

wane. Louis Blanc published his "*Organization du Travail*" in 1839, and Proudhon his book on property in 1840. Neither of the four master minds of German socialism—Marx, Rodbertus, Engels, or Lassalle—published anything of great importance much prior to 1850. The first volume of Marx's great work on capital, which has not inappropriately been called the "Socialists' Bible," was not published till 1867.

There have been endless minor differences and controversies among socialists, but the current of socialism pursues everywhere the same general direction. There can be little doubt that it is widening and deepening in every civilized country of the world. Its strongest development has been attained under the contributions of German thinkers, and on German soil German socialism as a practical force began in the Berlin insurrection of 1848, when King Frederick William IV. of Prussia was compelled to make important concessions to the laboring classes. The birthday of the Social Democracy did not come till about fifteen years later, when Ferdinand Lassalle boldly announced as a program for the workingmen of Germany that they unite as an independent political party, demand free and universal and immediate suffrage, and then, by the power of the ballot, proceed to put their theories into practical operation.

The development of this new political force was at first slow; but during the last two decades it has swept forward with a rapidity and an increasing momentum that has been hardly less interesting to the student of social science than appalling to the emperor and royalists of Germany. Its actual voting force to-day is probably one eighth of that of the whole empire.

Its support comes not from the slums, as many suppose, although the slum vote is unquestionably represented, but from the great middle

class, where brain power is always at its highest average. There are university professors, bankers, and others of like standing among its ardent advocates. Dr. Albert Schäffle, one of the foremost political economists of Germany, himself a monarchist, but a man of great candor, said a few years ago: "*The seats of the greatest wealth of foreign commerce, of industry, of constitutional life, of the highest public offices and professional institutions for art, science, education, social intercourse—viz, half Berlin, the Hanse towns, Hanover, Frankfort, Munich, Mannheim, and others—are to-day represented by and for the proletariat!*"

The expression would need to be intensified adequately to set forth the present situation. Not one half simply, but five sixths of the representatives in the Reichstag from Berlin are Social Democrats. And the spirit of social democracy is widely permeating the army. The limited public expression of that spirit in army circles is not, for obvious reasons, any criterion of its real prevalence; but the time is liable to come when its expression will be in no degree uncertain.

What is the genius of social democracy? Karl Marx, in "*Das Kapital*," has given the scientific basis of socialism. He reaches the conclusion that, as labor is the creator of wealth, "*the real unit of value is labor power*." He shows that the value of any product of labor above that amount which is necessary to cover the cost of the laborer's subsistence and the wear and tear of the instruments employed constitutes a *surplus value*. This "surplus value," as profit, goes to the capitalist, who, by successfully manipulating it in the further employment of labor and the securing for himself of further "surplus value," becomes richer and richer, while the laborer sinks more and more into the condition of helpless, hopeless slavery.

Socialism would do away with this private exploiting of capital and make land and all means of production the