

PRICE 5 CENTS

Marx on Cheapness

Being Some Portions of "The Discourse on
Free Trade" Delivered by KARL MARX
before The Democratic Association
of Brussels, January 9, 1848.

Accurately Translated by Robert Rives La Monte

Pocket Library of Socialism, No. 50



Published by
CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY
(CO-OPERATIVE)

118 West Kinzie Street, Chicago, Ill.

Disc. in 1915

1915

1915

1915

JOHN F. HIGGINS
PRINTER AND BINDER



376-382 MONROE STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

INTRODUCTION.

Historians have not erred in describing the dramatic repeal of the Corn Laws under the Ministry of Sir Robert Peel in 1846, as one of the most important events in the history of England in the Nineteenth century. It gave free play to the aspirations of British Capital, and England soon became the work-shop of the world.

It was the culmination of an anti-Corn Law agitation that had been carried on with great energy for more than a decade; in this agitation the workers had made common cause with the manufacturers in demanding Free Trade, just as they after made common cause with the great landed proprietors in demanding the passage of the Ten Hour Factory law. But this agitation for free-trade differed from the agitations for free-trade that we can remember in this country. There the cry was for cheap bread and cheap raw materials; here the attack of the free-traders was upon the high prices of protected manufactured goods. In both cases the free-traders were loud in their protestations of love for the workingman;

in England they wanted to give the poor workers cheap bread, in America cheap clothes.

The workers now know that everything they produce over and above a bare living is taken from them by their employers with equal neatness and despatch, whether the tariff be high or low. But in 1846-47 many, probably most, workingmen in Europe thought that the English workingman had really been substantially benefitted by the repeal of the corn-laws. Even the trade crisis of 1847 was not sufficient to destroy this pleasing delusion. It was under these circumstances that Karl Marx on the 9th of January, 1848, delivered before the Democratic Association of Brussels his famous "Discourse on Free-Trade."

The only translation of this that has heretofore been available has sold at 25 cents, and the price has prevented its circulating as widely as could be desired. Most workingmen now realize that as workingmen they are no more directly interested in the question of Protection vs. Free-trade than a chicken is interested in the question of how it is to be cooked. Accordingly the present translator has felt himself at liberty to abridge the speech very considerably by omitting repetitions and those portions of the original which dealt with purely

English affairs. By so doing it has been made possible to issue it in this Pocket Library form and thus make it generally available. This translation is from the original French, the language in which the speech was delivered.

While Free-trade vs. Protection is not a burning question in this country to-day, the question of the effect of high and low prices of the means of subsistence upon the working-class is decidedly a burning question. During the past decade all are agreed that the cost of living has risen greatly. Reformers and muck-rakers are trying to persuade the workers to join them in an attack upon the "extortionate" prices of the wicked Trusts. There is danger that some Socialists with opportunist tendencies will be misled in this way. But the Revolutionary Socialists who uphold the banner of the Socialist Party will continue to direct all their attacks toward the wage-system—the most effective means of exploitation (robbery) the World has ever seen. In this work they will be greatly aided by this pamphlet in which the World's greatest Economist explodes once for all the fallacy that cheap prices are a boon to the working-class.

It should be noted that Marx speaks of Free-trade as the condition for the free development

of Capitalism; so it was for Capitalism in England then; but Protection has been the condition for the free development of Capitalism in Germany and the United States during the last few decades. Marx foresaw this and expressly states it in the latter part of this address in the case of Germany.

It is necessary to note that in this speech as in all his writings of that period Marx did not always in words distinguish between labor and labor-power. In his later writings he is always careful to make this distinction. Here when he speaks of the sale of labor we must always understand labor-power.

The greater part of this translation appeared in *The Industrial Union Bulletin*, April 13, 1907.

ROBERT RIVES I. MORRE-

May 23, 1907.

MARX ON CHEAPNESS.

Gentlemen :

The abolition of the Corn-Laws in England is the greatest triumph that free-trade has won in the Nineteenth Century. In all countries where manufacturers talk of free trade, they have chiefly in view free trade in grains and raw materials in general. To levy protective duties on foreign grains is infamous, it is to speculate on the hunger of the people.

Cheap bread, high wages, that is the single goal for which the *free-traders* in England have expended millions, and already their enthusiasm has reached out to their brothers of the Continent. In general, if one wishes free trade, it is in order to relieve the condition of the working-class.

But behold an astonishing thing! The people, for whom it is desired to procure cheap bread at all costs, is very ungrateful. Cheap bread is in equally bad odor in England as cheap government is in France. The people see in the men of devotion, in a Bowring, a Bright and their colleagues, its greatest enemies and most brazen hypocrites.

Every one knows that the struggle between the Liberals and the democrats is called, in England, the struggle between the free-traders and the Chartists.

Let us see now how the English free-traders have proved to the people the good sentiments which actuate them.

Here is what they said to the factory workers:

The duty levied on grains is a tax on wages, this tax, you pay it to the territorial landlords, to those aristocrats of the Middle Ages; if your position is miserable, it is on account of the dearness of provisions of the first necessity.

The workers demanded in their turn of the manufacturers:

How does it happen that during the last thirty years in which our industry has had its greatest development, our wages have fallen much faster than the price of grains has risen?

* * * * *

And then in 1834, when bread was very cheap and business went swimmingly, what did you say to us? If you are miserable, it is because you make too many children, and your marriage is more productive than our industry!

Those are the very words which you used to us then: and you proceeded to pass new

poor-laws and build work-houses, those Bastiles of the proletarians.

To which the manufacturers replied:

You are right, Messieurs Workingmen; it is not only the price of wheat, but also the competition between the job-seekers, which determines wages.

(Marx then summarizes the argument that the free-traders addressed to the small-traders and grocers. He tells how the free-traders were unable to reply to the objections of the farmers and farm-laborers, which led the Anti-Corn-Law League to offer prizes for the best three treatises on "the salutary influence of the abolition of the grain-duties on English agriculture." These prizes were won by Messrs. Hope, Morse and Gregg. Marx gives an epitome of their extremely contradictory arguments, and then continues as follows:)

Doctor Bowring has given to all these arguments a religious consecration by exclaiming in a public meeting:

"Jesus Christ, he is free-trade; free-trade, it is Jesus Christ."

One understands that all this hypocrisy was not adapted to make the workers enjoy cheap bread.

Besides, how could the workers understand the sudden philanthropy of the manufacturers, those people who were even yet occupied in fighting the ten-hour bill, by which it was proposed to reduce the day of the factory worker from twelve hours to ten hours.

To give you an idea of the philanthropy of the manufacturers, I will recall to you, gentlemen, the regulations established in all the factories.

Each manufacturer has for his own use a veritable code in which there are fines fixed for all faults voluntary or involuntary. For instance, the worker shall pay so much, if he has the misfortune to sit down on a chair, if he whispers, talks, laughs, if he arrives a few minutes too late, if a part of the machine breaks, if he does not turn out objects of a desired quality, etc., etc. The fines are always greater than the real damage caused by the worker. And in order to give the worker every facility for incurring penalties, the factory clock is set ahead, bad raw materials are furnished so that the worker shall make many breakages. Dismissal awaits the overseer who is not sufficiently skillful to multiply the cases for fines.

You see, gentlemen, this domestic legislation is made in order to give birth to finable offences, and violations of it are brought about in order to make money for the manufacturer. Thus the manufacturer employs all means to reduce the nominal wage and to exploit even the accidents over which the worker has no control.

These manufacturers, they are the same philanthropists who have wished to make the workers believe that they were capable of making enormous expenditures solely to ameliorate their lot.

Thus, on the one hand, they pare down the wage of the worker by the regulations of the factory in the most niggardly manner, and, on the other, they impose upon themselves the greatest sacrifices in order to cause the wage to rise again by the Anti-corn-law-league.

They build at great cost a palace where the league establishes in some sort its official dwelling; they send out missionaries to every part of England to preach the religion of free-trade; they have printed and distribute free thousands of pamphlets to enlighten the worker on his own interests; they expend enormous sums to render the press favorable to their cause; they organize a vast administration to direct the

free-trade movements, and they display all the riches of their eloquence in public meetings. It was in one of these meetings that a workman cried out:

“If the landed proprietors should sell our bones, you others, manufacturers, you would be the first to buy them to throw them into a steam mill and grind them into flour.”

The English workers have understood very clearly the significance of the struggle between the landed proprietors and the industrial capitalists. They knew very well that it was desired to lower the price of bread in order to lower wages that industrial profits might be increased in the same ratio that rent would be diminished.

Ricardo, the Apostle of the English free-traders, the most distinguished economist of our century, is on this point in perfect agreement with the workers.

He says in his celebrated work on political economy:

“If, instead of harvesting wheat at home, we were to discover a new market where we could procure for ourselves these objects cheaper, in that case wages would have to fall and profits rise. *The fall in the price of the products of agriculture reduces the wages not only of the*

workers employed in the tillage of the soil, but also of all those who work in manufactures or who are employed in commerce."

And do not believe, gentlemen, that it is a thing altogether indifferent for the worker that he receives now only four francs, wheat being cheaper, when before he received five francs.

Have not his wages none-the-less fallen relatively to profit? And is it not clear that his social position has grown worse compared to that of the capitalist? Besides that he is also a loser in actual fact.

So long as the price of grain remained higher, wages being equally higher, a small saving made on the consumption of bread sufficed to procure him other enjoyments, but from the moment that bread and consequently wages become very cheap, he can save next to nothing on bread to buy other objects.

The English workers have made the free-traders feel that they are not the dupes of their illusions and their lies, and if, in spite of that, they have combined with them against the landed proprietors, it was in order to destroy the last relics of the feudal system so that for the future they would have to face only a single enemy. The workers have not deceived themselves in their calculations, for the landed pro-

prietors, to avenge themselves on the manufacturers, have made common cause with the workers to effect the passage of the ten-hour bill, which the workers had vainly demanded for thirty years, and which passed immediately after the abolition of the duties on grains.

If in the Congress of Economists Doctor Bowring has drawn from his pocket a long list in order to show the quantities of beef, ham, bacon, chickens, etc., etc., which had been imported into England, to be consumed there, as he said, by the workers, he has unfortunately forgotten to tell you that at that very instant the workers of Manchester and of the other manufacturing towns found themselves thrown out upon the pavement by the crisis which was commencing.

As a matter of principle in political economy it does not do to take the figures of a single year in order to deduce from them general laws. It is necessary always to take the average term of six to seven years—a lapse of time during which modern industry passes through the different phases of prosperity, of over-production, of stagnation, of crisis, and finishes its fatal cycle.

Without doubt, if the price of all commodities falls, and that is the necessary consequence

of free-trade, I will be able to procure myself for a franc many more things than before. And the franc of the workingman is worth as much as any other franc. Then free-trade will be very advantageous to the workingman. There is only one slight difficulty in this reasoning—it is that the worker before exchanging his franc for other commodities, had, to begin with, to exchange his labor for capital. If in this exchange he received always for the same labor the franc in question, and the price of all other commodities fell, he would gain always by this bargain. There is no difficulty about proving that, assuming a general fall in the price of commodities, I would have more commodities for the same money.

Economists always take the price of labor at the moment when it is exchanged for other commodities. But they leave altogether out of consideration the moment when labor exchanges itself for capital.

Whenever less expense shall be needed to set in motion the machine that produces commodities, the things necessary to support that machine which goes by the name of the laborer will likewise cost less dear. If all commodities are cheaper, labor, which is also a commodity, will likewise fall in price, and as we shall see

later, the labor commodity will fall proportionally, much more than the other commodities. The laborer, cherishing always the argument of the economists, will find that his franc has melted in his pocket and that he has only five sous left.

Thereupon the economists will say to you: Very well, we admit that competition among the workers, which certainly will not be diminished under the regime of free-trade, will not take long in bringing wages into harmony with the low price of commodities. But from another point of view the low price of commodities will increase consumption; the greater consumption will require a greater production, which will be followed by a stronger demand for hands, and after this stronger demand for hands will follow in order a rise in wages.

All this argument amounts to this: Free-trade will increase the productive powers. If industry goes on growing, if wealth, if productive power, if, in a word, productive capital increases the demand for labor, the price of labor, and consequently wages likewise rise. The best condition for the worker is (the condition that accompanies) the increase of capital. And this must be admitted. If capital remains stationary, industry not only will re-

main stationary, but it will decline, and in that case the worker will be its first victim. He will perish before the capitalist. And in the case where capital goes on increasing in that state of things which we have said is the best for the worker, what will be his lot? He will perish likewise. The increase of productive capital implies the accumulation and concentration of capitals. The centralization of capitals brings in its wake a greater division of labor and a greater application of machinery. The greater division of labor destroys the specialization of labor, destroys the special skill of the laborer, and by putting in the place of this specialized labor a labor which anyone can do, it increases the competition between the workers.

This competition becomes so much the stronger as the division of labor gives to the worker the means of doing by himself the work that it formerly took three to do.

Machines produce the same result on a much greater scale. The increase of productive capital, by forcing the industrial capitalists to work with constantly growing means (of production), ruins the petty manufacturers and hurls them into the ranks of the proletariat. Then, the rate of interest diminishing in proportion as

capitalists accumulate, the small investors who can no longer live on their incomes will be forced to embark in industry, and thus in the end to swell the number of the proletarians.

Finally, the more productive capital increases, the more it is compelled to produce for a market of unknown requirements, the more production goes in advance of consumption, the more supply strives to force demand, and consequently crises increase in intensity and frequency. But every crisis in its turn accelerates the centralization of capitals and swells the proletariat.

Thus, as productive capital increases, competition between the workers in production increases much more rapidly. The recompense of labor diminishes for all, and the burden of labor increases for a few.

In 1829, there were at Manchester 1,088 spinners employed in 36 factories. In 1841, there were only 448 of them left, and these workers attended to 53,353 more spindles than the 1,088 workers of 1829. If the ratio of manual labor had increased proportionately to the productive power, the number of workers ought to have reached the figure of 1,848, so that the improvements made in mechanics have deprived of labor 1,100 workers.

We know in advance the reply of the economists. These men deprived of work, they say, will find some other employment for their hands. Doctor Bowring has not failed to reproduce this argument at the Congress of the Economists, but neither has he failed to refute it himself.

In 1833, Doctor Bowring delivered a speech in the House of Commons on the subject of the 50,000 London weavers who had been for a long time dying of starvation without being able to find that new occupation which the free-traders had pointed out to them in the distance.

We are going to give the most striking passages of this speech of Doctor Bowring's:

"The misery of the hand-weavers," he said, "is the inevitable fate of every species of labor which is learned easily and which is susceptible of being replaced at any instant by less costly methods. As in this case the competition between the workers is extremely great, the least relaxation in demand brings about a crisis. The hand-weavers find themselves as it were placed on the limits of human existence. One step more and their existence becomes impossible. The smallest shock is enough to throw them upon the road to destruction. Progress

in mechanics, by suppressing manual labor more and more, causes infallibly during the period of transition many temporary sufferings. National prosperity can be bought only at the price of some individual ills. Advance in industry is made only at the expense of the lag-gards."

* * * * *

Dr. Bowring speaks of "some individual ills," and says at the same time that these individual ills cause entire classes to perish; he speaks of the passing sufferings in times of transition, and at the very time that he speaks of them, he does not dissimulate that these passing sufferings have been for the majority the passing from life to death, and for the rest the movement of transition into a lower condition than that in which they were placed before. If he says further that the misfortunes of these workers are inseparable from the progress of industry and necessary to the national prosperity, he says simply that the prosperity of the bourgeois class has for its necessary condition the misery of the working-class.

All the consolation that Bowring lavishes upon the workers who perish, and, in general, all the doctrine of compensation that the free-traders maintain, amounts to this:

“You other thousands of workers who perish, do not vex your souls! You can die in all tranquility. Your class will not perish. It will always be sufficiently numerous so that capital can decimate it without having any fear of annihilating it. Moreover, how could you expect capital to find for itself employment, did it not take pains always to husband its exploitable material, laborers, in order to exploit them anew?”

But also, what reason is there for continuing to formulate as a problem to be solved—the influence that the attainment of free trade will exercise on the situation of the working-class? All the laws that the economists have expounded from Quesnay down to Ricardo are based on the assumption that the shackles which still fetter commercial liberty no longer exist. These laws assert themselves in the measure that free-trade becomes actual.

The first of these laws is that competition reduces the price of every commodity to the minimum cost of production. Thus the minimum wage is the natural price of labor. And what is the minimum wage? It is simply all that is necessary to accomplish the production of the objects indispensable for the sustenance of the laborer so as to put him in condition to

nourish himself however badly and to propagate feebly his race.

Let us not believe on that account that the worker will have only this minimum wage; nor must we believe that he will have this minimum wage always.

No, according to this law, the working class will sometimes be more fortunate. It will have at times more than the minimum; but this surplus will be only the supplement of that reduction below the minimum it will be forced to accept in times of industrial stagnation. This is equivalent to saying that in a certain lapse of time which is always periodical, in that circle which industry makes, in passing through the vicissitudes of prosperity, of over-production, of stagnation, of crisis, in taking into consideration all that the working-class will have received above or below the minimum—it is equivalent to saying that the working-class will be preserved as a class only after many misfortunes and miseries and corpses left on the field of industrial battle. But what does it matter? The class exists always, and better than that, it multiplies itself.

This is not all. The progress of industry produces less expensive means of existence. It is thus that whisky has replaced beer, that

cotton has replaced wool and linen, and that the potato has taken the place of bread.

Thus, as there are ever being found means of feeding labor with things less dear and more miserable, the wage minimum goes on ever diminishing. If this wage has begun by making man labor in order to live, it ends by making man live the life of a machine. His existence has no other value than that of a simple productive power, and the capitalist treats him accordingly.

This law of the labor commodity, of the minimum wage, will verify itself in the measure that the assumption of the economists, free-trade, shall become a fact, a reality. Thus, of two alternatives one must be taken: either one must deny the whole political economy based on the assumption of free-trade, or else one must admit that the workers will be exposed to all the rigor of the laws of political economy under free-trade.

To sum up: In the present state of society what then is free-trade? It is liberty for capital. When you shall have struck off the few national shackles which still fetter the march of capital, you will simply have completely freed its action. **SO LONG AS YOU ALLOW THE RELATION OF WAGE-LABOR TO CAPITAL**

TO EXIST, THOUGH THE EXCHANGE OF COMMODITIES BETWEEN THEM SHALL TAKE PLACE UNDER THE MOST FAVORABLE CONDITIONS IMAGINABLE, THERE WILL ALWAYS BE ONE CLASS WHICH WILL EXPLOIT, AND ANOTHER CLASS WHICH WILL BE EXPLOITED. It is truly difficult to understand the pretension of the free-traders who imagine that the most advantageous employment of capital will dissipate the antagonism between the industrial capitalists and the wage laborers. Entirely to the contrary, the whole result will be that the opposition between these two classes will stand out more clearly than ever.

Grant for an instant that there are no more grain laws, no more custom-houses, no more city-tolls, in short, that all the accidental circumstances, on which the worker can still put the blame as being the causes of his miserable situation, have entirely disappeared, and you have torn aside so many veils which conceal from his eyes his true enemy.

He will see that capital become free does not render him less a slave than capital harassed by custom-houses.

Gentlemen, do not permit yourselves to be imposed upon by the abstract word liberty.

Whose liberty? It is not the liberty of a simple individual face to face with another individual. It is the liberty which capital has to crush the workingman.

* * * * *

Do not believe, gentlemen, that in criticising commercial liberty we have the intention of defending the protectionist system.

To call oneself an enemy of the constitutional regime is not necessarily to call oneself a friend of the former regime.

Moreover, the protectionist system is only one means of establishing among a people the great capitalist industry, that is to say of making it depend upon the market of the universe, and from the moment that one depends upon the market of the universe one depends already more or less upon free-trade. Besides this, the protective system furthers the development of free competition within the interior of a country. That is why we see that in countries where the bourgeoisie is beginning to make itself felt as a class, in Germany for instance, it makes great efforts to secure protective duties. They are for it arms against feudalism and against absolute government; protection is for it a means of concentrating its forces to

realize free-trade within the interior of the same country.

But in general in our days the system of free-trade is destructive. It dissolves the old nationalities and develops to the uttermost the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In a word, the system of commercial liberty hastens the Social Revolution. It is only in this revolutionary sense, gentlemen, that I am in favor of free-trade.

THE END.

GATLING GUN COMBINATION



This picture shows the gun the capitalists have ready for you. They used it to crush the street car strike at Columbus, Ohio. They will use it again. We must fight back or be slaves.

That is why our co-operative publishing house, owned by 2,200 workers, offers its *Gatling Gun Combination*. A dollar brings it to you by mail, and it consists of enough ammunition to rout a whole regiment of capitalist editors and spell-binders. This is what you get for your dollar:

Fifty Socialist Books, no two alike, 32 pages each.

Fifty Socialist Post Cards, each with a picture, propaganda matter and space for correspondence. Use these for all your short letters.

A Hundred Socialist Stickers, six kinds, assorted, just the right size to stick on a lamp post or a freight car where some wage slave will see them and get a new idea into his head.

Five Hundred Socialist Leaflets, four pages each, just the thing to scatter, eight kinds assorted.

Ten late numbers of the *International Socialist Review*, the Fighting Magazine of the Working Class. These will sell like hot cakes at ten cents each, so that the books, leaflets, stickers and post cards will cost you nothing.

Use the order blank on the back of this slip.

Charles H. Kerr & Company,

118 West Kinzie Street, Chicago:

Enclosed find one dollar, for which please mail at once
your **Gatling Gun Combination**, as offered on the other side of
this slip.

Name..... No. Street

P. O. State

TRUTHFUL BOOKS ON THE SEX QUESTION

Victims of the System, by Dorothy Johns. A socialist woman was thrown into jail at Los Angeles in the course of a free-speech fight, which, by the way, was won. In this book she tells some of the things she saw among the women prisoners. Paper, 10c.

The Social Evil, by Dr. J. H. Greer. A scientific treatise by a socialist physician, showing that prostitution is a necessary outcome of the profit system and that it will end only when the system ends. Paper 10c.

The Rebel at Large, by May Beals. Seventeen stories (Jack London says they are "full of the fine spirit of revolt") most of them dealing with the social position of woman in the United States today. Cloth, 50c.

The Rose Door, by Estelle Baker. The story of a house of prostitution, and of the actual lives of four girls who were forced into it, each in a different way, and held prisoners there of relentless social forces that crushed out their lives for the sake of PROFITS. Cloth, illustrated, \$1.00.

Gracia, a Social Tragedy, by Frank Everett Plummer. A story in verse with a similar message. Fourth edition just ready. Extra cloth, with twelve engravings from photographs, \$1.00.

Love's Coming-of-Age, by Edward Carpenter. A volume of thought-compelling essays by a writer who is scientist and poet in one, otherwise he never could have written of the relations between men and women with such convincing logic and such deep insight. Cloth, \$1.00.

Looking Forward, by Philip Rappaport. A scientific study of the status of woman, past, present and future, and of the origin and growth of the family and the state. The writer is an American socialist with a clear understanding of economic determinism. Cloth \$1.00.

Prices include Postage

CHARLES H. KERR & CO., 118 W. Kinzie St., Chicago

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

is the FIGHTING MAGAZINE OF
THE WORKING CLASS.

It is the only great ILLUSTRATED periodical that stands for the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

Month by month the great capitalists are invading new fields, subduing the forces of nature, and enrolling more men, women and children in the ranks of the workers.

Month by month the wage-workers are closing up their ranks and fighting here one skirmish and there another, in England, France, Japan, in Butte and Philadelphia, sometimes winning, sometimes losing, but always growing into a sense of solidarity that will strengthen them in the greater battles to come.

The REVIEW keeps its readers in touch with each stride of industrial development and each new step toward a more complete organization of the wage-workers of the world.

Comrade J. Edward Morgan, of San

Francisco, writes: "The Review does not preach or teach. It is a mirror held before the eyes of the worker, who sees himself and the society in which he moves. His life and his environment become intelligible to him. The Review unveils, cog by cog, the ever-growing industrial machine that enslaves him, must soon starve him. It is a terrible awakener.

"I have read from the Review to many working class audiences and have seen them become keenly interested as the meaning of the growth of the iron man (machine) flashed home.

"Men may not be persuaded to liberty. But the Review will make them feel the fire and smell the smoke and all hands will vacate the burning house, regardless of ethics, customs or what not.

"The Review stifles with the smoke of industrial activity. The worker sniffs it on every page, interprets his own shop experiences by the lesson pointed, and **SELF-INTEREST** pushes him into the army of revolt."

Monthly, 100 pages, illustrated; 10c a copy; \$1.00 a year; order from address on first page of this booklet.

GUSTAVUS MYERS'

History of the Supreme Court

"In this original and exhaustive work, Mr. Myers gives from a vast multitude of official documents the actual story of this remarkable and powerful body, the like of which exists nowhere else in the world. Hitherto the history of this court has been shrouded in the densest mystery, but after years of arduous research Mr. Myers has at last presented the complete narrative. And it is a very surprising one. The story of the Supreme Court, as Mr. Myers presents it in sober, matter-of-fact fashion, is really the actual history of the economic development of the United States."
—*Toronto Star*.

"A volume that deserves careful reading, and which merits praise, is the History of the Supreme Court of the United States, by Gustavus Myers, an author whose reputation has been previously established. . . . The value of the book rests upon the fact that practically all its charges are substantiated by documentary proof. . . . The volume on the whole is an eye-opener for the average reader because it shows that in no era since the Supreme Court was established has it not been under the fire of public criticism, and its members, while escaping impeachment, have been under suspicion of casting their votes on decisions that were favorable to friends or corporations with which friends are affiliated. . . . Not the least interesting part of the book are the chapters devoted to the present chief justice and to the judges recently appointed by President Taft. They, too, are human, as the text will disclose."—*Boston Globe*.

"Mr. Myers has delved, as no other author has done, down into the bottom and beginning of things, and brought up the hidden truths of municipal, state and government affairs. That they have come up reeking with slime and mud is no fault of the author."—*Oregon Journal*.

Extra cloth, 823 large pages, \$2.00 postpaid.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY

118 West Kinzie St.

Chicago, Ill.