected officials to the more useful function of seeing that people's material wants are supplied. The book is exquisitely printed and bound. We have reduced the retail price from \$1.50 to \$1.00.

MIND AND BODY: Suggestion and Hypnotism Applied in Medicine and Education. By A. C. Halphide, M. D. This is a distinctly rational and scientific book on a subject which has been too much associated with cheap mysticism and quackery. Dr. Halphide is a scientist and a ma-

terialist, and in this book he has given more actual information than was to be had in the correspondence courses advertised and sold at from \$5 to \$100. The book is handsomely and substantially bound, and contains a number of engravings from photographs.

THE SALE OF AN APPETITE. By Paul Lafargue. A wonderfully powerful story by one of the most prominent socialists of Europe. No one can read it without remembering it, and it carries its own moral. Cloth, illustrated, 50 cents.

WALT WHITMAN, THE POET OF THE WIDER SELFHOOD. By MilaTup-per Maynard. An introduction to the study of Whitman. Cloth, \$1.00.

WHITMAN'S POETICAL WORKS. With biographical introduction by John Burroughs. A book that should be in every socialist library, however small. Cloth, 75 cents.

GRACIA, A SOCIAL TRAGEDY. By Frank Everett Plummer. Fourth edition just ready. Illustrated with twelve engravings, mostly from art photographs posed expressly for this work. Cloth, gilt top, \$1.25. A booklet entitled "Was it Gracia's Fault," containing extracts from "Gracia" with discussions of the social and ethical questions involved, will be mailed to any address for a two-cent stamp.

REBELS OF THE NEW SOUTH. By Walter Marion Raymond. A socialist novel written in a thoroughly charming style, and bringing out in a striking manner the contrast between commercial and socialist ideals. Cloth, illustrated, \$1.00.

THE REPUBLIC OF PLATO. Translated by Alexander Kerr, Professor of Greek in the University of Wisconsin. This work is the original utopia from which all later utopian writers have borrowed, and it occupies an important position in the history of philosophic thought. The present translation is commended by the most competent critics for its exact presentation of the author's thought and its readable English style. Four books now ready, daintily printed and bound, each book sold separately at 15 cents.

BOOKS IN PRESS.

THE CHANGING ORDER: A Study of Democracy. By Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph. D., the professor who could not stay in Rockefeller's university because he taught truths that were dangerous. This work of 300 pages shows the effect of the growing spirit of industrial democracy on art, literature, religion and education. This work by Professor Triggs is in many respects the most important contribution to the literature of socialism that has been made for years. Cloth, \$1.00.

BETTER-WORLD PHILOSOPHY: A Sociological Synthesis. By J. Howard Moore. The first edition of this work, published in 1899 by the Ward-Waugh Company, received enthusiastic endorsements from George D.

Herron, Lester F. Ward, John P. Altgeld, Henry D. Lloyd, John Fiske and other trustworthy critics. Our new edition, ready December 16, will be handsomely bound in cloth and will be mailed for \$1.00.

THE TRIUMPH OF LIFE. By Wilhelm Boelsche, translated by May Wood Simons. This book will be even more original and interesting than the author's earlier work, "The Evolution of Man." It will be published in cloth, illustrated, uniform in style with the other volumes of the Library of Science for the Workers, and will be ready about the last of January. Price, 50 cents.

THE POSITIVE SCHOOL OF CRIMINOLOGY. By Enrico Ferri, translated by Ernest Untermann. This book contains three lectures summing up the latest conclusions of science on the question of criminology, and will be of interest not only to socialists but to all students of social problems. It will be ready in January and will be the twelfth volume of the Standard Socialist Series. Price, 50 cents.

MORE BOOKS TO COME.

A number of other important books will be announced in the January number of the REVIEW. Meanwhile we need to receive at least \$1,500 within the next thirty days to pay for the printing of these new books. We expect to get it partly in the shape of cash orders for books and partly as subscription for stock. There are probably a thousand readers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW who are intending to subscribe for stock some time. Why not now?

THE COMPANY'S FINANCES.

We are no longer in distress for money to pay debts. The outside debts are paid, with the exception of bills for work done in November, and these will be paid as fast as they come due out of the ordinary daily receipts of the business. The contributions to the debt-paying fund have been as follows:

Contributed in 1904	\$3,221.52
Acknowledged in last month's Review.....	1,223.48
Mrs. S. M. J. Craven, California.....	3.75
A. F. Simmonds, New York.....	1.00
James Patton, California	1.50
Howard Keehn, Pennsylvania	1.00
M. L. Barney, Wisconsin	2.80
T. J. Maxwell, Kansas.....	5.00
L. M. Powers, Massachusetts	2.35
Arthur J. Bazeley, Ohio	12.74
Charles H. Kerr, Illinois	30.14
Total.....	<u>\$4,505.28</u>

About the middle of November we addressed a circular letter to most of our stockholders explaining that the business was now on a self-supporting basis, and that we asked for no more contributions, but could

use loans to advantage and could give satisfactory security for any sums advanced. The next day we received a call from Comrade Jacob Bruning of this city, who deposited with the company without interest \$400, which enabled us to pay the last outside note. Any money received from the sale of stock will now be used to make the plates of new books.

The early stockholders put in their money on faith, and took the risk of losing it all without seeing anything accomplished. Those who subscribe for stock now get at once the privilege of buying at cost about all the socialist books that are worth buying, and the satisfaction of knowing that their money is being used to bring out more books of the kind that the Socialist Party needs to circulate. Full particulars with price list of books will be mailed on request.

The receipts of the International Socialist Review for November were \$252.63. Maintain this monthly average for a year and there will be no deficit. The subscription price is one dollar a year to all alike, but for two dollars we will send the Review one year and will mail any books published by us to the amount of \$2.00 at retail prices. The books may be sent to one address and the Review to another if preferred. Address all business communications to

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56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.