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III.

**THE
Foreign Trade**

of the

United States

in 1880 and 1898.

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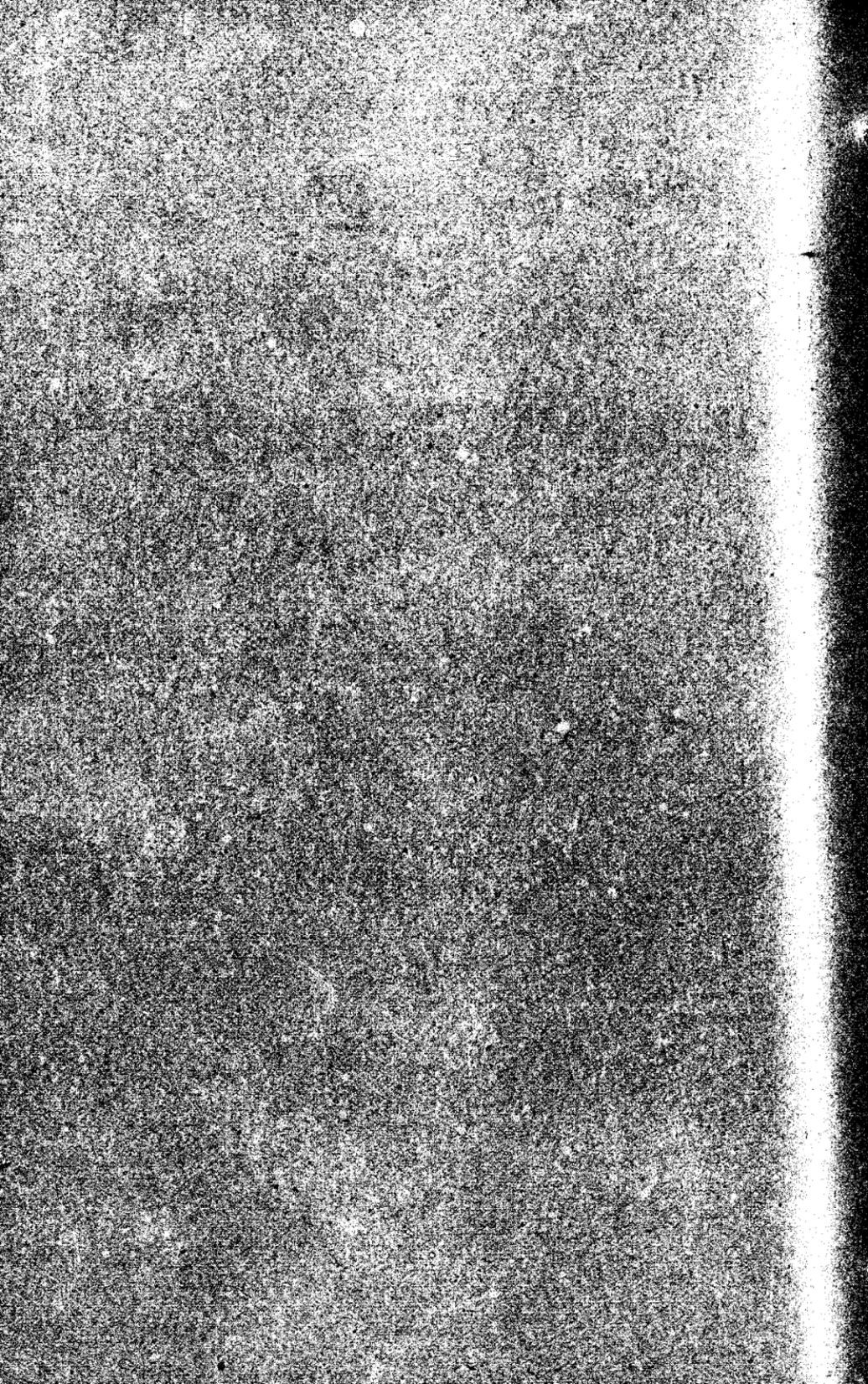
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Socialist Labor Party of Canada.— Socialist Vote of California.

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THE NEW TRUSTS.

The trustification movement, arrested for a time by the crisis of 1893, has of late resumed its course with tenfold energy. The crisis was, in fact, a necessary prelude to further advance. As we observed in the Socialist Almanac (chapter on "Trusts," page 123), just before the present acceleration began, "It cleared the way for further concentration and trustification on a formidable scale. Of the 79,054 business concerns that failed in the United States and Canada during the five years 1893-1897, inclusive, only 86 were firms or corporations operating with a capital of \$500,000 or more, and 50 of these failed in 1893. How many of these few larger bankrupts had previously stood in the way of the trustifiers we have no means of ascertaining. This, however, is of comparatively small import. The matter of most consequence is that an immense amount of property formerly belonging not only to the bankrupts duly recorded as such, but to sold-out farmers, real estate owners, etc., who were not included in the statistics of failures, passed into the hands of the plutocratic class." But there were still other ways in which the economic power of that class was vastly increased during the period in question. For instance, with the "ready cash" at its command it improved many opportunities of purchasing at low prices valuable reservoirs of natural wealth, such as mining lands, forests, etc.; also tracts of land at commanding geographical points, thereby tightening its hold upon the sources of production and taking advanced positions on all the lines of future industrial and commercial development. Again, during the two years of comparative stagnation that followed the dead-stop of July, 1893, an occasion was afforded for the introduction of new machinery, the advantages of which, immediate and future, had not been so fully recognized in busy times as they now were, especially as its adoption necessitated the casting away of old plants, representing a large capital. In the meantime labor power was "a drug in the market," and the workingman, lucky enough to "get a job" at a greatly reduced rate of wages, was perforce accustoming himself to a lower standard of living. That so many of his class managed to survive is only one of those numerous instances supplied by history which vividly illustrate the endurance, both physical and moral, of the proletariat.

When business revived the conditions of capitalist production were therefore considerably altered. The greater concentration of property, the increased efficiency of machinery, and the decreased value of labor power not only implied corresponding changes in the relative economic strength of the classes, but involved also the proportions in which the various industries were now to stand, according to the magnitude of their respective product. Obviously, those industries which were turning out commodities, for the sale of which they had until then depended largely, and in some cases exclusively, upon the masses of the American people, could not in the future, owing to the reduced purchasing power of those masses, increase their output unless foreign markets were found for their surplus. As to those which turned out commodities essentially capitalist—that is, serving exclusively the various purposes of the capitalist class—there was an enlarged field for them, or for most of them, owing to the vastly increased purchasing power of that particular class. Nevertheless, owing to the still more vastly increased productive power of machinery and labor, there was in the latter industries, as well as in the former, an imminent danger of

overproduction. For these and other reasons, all stated at length in our January article on "Territorial Expansion," the policy imposed upon American capitalism by the new conditions of its development—and consequently also upon its government—was one of commercial, and incidentally territorial, conquest. The necessity was manifest; the only question was as to the means. Was American capital ready?

A comparison of all the factors of production in Europe and America showed that in many lines the balance of advantages over disadvantages was in favor of this country. But these are days of rapid progress and unexpected changes. In an international contest for commercial supremacy, involving the industries of wealthy nations, it might be expected that energies would be developed, previously dormant, which might make the outcome not only doubtful for a long time but extremely costly, even to the victor. An overwhelming preponderance of means from the very beginning and a massing of forces with a view to the immediate delivery of crushing blows, could alone shorten the conflict and secure an early victory. And trustification in its highest possible degree could alone supply those requisites of success. Things, at any rate, had come to a pass where the necessity of it for purely domestic purposes was sufficiently obvious. It had to be done, anyhow, and it should be done thoroughly.

IRON AND STEEL TRUSTS.

In the front rank of the industries that were in a condition to need the special talents of eminent trustifiers stand uppermost the leading branches of the iron and steel manufacture. The Carnegie Company was until then unrivalled in the field, with a capital of \$35,000,000, and commanding the production of steel rails by means of a combination with other firms, whose aggregate capital was estimated at \$40,000,000. Of the trusts formed within the past few months only one, the Federal Steel Company, may somewhat encroach upon the preserves of Carnegie, in so far as some of the plants which it has absorbed manufacture also steel rails. All the other trusts have each a special field, and none of them is likely to come into conflict with any one of the others. The present state of concentration in this great department of industry appears from the following list:

Names.	Capital.
Iron, Steel, and Steel Rails:—	
Federal Steel Company.....	\$200,000,000
Carnegie & Co.....	35,000,000
Republic Steel Co.....	55,000,000
Steel Wire:—	
American Steel Wire Company.....	90,000,000
Tin Plate, and Manufactures of:—	
National Steel Co.....	59,000,000
American Tin Plate Company.....	50,000,000
National Tin Plate & Stamped Ware Company.....	20,000,000
National Enameling & Stamping Company.....	30,000,000
Steel Trucks and Cars:—	
Pressed Steel Car Company.....	25,000,000
American Car & Foundry Co.....	60,000,000
Pipes and Tubes:—	
National Tube Company.....	60,000,000
United States Cast Iron Pipe & Foundry Company.....	30,000,000

In the directory of the Federal Steel Company are the significant figures of J. Pierpont Morgan, Roswell P. Flower and D. O. Mills. "We are Republicans in Republican districts and Democrats in Democratic districts." This trust is in itself an empire. Its vast territorial possessions in the Lake Superior region contain an inexhaustible supply of the best iron ore in the United States. It owns more than one-half of the steamers and barges on the lakes, immense wharves and docks equipped with the most powerful machinery; several railroads, one of which taps every road entering Chicago; blast furnaces, steel works, etc., whose capacity of production is already far in excess of the probable requirements of the next few years. The labor force of miners, iron workers, mechanics, sailors, railroaders, teamsters and laborers of all sorts at the mercy of this gigantic corporation exceeds 50,000 men, representing with their families a population of 250,000 people.

The American Steel Wire Company, or "Wire Trust," includes among its properties the mills of the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company at Worcester, Mass., and Waukegan, Ill.; the Cleveland Rolling Mills, the seven plants of the Steel & Wire Company in Pennsylvania and Illinois, and a number of other large mills in Indiana, Missouri and Ohio. It has warehouses at San Francisco, Portland, New Orleans, Denver, St. Paul, Louisville, St. Louis, Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburg, New York, Montreal, Canada, and London, England. It controls four-fifths of the total wire production of this country and employs 36,000 men. Its chief spirits and manipulators are Chisholm, of Cleveland; Moen, of Worcester, and Henry Seligman, of New York.

The National Steel Company, the American Tin Plate Company and the National Tin Plate and Stamped Ware Company are practically the three heads of one monster body. Although distinct in name they are closely related. The first turns out the more primary materials, and was formed in the interest of the second, which controls the third. This last, however, has in the National Enameling and Stamping Company a competitor in certain important lines of finished products, and the conflict between them will necessarily, sooner or later, end in further trustification.

The manufacture of steel cars and of ordinary freight and passenger cars is to be monopolized by the two trusts—distinct also in name, and apparently antagonistic from the nature of their product, but closely allied in financial interests and direction—respectively known as the "Pressed Steel Car Company" and the "American Car and Foundry Company." The first owns 138 domestic and 17 foreign patents. It claims for its cars, made of steel, a life of forty years as against fifteen for the wooden cars now in use. It will buy all its steel from the Carnegie Company. In the prospectus of the American Car and Foundry Company, which has absorbed the great car plants of Detroit, Mich., Berwick, Pa., St. Louis and St. Charles, Mo., Terre Haute and Jeffersonville, Ind., Chicago, Ill., and Buffalo, N. Y., the following statement is made of the "benefits and economies" which the consolidation will enable it to realize: "A saving of transportation charges on materials and manufactured products by judicious territorial distribution of orders to plants most convenient for delivery; a common enjoyment of patents, processes and advantages gained by each of the constituent companies; the saving of many duplicate officials, including salesmen and traveling expenses; the establishment of central finance, accounting, purchasing and engineering departments, reducing the thirty-two departments now devoted to these purposes to four only, and the great advantage incident to purchasing large quantities of material, over 100,000 carloads of freight being used

annually." A similar statement would of course apply with equal force to every trust.

THE TOBACCO TRUSTS.

There are now four tobacco trusts, but each of them has its special field. Their respective lines of business, name and capital are as follows:

Cigarettes: American Tobacco Company.....	\$70,000,000
Plug Tobacco: Continental Tobacco Company.....	30,000,000
Smoking Tobacco: Union Tobacco Company.....	24,000,000
Havana Cigars: Havana Commercial Company.....	20,000,000

The American Tobacco Company (cigarette trust) is the oldest of the four. It was organized in 1890, and until lately manufactured also plug tobacco, a product in which it met the formidable competition of the Lorillard Company, Leggett & Myers, and some others. It therefore organized in November 1898 the Continental, which absorbed the competitors in this line, and to which it transferred its plug tobacco business. It was likewise instrumental in organizing the smoking tobacco trust, with Duke, Lorillard and other managers of the American and Continental in its directory. The Havana Commercial Company is an outgrowth of the war with Spain, and aims at the complete absorption of the Cuban cigar factories, the effect of which must be to hasten the trustification of the entire cigar industry of the United States.

THE WHISKEY, BEER AND MALT TRUSTS.

When the old "Whiskey Trust," legally known as the Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company, came to grief a new one was formed with a capital of \$35,000,000, under the name of American Spirits Manufacturing Company, which took up the properties of its defunct predecessor. This new company has sixteen distilleries distributed at the following centres: Chicago, Peoria, St. Louis, Milldale (Ky.), Cincinnati, Wabash and Terre Haute, their aggregate capacity of production being 228,000 gallons per day, or about 68,000,000 gallons a year.

Until lately, however, there remained in the field of competition a dangerous number of powerful distilleries. But a few months ago most of these were finally trustified into two great combines—namely, the Standard Distilling and Distributing Company and the Kentucky Distilling and Warehouse Company. Some of the men who figure in the directory of one figure also in the directory of the other. Moreover, by an agreement with the American Spirits Company, which secures "harmonious action," the three trusts were practically made the three tentacles of one whiskey octopus.

The beer brewing industry has for a number of years undergone a "one step at a time" process of concentration, which has resulted in the formation of several syndicates, chiefly foreign, and various domestic pools. The capital represented by those different combinations, which have an obvious tendency to consolidate into a mighty trust, cannot be exactly ascertained, but the figure of \$100,000,000 may safely be set down as a very low estimate.

The trustification of the malting industry is being rapidly effected by the American Malting Company, which, with a capital of \$30,000,000, has since 1897 absorbed a number of plants, some of which are the largest in this country.

As matters stand the beer and liquor interests are therefore represented as follows in the trust movement:

American Spirits Manufacturing Company.....	\$35,000,000
Standard Distilling and Distributing Company.....	24,000,000
Kentucky Distilling and Warehouse Company.....	32,000,000
Beer Syndicates and Pools.....	100,000,000
American Malting Company.....	30,000,000

THE SUGAR TRUSTS.

When the great "Sugar Trust" was formed, it was the boast of its founders that they made only pure and unadulterated cane sugar. In the course of time, however, it leaked out that the chief magnate of the trust had himself an interest in the manufacture of glucose. Later again, under the stimulus of special legislation, which the trust could easily have defeated if its interests had in the least been injuriously affected thereby, the beet sugar industry began to assume importance, mostly on the Pacific Coast, and has since then been spreading in a number of States. That a mixture of these three products in the far West, and of two of them in the rest of the country, is now the sugar which is generally consumed, and that they are all practically controlled by the original great trust cannot well be doubted, since neither glucose nor beet sugar are anywhere sold separately as such by retailers. Glucose, however, is sold separately in enormous quantities to brewers, confectioners, etc. For manufacturing and mercantile purposes it was, therefore, deemed judicious to separately trustify the three products, and we now have three trusts in the sugar industry, as follows:

American Sugar Refining Co.....	\$73,936,000
Glucose Sugar Refining Co.....	40,000,000
American Beet Sugar Co.....	20,000,000

GRAIN, FLOUR, BISCUIT, AND BAKING POWDERS.

There are many "pools" and "combines," some of which are permanent and others intermittent, having in view the control of both the domestic and the export grain trade. The permanent ones are chiefly composed of railroad capitalists, who hold the storage facilities afforded by grain elevators at the commanding points and monopolize the means of transportation by land and water when the farmers must dispose of their crops. Jointly operating with these railway and elevator pirates are annually formed various rings of speculators, whose cash and credit represent in the aggregate a very large sum. It may safely be estimated that on an average the amount of capital thus more or less constantly engaged by all those combines in "moving and carrying the crops" is not less than \$200,000,000.

This speculative and rather anarchistic condition of the grain trade, frequently productive of "corners" and consequent fluctuations of price not less violent than sudden, will soon, however, be made to undergo a radical change by the trustification of the flour-milling industry. The great mills, of course, are already supplying themselves by direct purchases of grain upon the farms; they are, moreover, driving out of business the smaller mills—the country grist mills especially, 6,000 of which disappeared in the ten years, 1880-1890. Their amalgamation into a great trust, with a capital of \$35,000,000 for the present, but capable of indefinite increase, can be considered an accomplished fact,

although a pending lawsuit may delay its operation. It is superfluous to observe that neither the farmers nor the general public will be benefited by such changes as this trust will inevitably bring about in the present commercial methods on the cereal market. The profits that now go into the pockets of the speculators will simply go into the coffers of the trust.

The original "Biscuit Trust," founded some years ago with a capital of \$10,000,000 by the same financiers who had at the same time trustified the match industry, has lately evolved into a \$55,000,000 concern, which has absorbed all its competitors. As there are already in the greater cities a number of large bakeries, equipped with the most improved machinery and driving out the "cock-roach" bakers, we may expect that the biscuit trust, or some special combination of the same sort, will now undertake the work of trustifying the bread-baking industry, which in its distributive and purchasing departments can be simplified and cheapened to an enormous extent, while making economies of still greater magnitude in the labor force required, the space occupied by plants and stores, the fuel consumed etc.

The manufacturers of baking powders, each of whom contended that the "stuff" of all the others was poisonous, have at last made peace, recognized the healthfulness of their competitors' products, and formed a trust of \$20,000,000, which they christened the Royal Baking Powder Co.

Concerning the "staff of life," the movement of trustification has, therefore, reached a point where it can be expressed arithmetically as follows:

Grain pools and combines (estimated).....	\$200,000,000
National Biscuit Co.....	55,000,000
American Cereal Co.....	35,000,000
Royal Baking Powder Co.....	20,000,000

THE PULP AND PAPER TRUSTS.

Thirty-nine great pulp and paper mills, producing about 95 per cent. of the newspaper stock made east of Chicago, have been absorbed by the International Paper Co., which was formed last year and among the directors of which figure in suggestive business intimacy the Republican ex-Senator, Warner Miller, and the Democratic ex-Governor Roswell P. Flower. These far-famed statesmen are also notorious promoters and manipulators of the "Labor-Fakir" trust.

A subsidiary concern, known as the United States Envelope Co., was formed at about the same time, and now controls the envelope market with ten plants, having an aggregate capacity of 20,000,000 envelopes daily.

The National Wall Paper Co. began operations in 1892 by absorbing 28 companies, which together controlled about 65 per cent of the trade. It has recently enlarged its capital with a view to the absorption of the 17 mills that were still running independently.

The capital of the three above named trusts is given as follows:

International Paper Co.....	\$45,000,000
United States Envelope Co.....	4,500,000
National Wall Paper Co.....	30,000,000

THE RUBBER TRUSTS.

The whole rubber industry of the United States, including the crude rubber supply, is now monopolized by two trusts, closely allied in financial interests

and management, and representing together a capital of \$97,000,000, as follows:
 United States Rubber Co. \$47,000,000
 Rubber Goods Co. 50,000,000

By its recent absorption of the Boston Rubber Shoe Co., the first of these two concerns, organized in 1892, has finally attained its original object, namely, an absolute control, not only of the rubber shoe market, but also of the crude rubber supply. Then its leading spirits organized the second one, for the control of all rubber goods other than shoes.

ELECTRICITY FULLY TRUSTIFIED.

By a pooling of their patents, two trusts, more powerful in the natural force at their command than any other capitalistic combination, unitedly hold in their grasp the boundless field of electricity with a comparatively insignificant amount of capital, as may be seen from the following figures:

General Electric Co. \$20,827,200
 Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Co. 15,000,000

Among the directors of the General Electric figure J. Pierpont Morgan and T. A. Edison. In the Westinghouse Co., to which Tesla sold his patents, are found such "great inventors" of capitalistic schemes for the confiscation of human genius as August Belmont, Brayton Ives and George Westinghouse.

OTHER GREAT TRUSTS.

It would take too much space to enter into details concerning the many corporations lately formed, or now forming, having each in view the monopoly of a special branch of production. But the following statement speaks for itself. In the list of the Socialist Almanac figured some very large trusts which again figure in this, our purpose being to afford as comprehensive a view as possible of the general movement.

American Brass Co.	\$20,000,000	National Carbon Co.	10,000,000
American Cotton Oil Co.	34,799,400	National Lead Co.	29,809,000
American Ice Co.	60,000,000	National Salt Co.	10,000,000
American Linseed Oil Co.	28,500,000	National Starch Co.	10,000,000
American Radiator Co.	10,000,000	New England Dairy Co. (Milk)	30,000,000
American Sewer Pipe Co.	25,000,000	N. American Co. (Timber)..	40,000,000
American Silk Mfg. Co.	12,500,000	Pacific American Fisheries Co. (Salmon)	5,000,000
Am. Smelting & Refining Co.	65,000,000	Paper Bag Mfg. Co.	27,000,000
American Straw Board Co.	6,000,000	Penokee and Gogebic Con- solidated Mines.	10,000,000
Am. Type Founders' Co.	4,000,000	Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co..	10,000,000
Borax, Consolidated.	12,000,000	Standard Oil Co.	97,500,000
Cattle and Meat Combines, estimated	50,000,000	Standard Rope & Twine Co.	12,000,000
Cen. Union Gas (natural gas)	24,000,000	Union Typewriter Co.	18,015,000
Consolidated Ice Co.	6,500,000	United Lighting and Heat- ing Co. (Oil Lighting)....	12,000,000
Copper Syndicate	100,000,000	United Fruit Co.	20,000,000
Diamond Match Co.	11,000,000	United States Leather Co. ...	124,483,600
Electric Boat Co.	10,000,000	United States Varnish Co. ...	36,000,000
Electric Vehicle Transporta- tion Co.	25,000,000	United States Shoe Ma- chinery Co.	20,000,000
General Chemical Co.	25,000,000	Virginia-Carolina Chemical Co. (Fertilizers)	10,000,000
International Air Power Co.	25,000,000	Virginia Iron, Coal and Coke Co.	7,500,000
International Silver Co. (Silverware)	20,000,000		
Jewelry Trust.	25,000,000		
Lake Superior Consolidated Iron Mines.	28,451,940		

The 81 trusts which we have enumerated in this article represent in the aggregate a capital of \$2,700,000,000. It will be observed that with a few exceptions (such, for instance, as the grain combines, which have an exclusively commercial character), they are of the kind known in Wall Street jargon as "Industrials." In the census they would be classified under the head of Manufacturing and Mining Establishments, together with a number of concerns of smaller size, most of which are incorporated under the laws of New Jersey. These smaller bodies represent in the aggregate a capital of about 600 millions and constitute in their respective fields the elements of the prospective trusts into which they will some day be merged. Again, in order to fully realize the extent of capitalistic concentration in manufacture and mining, we should take into account all the construction shops, locomotive works, coal mines, etc., owned by railroad companies; also, a number of gigantic concerns in the ship-building, machinery, textile and other industries. Having duly considered all the available data, we are already able to state that fully two-thirds of the capital engaged in manufacture is now in the hands of only 3,000 great concerns (trusts, corporations and firms). In 1890 the amount of capital so engaged was 6,500 millions, and the number of establishments was 355,400.

But, dazzling as these figures may be, they pale before those which represent the movement of amalgamation in the railroad business and in the public services of a municipal character, such as trolley traffic, gas and electric lighting, etc. With this branch of our subject we shall deal in our next issue.

THE MIDDLE CLASS.

ITS ORIGIN—ITS RISE—ITS DECLINE.

In the rush of some for wealth and of the many for bread those are few and far between who, stopping a moment and looking backward, take a broad survey of the course of history. Few even are those who give a fleeting thought to the changes of all sorts, economic, political and social, that have taken place under their own eyes within a brief period of years. Most people, in fact, bury their own past out of sight or remembrance as they move along to an unknown future, caring only for the immediate present and seemingly accepting as final every morning the special conditions of the day. Yet they do move, we say; faster and faster, not as single individuals in any direction that each may spontaneously select, but in bodies more and more compact, more and more hostile to each other, upon lines forcibly determined by all the factors of the class struggle. And in thus moving, ever so passively, ever so unconsciously, it is as classes that they make history.

To be sure, it would seem that the present rate of human evolution had at last reached a point where it could not fail to impress the most unconscious of us with a sense of its high power. The men now at the zenith of life—the men of 35 to 40—who on the 1st of January, 1901, will salute the rising sun of the Twentieth Century, are in large numbers the grandsons of those who witnessed the dawn of the Nineteenth. Many live to-day, some of whom may yet live twenty years or more, whose fathers were born in the last decade of the Eighteenth. In the historic chain of generations only two links, therefore, stand

between us and an age resembling far more some ancient civilization than the present in economic fundamentals, social structure and general conditions. That the privileged persons for whom life is now an eternal spring should have come to fancy that they stopped the sun is, perhaps, to be taken as a matter of course. But that the old belief in the immobility of human institutions has survived among the masses the stupendous revolutions which have occurred in so short a time is well nigh incomprehensible.

There is, we admit, some excuse for people of American birth and parentage who, despite the superior rate of capitalist development on this side of the Atlantic (or, perhaps, because of it), do not realize the full extent of the actually greater transformation that has taken place elsewhere during the last hundred years. The New World in its almost entirety is a product of the Nineteenth Century. With the exception of chattel slavery—which could not endure and was confined to the black race—all its constitutive elements were modern, and therefore unhampered in their action upon things and men by a substratum of mediæval institutions. Manifestly, the changes wrought out in the conditions of America by the progress of her untrammelled capitalism are in themselves sufficiently striking; and he must be a dullard, indeed, who still comforts himself with the Manchesterian dictum, that “It has always been so and will ever be so.” But these changes were of the capitalistic order purely; in other words, they were such as the capitalist system, once initiated, must in the course of its development naturally and inevitably produce; whereas in Europe a preliminary transformation from Feudalism to Capitalism, involving the social organism in its very substance, had to be effected.

Of course, the process of transformation was different in different countries, according to their respective conditions. In England the substance of the social fabric was radically altered while its form did not undergo a corresponding change. In France both the substance and the form emerged unrecognizable from the furnace of a bloody revolution. In Germany a compromise between the old order and the new resulted in a composite structure, in which the new steadily gained upon the old, which was at first overwhelmingly predominant. It is of importance that these differences be well understood, and we may properly give them here some consideration, brief and general, but sufficiently comprehensive to dispel certain erroneous notions, or to prevent certain false conceptions by which our understanding of the socialist movement might be affected.

As everyone knows, or ought to know, the foundation stone of Feudalism was its land tenure system. Theoretically, the king held by the grace of God, the lord by the grace of the king, and the serf by the grace of his lord. Practically the sword, or the fear of it, had primarily determined and was still preserving the status of each.

Below the great vassals, who held baronial estates, stood the lower nobility, or gentry; all free men descended from the inferior officers or private soldiers of the army that had originally conquered the land, and holding estates of much smaller size, subject to military service, which alone was considered honorable.

The serf was not a chattel slave. His person could not be sold. He could not be carried away from his native soil, which no longer belonged to him but to which he belonged like the tree rooted in it, and with which he passed under the dominion of the lord who acquired it by conquest, royal grant, marriage or inheritance.

The arbitrary will of his master determined alone the kind of service and the degree of servitude that could be exacted from him. Some (known in Eng-

land as "thralls") were menials in and about the lord's mansion. Others (known as "cottars") had been instructed in the mechanic arts, and were privileged to carry on their trades, subject to such requisitions upon their skilled labor or its product as the lord might make without adequate compensation or with no compensation whatever. But the mass was composed of "villeins," to whom some land was assigned for their sustenance, and upon whom heavy tributes variously named were levied, originally payable in produce and later in money; besides which they had to gratuitously perform a vast amount of labor (teaming, plowing, wood cutting and other tasks) on the immense domain reserved by their master for his own benefit and enjoyment.

The galling despotism and frightful misery engendered by that system provoked extensive rebellions of an agrarian character; that is, aiming—vaguely sometimes in expression but obviously in sentiment—to make the peasant the private owner of the land which he cultivated, free from all arbitrary exactions and subject only to such taxes as might be required for the public defense or the common welfare. Such were, later, the great uprisings known as the "Jacquerie" in France, the "Peasants' War" in Germany, and the "Watt Tyler Insurrection" in England, all of which were sanguinarily suppressed and followed by terrible persecutions.

In the meantime, however, that class of bondmen who had been trained to handicrafts and useful arts increasingly appreciated by the nobility, was growing in numbers and enjoying by special grants, privileges or exemptions, a comparative freedom and comfort. Some of the villages which they inhabited grew up into towns, where numbers of rural serfs, whose services were needed as laborers and domestics by the prosperous artisans, found a refuge, and were even protected by the Church when their masters demanded their return.

This rising power of the cities became the controlling economic factor of social evolution during the remainder of the feudal period. When the lords found that the persons of their rural serfs were no longer at their mercy to the same extent as before, and that a continuance of oppressive treatment would inevitably result in a further loss of services, which were the more valued as they could not be so imperiously exacted, it occurred to them that they might advantageously make some concessions whereby they would also earn human gratitude on earth and divine favor in heaven. It was at this point that some differences in the rates of motion began to appear in the march of nations.

In England the progress of emancipation was more rapid than on the European continent; not because of any superior aptitude in the Anglo-Saxon race for the enforcement of rights or the practice of liberty, as some British jingoes and American toadies stupidly assert, but for the simple reason, quite obvious to the student of history, that the special conditions of that country did not oppose so many obstacles to the extinction of serfdom. In the first place, from the time of the Norman Conquest to this day her insular position preserved her from foreign invasion. Again, she was not subjected to those conflicts between lords, accompanied by devastation and ruin, which in France and Germany resulted in frequent transfers of populations from the dominion of one despot to the dominion of another. While a few vassals, acting singly or together, were at times rash enough to challenge the king's might; and although once the whole nobility, acting unitedly, assigned by the Great Charter important limits to his pretensions, yet the royal authority was never fundamentally disputed until the emancipation of the middle class had proceeded so far, and the power of that class had risen so high, that "the brewer" Cromwell, speaking and acting

in the name of the Commons, could decapitate the sovereign. In short, the authority of the crown, which it took several centuries of bloody conflicts, now between the lords themselves, then between the lords and the king, to establish in France upon a resulting foundation of unlimited despotism, was immediately established in England by the Norman conquerors, and substantially maintained by their successors, upon a primary basis of class interests and limited regal prerogatives.

The social question, in the form originally given to it by Feudalism throughout Europe, was therefore reduced in England to its simplest expression at the time of the Norman Conquest. On one side was the nobility, with the king at its head; on the other side was the people, a conquered mass, practically homogeneous, held in serfdom; whereas on the Continent the much broader area of conflict, the multiplicity of races, the difference of language, the diversity of customs and traditions, were important factors, contributing in many ways to the complexity of form and variability of direction which marked at every step the progress of the class struggle.

Of the great "communal movement" of the Continent we shall speak presently. But let us here observe that it had long assumed formidable proportions and a violent character before the English "commons" were either spoken of by chroniclers or mentioned as bodies of any consequence. Yet, thanks to the special conditions of England, the growth of towns had an earlier and stronger effect upon the feudal relations of lord and peasant in that country than in any other. The charter of London was granted in the year 1100, and other English cities were successively incorporated in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries; but the royal instrument conferred upon them no such immunities and privileges as the Flemish and French cities had extorted from kings and lords by armed resistance. It was merely, as Hume remarks, "nothing but a letter of protection and a declaration that the citizens should not be treated as slaves." Nevertheless, it was during this period that by degrees and without violence the mass of the English rural population, according to Thorold Rogers, passed from the condition of serfs to that of free tenants, a small money rent or a fixed and invariable amount of service for the occupation of land having been substituted for the right which the lord had previously enjoyed of commanding the services of his dependants at his own pleasure. Vainly did the nobility, availing themselves of the failure of the Watt Tyler insurrection, attempt a return to the old system of services instead of money. Further progress was made, until at the end of the Fourteenth Century villenage was virtually extinct. The villeins had then obtained a recognized place in law as "freemen," who could sue and be sued in the county court.

This privilege, however, was of practical value to those only whose position was such that they had interests worth defending—that is, to those who had extensive holdings. But their number was steadily increasing, because the natural tendency, under the changed conditions, was to farm out the land in large tracts, the lords finding it more secure, convenient and profitable to have a few well equipped, responsible tenants than many poor ones. Of course the latter were and remained far more numerous than the former, but the aggregate area of their holdings was small and must have yielded an insignificant revenue to the lord. Each of them, in fact, had not sufficient land to sustain himself, and was by his own necessity compelled to hire his labor and the labor of his family either to the lord or to the gentry, or to his former fellow serfs, now raised to the dignity of large tenants. The very circumstance that he held

a patch of land and could graze a couple of goats or perchance a cow upon that waste portion of the lord's estate which was abandoned to his tenants for their common use, was rather taken advantage of to keep the price of his labor below the point which it might otherwise have reached. Moreover, under the supervision of a keen-eyed employer, and applied collectively instead of singly, the intensity and efficiency of that labor were then as now (though not to the same extent) much greater on a large holding than they could be under the wretched conditions of a small one. Of all the things that are not new in the exploitation of man by man the sweating system is perhaps the oldest.

Such was the origin of the English yeomanry. As it rose from serfdom and went to comparative freedom and comfort many of the smaller tenants—the less favored or fortunate—passed under its direct dominion as agricultural laborers and servants, working for wages. In a word, the rural proletariat was formed simultaneously with the rise of the yeomanry, just as the urban proletariat had already been formed simultaneously with the rise of the bourgeois class.

And in this series of closely connected historic facts lies a first economic lesson which we should learn well and remember, for it will facilitate the comprehension of later facts and consequent teachings. As we have just seen, it was by the artisans that the first blow was dealt to the feudal structure at the cornerstone of its foundation. By that blow, struck in the name of liberty, the artisan class not only opened a way for itself into the citadel of privilege but brought about the birth of its rural counterpart, the yeomanry, from which it was to receive occasional assistance in its further attacks upon the nobility. As a seed unable to germinate under a wide-spreading rock works its way to the surface when a rent is made in the obstructive mass, so did the yeomanry, when that blow was struck, spring from the soil in which its elements of life lay deeply buried. Now, observe that the weapon with which the blow was delivered was the tool of industry—a tool then simple enough to be quite easy of acquirement if the skill necessary to handle it had been made the only condition of its possession. But for this very reason it was proclaimed a sacred thing, fit to be owned, touched and looked into by that privileged class only, which the lords themselves had unwittingly called into existence when they assigned certain serfs and their posterity to the practice of certain trades. The lords, of course, had intended only to chain the artisan serf to the tool of his trade, in the same manner as the rustic villein was bound to the land. But the artisan broke the chain and kept the tool as his exclusive property, thereby converting his special servitude into a special privilege. Thus monopolized the primitive enginery of handicraft production became a constantly greater economic force, which the various bodies of artisans and traders, constituted into corporations (or guilds), wielded unitedly, cunningly, and oftentimes treacherously, for a double purpose—namely, against the nobility for the preservation and enlargement of their own "rights," and against the common people in their immediate dependence for the maintenance of a system which placed all the labor of cities under the direct control and at the complete mercy of their own emancipated class.

(To be continued.)

FOREIGN COMMERCE

of the United States in 1880 and 1898.

In order to fully comprehend the statistics of our foreign commerce, so that we may speak more intelligently of its growth, tendencies, effects and possibilities, we must compare the last fiscal year with a preceding one, corresponding as nearly as possible in general conditions and sufficiently distant to afford a broad view of the field under survey. With this object in mind, we have selected the year 1880 for comparison with the year 1898. Both were years of great agricultural plenty in the United States and of more than usual scarcity in Europe. In both we were emerging from a crisis that had wrought out very deep changes in our economic and social conditions. Moreover, the span of years intervening represents about half the lifetime of this generation, whose mental and mechanical activity has already accomplished greater results than its immediate predecessor had done in a period double in length and equally productive of genius.

Let us begin with a general summary, showing for each of those years our *Exports of Merchandise*, according to sources of production, and our *Imports of Merchandise*, according to uses and degree of manufacture.

Items.	1898.	1880.
EXPORTS.		
DOMESTIC:—		
Products of Agriculture.....	\$854,627,929	\$685,961,091
Manufacture	288,871,449	102,856,015
Mining	19,802,417	5,863,232
Forest	37,900,171	17,321,268
Fisheries	5,538,925	5,255,402
Miscellaneous	3,551,206	6,689,345
Total Domestic.....	\$1,210,292,097	\$823,946,353
FOREIGN:—	21,037,852	11,692,305
Grand total Exports.....	\$1,231,329,950	\$835,638,658
IMPORTS.		
Articles of food and live animals.....	\$181,480,011	\$214,474,753
Articles in a crude condition for domestic industry	204,543,917	154,527,059
Articles Manufactured:—		
For mechanic arts.....	69,957,983	} 298,952,936
For consumption.....	82,570,687	
Articles of voluntary use, luxuries, etc.....	77,452,561	
Grand total Imports.....	\$616,005,159	\$667,954,746
Excess of Exports over Imports of Merchandise...	\$615,324,791	\$167,683,912

From the foregoing table the following appears also:

Net Increase of Exports in 1898 as compared with 1880..... \$395,691,292
 Net Decrease of Imports in 1898 as compared with 1880..... 51,949,587

The above figures should be supplemented with a statement of Imports and Exports of Gold and Silver in each of the two years under comparison:

	1898.		1880.	
	Net imports.	Net exports.	Net imports.	Net exports.
Gold	\$104,985,283	.....	\$77,119,371	.....
Silver .....	.....	\$24,180,658	.....	\$1,227,980

Taking together Merchandise, Gold and Silver, the apparent "balance of trade" in favor of the United States was, therefore, as follows in the two years named:—In 1880, \$91,791,521; in 1898, \$534,520,166.

That these "apparent" balances of trade, so-called, are deceiving; how they should be corrected by taking into account such important factors as freights, insurance, commissions, investments of foreigners, expenses of American citizens travelling abroad, etc., etc.; and how the actual balance is settled by transfers of stocks, bonds and other property, we have explained at length in our previous chapter on "Territorial Expansion." Properly corrected, the actual balance in 1880 must have been about \$200,000,000 against the United States (instead of \$91,000,000 in their favor), while in 1898 it was about \$234,000,000 (instead of \$534,000,000) in their favor.

We may now consider in some detail the general items in the above summary. Let us first take up our exports of agricultural products, which show an increase of over \$168,000,000 in 1898, as compared with 1880.

These products may be divided into two classes, namely, (1) those which are sold by exporters in the crude form in which they come from the farm, and (2) those which undergo outside of the farm a certain amount of manipulation (or manufacture), before being shipped abroad.

In the first class the following principal articles compare as follows in the two years named:

Articles.	Exports.	
	1880.	1898.
Animals, living.....	\$15,882,120	\$46,243,406
Grain:—		
Barley	784,819	5,542,040
Corn	53,298,247	74,196,850
Oats	308,129	20,632,914
Rye	2,362,765	8,852,769
Wheat	190,546,305	145,684,659
Seeds	1,649,367	2,954,723
Other grain.....	1,272,028	2,332,318
Total grain	\$250,221,660	\$260,169,273
Fruits and Vegetables:—		
Fruits, green and dried.....	1,655,344	7,306,065
Potatoes, onions, etc.....	661,166	1,645,592
Total fruits and vegetables	2,316,510	8,951,657
Cotton, unmanufactured.....	211,535,905	230,442,215
Tobacco, leaf.....	16,379,107	22,171,580
Other products:—		
Hay	206,819	1,151,273
Hops	2,573,292	2,642,779
Eggs	14,148	448,370
Bees' wax and honey.....	48,880	140,331
Wool, raw	71,987	18,071
Total miscellaneous	\$2,895,126	\$4,400,824

It will be observed that with the exception of wheat, which shows a decrease of \$45,000,000—nearly compensated by our greater exports of wheat flour, as we shall see presently—and also with the exception of raw wool, which is, however, unimportant, all the articles enumerated in the foregoing table display a marked increase, which on an average was somewhat greater in

quantity than in value. Taking this class of crude products as a whole, the increase in total money value was about 15 per cent.

In the second class, which, as already stated, embraces products embodying, besides farm labor, a certain amount of manufacturing or mechanical labor, the principal articles compare as follows:

Articles.	Exports.	
	1880.	1898.
Breadstuffs:—		
Bread and biscuit.....	\$686,158	\$788,264
Corn meal.....	981,361	1,766,068
Rye flour.....	24,723	11,815
Wheat flour.....	35,333,197	69,263,718
Other.....	2,439,098	4,852,704
Total breadstuffs.....	39,464,542	76,682,569
Provisions:—		
Beef, fresh.....	7,441,918	22,966,556
salted.....	2,881,047	2,518,518
canned.....	7,877,200	3,279,657
Tallow.....	7,689,232	3,141,653
Hog Products:—		
Bacon.....	} 50,987,623	46,380,918
Hams.....		18,987,525
Pork.....	5,930,252	5,722,036
Lard.....	27,920,367	39,710,672
Lard compounds.....		1,118,659
Mutton.....	176,218	27,961
Oleo and oleomargarine.....		8,290,710
Poultry and game.....		85,739
All other meats.....		4,193,078
Dairy Products:—		
Cheese.....	12,171,720	4,559,324
Butter.....	6,690,687	3,864,765
Milk.....	121,013	671,670
Total provisions.....	\$129,887,277	\$165,519,441
Fruits and Vegetables, preserved:—		
Fruits, canned, etc.....	435,290	1,707,245
Vegetables, pickles and sauces.....	133,900	736,196
Total fruits, etc.....	569,190	2,443,441
Oil and Oil Cake:—		
Animal.....	1,676,079	502,332
Vegetable.....	3,476,240	12,019,069
Oil coke.....	6,259,827	12,581,534
Total oils, etc.....	\$11,412,146	\$25,102,935
Other Products:—		
Naval stores (rosin, tar, etc.).....	2,452,908	3,774,338
Spirits of turpentine.....	2,132,154	5,380,806
Spirits from grain, wood, etc.....	2,586,685	1,850,353
Vinegar.....	4,123	12,939
Wine.....	123,817	728,749
Total miscellaneous.....	\$7,299,687	\$11,747,185

Of the articles enumerated in the foregoing table a few show a decline, but all the others show an increase, which in some instances is considerable. Taken together, they show an increase of nearly 50 per cent. The obvious tendency of the exports of this class is, therefore, to supplant, as far as practicable, the exports of cruder products of the same sort. However, they do not yet represent more than one-third of our total exports of agricultural

products, which—as appears from the general summary first presented above—show an increase of about 25 per cent. in 1898 as compared with 1880.

Now, it must be observed that the population of the countries among which our exports of food stuffs are distributed did not increase 25 per cent. in the last 18 years. Even in Germany, where the rate is higher than in England, Belgium or Italy, the percentage of increase was much below that figure, while in France, which in bad crop years is a large importer of American wheat, the population remained almost stationary. If the crop conditions of Europe were equally bad in 1880 and 1898, as appears to have been the case, the comparatively greater per capita consumption of our food stuffs in the latter than in the former year by the people of those countries must obviously have been caused, in part at least, by some advance in the purchasing power of their working classes. That such an advance actually took place in France and Belgium, was plainly shown in a recent bulletin of the Department of Labor. That a similar advance took place in Germany and Switzerland we know to be a fact. And we know, furthermore, that in all these countries the advance gained was the result of energetic Socialist agitation.

There is, however, in all the above facts and figures nothing from which our middle-class farmers may derive permanent comfort of mind and body.

In the first place, the increase of agricultural exports in 1898, as compared with 1880, large as it seems and actually is, does not correspond to the much larger increase that has taken place in the powers of agricultural production during the past 18 years. Again, the conditions of the two years now under special review were exceptional. After rising to 686 millions in 1880, and 730 millions in 1881, our agricultural exports fell steadily until they reached only 484 millions in 1886. Likewise, they went up to 800 millions in 1892—or only 51 millions less than in 1898—but they declined to 553 millions in 1895. It would evidently be foolish in the extreme to expect that the high figures of 1898 will be permanently maintained. But what we can reasonably expect is that the prices will decline together with the exports, and that the farmers, who gave up Bryanism and “American” silver as soon as they could get British gold for their produce, will again look for some false prophet on a hobby horse to lead them out of the wilderness without crossing the quagmire that lies between Capitalism and Socialism.

The statistics of most significance in many respects are those which relate to the Exports and Imports of Manufactures, the former exhibiting an increase of \$186,000,000, while the latter show a decrease of \$69,000,000. In this regard the following table, comprising only some principal articles, is eminently suggestive and deserves special study.

Articles.		1880.	1898.
Iron and steel.....	Imports.....	\$70,937,274	\$12,615,913
	Exports.....	12,605,576	70,367,527
Copper	Imports.....	1,221,132	3,120,572
	Exports.....	723,005	32,280,872
Cotton goods.....	Imports.....	29,929,366	27,266,932
	Exports.....	9,981,418	17,024,092
Wool manufactures	Imports.....	33,911,098	14,823,768
	Exports.....	216,576	1,089,632
Silk manufactures.....	Imports.....	32,188,690	23,523,110
	Exports.....	.....	297,074

Articles.		1880	1898
Flax, hemp and jute m'fres	Imports.....	25,551,522	21,899,714
	Exports.....	1,263,655	2,557,463
Leather and m'fres of.....	Imports.....	12,205,033	11,414,118
	Exports.....	6,760,186	21,113,640
Glass and glassware.....	Imports.....	5,221,511	3,669,919
	Exports.....	749,866	1,211,084
Tobacco manufactures.....	Imports.....	2,491,214	1,603,504
	Exports.....	2,063,166	4,818,493
Watches, and parts of.....	Imports.....	1,529,948	689,656
	Exports.....	48,880	771,912

It will be observed that in the great item of Iron and Steel (which comprises all the manufactures thereof), the position of the country was exactly reversed during the past eighteen years. In 1880 our imports under this head were nearly \$71,000,000 and our exports \$12,600,000; whereas in 1898 our imports were \$12,600,000 and our exports exceeded \$70,000,000. A complete enumeration of the articles of this class exported in the last fiscal year, however instructive, would take too much space, but the following may be noted:

Pig iron.....	\$2,700,000	Pumping machinery.....	2,000,000
Steel rails.....	4,600,000	Shoe machinery.....	900,000
Structural iron.....	1,200,000	Steam machinery and loco-	
Wire	2,600,000	motives	5,200,000
Tools, hardware and cutlery.	6,600,000	Typewriting machines.....	1,900,000
Firearms	670,000	Nails and spikes.....	1,300,000
Sewing machines.....	3,100,000	Pipes and fittings.....	3,100,000
Electrical machines.....	2,000,000	Castings and carwheels.....	900,000
Metal working machines.....	4,600,000	Stoves, ranges, etc.....	400,000
Printing presses.....	\$ 870,000		

Scales, balances, safes, sheets, plates, rods, hoops, and an infinite variety of articles more or less advanced in manufacture enter into the list of this class of exports, which is now in a fair way of reaching an annual aggregate of \$100,000,000 or more.*

Next to Iron and Steel in export growth on the above list stands Copper, chiefly shipped to Europe in the form of ingots and bars. The great development of copper mining in this country dates from the formation and almost immediate ruin of the French Syndicate which, about ten years ago, was initiated by the Rothschilds to monopolize that metal. Foreseeing the increased demand for it that was to result from the vast improvements and new fields in the application of electricity, this syndicate, which already owned the mines of Chili, contracted to purchase all the product of the United States at a stated price. In other words, it undertook the impossible task of controlling the product without controlling the production. A number of rich mines that were held unproductive by idle capitalists waiting for opportunities, were immediately opened and their vast output was unloaded on the French Syndicate, which sank under the burden. Since then, however, the demand for copper has outstripped all early provisions and, of course, a new syndicate has been formed, which controls production and product. According to a well-informed correspondent of the New York "Sun," the stock of the mine companies which were alone operating copper mines in the Lake Superior

*It may here be noted that by the McKinley duty imposed in 1897 on tin plate—a primary manufacture, until then entirely imported from Great Britain, and chiefly used for tin roofing and the making of tin cans—the imports of it have been cut down from 1,000 million pounds, representing a value of 35 million dollars, in 1891 (when those imports were largest), to 171 million pounds, representing a value of \$3,800,000, in 1898.

district at the end of 1898, was worth at that time \$97,865,000. It had increased \$22,000,000 in value in less than two months, and \$40,000,000 in the last four years. Among these companies figures the Calumet and Hecla, whose stock, for which \$1,250,000 was paid by its original owners, is now worth \$60,000,000. From their opening to the end of 1898, the Lake Superior mines have paid more than \$75,000,000 in dividends, of which amount \$54,380,000 stand to the credit of the Calumet and Hecla.

The student of the above comparative table will not fail to observe that in all of the ten great lines of manufacture enumerated therein (not excepting copper, the increased imports of which are lost in the mass of its exports), there was a large decrease of imports and a marked increase of exports. In some the exports were still small in amount in 1898; but even such as wool and silk manufacture, which grew mighty in the protecting shade of a high tariff and still claim that they would wilt under the burning rays of foreign competition, are beginning to "invade" the foreign markets. Thanks to the sweating system we now ship wearing apparel abroad. While supplying foreign competitors with shoe machinery, which their "downtrodden, foreign pauper laborers" cannot be made to work so fast and so cheaply as "free American citizens," we provide their customers with footwear. And the time is surely coming when, owing to the "thrift" of the colored race, half naked for comfort in the Southern clime and luxuriously fed on sweet potatoes, with a little bacon thrown in, America will wrest from England the world-wide empire of cotton goods, just as she is now taking from that country the iron crown.

That we are steadily reducing our imports and increasing our exports of manufactures, means, of course, that we are increasing our domestic production; not necessarily by employing more labor or employing it more constantly, for the fact is fully established that upon the whole, under capitalism, the amount of enforced idleness is growing simultaneously with the development of industry; but chiefly by the use of improved machinery and methods. This increase of manufacturing production is further shown by the increase of our imports of certain materials in a more or less crude condition, required by our manufacturing industries, but not obtainable in this country in the desired form or in sufficient quantities; such materials, for instance, as are enumerated in the following table:

Articles.	Imports.	
	1880.	1898.
Chemicals	\$36,966,451	\$41,470,711
Cotton, unmanufactured (chiefly from Egypt).....	591,120	5,019,503
Fibers (hemp, jute, flax, sisal grass, etc.).....	9,392,868	12,446,196
Fur skins, undressed.....	2,496,277	3,832,603
Hides and skins.....	30,002,254	37,068,832
India rubber and gutta percha, crude.....	9,606,239	25,545,391
Silk, unmanufactured.....	12,024,699	32,110,066
Tin in bars, blocks, pigs, etc.....	6,223,176	8,776,151
Tobacco, leaf.....	4,911,086	7,488,605
Wood, logs, timber and lumber.....	8,858,915	11,538,396
Wool, unmanufactured.....	23,727,650	*34,763,441

* The figure given here for wool is the average for 1897 and 1898. Owing to the pending revision of the tariff, much more wool was imported in the beginning of 1897 than was needed in that year, and the imports of 1898 were correspondingly reduced.

There are, however, a few articles embodying much labor, or labor of a sort that is highly valued, which also show an increase of imports. But both the amount and the increase are smaller than might at first be supposed, because their use is limited to a small number of wealthy people, some of whom live almost entirely in foreign countries, where they enjoy most of their luxuries and make their finest displays. Such are, among others, the following articles:

Articles.	Imports.	
	1880.	1898.
Art works.....	\$ 413,366	\$2,263,417
Books, music, maps, etc.....	2,487,888	2,883,748
Earthen and china ware.....	5,650,267	6,686,220
Furs and dressed fur skins.....	3,927,835	4,048,545
Jewelry, diamonds, precious stones, etc.....	7,045,759	10,395,765

Singular as it may seem, especially when the growth of our population is considered, a marked decrease has taken place in our imports of food products (money value), although their imports include such articles of general consumption as coffee and tea, which are not produced at all in this country, and sugar and molasses, which we are still far from producing in sufficient quantity. This apparent anomaly, however, is readily explained by the gradual fall of the wholesale prices in the countries from which we obtain the commodities in question; a fall, we must say, which generally was not followed, except after a long period of months, and sometimes of years, by a corresponding decline in the retail prices of the United States. When we turn from money values to quantities, we find that the imports of this class have largely increased (except the comparatively insignificant ones of eggs and salt). The following table speaks for itself:

Articles.	Imports.	
	1880.	1898.
Cocoa, crude.....	\$1,306,239	\$3,492,033
Coffee.....	60,360,769	65,067,561
Fruits.....	13,284,062	12,328,936
Fish.....	1,879,801	5,984,980
Rice and breadstuffs.....	9,172,635	6,896,887
Provisions.....	1,234,992	1,840,420
Salt.....	1,837,432	524,659
Spices.....	2,428,657	2,404,624
Sugar and molasses.....	88,761,165	60,472,703
Tea.....	21,004,813	9,954,005
Wines and liquors.....	7,736,532	8,103,974
Eggs.....	901,932	8,025
Other food products.....	825,728	150,385
Total food products.....	\$210,734,757	\$177,229,192
Animals.....	3,739,996	4,250,819
Total animals and food products.....	\$214,474,753	\$181,480,011

GERMAN TRADE UNIONISM.

Fifty years ago the economic and political conditions of Germany were still largely feudal. The factory system, which in England had completely superseded the old mode of production in the great industries of England, and had also acquired a considerable development in France, was in its infancy on German soil. As late as 1846, in the kingdom of Prussia, which was industrially the most advanced of the states now comprising the German Empire, the establishments employing each fifty hands or more occupied in the aggregate less than 250,000 persons; whereas there were 1,470,000 artisans working on their own account and 450,000 small master mechanics employing 385,000 workmen and apprentices. Commerce, also, was almost entirely in the hands of the middle class.

The Prussian Code of Trade (*Gewerbe-Ordnung*) of 1845 contained rigorous provisions against combinations of laborers and mechanics, and similar restrictions were imposed in other parts of Germany. But there was already an undercurrent of thought which could not be repressed, originating in the superficial agitation of the middle class itself for political reforms, and deflected in a social economic direction when it reached the wage-working strata. Despite prohibitive laws and arbitrary measures, a number of labor societies had been formed, the actual object of which was the discussion of social questions and economic evils. Their chief spirits were in sympathy with the "League of the Just," which, in 1847, under the lead of Carl Marx and Engels, resolutely planted itself upon the high platform of their "Communist Manifesto" and assumed the name of "Communist League."

When the revolution of 1848 broke out, the middle class of Germany, in obedience to the same perverse instinct that moved its French prototype, set to the work of confiscating it. A number of guilds (societies of master mechanics), professing the greatest interest in the welfare of "their hands," held a congress at Francfort. Their first act was to refuse admittance to the delegates of the wage-workers' organizations, who thereupon met in separate convention and drafted a programme of demands, in opposition to the masters' programme, for the consideration of the revolutionary parliament then sitting at Francfort. This parliament, however, was dissolved before it could enact any laws, and in February, 1849, the Prussian Diet adopted a new Code of Trade, in which the prohibitive provisions concerning labor combinations were omitted, but not repealed. This code remained in force until 1868, when the parliament of the newly-formed North German Confederation proceeded to the elaboration of another, which, as finally adopted, became binding upon all the States of the then existing Confederation, and, lastly, upon all the States of the German Empire when, three years later, the King of Prussia donned the imperial robe.

By this national law the right of organization and strike was granted, and all State laws denying it were declared null and void. Nevertheless the general right in question continued impaired to a large extent by certain State enactments, which in some way or another, interfering "only" with the rights of meeting and of association, were held by the courts to be still in force, and were applied with extreme rigor by the authorities of the various States.

Since 1848 the factory system had rapidly developed. In Prussia the number of persons employed in factories increased from 557,000 in 1846, to 678,000

in 1858, and 760,000 in 1861. In the handicraft trades a change occurred during the same period, still more suggestive by the evidence it gave of a tendency to concentration. The number of master mechanics decreased from 553,000 in 1852 to 545,000 in 1861, while the number of wage-workers in their employ increased from 447,000 to 507,000. Since 1861 the economic changes in Germany have been even greater than the political. In 1895, of the 18,000,000 people earning a livelihood at some occupation, 8,150,000 were engaged in agriculture, 1,700,000 in commerce (including hotels, etc.), 600,000 in transportation, and 8,300,000 in mining, manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. It was in 1862 that Lassalle began his agitation; three years later came the Internationalists; so that, in 1869, numbers of German workingmen, who had already sent seven representatives to the North German parliament, were well prepared to improve every possible advantage which the new Code of Trade might afford. The Lassallians found their basis of organization in the German Workingmen's Relief Association (Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiter Unterstützungs-Verband), The "Eisenach" or Marxist fraction went on organizing various trades.

The capitalist class had, of course, strongly opposed the concession made by the government to the proletariat. But Bismarck, who had in view greater schemes even than those which he had just successfully carried out, needed, *courted and hoped to obtain the support of the masses.* It was for this reason, no doubt, that he had granted universal suffrage upon the establishment of the North German Confederation. He must have thought also that, judging from Great Britain, trade unionism could not, after all, become a serious source of trouble to the State, or even to the capitalists. At any rate he was strong, and if any evil ever came in sight, it would then be time enough to act forcibly.

With that keen scent of approaching danger that is characteristic of a highly developed class-consciousness, the capitalists took a more correct view of the situation than did the famed statesman. Although the trade organizations were forbidden by the Code to discuss political affairs or to combine politically—a prohibition that our own Strasser and his Gompers were then too young to have suggested to Bismarck—they realized that a field of agitation had been opened to the Socialists, which those wicked and irrepressible disturbers of blind content would not be deterred from exploiting by any threat or punishment; but they would use every dispute—not between the capitalist class and the laboring class, mark well, but between the Siamese twins, Capital and Labor—as a vivid illustration of the "fact" that there is a "class struggle," and that the day would come, sooner than expected, when it would be too late, even for a Bismarck, to extirpate socialism from the fatherland.

Looking hopelessly for a remedy, the capitalists found, as they thought, a palliative, or rather embraced the men who claimed to have found one. These were Dr. Hirsch and his associate, Duncker; the first, fresh from England, where he had made a short trip to study the principles and workings of that great British trades-unionism which had proved impermeable to the teachings of the "International." Upon the same principles—namely, that Capital and Labor are brothers, indispensable to each other, equally responsible to the nation for its progress, having therefore identical interests, and both of whom should never allow their friendly relations so necessary to the public welfare, to be unduly disturbed by mere market disturbances, naturally inevitable, but self-adjustable, according to the eternal law of supply and demand—upon those great, humane and sensible principles, we say, Dr. Hirsch and his Duncker would organize the labor of Germany, and benevolently bind it to their unions

by insurance schemes, sick benefits and undertakers' arrangements at its own expense. Of course, no man—no wolf—professing or suspected of entertaining Socialist opinions would be admitted into the sheep fold.

Surely, those of our German comrades, now in this country, who remember this insidious attempt of capitalistic agents to sidetrack and paralyze the labor movement of their native land, will remember also the contempt with which it was looked upon by them and their fellow Socialists. They will also recognize that the faithful picture of the Hirsch-Duncker'schen Gewerkvereine which is here given might be taken for a photograph of the "pure and simple" unions of America, in which they have been compelled for so long a time to cut so sorry a figure. And, acting logically now, as they did then, they will by all means hasten the day of sound, honest, uncompromising economic organization in this country under its only possible banner, the banner of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

Despite the direct influence exerted by the "bosses" upon their employees in favor of the Hirsch-Duncker abortion, the latter numbered only 18,000 members in 1872; whereas, in the face of the extraordinary persecution by the employers and the authorities, the membership of Socialist unions (Lassallian and Marxist) was about 70,000. In 1878, when the "laws of exception" were passed, a number of Socialist unions, that did not act with sufficient promptitude or secrecy, were forcibly dissolved by the police and their funds were confiscated. The others quickly disbanded. (See Socialist Almanac.—Socialism in Germany.) One of the latter, a miners' organization, numbered at that time 60,000 members.

But, precisely because the economic organization of labor was a Socialist structure from foundation to flagstaff, cemented in all its parts with proletarian solidarity, it was indestructible. After a few months only of prostration, when the comrades had sufficiently recovered from the first shock to take their reckoning and devise a plan of action, the trade union movement not only resumed its march, but proved a powerful means of strengthening the political party in its unequal struggle with the tremendous enginery of despotism at the command of Bismarck. Under one form or another the unions were reorganized, or rather survived with a life energy increased by the heat of the conflict. In some important trades they even contrived to federate through a system of trustees (Vertrauens-Männer-System). Some, who had made such changes in their by-laws as might enable them to openly exist, and who correctly relied for the preservation of their Socialistic efficiency upon the principle that the spirit, not the form, was of fundamental importance, appealed to the courts when the authorities undertook to dissolve them, fought the enemy for years with his own weapon of chicanery, and finally won their cases. It goes without saying that every such legal tournament was turned from beginning to end into an occasion for the very agitation and propaganda which the Government was striving to suppress.

With the fall of Bismarck the exception laws came to an end; but although the worst fetters by which trade unionism had been hampered were at last removed, enough impediments remained to greatly interfere with the work of organization. Nevertheless rapid progress was made, especially since 1893, when the Socialists, by casting 1,786,000 votes and electing 44 Deputies, gave their persecutors a warning that the days of despotism in any form were numbered. The membership of the unions increased from 229,810 in 1893 to 252,044 in 1894; 269,956 in 1895; 335,088 in 1896, and 419,162 in 1897. In the

latter year, of the 574 strikes in which they were engaged they completely won 272, were partly successful in 146 and lost only 156.

And once more bear in mind that all this was accomplished on the lines of battle exactly followed by the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. No Socialist in Germany ever thought of "propitiating" the Hirsch-Duncker fakirs, or feeding them with dues. The notion that the propaganda could best be carried on by opposing Socialist unions and contributing in any way, direct or indirect, to the perpetuation of the Hirsch-Duncker scheme, never entered a German Socialist's brain—in Germany.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA.

The Socialist Labor party of Canada is a recent offshoot of the United States S. L. P., whose Canadian sections, primarily organized for educational purposes, finally constituted themselves into a national party, with a view to political action.

The section of London, Ont., was the pioneer, and broke political ground in Canada with a municipal ticket, which, in March, 1898, received 126 votes.

At the elections of January 2, 1899, there were four sections in the field with municipal tickets, all in the Province of Ontario; namely, London, Brantford, Hamilton and Toronto. The results, highly gratifying, were as follows:

LONDON Aldermanic ticket . . .	709	HAMILTON Aldermanic ticket..	233
BRANTFORD Aldermanic ticket	250	TORONTO Aldermanic ticket ..	706
Total			1,948

The vote for the various Socialist candidates in London and Toronto was as follows:

LONDON:

For Mayor, Fred J. Darch	656
For Water Commissioner, Henry B. Ashplant.....	923
Ward 2. For Alderman, A. B. Barter	178
Ward 3. do. David Ross	221
Ward 4. do. James Farrar	67
Ward 5. do. Fred. Appleton	125
Ward 6. do. Ed. Westland	118
Ward 2. For School Trustee, Jesse E. Barter.....	110
Ward 6. do. Marie Westland	138

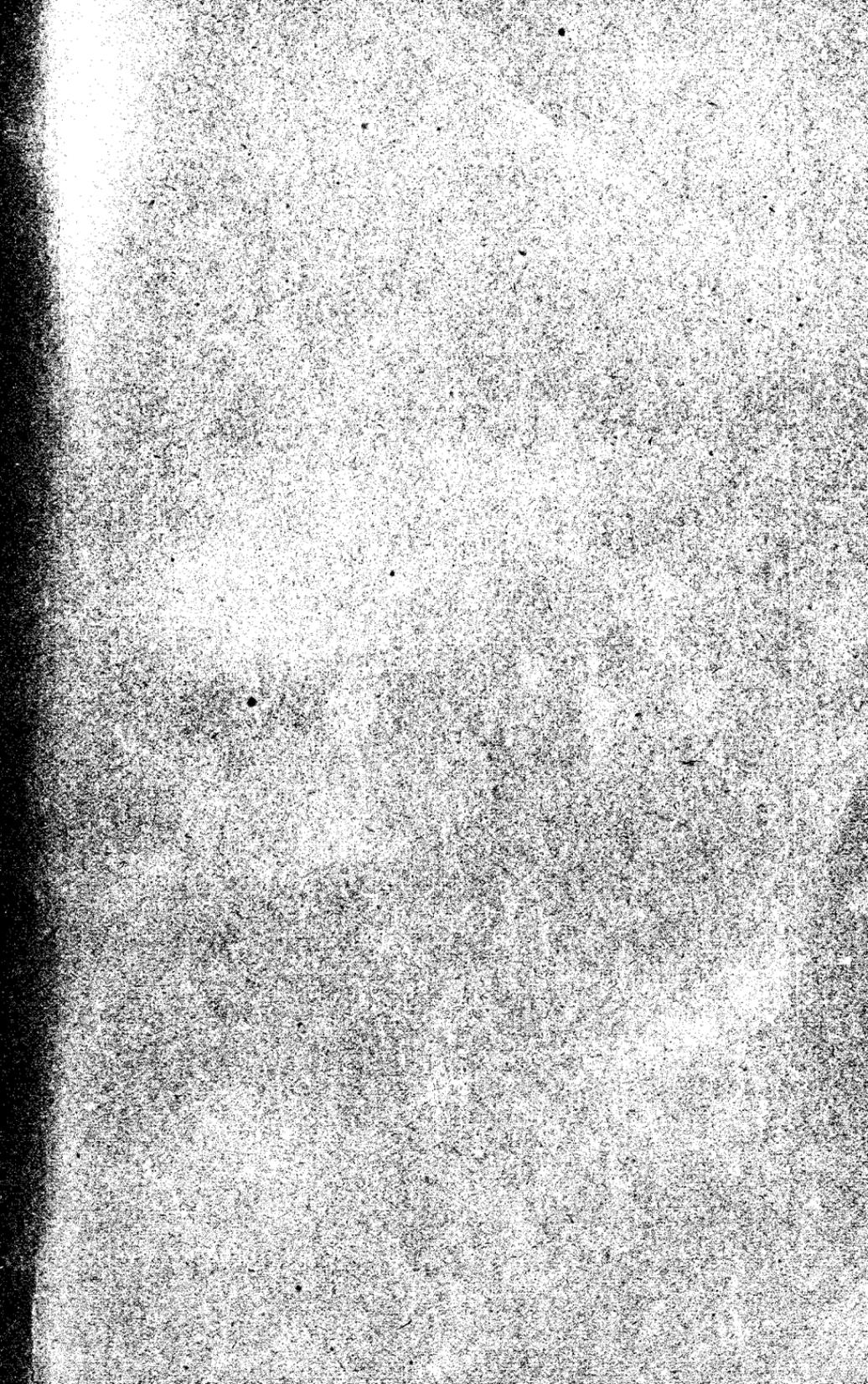
TORONTO:

Ward 1. For Alderman, Chas C. Woodley	125
Ward 2. do. Wm. Thompson	151
Ward 3. do. Arnot Hepburn	192
Ward 4. do. Thos Roberts	238

CALIFORNIA.

The following table shows the vote cast by counties, for each of the candidates on the S. L. P. State ticket in 1898, as compared with the vote cast for the Socialist Presidential ticket in 1896.

Counties.	Harriman, Governor.	Andrew, Lieut.-Gov.	Liebs, Sec'y of State.	Robertson, Controller.	Dewey, Treasurer.	Hamilton, Atty Gen'l.	Smith, Surveyor-Gen'l.	Biddle Clerk Sup. C't	Rouleston, Sup. Pub. Inst.	Contl. State Printer.	Vote in 1896.
Alameda	496	1004	827	768	1014	829	1238	937	708	767	101
Alpine	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	1	..
Amador	24	51	44	29	53	38	41	37	20	31	2
Butte	43	109	84	58	37	56	78	69	45	71	6
Calaveras	23	64	49	37	97	42	60	66	41	45	7
Colusa	30	53	45	36	84	39	46	45	35	34	9
Contra Costa	22	75	44	50	77	51	77	47	35	54	4
Del Norte	13	23	20	11	22	14	13	13	15	15	2
El Dorado	37	58	51	31	57	34	49	58	33	56	7
Fresno	117	150	150	132	205	128	154	168	89	144	39
Glenn	7	37	10	26	52	9	26	17	8	10	2
Humboldt	123	188	167	146	194	138	173	181	141	154	8
Inyo	13	21	19	15	26	9	19	26	21	10	2
Kern	67	170	116	76	169	101	138	165	71	117	12
Kings	11	36	20	19	43	19	37	26	18	18	7
Lake	30	42	41	40	56	37	52	74	28	40	2
Lassen	16	25	26	19	36	21	26	26	26	19	3
Los Angeles	479	752	760	677	816	667	733	1355	607	625	106
Madera	17	40	27	24	45	23	30	36	23	24	1
Marin	47	95	81	67	95	73	81	80	74	82	21
Mariposa	13	31	27	24	37	25	27	33	15	29	..
Mendocino	25	100	64	57	96	51	81	79	53	17	3
Merced	18	51	28	35	53	24	35	33	8	41	4
Modoc	12	12	16	7	16	11	14	9	9	13	4
Mono	2	8	1	2	14	3	8	9	6	6	1
Monterey	54	119	95	76	117	86	96	98	80	94	11
Napa	41	78	127	72	111	57	86	89	61	73	8
Nevada	19	66	72	80	129	40	97	80	42	66	10
Orange	32	71	52	44	70	42	43	76	36	42	2
Placer	26	44	56	40	78	44	59	73	28	48	9
Plumas	8	23	19	15	29	20	19	18	14	18	..
Riverside	69	117	184	87	113	86	112	138	94	95	4
Sacramento	102	222	206	210	322	229	212	200	169	102	58
San Benito	14	49	37	35	40	35	48	51	30	36	3
San Bernardino	98	150	113	105	100	104	127	153	111	105	12
San Diego	208	293	286	258	310	238	277	306	236	257	71
San Francisco	1388	1931	2335	2404	2388	2044	2239	2271	2075	1927	784
San Joaquin	121	186	175	141	235	160	176	206	140	113	31
San Luis Obispo	31	65	42	32	46	25	30	51	29	30	8
San Mateo	36	78	48	51	86	46	94	60	43	50	8
Santa Barbara	95	129	127	121	138	107	130	126	107	103	20
Santa Clara	292	437	437	407	505	386	437	484	360	407	82
Santa Cruz	93	164	138	113	168	112	142	141	131	132	33
Shasta	71	147	130	89	127	71	146	126	75	108	9
Sierra	5	18	17	15	30	7	18	21	11	12	..
Siskiyou	38	73	53	39	75	30	57	53	28	40	6
Solano	95	194	167	142	227	152	189	179	139	140	10
Sonoma	100	191	162	158	203	122	169	154	131	157	31
Stanislaus	21	64	39	25	53	16	30	36	18	25	1
Sutter	13	28	13	11	22	10	16	18	4	15	..
Tehama	25	84	39	36	67	26	44	48	29	31	2
Trinity	14	28	31	18	29	22	21	25	14	15	2
Tulare	204	196	190	175	282	171	171	214	145	181	31
Tuolumne	42	97	92	75	102	72	104	100	59	74	5
Ventura	57	105	80	66	91	68	74	82	54	70	9
Yolo	33	84	74	45	83	54	55	53	50	44	4
Yuba	16	58	28	13	41	21	18	38	20	21	4
Total	5143	8784	8386	7585	9856	7144	8753	9357	6693	7107	1611



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PRESS COMMENTS.

(From "The Westminster Review," London, Jan., 1899.)

To thinking people of all classes, regardless of the opinions which they may entertain, "The Socialist Almanac and Treasury of Facts" will prove of the highest interest and value. It stands alone in the economic literature of our day as an encyclopædia of that special knowledge of new facts, new tendencies, and new movements, which journalists, public men, educators, and in general all representatives or leaders of political, social and intellectual currents must possess in order to treat intelligently the burning questions forced upon the public mind by the development of industry under the modern system of production.

From a glance at its contents, an idea may be formed of the width of its scope and of the variety of its information. The first part is historical. It gives a graphic picture of the progress of Socialism in Germany and other European countries where the Socialist movement has become a political force of the first magnitude, suggestive of early possibilities that may deeply affect the industrial conditions of the whole world. The second and more extensive part chiefly relates to America, and is largely statistical; but the dry figures in which the phenomena of our economic and social development must necessarily be expressed are supplemented by explanations and comments that render them more intelligible and attractive. Upon such subjects as the distribution of wealth in the United States, the trusts, the progress of bankruptcy, the classes and the class struggle, agriculture, manufactures, mining, railroads, finance, strikes and lockouts, wages and profits, etc., it contains a vast amount of accurate information, which no one could obtain but at an enormous expense of time and labor in tedious researches through official and other documents not readily accessible; so that, even if it is viewed as a work of reference merely, aside of all other considerations, its usefulness cannot be over-estimated.

(From Georges Renard's Book Review in "La Lanterne," Paris, 1899.)

Here comes a publication from the United States, entitled, "Socialist Almanac and Treasury of Facts." *Treasury of Facts!* This is by no means an idle boast. Not only does this little book of 230 pages contain a comprehensive history of Socialism in Germany, Italy, Spain, Belgium and Austria (to which will be added next year the chapters on France and other countries); but it is replete with precise information and exact figures concerning the social classes in America, the distribution of wealth, the progress of bankruptcy and trusts, manufactures, agriculture, mining, railroads, finance, etc., etc. In its statistical part it is a work both considerable and solid, and might well serve as a model in other countries, where productions of the same sort and equal merit, now wanting, would prove invaluable to Socialist writers, speakers and officials.