

# THE VANGUARD

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Edited by  
E. H. THOMAS



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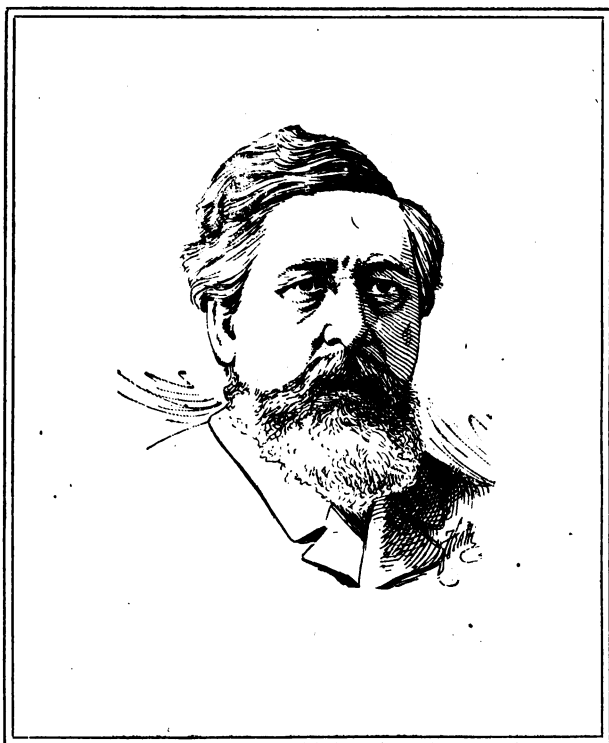
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**WILLIAM LIEBKNECHT**

# THE VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray,  
Yet never strength we borrow,  
And where the Vanguard camps today,  
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

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## The Month's Story.

### The Split Has Split

From the split in the Industrial Workers of the World, the workingmen may draw some useful lessons. That organization, which started out with the ambitious prospect of uniting in one body the "workers of the world," and began this task by dividing the labor movement of America, has come to its natural fate. At its last convention after the one in which it was organized, it has split into two fiercely hostile factions. A lawsuit over the money in the treasury now threatens to give the final blow to the I. W. W.

Men of experience in the labor movement foresaw this end from the beginning. Every split or dual organization in this movement is liable to split and split again, from the very nature of things. Just like the dissenting sects which, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, divided and subdivided till at last one of them contained only one family, the pious head of which daily prayed, "Oh Lord, bless me and my wife, my son John and his wife, us four, and no more."

Now, the lesson to be learned from all this is an object lesson. To study it well, look first at the I. W. W. and consider its record from the time it began to antagonize the American Federation of Labor, to the last squabble of its last disastrous convention. And then look at the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association.

Have the Merchants and Manufacturers split? Have they attempted to start a dual organization? Not they!

Go to the capitalist, thou wage slave, consider his ways and be wise.

It is time that workingmen should learn to live together even when they disagree. If the A. F. of L. still remains a conservative body, that is all the more reason why you, Socialist workingman, should remain in it and revolutionize it. A little leaven, if it is such lively leaven as the Socialist idea, in time will leaven the whole lump. If the members of your union are not Socialists, all the more reason why you should stick to them and belabor them with arguments. If you were in a union composed only of Socialists, you could make no converts.

And as for the lesson of the I. W. W., Frederick Engels once said, "A great class, like a great nation, never learns more quickly than through the consequence of its own mistakes."

Now it is just because, in this case, the American workingmen have not learned quickly that we are pointing the moral of this melancholy tale. Otherwise we should let the Industrial Workers of the World die in as much peace as their officers will permit. But unfortunately, it has required two lessons, the history of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance and the history of the I. W. W., to teach us the folly of dual organizations, however well meant.

"Here endeth the second lesson." Let us study it so thoroughly that we shall never need a third.

\* \* \*

**Those  
Empty  
Pews**

In the good old anti-bellum days, the ministers in the South, as well as many in the North, preached most convincing sermons in justification of slavery. That is, they were thoroughly convincing to the slave-holders. And what seems queer to us now, these sermons did not drive the negroes from the churches. The slave with back still bleeding from his master's lash would listen with open mouth and pious eyes uprolled to a learned lingo on the text "Cursed be Canaan". He still revered the clergy, although they insisted that slavery was a divine institution.

But then, he was only an ignorant slave, whose grandfathers believed that their Gods were cannibals, and that it was a holy duty to feed them on human sacrifices. The idea of a just God and a humane religion was far from his conception.

Times have changed. The wage-slave of today can read and think. He does not swallow everything that drops from the pulpit.

A few weeks ago, a Milwaukee clergyman by the name of Perry, took it into his head to preach a sermon defending the "open shop" and bitterly attacking the heroic striking molders.

"Is there anything American," thundered the Rev. Mr. Perry, "about this idea that those who have control of the employment, the control of the production, those who have the factories, and those who have the machines, and those who have the capital, which are all necessary to production on a large scale, shall deny to other people than a favored few the opportunity to work for them?"

No, we regret to say, that at present there is nothing un-American in the idea that "those who have control of the employment" shall do with it "just as they pleased." And once there was nothing un-American in the idea that the slaveholder could do what he pleased with his slave, even if the latter should "die under moderate correction".

Yet we have changed all this. And now it is discovered, not only that chattel slavery is un-American, but that "Cursed be Canaan" had no reference whatever to that "divine institution".

But until the ministers of Rev. Mr. Perry's type make some such discoveries about wage slavery, they must not be surprised that the workingmen are fast becoming a non-church-going class. The clergy have sometimes debated the reasons for this falling-off in the attendance of the workingmen. We would suggest Rev. Perry's sermon as a horrible example of one of these reasons.

Just as long as ministers of this type preach such sermons they will not preach them to workingmen. Until they really study the labor movement and discuss it intelligently, they cannot expect to see anything before them but empty pews or the emptier faces of credulous female fools of the "upper" class. Even the men of the capitalist class absent themselves from the churches when such capitalistic white-wash is solemnly ladled out.

\* \* \*

**An Old Trick** Well, Uncle Sam has "tranquillized" Cuba. Of course, he says he will get out as soon as the Cuban people get good and quiet. But as the Cubans are not much given to keeping quiet, this seems a pretty safe promise.

Now the Vanguard is not in the prophesying business. But there are some tricks which are repeated so often in capitalistic politics, that a good guesser can know just when they are coming. And one of these is a "strong foreign policy" whenever the people are dissatisfied at home.

The English capitalistic politicians are past masters of this trick. This is one reason why England, which contains "darkest London" and other frightful city slums, still brags "that the sun never sets on her possessions". For every rising discontent, a glorious colonial war is used as a side-show to divert the people's attention. And since the average Briton is the worst possible victim of patriotic clap-trap, and the poor workingman who can barely make a living boasts of "the land, boys, we live in", and the laborer who does not own an inch of land swells with pride because "Britannia rules the waves"—this trick until recently was very successful.

With the growth of Social-Democracy in Germany, the Kaiser began to look about for various means to distract the people's minds from the Socialist propaganda. One of these measures was the German colonial policy. This has been an expensive policy for Germany. Although the German colonial possessions are nearly five times as large as Germany proper, these possessions have brought the Germans nothing but expenses. The net expense of the German possessions, besides those in China, was in 1901 over eight million dollars. Still the government clings to its colonial policy, since glory is a good antidote for discontent with internal conditions.

Our own ruling class in this country has had a bad scare of late. True, the tide of discontent is not yet over their shoe-soles. Still they know it is rising. Every capitalist, politician and every capitalistic paper is now declaiming against Socialism. But this sort of defensive fighting, the capitalists well know, is not sufficient.

And therefore it is a pretty safe guess that they will try the old panacea of a strong foreign policy and if possible a "glorious war". Wars with equal powers are too risky, but there are always plenty of savages or semi-civilized people to be easily whipped. Uncle Sam has a perfect bonanza of this sort in the South and Central American republics, always in a turmoil, and always furnishing a good excuse for interference.

So we predict an era of "glory" for the Stars and Stripes. And first, of course, it is necessary to gobble up Cuba, in order to have it for a base of operations. After that, there will be more to follow.

But jingoistic clap-trap has not stopped the rise of Social-Democracy in Germany or France, nor even in England. And it will prove of just as little avail when ground out by American money kings.

\* \* \*

**The Senate**      The American public, that most long suffering beast of burden, is becoming suspicious of the United States Senate. One would say it is about time. They even talk of so amending the constitution as to provide for the election of the United States Senators by the people.

**Success**      Several state conventions have recently demanded such an amendment.

We say, down with the Senate altogether. Abolish it totally.

It has stood long enough as the bulwark of the rights of property against the rights of men. And that was just what it was designed to be. The framers of the United States constitution wanted the Senate to act as a "brake". They regarded the people of the United States as a sort of runaway wagon. They wanted to put the brakes on popular government.

The constitution of the United States was in fact a compromise. A capitalistic and conservative element, which was in the majority at the constitutional convention of 1787, viewed the common people with deep distrust. As an offset to the popularly elected House of Representatives they created the aristocratic Senate. It was a splendid trick. The people thought they had a free, popular, representative government. It has taken them one hundred and seventeen years to get their eyes open to the fact that they were humbugged. And their eyes are not wide open yet.

It was an old trick—not unlike that played upon the Roman plebeians, when the Roman Senate was established. In consequence, as Lewis Morgan well says in his "Ancient Society", "As a whole, the Roman government was anomalous. The patchwork of its composition was the product of the superior craft of the wealthy classes who intended to seize the substance of power while they pretended to respect the rights and interests of all."

The United States Senate has not been a failure. It has been a tremendous success. It has fulfilled its mission. While slavery was the great capitalistic interest of America, the Senate was the "dough-face" slave of the slaveholders. While the trusts and corporations were yet in their infancy, the Senate at once became the pliant tool of the trusts and corporations. That is no more surprising than that a hammer should drive nails, or a saw cut wood, or any other tool do just the work for which it was made.

And the Senate will be needed to do one more work for capitalism. The capitalists will use the United States Senate as a "brake" against the rise of Socialist ideas among the people. The Senate will

be about the last stronghold for the Socialists to capture. And in fact they will never take it except by destroying it.

Senator Bailey of Texas, who is making a fight for his life, in his own home state, is even now trying to divert popular fury by attacking the Socialists. "It would be hard," he says, "to be a good man and be a Socialist." The people of Texas might ask whether Joe Bailey is an expert judge of "good" men. But it makes little difference whether they ask him this and other knotty questions, such as the query which they are steadily firing at him, "Why don't you sue the much-rakers for libel?" He will probably outlive this storm and bob up serenely in the Senate for another six years, and then retort on the people of Texas with Boss Tweed's still unsolved conundrum, "What are you going to do about it?"

The best answer in this case is—abolish the Senate outright. We want no "brake" upon the will of the people. If legislation needs a brake, apply it through the referendum. The capitalists have had the inside track long enough. Now let us clear the way for *Social-Democracy*.

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## An American Horror.

In glaring contradiction to the way the capitalist authorities fawn over the rich when they come within the pale of the law is the utter brutality with which they visit their contempt for the working class when they are in trouble. Very few workingmen have been arrested who were not prejudged by their jailors and insulted in a ruffianly way. The rule is: If you haven't wealth you are presumably guilty.

Some time ago an Iowa boy fifteen years old went to Des Moines to get a start in life. He got employment in a restaurant, and when a circus came to town pieced out his salary by helping the men load. When the circus left town the management asked the police to arrest a lot of hangers-on and the

young man was among those indiscriminately pounced upon. They did not believe his explanations, nor did the court give him any chance to prove his innocence but sent him with the others to the bum cell in the jail. He was too proud to write home, and when his letters stopped his father came to the city but was unable to get trace of him. Finally he got an inkling that he was in jail, but the records failed to show such a commitment. Not satisfied, the father came again and demanded to be taken through the cell room. There he found his boy, sickened by the fetid odors of the place and broken in spirit. He died three days later.

If this had happened in Russia how terrible it would sound!

# Failure That Teaches.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

"Littlefield is already defeated and I look to see an overwhelming vote registered against him," declared Samuel Gompers on the eve of the election in Maine. Yet Littlefield went in with a larger vote proportionately than some of the other Republican candidates against whom Gompers had no objections. He was *not* "overwhelmed" by the labor vote in the old parties.

We have no thanks to give for the success of Littlefield, for he deserved to be beaten the same as other servants of capitalism and betrayers of the working people who produce the votes, but we hold that Gompers' tactics—and they are really Gompers' tactics, his present campaign within the old parties not having been authorized by the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor—are bad tactics from the Labor standpoint.

\* \* \*

Everyone knows that the two old parties are not labor parties, that the candidates of those parties are candidates by permission of the capitalists for whose interests the parties exist, and that it is folly and madness for Labor to dream for a minute that it can coax or frighten those parties to swerve from the interests they are maintained to serve. Capitalism is not going to allow Labor to run its politics for an instant. The only true way for Labor to get any opportunity to make the laws is for it to go to the polls in its own name, in the name of Social-Democracy, which is the world wide aspiration of the toilers for political and economic justice. Gompers makes Labor ridiculous by his tactics, and a few signal defeats such as that in Maine the past week will enable it the sooner to get on the straight and sane path.

The workers all over the country are enrolling themselves under the banner of the Socialistic movement, and the American Federation of Labor is already honeycombed with men who now believe in our philosophy. And Mr. Gompers' tactics will open many more eyes.

\* \* \*

The Federation is to-day in a transitional stage, as Gompers' sortie into politics itself shows. It is now between the old and the new. Fate and progress both decree that before very much longer its politics will have to be Socialistic in character—that is to say, dictated by Socialistic minds. And the Littlefield episode is a blessing in disguise if it points the way how *not* to proceed. The way to get labor legislation is not to beg for it from men sworn to do the service of capitalism when once elected, or to afterward make personal war upon them for turning down labor bills, but to mass to the polls as a Social-Democratic party and put men in congress and the legislatures and councils *who are not pledged to the enemy*.



# Words of the Saints.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

THE Catholics recently held their annual convention in Buffalo, N. Y. The Socialists, as usual, were bitterly attacked.

Several speakers again declared that the Socialists were on a *level with thieves* because they do not recognize the present "legal" property system.

Other speakers, for instance Archbishop Messmer, acknowledged that Socialism contained "much that is good." But Messmer fiercely assailed the plank in the Social-Democratic platform that "*religion is a matter of private concern.*" This our friend Messmer pronounced godless and wicked, and therefore every Catholic should fight Socialism.

\* \* \*

And before we go any further I want to state again that this fight with the Roman Catholic church is disagreeable to us, because it brings in the element of religion into a purely economical and political matter. I am free to say that we would rather run away from *this* fight if we could. But we cannot, the "holy" church would not let us. So "willy nilly" we must defend ourselves against the "dear old priests."

\* \* \*

Archbishop Messmer's argument is not hard to answer, because we do not yet have any *state church* in America.

We willingly believe that our archbishop and other priests of his type *wish* that the Roman Catholic church in America was made the state church. He also *hopes* that this will be done some day with the help of the big capitalists who, whether Protestant, Jewish, or heathen, see in the Roman Catholic church their last bulwark. And we also know that the Rockefellers, Vanderbilts, Goulds, etc., would go right over to the Roman Catholic church if such a re-enforcement of that church were necessary for the preservation of the present system. Even now they are very munificent towards the church.

Yet a state church will *never* exist in America. To begin with, its establishment would require one of the *most terrible civil wars* the world has ever known. True, the church has started such wars before. But the fact is, even if the Roman Catholic church allied with the capitalists should conquer once, and even if it should conquer ten times, it could never maintain its rule in the long run.

It has just lost its rule *once more in France.*

Therefore we should advise our friend Messmer that it would be better for the Roman Catholic church to adopt the Social-Democratic principle, "Religion is a private affair." This maxim is generally accepted in America. And yet the "only holy church" is *doing a fine business here.* Just consider its growth during the last twenty years.

Furthermore we should advise our friend Messmer not to accept annual passes — we mean *annual passes*, not clergymen's half-fares — from so many railroads. It looks bad when the archbishop has to shuffle them like a pack of cards before he finds the particular paste-board that gives him a free ride to Chicago. The archbishop is getting money enough to live like a grand duke—he smokes the best cigars and drinks the most expensive liquors—and he ought to be able to pay his fares. Some unbelievers and heretics might be inclined to consider the “annual pass” as one of the connecting links between the hierarchy and the railroad magnates.

So much for our friend Messmer.

\* \* \*

But to the other brothers in Christ who reproach the Socialists with being on a “level with thieves” because they regard the *present* property system as *unjust*, *anti-social* and the source of social-disorder, we will say this.

*Not we*, but the capitalists and their *defenders* stand on a “level with thieves.” Capitalist ownership is continuous graft and alienation. The working people have produced all wealth, the capitalists have simply *confiscated* it and are confiscating it *every day*.

Of course this continuous graft and “alienation” is now legal and passes for ownership.

The present laws are made just by the ruling class, and in their interest. They represent might, and not right.

And as soon as this sort of thing has gone a little too far for the people to endure, they will surely proceed to *restitution*.

Our opponents, the capitalists, may call this “expropriation.” But we don't care what they call it as long as it is done. And expropriation also sounds well to us.

Just here we wish to explain that the advocates of the new order of society will use the extreme application of their principles—that is, the expropriation of the capitalist class—for the *general use*, for collective ownership, and *not* to put other men personally in possession of land, machines and other means of production.

\* \* \*

By the way, in former centuries, the holy church often undertook such expropriation of heretics or those who did not follow its blessed doctrines. And this was done for the *private use* of lords, bishops, cloisters, etc. And usually they took away the *children* also, after the parents had been killed or driven away.

And the pious in the land always regarded such “expropriations” as godly acts and sang “te deums” and other praises to God in the Roman Catholic churches.

Later on, of course, when in the Reformation period the *Protestants* played the *same game* against the bishops and cloisters, the church did curse it as outright robbery.

But then the Protestant preachers on their side thought the deed was good. And *they* praised God for it and gave thanks.

So the Lord at least was praised any way.

In other words, the thing was always *legal*, when it was done by the *strongest* party. And we hereby *solemnly promise* not to undertake any expropriation *until* we have the *power*.

And we will take only "means of production" and we will harm nobody.

And after it is done, those of us who are pious will, no doubt, thank God for it. And the Lord at least will be praised any way.

\* \* \*

Moreover we do not have to rummage the history of former times for example and precedents. Even *today* expropriations are made by the federal, state and city governments, when for any reason they are considered necessary.

In later issues we may take occasion to return to this subject.

But today, for the profit and edification of the brothers in Christ who cursed us in Buffalo, we wish to cite the opinions of the *saints* on the expropriation question.

\* \* \*

St. Luke writes of the Christian community at Jerusalem, "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common.—Neither was there any among them that lacked, for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the price of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet; and *distribution* was made unto *every man according* as he had need." (Acts. IV, 32-35.)

Now that is clear communism.

Indeed, it was the logical application of the command, "Go sell all that thou hast and give to the poor."

If the communists are in need of a patron saint, they ought to take St. Luke.

The fathers of the church, St. Chrysostom, St. Hieronymus, St. Basil, St. Gregory, St. Clement, and St. Ambrose express themselves with equal clearness.

"It is not without reason," says Hieronymus, "that the gospel calls earthly riches 'unrighteous mammon,' since they have their source in injustice, *for one cannot possess them except through the ruin of others*. It is even a common saying that they who possess them are rich only through their own injustice or the injustice of those whose heirs they are." (Works of St. Hieronymus, published by Malongues, Paris, 1678.)

St. Chrysostom denounces the grain usurers.

"The land lay dry, parched by the sun, the fruits could not grow, famine threatened. Suddenly black clouds rolled up, it rained, deliverance came, every one rejoiced — except one rich man. When he was asked the reason, he said: 'I had stored up ten thousand bushels of wheat, and now I do not know what to do with it.'

"Does he not deserve to be quartered as an enemy of the community?" asked St. Chrysostom.

St. Chrysostom must have received the anarchist *John Most* with open arms, when he got to heaven.

\* \* \*

And the good saint is no less radical where he speaks of property in general:

"For one to use his property only for himself is to rob the poor of it, that is, to *play the robber* with the property of another, and subject himself to all the penalties which threaten him who steals. What thou mayest keep for thyself is that which is really necessary, the rest belongs to the poor. It is his property and not thine." (St. Chrysostom, *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, Vol. 19, pages 27, 35, 40, 51, and 52.)

St. Gregory says, "The earth is the common property of all men; it is vain for those to think themselves innocent who appropriate to themselves alone the wealth which God gave to all men in common. When they do not share with others what they have received they become man-slavers." ("Des Soins et des Devoirs des Pasteurs," XXI. pages 303 and 304. Lyon, 1682.)

Pope Basil the Great proclaimed these truths.

"Art thou not a thief, thou who appropriatest to thyself that which thou hast only received in order to distribute it? If he is called a thief who takes one piece of clothing, can any other name be given to him who, seeing before him a naked man, can clothe him, and yet leaves him naked? The rich have just got into their possession the *communal wealth*, and make of it *private property*." (Sur l'Avarice by Victor Meunier, page 23.)

No Socialist could speak with more fervor.

\* \* \*

St. Clement makes communism or communistic ownership an article of faith when he says:

"The communal life is a duty for all men. It is injustice which permits one man to say, 'This is mine,' another, 'This belongs to me.' From this has come inequality among men."

Now that is a good deal more than any Social-Democrat ever asked.

In conclusion, also hear the father of the church, St. Ambrose.

"God created all things to let every one enjoy them and to make the earth the property of all. *Nature* originated *communist* right, and it is force which has produced the rights of property. Since the earth was given to all in common, no one can call himself the owner of what exceeds his natural needs; what is over and above this, he has alienated from society." (St. Ambrose, Sermon 64 on Luke, Chap. 16.)

\* \* \*

Well, this is a small selection from the writings of men who lived in ages when the "rights of property" had not by far such ruinous consequences for the masses of the people as in this century of "culture and civilization."

And we ask our friend Messmer, who has studied church history, and knows his saints as well as we do, whether we have not quoted them correctly?

Let him show us one single misquotation, and we will buy a five-pound candle at Candlemas for the Capuchin church, to be lit before the statue of the saint that we have misquoted.

And of this be sure, dear Christians—these saints, if they living to-day, would be Socialists.

*Victor L. Berger.*

## An Old Crime Renewed.

By WAYFARER.

The shortsightedness of the master class is one of its great besetting sins. The very conditions of its existence force it to recklessness. "Each man for himself and the Devil take the hindmost"—the present need must be satisfied, with no thought for what results from it. When the people of the South imported negroes from Africa in order to make slaves of them, they served a need of the time, the consequences they were too engrossed with their own personal interests to foresee. And in time it came to pass that the situation had so altered that there was the cry of "negro domination!" Ever since they have been stewing and fuming to know what to do with the Negro Question. It is still their chiefest problem.

Just now, out of a present necessity, the government through its Panama canal board has decided to import coolies to do the work on the big canal. Coolies are cheap. They will be able to stand the climate without the care with which the nation surrounds its officials at Panama—care that costs money—with the capitalist mind it is *always* a question of *money*! It is a present necessity which the rulers meet in the usual shortsighted way. The coolies will come just as the African slaves came—and then time will go on and the very same crowd who brought them here will have another big problem on their hands. Up will go their hands in holy horror. The crime of universal suffrage for coolies will set their blood to boiling, there'll be talk about "coolie domination" in certain sections, and the "coolie question" will engage the politicians and the editorial hacks. How to get the coolie out of the country again will be the problem, and "Judge Lynch" will probably help a little!

Capitalism likes to exploit weaker people, slaves (wage or chattel) it must have—but it does hate their society.

It likes to get its slaves here and exploit them, but always makes a wry face at the consequence.

It never learns. Consistency is impossible to it. And in almost the same breath in which the South is still denounced for Negro slavery, those who do the denouncing are satisfied to reenact the old crime. For there is no difference in morals between the slave traders bringing blacks here from Africa as prisoners of force, and Roosevelt and his kind bringing coolies here for the canal as prisoners of economic necessity.

# Chips from a Blockhead.

By EDWARD SLADE.

Politicians beg from workingmen one day out of 365, and workingmen beg from politicians the other 364 days of the year.

\* \* \*

The promises of political tricksters, (and it is of these that the old parties are made up), are like mirages in the desert—they lure you into disappointment.

\* \* \*

The capitalists have long been organized politically and are now organizing themselves industrially into "civic federations" and "protective leagues." The workers have been organized industrially, but in this country they have yet to organize themselves politically. Now, if the capitalist fights with a gauntlet on each hand, why should not the worker.

\* \* \*

Science teaches that man evolved from the brute; history that the gentleman of culture evolved from the savage, the genius from the untutored barbarian; philosophy that the divine will be an outgrowth of the human.

\* \* \*

Nonconformity is the soul of progress. Disobedience is the cardinal virtue of the human race. Agitators are the salt of the earth. The Utopia of to-day is the society of to-morrow. Progress sweeps by those who cry "impossible." The world climbs ever up to higher and better things.

\* \* \*

The difference between the man in stripes and the man in broadcloth is largely the difference of having "dough" and having it not, of having influential friends and

having them not, of being a successful scoundrel and being a blundering rogue.

\* \* \*

Ballots are better than bullets, for they determine where the bullets are to lodge.

\* \* \*

Swindle a man through forgery and you get "pinched." Swindle him through misrepresentation of your goods, make money through deception, and you are accounted a respectable citizen. Poison a man with arsenic and you swing from the gallows; poison him with adulterated foods, quack medicines and diseased meat, and no "sleuth" haunts your footsteps. Kill a man with a crowbar and you sit in an electric chair. Kill him by overwork and you are called a "captain of industry."

\* \* \*

Have you ever noticed that those who shout loudest of their patriotism are the fellows who possess it least, that those who go into hysterics over "old glory" are those who violate every virtue, whose souls are blackened with corruption and whose slates bear the record of a thousand crimes.

\* \* \*

Posterity will honor those who *live* for their country rather than those who *die* for it.

\* \* \*

Editors of bourgeois periodicals constantly harp upon the chord of patriotism. Let them practice a little of this virtue themselves, and sacrifice dollars as disinterestedly as they enjoin soldiers to sacrifice their lives and comforts. If the

press was genuinely patriotic it would not prostitute itself unto advertisers and dirty politicians.

\* \* \*

The difference between lawlessness of workingmen and the lawlessness of capitalists is one of method only. The latter are more refined, more subtle, more cunning, in their anarchy than are laborers. And naturally so. They possess all the advantages of wealth, knowledge and legal machinery in their war against labor, whereas the knavely toiler can only hit back with dynamite, sandbags and fire. Yet these latter weapons are sometimes used by the plutocrats to defeat the democracy.

\* \* \*

Don't be any person else's moon, nor another man's tablet on which he writes opinions not your own, nor a gramophone which repeats the phrases of your teachers, nor the mule on which another rides, but be THYSELF.

\* \* \*

The workers pay the salaries of the judges who issue writs of injunction against their unions, the salaries of legislators who are menials of the plutes, the wages of the soldiers who shoot them down, in short, the cost of the whole system which keeps them in subjection. In what way do they differ from the slave who fetches the whip with which he is to be lashed?

\* \* \*

It is neither your business nor mine how *much* money a man has, but it is our business how he *gets* it.

\* \* \*

There is no struggle between capital and labor; there is only a struggle between capitalists and those who toil for them.

The brains of Andrew Carnegie and Johnnie D. Rockefeller dazzle some people's imagination so much that they assert the right of these men to their enormous wealth on the strength of their business acumen. By this same process of reasoning, the swindler and safe blow-er are entitled to their "boodle" by virtue of their cunning and abilities, for it takes a clever man to be a successful criminal.

\* \* \*

A civilization of swindlers, that is what a visitor from Mars would find present-day society to be.

\* \* \*

For a city to control its own public utilities and build a library out of the proceeds, according to bourgeois ideas, is paternalism: for it to accept a library endowment from a multi-millionaire is—well, anything but paternalism!

\* \* \*

Have you ever noticed that the average man's opinions bear a close relation to the contents of his pocket-book?

\* \* \*

The pronunciation of lawyers and liars is very similar. If they are not derived from the same root, they ought to be.

\* \* \*

Let a workman walk down the street and kill another workman, one with whom he has a quarrel, say a scab, and he is branded as a murderer. Let him march with murderous intent into a foreigner's country and kill a fellow workman, say a trades unionist, with whom he has no quarrel, and he is hailed as a hero!

\* \* \*

Pick out any ten laborers from yonder excavation. March them down the street in their overalls, and what do they get? Snowballs and jeers. Dress them in red coats

and striped trousers, put a feather in their cap, then march them down the street, and what do they get? Applause and their photographs in the illustrated weeklies! Or give each of these same men a fortune, clothe them in broadcloth, put a diamond in their necktie, and where before they could not even lie down in my lord's backyard, now they recline on the couches of his luxurious drawing room!

\* \* \*

From the fountain of discontent flows the stream of progress.

\* \* \*

The radicalism of to-day is the conservatism of to-morrow.

\* \* \*

History tells us of the Lincolns, John Stuart Mills, Hugh Millers, Andrew Carnegies and Marshall Fields who have climbed out of the mire of poverty into which they have been born and won the applause of the world through sheer perseverance and pluck, but history does not record the names of geniuses who were the equals of these men, but who had the misfortune to be held in the mire so thick

that not even the strongest could overcome.

\* \* \*

Under the competitive system it is the Machievellian virtues, cunning, unscrupulousness and hypocrisy, that pave the high road to success.

\* \* \*

Capitalism puts premiums on dishonesty.

The persecuted of to-day are the heroes of to-morrow. Humanity loves to honor great men after they are dead.

\* \* \*

Let those English critics who object to Socialism on the ground that it is an importation from Germany reflect that the present House of English Royalty was brought over from Germany. King George I. came from Hanover and it is his descendants who now sit on the throne of England.

\* \* \*

The generality of mankind in Ancient Times were slaves, in the middle ages vassals, in modern times servants and toadies, but in the future they will be MEN.

\* \* \*

Time and Tide and Socialism wait for no man.

If workingmen go into politics they must go in with their eyes open. To merely hold out their massed votes as a bait for the old party politician who can lavish the greatest blandishments on Labor before election is the sheerest stupidity. The old party politician after election serves his real master, the capitalist interests. Then when Labor punishes him by going over to some other flatterer to take his place, that worthy too gives it the

same kind of experience, and no good to Labor has been had from the experience. The only way for Labor to go into politics with safety is to mass to the party of the working class, the Social-Democratic party, where the candidate elected does not have to serve the capitalist masters, and where their every act after election is subject to the scrutiny of the class that elected them.



# Pointed Queries.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

**M**R. Voter!  
Do you really think it is the best kind of government which gives *bonds* to the *rich* when they ask for help, and *bullets* to the *poor* when they are dissatisfied?

Have you not learned that every day some men and women suffer from want, from cold, and from disease, and that, too, after these wretches have given twenty, thirty or fifty years of their lives to making all that we enjoy?

Can you forget that in every hospital, prison, factory and tenement there are human beings whose wrongs cry for vengeance to heaven?

\* \* \*

Can you forget that children—*little children* as precious as *yours*—are this minute suffering hunger and *absorbing the germs of all vices*?

Can you tell why a nation that provides for teaching children to *spell*, should not interfere with conditions that cause children to *starve*?

Is there any reason why a nation that furnishes an education for the *brain* should not furnish employment for the *hands*?

\* \* \*

We have steamers. But how many workmen travel to Europe or even to Cuba?

We have telephones and telegraphs. But do the overwhelming majority of the people *use them*?

There is an undeniable increase of comfort for many. But do we not have ten million paupers in this country? Has the telephone *diminished the hunger of the hungry*?

Did it ever occur to you that we have a *government* that *does nothing* for those who are skilled in *useful arts*, but does *all* it can for those skilled in the arts of *lobbying, stockjobbing, and defrauding* the people?

\* \* \*

Is it not true that LaFollette and some well-meaning people about him have failed absolutely in Wisconsin? That the Stalwarts, the railroads and the corporations are on top again in the Republican party of this state as in every other state?

Is it not a fact that the corporations and railroads *own the Democratic party*, and have dictated the Democratic state and county tickets?

Is it not *ridiculous* to expect anything else, as long as the majority of the voters vote the capitalistic tickets?

\* \* \*

Are we not likely to get class legislation in favor of our *lords*, so long as we have *land-lords*, *rail-lords*, and *machine-lords* for *legislators*?

And shall we continue to base our public policy upon the presumption that the rich and powerful class will act in a manner *contrary to their own interest* and in favor of the interest of the workers?

Don't you think it would be wholly their own fault if *monopolists* and *trustocrats*, having seized upon the government and powers, did not make laws for *their own benefit*?

Did you ever think that "if you want a good servant, you must serve yourself"? That if the working class wants the government administered in its own interest, the working class must take the government into its own hands? That the workmen *must* vote for *their own party*, the *Social-Democratic party*?

\* \* \*

Did it ever occur to you that the money kings and trustocrats have political power because they have *economic power*? That this is a vicious circle which we must break up?

Is it not contrary to the interests of the republic and dangerous to its existence that the profits of the trusts shall accumulate in a *few hands*?

But is it not admitted on all hands that the trusts have wonderfully organized industry? That they are grand things—for the owners, for those who are "*in it*"?

How are we to bring the benefits of scientific organization into the hands of the many instead of the few? In other words, how can we put the *whole American people inside the trusts*?

\* \* \*

Or do you believe that we have *reached the end of civilization* and that there is nothing beyond the present system, the so-called capitalist system?

Do you know that the capitalist system was not here always? That it followed the feudal system, and that feudalism followed slavery? *Why* should the capitalist system last *forever*?

We pride ourselves on our refinement, on our culture. But will not our descendants a hundred years hence consider us and our institutions with the *same contempt* which *we* cast upon the *people of the Middle Ages*?

\* \* \*

Do you realize that the citizens of this country have the ballot and can get whatever they want, and that it is their *own fault* if they do not get it?

Have you read the platform and the principles of the Social-Democratic party? Have you spoken to your *neighbor* or to your *co-laborer* about it?

And what are you going to do *for yourself*, *for your wife* and *children* and *for humanity* in the next election?

# How Classes Arise.

By GEORGE BERNARD SHAW.

Why is it that men with good character are generally very poor and men with bad character very rich, and why is it, on the other hand that men who are engaged in doing half an hour's steady work a day are enormously rich?

The reason is that there is no desire whatsoever to have wealth distributed by moral methods.

No one will give wealth in return for mere labor. If you want to produce wealth you must exercise your labor on material objects of some kind, and the first thing you have to exercise your labor on

The difficulty, of course, is that is the land—earth itself.

land is unfortunately not all of equal fertility. One man gets a piece of land on which you can make nothing grow. Another man will get a piece of land which in return for his labor produces great, bounteous crops.

Another man discovers that his land will not produce crops, but will produce coal and iron, but in order to get coal and iron he has to sink a shaft, which takes twenty years and an enormous amount of capital.

One man will have land, but without water, and that means that he will have to construct very expensive systems of irrigation in order to make his crops grow.

The conditions of the people settled in that way will depend not on their own exertions, but to an enormous extent on the natural conditions under which they work.

If you want to bring about any sort of equality among these people you cannot allow them to be perfectly independent proprietors.

You must practically throw all their contributions into a pool and they must share it.

That is a fact which our great landlords have always grasped and always acted upon.

If you take a man with a very large estate you don't find that he parcels it out among a number of farmers or manufacturers and allows them to get out of the land just what a particular bit of land will return.

No! To do that he feels would destroy all their incentive, and he says: "You, for instance, have got a very fertile piece of land, and I will charge you a very high rent, which will make you just as poor as the man who has got the poor piece of land."

To the man who has got a stream he says: "I will charge you a rent which will make you as poor as the man who has not got a stream, and that will put you all on an equality."

"You will all have to work hard, so that all the profits will come into my pocket and I will have an excellent time."

But the difficulty is that the moment the landlord does that, and becomes a very rich man, then his character goes to pieces, and he has only to invent different methods of amusing himself.

Let us come to a further stage of the social process. The population of the country goes on increasing; fresh people come into the world, and these fresh people have got no land left for them; everybody is already in possession of pieces of land, and people who have once got land are tenacious of it.

These people who come in later are the proletariat. They can get no land to work on, and the only way they can live is by selling themselves in the market. That is the meaning of "the proletariat"—people who have to sell themselves.

Your price does not depend in the slightest degree on what your work may be worth or what your industry may bring forth. It really depends on the number of people being sold in the market at the same time.

There is nothing in the world that is so valuable to man as air to breathe, but there is such a supply of air that nobody pays anything for it; whereas there is nothing in the world that we could so easily dispense with as diamonds and rubies, but they are very scarce, and people pay fabulous prices for them.

When the proletariat consists only of a small body of people, all the other people, who have land, are very anxious to get labor and spare themselves the trouble of having anything to do. The wages, which is the price paid for the proletariat, are high.

But if the proletariat increase in number wages go down and down.

The English laborer's wages are only enough to keep him for the time you want him; there is not enough to keep him for a term of his natural life.

The term of the laborers' working age is very short. That is always the case where a class is underpaid and underfed. You can see that by looking at the death rate, but look also at the death rate of their babes. It is incredible that our present system is murdering children in heaps—and we don't seem to mind.

I want to show you exactly how the proletariat comes into existence.

There comes a time when people are competing with one another for employment and cannot afford to stand out for reasonable terms at all. If they stop work the laborer begins to starve at once, and therefore he must take the terms offered in the market.

And if these terms include poisoning, he has to put up with slow poisoning.

The people become repulsive. It is impossible for them to be clean in the conditions in which they live; the operation of living is so very painful for them that it requires an anaesthetic. The cheapest is gin and the next is beer. It is astonishing how many of them try to support life with them.

All those ladies and gentlemen, who drink very much more expensive drinks, with some moderation—not always with as much as may be desired—feel more and more that they cannot enjoy the society of these people. The two classes become abhorrent to each other.

In every great city there comes a movement; always the rich class goes to the west and the other classes go to the east.

You cannot ride in the same railway carriage with these people; you cannot regard them as human beings.

You are quite right to hate poverty and the fruits of poverty, and they have always got to hate you. Not that they hate riches, but still they don't like to have the spectacle of riches always before them.

# Fitting Survivals.

By CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN.

In northern zones the ranging bear  
Protects himself with fat and hair.  
Where snow is deep, and ice is  
stark,

And half the year is cold and dark,  
He still survives a clime like that  
By growing fur, by growing fat.  
These traits, O Bear, which thou  
transmittest,

Prove the survival of the fittest!

To polar regions, waste and wan,  
Comes the encroaching race of  
man;

A puny, feeble little lubber,  
He had no fur, he had no blubber.

The scornful bear sat down at ease  
To see the stranger starve and  
freeze;

But, lo! the stranger slew the bear,  
And ate his fat, and wore his hair!  
These deeds, O Man, which thou  
committest,

Prove the survival of the fittest!

In modern times the millionaire

Protects himself as did the bear.

Where Poverty and Hunger are,  
He counts his bullion by the car.

Where thousands suffer, still he  
thrives,

And after death his will survives.  
The wealth, O Cræsus, thou trans-  
mittest

Proves the survival of the fittest!

But, lo! some people, odd and  
funny,

Some men without a cent of money,  
The simplest common Human  
Race,

Choose, to improve their dwelling  
place.

They had no use for millionaires;  
They calmly said the world was  
theirs;

They were so wise, so strong, so  
many—

The millionaire? There wasn't any!  
These deeds, O Man, which thou  
committest,

Prove the survival of the fittest!

It is reported "from a reliable source" that the United States Steel Corporation, the great controlling corporation of the nation, is already considering the plan of controlling politics direct as well as the finances and manufacture of the country. The plan under consideration seeks to mold the politics of the vast army of employes of the many industries controlled by the corporation by having it generally understood that promotion and better jobs await the men who subscribe to the political wishes of the

corporation interests. This new display of strength is, after all, a confession of weakness. It shows the corporation fear of the advancing Socialist conscience of the people.

Every time you shovel a shovel full of black diamonds into your stove this winter thank Roosevelt for the way he settled that coal strike two seasons ago! The capitalist way is always fine for the other fellow!

# New Zealand Lessons.

A recent visitor to New Zealand, the country which the late Henry D. Lloyd, borrowing a thought from Danton, called "The least bad country," has the following testimony to give with regard to the people there and their lack of criminality. It is probably a trifle overdrawn, still it is interesting just the same:

"Perhaps the most wonderful of these is that she has practically abolished poverty. And after that the thing that strikes the visitor to her shores with greatest surprise is the fact that she has no criminal class. There are so few of that order of beings who have taught people elsewhere to beware of all strangers that one forgets their existence. I spent several weeks in a house in Auckland—a city of 70,000 inhabitants—not more than ten minutes' walk from the center of the town. And during that time a latchkey was always, night and day, in the outside keyhole of the front door. The lady of the house explained to me that she kept it there so that no one might accidentally get locked out. Most of the people in the house merely dropped portiers across their bedroom doors at night and left the doors wide open for a freer circulation of air.

"I looked all over a pretty public park filled with a Sunday afternoon crowd to see if any policemen were there. Several thousand people had come out to hear the band play, meet their friends and enjoy a gala afternoon on the lawns, under the trees and among the gorgeous flower-beds. But I failed to discover, even with a diligent search, a single policeman."

Outside of some of the descendants of the "criminal" class that England used to deport to the Australian penal colonies, New Zealand is largely made up of working class immigrants from England, the "trash" that is only fit, from the capitalistic standpoint, to do the drudgery for the upper class, and which therefore occupies the only "place" in capitalist society "that it is fitted for." Its poverty and criminality exist because its heart isn't right, we are told. The capitalist press and pulpit never tire of telling us that the poor are those who do not deserve to succeed—that they are poor because they are defective or lazy; that they are often criminal because there is criminality in their natures. They tell us that to save the criminal there must be personal conversion. He must be reformed individually.

But they forget that individual conversion depends on conditions being right. It is harder to get a criminal to reform if he knows that conditions are such that it will be harder for him to get bread and butter if he gives up his evil ways. And the honest man is just as much a victim of conditions as the dishonest one.

In New Zealand the people have been struggling to clip the claws of private ownership and what is the result? The result is that the better they have made social conditions, the easier they have made the lives of the people and the better the people have become.

Here is a great fact. Here is the fact the Socialists are insisting on, that character is largely made by environment; that if you give

people an actual chance to live wholesome lives they will do so.

Why is it that people who are unfit in England are fit in New Zealand? Simply because they have not the chance to be fit in England, that they have in New Zealand.

In this country less than one per cent of the people own over half the wealth. The rest grade down from a moderately secure living to those who live anxious lives, or lives of abject and degrading poverty. It is not the people who are to blame, it is the capitalist system. Under that system the majority of the people are unfit. In New Zealand they are clipping the claws of that system with its private ownership of the sources of wealth production. It is the only thing that will save the people anywhere, only we must clip the claws *as far up* as possible, even, in time, so far up that there's none of the predatory carcass of capitalism left!

## The Child Labor Army.

The factory wants the child. There is little to suggest the magic piper in its whistle, yet the summons brings the children scurrying down the broken stairs of poverty and want, and the factory doors close upon them by tens of thousands, leaving their childhood outside. The factory wants the child and will pay for him. The child, and often his parents, can see no value in a birthright as balanced against a little handful of silver. Only the State and the disinterested public are left to care and protest.

Perhaps the present attitude of tempered humanity, which still allows children of thirteen to work at night, and keeps boys and girls of nine from ten to fourteen hours at the spindles for wages ranging at from 10 to 20 cents, will seem as incomprehensible 100 years hence as that past feeding of "workhouse brats" to the factories does to us. But the new measure of what is humane cannot become established unless we know clearly what is happening, and how and where the children are at work. Knowing, we must care. Ruskin said: "Luxury

at present can only be enjoyed by the ignorant. The cruelest man living could not sit at his feast unless he sat blindfolded."

Picture an army of 1,700,000 children, all under fifteen, and then realize that that army tramps, day after day, not to school and playground, but to the factories, fields and mines and workshops of the United States. One million seven hundred thousand was the number of child laborers estimated when the census of 1900 was taken. Only the God of fallen sparrows knows what it is by this time. In the twenty years preceding 1900 the number of boys in the manufacturing and mechanical pursuits—boys between ten and fifteen—had increased 100 per cent.; the number of girls 150 per cent. But only a 50 per cent. increase had been added to the population. To-day, in spite of all the child labor agitation of the last few years, it is estimated that 40,000 children under sixteen are at work in Pennsylvania alone, and that the Southern mills are said to employ 20,000 children not yet twelve. — *Success*.

# Shots at Capitalism.

Pres. Eliot of Harvard has on several occasions declared that the strike-breaker is a hero. It was a shameful thing to say, and was only possible for such a man to say because of his capitalist environment and consequent class instincts and an affront to those citizens of the nation who are waging the age-long fight of human kind for economic advancement. The strike breaker is *not* a hero, he is a poltron and a mercenary. Leroy Scott, who joined the strike breaking force of the malodorous ex-race-track shark, Farley, at the time of the subway strike in New York City, thus describes the men he came in contact with:

"The strike-breaker is often regarded as a hero, fighting upon principle against unionism. There may be such strike-breakers, but during my study of them, which lasted through the strike, I failed to find one. There was practically no strong anti-union feeling among the strike-breakers—even among Farley's regulars. 'We're after the coin'—that was the common principle that made them strike-breakers. \* \* The majority were very much ashamed of what they were doing. They regarded strike-breaking as low work. They felt they had sunk in undertaking it even temporarily. \* \* \* A number of the more respectable-looking of Farley's regulars, with whom I talked

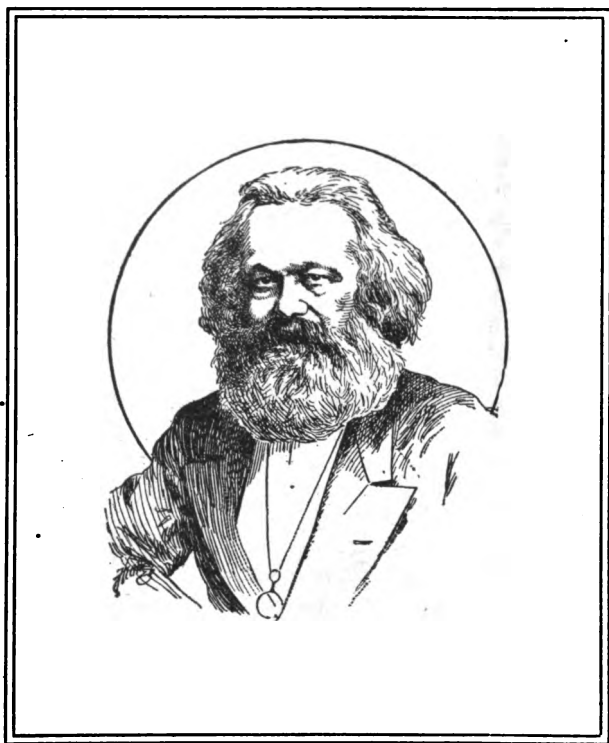
concerning the quality of the strike-breakers, said that about half the men—one said 60 per cent.—were a 'tough outfit.' \* \* \* I estimated that two-thirds of the men engaged in breaking the strike were undependable, incompetent or of bad character—utterly unfit for employment involving the safety of human life."

From all over the land come echoes of Socialism. Almost everybody has it in mind. Men are voting it in increased numbers, while others who are already sympathetic to it are still casting capitalist ballots out of habit with the intention of making the leap to the new party next time. The newspaper editors who used to be able to scare the people with the word Socialism now find it a word that inspires instead of frightens their readers. The idea of economic justice crops out in most unexpected places and after just the people who would be supposed to be "agin" it are found to be imbued with its righteousness. These are days! Thank your stars you are living at just this momentous time in the history of civilization!

Considering that the workingmen have allowed the capitalists to run this government these many years there should be no surprise that the government is rotten to the stage of putrescence.







**CARL MARX**

# THE VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray,  
Yet never strength we borrow,  
And where the Vanguard camps today,  
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

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## The Month's Story.

### No Safety

### On the Fence

Since the Vanguard last went to press, another political milestone has been passed. Another election has been held and, what is rare in American politics, an election with a lesson.

The lesson of our local election is plain. The Socialists of Milwaukee not only elected five assemblymen and carried eleven wards out of twenty-six, but they also put the Democratic party out of business. The great Jeffersonian Democracy, that party which six months ago controlled our city hall, has fallen to the rank of third party in Milwaukee. And so very far the third—over four thousand two hundred votes behind the Social-Democratic party!

It is a big lesson. It shows that in future political struggles, wherever the Socialists gain strength, the tug of war will be between the Socialist party and the Republican party. The Democratic party will have to get out of the way, as all non-combatants must in time of real battle. When the bullets begin to whiz, there is no show for the man on the fence.

Hearst's defeat, the other significant fact of this year's elections, has the same meaning. For, if the Democratic party had heartily taken up Hearst and his ideas, it would have become not indeed a Socialist, but at any rate an anti-capitalist, party. And it would have marched on to victory.

But it seems that the Democracy will prefer Bryanism to Hearstism. And since Bryan has protested that he never meant to be naughty when he talked about government ownership of railways, he has become a very safe man. That is, he stands for nothing in particular.

And the Democratic party is like unto him.

But in this world of stern realities, a thing that means nothing is already on its way to the world of shadows.

The Republican party stands for the interests of the capitalists. The Socialist party stands for the interests of the workers. The poor old Democracy stands for nobody in particular, and pretty soon nobody in particular will stand for the poor old Democracy.

Nature refuses to perpetuate hybrids. A party that is neither one thing nor another is already doomed.

**Neither Bird** Darwin tells us that in the course of evolution the middle forms, the middle species, went under in the struggle for existence.

**Nor Lizzard** For instance, imagine that queer old pre-historic animal which was the parent of our lizzards and our birds. Suppose that from this strange old monster three different types were descended.

Type Number One was just like its parent. It did not "evolve" a bit.

Type Number Two was a little more like the lizzard than its parent. It was slimmer and spryer, and could get out of the way of its enemies much faster.

Type Number Three was more like a bird. It had queer, big, bat-like wings. It flapped about in search of food, and caught its prey much more easily than its clumsy parent, or its clumsy cousin, Number One.

Thus Number Two and Number Three had especial advantages in the life struggle. But Number One had none. And so it perished. And now all that is known about it is that some scientists have found its bones in a fossil state.

Thus it is with all middle types like the Democratic party.

The Democratic party does not have the strength of an out-and-out conservative party, relying wholly on the "haves" in their war upon the "have-nots".

Nor has it the power of a progressive party, pointing the way to the future, and trusting to historic evolution.

So it has no advantages in the struggle for existence. There is nothing for it but to become a fossil.

And the Democratic party is fulfilling that destiny about as fast as it can.

\* \* \*

**The News** The laughable comments of English papers on American elections ought to teach us caution in commenting on English elections. We may be just as funny when we discuss the affairs of our neighbors across the pond as they are themselves when they talk about ours.

**From London** So we would say to those American papers that are rejoicing over the "crushing defeat of the Socialists in London"—just think a bit before you crow!

Was it such a crushing defeat? Let us see.

First, we must remember that the so-called "Progressives", the municipal ownership party, are engaged in a bitter war with the land monopoly of that most landlord-ridden of cities. In England, the land-holding power is the big factor of capitalism, just as the power of the trust is the big factor in America. When the Socialists of America come to a hand-to-hand fight with the railways they will find their hands pretty full. And our English comrades have had to struggle with their big foe at a comparatively early stage of the game.

Of course, the land monopoly has done its utmost to check them. Of course, it has called to the rescue all the prejudices of the English middle class. Of course, it has scared the small tax-payer with the bogie-man of a big municipal debt.

"Parks and improvements cost money," say the land kings, with a shake of the head. "And how can the great city of London afford to pay its employes union wages for a decent working day, and give free uniforms to the motormen on its municipally owned street railways?"

And Shopkeeper John Bull listened to this warning and feared for his taxes. Hence the result.

It was a necessary incident in the forward march of Socialism. But even the middle class Briton will learn in time that big taxes paid for real improvements are vastly better than big rents paid to blood-sucking land monopolists.

One other point. The defeat of the Progressives is *not* a defeat of Socialists. Some of the Progressives are indeed Socialists. Some are Labor party men. Some are Liberals. Some are even Tories. These different elements, disagreeing in national politics, have united on a municipal policy. But such diverse forces cannot have quite the strength of a united political party. And the farther they go on their path of municipal ownership and operation the nearer they will come to crucial points which must divide them. The capitalistic interests of some of their number will be injured. This, it would seem, has already affected their following in the case of the land monopoly.

It would be the height of self-conceit for us to criticize the policy of our English comrades. They know their own business. They have, no doubt, acted wisely in joining with men of other parties on the municipal field, English conditions being so different from ours. But, sooner or later, the coalition must come to an end. The lines will be more sharply drawn—Socialism on one side, capitalism on the other.

Just as the Democratic party will have to die in America, unless it radically changes, just so the Liberal party of England, the great middle class party, must also pass away. It will die slowly, because the middle class is strong in England and has a sort of historic prestige. But the Liberal party already begins to show some signs of decay. And with it will probably pass the "Progressives".

\* \* \*

**How the** But London will not be so stupid as to turn down the  
**Cockneys** great system of progress which has been so well begun.  
**Do It** The work of the "Progressives" is too good to be over-  
thrown even by the big land monopoly itself.

When the Progressives got control of the County Council they found things in a bad shape. The "laissez faire" (let alone) policy—the pet policy of capitalistic John Bull—had borne its usual bitter fruit.

The slums of London were, and still are, the most horrible and hellish in the world. And everybody said that they could not be helped. The poor must live that way and, like the eels skinned alive, "they were used to it."

But the Progressives—all honor to them for this! — boldly attacked this terrible problem. They tore down wretched and filthy dens and built sanitary dwellings. In these model tenements they comfortably housed 100,000 of London's proletariat. And while this

is only a beginning, it shows what could be done, especially if the power of the land monopoly were broken.

When the Progressives came into power, they found the city in the grasp of greedy contractors. The Progressives established the Works Department, by which the city now does its own work. This department builds sewers, model tenements, fire engine houses and police stations, and performs all the great improvements which the Progressives have undertaken for beautifying ugly London.

The Works Department has been a big success. The work is much better done by the department than by private contractors. There is no scamping of the work for the sake of profits. There is no loafing in the shops. There are no strikes or labor troubles. And the cost sheets are as low as those of the contractors.

The Progressives found the street railway system under private ownership. They municipalized many of the lines with the best results. The citizens of London have saved half a million dollars in fares by this change of system.

The new departure in London's policy has made for public honesty. As John Burns says, "Municipal ownership is mainly responsible for the civic renaissance that is so marked a feature of English local government in the last ten or fifteen years. There is one way to kill graft, and that is to absorb within the sphere of municipal ownership those public franchises that are a fruitful source of jobbery and robbery. Just so long as public franchises are granted to private monopolists, the temptation to graft will always exist. There is no incentive to make big money out of a franchise when the public itself owns the public utility. Municipalize monopoly and graft ceases, because grafting comes in when monopolist 'A' says to politician 'B', 'you fool the city to sell what it can better operate itself, and you will have a share of the swag.'"

But the best record of the Progressives is the character which they have given the city as a public employer. They found the street railway employees underpaid and overworked. The council, under "Progressive" control, added nearly \$200,000 a year to their wages. It shortened their working hours. It supplied the motormen with free uniforms. It is now paying union wages to 3,000 to 4,000 skilled workingmen on the city's pay roll.

"But all this," says some "clear-cut" comrade, "is not Socialism." No. And bricks and mortar are not a house. But they are the stuff of which the house is built.

City ownership, state ownership, national ownership—these are the materials which, joined together and cemented by democratic administration, will make the house of Socialism.

And how will it be with the workingmen when they are *all* employees of city, state or nation? Did you ever think of that?

Even under present conditions, the public is its own best employer.

To "Change Human Nature" A "puckerless persimmon"—that is the latest triumph over nature! Mr. Burbank, the wizzard of science, has added this new trophy to his seedless apples and spineless cacti.

To speak more correctly, Mr. Burbank does not triumph over nature. He simply trains her.

Of all his achievements, the most wonderful was his victory over the prickly cactus, that plague and torment of man and beast traveling in the great western plains. Mr. Burbank set to work on this most forbidding and unaimable of plants. The result was a cactus without pricks.

Now this is a fact of interest, not only to botanists and fruit-growers, but also to every one who is concerned with the development and improvement of the human race.

Plants, animals and men are subject to the same natural laws. If a plant can be improved by placing it under improved conditions, so can a man.

Let us think this matter over a little. First, why does a cactus wear its cruel spines to stick into the unwary feet of travelers in the desert?

Scientists tell us that it is just for self-preservation.

In the barren wastes where the cactus makes its home, scarcely any other plant can live. Wild or domestic animals wandering there can find little or no forage. If the cactus were a tender, inoffensive little plant, every beast would pluck it and devour it to the very root. There would soon be not one cactus left. So the thrifty little plant invented its barbarous thorns, and made the world keep its distance ever after!

Just as long as the struggle for existence required this sort of self-defense, the cactus retained its ugly little weapons.

But when it was removed to a place of safety, where its right to existence was respected and protected, it no longer needed these savage means of fighting its enemies. When Mr. Burbank placed it under better conditions, it changed its nature and laid aside its thorns. It has now become a useful forage plant and, moreover, bears a large and delicious fruit. What a change from the sharp and useless little Ishmael of the desert!

The moral of all this is not far to seek.

In the struggle for life, as things now are, men have need of all their thorns and their savage methods of defending their existence, each one from the other. Competition is so fierce, the weak are trampled down so mercilessly, that it is no wonder that every man who wants to make a living for himself and those dependent upon him should have little regard for others. In the language of the day, he "has to fight his way through the world."

But with the removal of the hard conditions under which men now live, a change would follow. If men were protected in their right to all the fruits of labor, they would not look with such distrust and ill-will upon their fellow men. If every one had the chance to make a comfortable living, and *not one* the chance to exploit his neighbor, the sharp spines of suspicion, rivalry, enmity and hatred would fall off naturally and of themselves.

It is possible to alter human nature.

But to do this conditions must be changed first.

Mr. Burbank might have preached to his cacti from now until doomsday without persuading them to shed a single thorn.

He might have expounded the Golden Rule to themmost eloquently and sternly reproved them for stabbing every one within their reach. But all this would not have had the slightest effect upon them, so long as he left their environment unchanged.

When will people have as much sense in dealing with human nature as in dealing with the nature of plants and vegetables? When will they apply scientific principles to human life, as they apply them to breeding cattle and chickens?

It is not necessary to change human nature in order to establish Socialism, as some anti-Socialists claim. But Socialism, once established, will alter human nature. And nothing else ever will or can.

If it is possible to change a stinging, uselessly nuisance of a plant into a tender and delicious fruit, it is possible to change a selfish and money-grabbing race into a grand, noble, and beautiful brotherhood.

Science points the way. Let us follow her lesson!

\* \* \*

**Don't Sit and Watch Us** Now here comes a cheery word from Vermont.  
'Dear Comrade: The Vanguard is a welcome guest in our home, the best Socialist paper we have, in my opinion. Long may it live to perform its noble mission, a benefit to humanity. A. N. W.'

Such words cheer us along the thorny path of Socialist editorship. We are trying our best to make the Vanguard a *model propaganda magazine*. We want every non-Socialist who reads it to find his opinions materially changed before he lays it down.

If we are succeeding in this effort, if we are putting the facts before the people in a convincing fashion, then we ask you to help us forward.

It is not enough for you to sit comfortably by your evening fire, reading Socialist papers and saying to yourself complacently, "Ah! Socialism is coming!"

You should share in the noble task of making it come.

And the best of all Socialist work is the spread of Socialist literature.

Show your neighbor your copy of the Vanguard. Get him to become a subscriber. Widen the circle of our readers. Make the Vanguard's light shine.

How much better for you to be one of the militant army of Socialism, pushing the fighting line farther forward, than to be just a *non-combatant* Socialist, watching the battle smoke from afar.

Best of all, be one of the recruiting force to bring new soldiers into the fight. Get after your neighbor, get after your fellow workman, get after acquaintance and stranger, friend and foe, and give them no peace till they have enrolled as subscribers to the Vanguard. After that our corps of writers will take care of them. You get them started and "we do the rest!"



# The Party Of the New Idea

By VICTOR L. BERGER

Like every new phase of civilization, Socialism thus far has received the attention only of the oppressed and the lowly. The opulent and the rich have no reason to wish for a change of the system. They do not, as a rule, want to hear anything about it.

Until of late, *outside* of the *working* class, only students of history, of political economy, and a few advanced thinkers have given any attention to the principles of Socialism. Most other people have only a very vague idea even of its basis. Yet Socialism is in the foreground of discussion.

## IS THIS THE END?

Socialism stands for a *new* civilization.

Of course, with people who believe that whatever is will *exist forever*, and that we have reached the acme of civilization, it is entirely useless to argue.

But surely no educated man believes that the present conditions are the *end* of all things.

That we have not reached the end of our national development is clear. Every new invention and every new political question proves that to us. And it would be sad indeed if we had reached "the end". We then should soon be on a level with China.

And I need not explain, that the Social-Democratic movement is not to be traced to the irresponsible work of individual agitators or eccentric persons.

The very name of our party, "Social-Democracy", proclaims our aims.

In regard to the political form we demand the rule of the people, i. e. *democracy*. In regard to the economic sphere, and the spirit which shall manifest itself in this form and give life to it, we demand Socialism, that is, the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution.

Thus we shall have Social-Democracy. A democracy which is founded on economic independence, upon the political and industrial *equality of opportunity for all*.

## INDUSTRY ON A LARGE SCALE.

Determined opponents of the present capitalistic system of industry as the Social-Democrats are, still they never think of calling the concentration of capital the *cause* of all evil.

Social-Democrats do not try to smash the trusts as such. On the contrary, the Social-Democracy appreciates so fully the advantages of industrial production on a large scale that we wish its most *perfect development*, which is impossible under the capitalist system.

The control of production by the people as a whole means the *highest possible perfection of industry on a large scale*.

## HAVE OUR LIVES IN THEIR HANDS.

And we all deeply feel the *disadvantages of the private ownership* of the means of production and distribution on a large scale.

We observe how the railroads, street car companies, and other public service corporations corrupt our legislatures. We notice how our life insurance savings are simply

furnishing funds for high-financiers. We witness how the largest factory owners combine into trusts which are "financiered" by banks and how the meat trust, the oil trust, the steel trust, and all the other trusts are "regulating prices", and how moreover some of these trusts are ruining the health of the people.

We all see it. We all feel it. And we all know it.

Then we all must also comprehend that the owners of these sheets and strips of paper (which under our present system stand for "capital") virtually decide how much we shall pay for our coffee and our bread, how much for our kerosene and our coal, and how much we are to spend for our houses, clothing, etc.

In other words, they decide how well or how poorly we are to live. They have "the say" as to how long or how short a time we are permitted to live.

#### THE WOLVES SUCCEED BEST.

And the wage workers are by no means the only ones who suffer from these conditions.

With every increase of power and concentration of wealth the educated and professional class is forced more and more into dependence upon the capitalist. Our teachers, professors, speakers, newspaper editors, and writers, and even ministers, doctors, and all professional men, are more and more *at the mercy of the capitalistic system*, and brought into abject dependence. Thus the educated proletariat ever increases.

On the other hand—money-making is *not a matter of education*.

On the contrary, the more vulgar and wolfish the man, the more readily he succeeds.

#### A GRAFTERS' WORLD.

And wealth, usually expressed by money, is now the *god*. It is by the distribution of part of this wealth that the rich man gets his dangerous powers. It is the monopoly of that which all want—some of which all *must* have—that makes his power so fearful.

The big grafter (or his heir) writes his check and he gets all the good or bad things his heart desires. He gets adulation, professional skill, wine and women, paragraphs in the newspapers and the disposal of political places.

A man like Sherburn M. Becker, who only with difficulty is able to *read off* the trashy speeches written by his private secretary, is made mayor of Milwaukee and heralded far and wide as a "boy wonder".

Why? Because he uses the great wealth left to him by his grandfather very freely to advertise himself.

A vulgar and coarse English exploiter like Sir Thomas Lipton, who for the last 40 years has not earned an honest dollar—but is reported to be "worth" 50 millions—is invited to Milwaukee and treated as a "demi-god".

Under such conditions it is only natural that money has become the root of all evil. Wealth being the greatest social power, it naturally is the worst of all social temptations. Our present economic system creates grafters, criminals, thieves, and prostitutes.

#### PARTIES ACT FROM SELF-INTEREST.

These conditions are before our eyes in spite of all that is said by the capitalist press and the capitalist politician.

And what remedy can the old political parties bring to the people?

*Parties*, like individuals, act from motives of *self-interest*.

Now *both* of the old parties are owned by the *capitalists*. This is a fact, not even denied by the more honest leaders of both Republican and Democratic parties.

And what can you do about it?

There is only one party in the field standing for the "*new idea*". There is only one party representing in the *political* field the necessary outcome of the evolution in the *economic* field. That is the Social-Democratic party.

The Social-Democratic party stands squarely upon the principles of international Socialism. It relies wholly upon education and upon the development of the industrial forces. Both of these factors make for Socialism.

#### A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION.

The Social-Democratic party, while it is revolutionary in its *final aim*, is none the less distinctly *evolutionary* and *constructive* in its method.

Social reforms of all kinds are welcomed by the Social-Democrats for many reasons.

In the first place, by reforms we can stop the increasing pauperization, and consequently also the enervation of the masses of the people. If real reforms are seriously taken up and carried out with

determination, they may even lift the masses to a considerable extent.

But the main reason for our favoring them is because such reforms, if logically carried out, offer the *possibility of a peaceful, lawful and orderly transformation of society*.

#### SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IS CONSTRUCTIVE.

The Social-Democratic party is the only true reform party in existence. We agitate for the organization of the masses. And organization everywhere means order. We educate, we enlighten, we reason, we discipline. And, therefore, besides order, we bring also law, reason, discipline, and progress.

It is therefore absolutely false to represent our Social-Democracy as merely destructive, as intending to overthrow and annihilate society, as an appeal to the brute passions of the masses.

Just the opposite is true.

Our Social-Democracy wants to maintain our culture and civilization, and bring it to a higher level.

Our party wants to guard this nation from destruction.

We *appeal to the best in every man*, to the public spirit of the citizen, to his love of wife and children.

Vote the Social-Democratic ticket.

*Victor L. Berqu.*

At the elections for the General Council of Alsace-Lorraine, the Socialists gained three seats outright, and even where they did not gain seats their figures showed that the movement is on the up grade. In

1900 the Clerical candidate in the canton of Bari polled 1,700 votes to 500 gained for the Socialist. Last week the Clerical could only poll 1,000 votes, while the Socialist had increased his strength to 750.

# Gompers and Politics

By FREDERIC HEATH

We believe Mr. Gompers to be altogether too shrewd a man to be deceived by mere surface facts. No one knows better than he that Socialism is constantly making inroads among the membership of the American Federation of Labor, and that the mere physical non-success of the Socialists to control the policies of "his" organization or to rid it of an executive that holds itself supreme, is merely due to the fact that the Socialist conversions have not yet reached the point where they can constitute the kind of a majority necessary to overcome the machine which Mr. Gompers has built up. The increasing Socialist sentiment forced him, the past year, to throw out a little bal- last to keep his balloon afloat and so, after despotically downing political action in the last convention, he proceeded, on his own authority and by virtue of his own omnipotence, to change that policy in a way to suit his interests and start his "bill of grievances" scheme. Mr. Gompers' foray into old party politics has had its disastrous incidents and he had to retire in tatters from the political field in Maine to nurse his sores at Washington, but still he has had to face the convention at Minneapolis and "stand pat," midst the smiles of the Socialists. The most he can show is that some capitalist party candidates have been elected by the help of labor votes, which is nothing new, any

more than the promises made by the candidates are new. Promises are cheap.

There is an old saying that if you want to do a thing well you must do it yourself. Labor must take lawmaking into its own hands if it wants to have it done well, and this is the path that Mr. Gompers' letting down of the bars leads to. It is reported that the miners elected fifteen of their own members to the Pennsylvania legislature by getting them nominated on old party tickets. But even this can have but one result, providing the men elected remain true to the working class and do not serve the corporations that control the capitalist parties, and that is that the capitalist parties will not let them capture such offices a second time and labor will have to go in in a straightforward way by means of a party of its own class. And a party of its own class must, from the very logic of events, be a Social-Democratic party—and if it did not start out as one it would soon swing into line, just as the victorious Labor party of England, now doing valuable work in parliament, has had to.

So that the outlook for Mr. Gompers is the sort of outlook that opens nowadays to any man who stands for back number politics. And no one sees better than he the trend toward Socialism. To save his own neck he will try to delay it as much as he can, and by his kind of political action.

# "Dividing Up"

By JOHN M. WORK

No, Socialism does not stand for dividing up.

Capitalism stands for dividing up.

I feel a good deal like apologizing for referring to the absurd dividing up objection. But, if you consider it an insult to your intelligence, remember that there are still many people who actually believe that Socialism stands for dividing up.

Capitalism does stand for dividing up.

Capitalism compels the industrious to divide up with the idle.

Suppose you are the average wage worker.

You work about nine hours a day.

In the first hour or two of your day's work you reproduce by your labor the amount you receive for the entire day.

In another hour or two you reproduce your proportion of the wear and tear, the running expenses, the raw material, and the wages of superintendence.

Well, then, having done this, it is time for you to take up your coat, and hat, and dinner pail, and go home to your wife and babies.

Do you do it?

No, you don't.

What do you do?

You go ahead and work the rest of the day and add still more to the world's wealth by your labor.

Who earned that surplus?

You earned it.

Who gets it?

The capitalist gets it.

You divide up with him.

The Social-Democratic party

says that you, who earned it, shall get it.

The reason you do not get it now is because a few private individuals and corporations are permitted to own the means of production and distribution and to compel you to hand over to them the bulk of the product of your toil in exchange for an opportunity to earn a bare living.

By voting a capitalist ticket, the Republican or Democratic ticket, you have extended to the capitalists the privilege of exploiting you out of the lion's share of your earnings.

The Social-Democratic party says that that portion of the means of production and distribution which, when privately owned, can be used by the private owners to gouge other people shall be publicly owned and popularly managed; that exploitation shall thereby be banished from the earth, and that the workers shall thereby secure the full product of their toil.

So much for the wage earner.

Now suppose you are the average farmer.

A capitalist, individual or corporate, either owns the farm you live on or holds a mortgage against it.

Out of your product you pay him rent or interest.

You divide up with him.

But that is not all.

No matter whether you are a farmer with a farm free of encumbrance, a farmer with a mortgaged farm, or a farmer on a rented farm, you are compelled to hand over a slice of your product, in the form of profits, to each of the retail stores with which you trade.

You divide up with them.

You are also compelled to hand over a slice of your product to the elevator company.

Another to the railroad company.

Another to the coal trust.

Another to the oil trust.

Another to the flour trust.

Another to the commission merchant.

Another to the board of trade speculators.

Another to the beef trust.

Another to the agricultural implement trust.

Another to the binding twine trust.

Another to the barbed wire trust.

Another to the steel trust.

Another to the lumber trust.

Another to the rubber trust.

Another to the hide and leather trust.

Another to the copper trust.

Another to the brass trust.

Another to the can trust.

Another to the glass trust.

Another to the paper trust.

Another to the shoe trust.

Another to the woolen trust.

Another to the cotton trust.

Another to the sugar trust.

And others to various other exploiters and grafters.

You divide up with them.

You have to.

That is, you have to so long as capitalism exists.

But you can abolish capitalism by voting the Social-Democratic ticket.

No, Socialism does not stand for dividing up.

Socialism is the public ownership and the popular management of the means of production and distribution, which are now used to exploit the masses of the people out of the bulk of the product of their honest toil.

Socialism will prevent dividing up.

It will enable the men who produce the wealth to get it and enjoy it.

—*John M. Work.*

A Father Fisher of Milwaukee is quoted as saying that "under a Socialist regime a man might maintain his wife and home until it tired him, after which he could seek another and leave his former place open to a successor." We would like to know how he knows. We are quite familiar with all the standard Socialist writings, and of the party platforms, which alone are party "law," and we have never found anything to bear out such a statement. He is saying what is not only not so, but which is on its face absurd. It has been pointed out before that the capitalists and the defenders of the capitalist system are never so gleeful as when they attempt to smutch Socialism with their own black sins. The merchant prince, Marshall Field, with his four harems in New York city, and the thousands of others like him, never call forth a word from the Father Fishers, but they save their venom for the Socialists whose home life is pure, and who are seeking to elevate womankind by emancipating her from the menial slavery of the present day. And we are battling against a system that makes homes for a large fraction of the people almost impossible, and yet we are maligned by those who want the present home-crushing conditions of things to continue. Strange, isn't it! And yet not so strange when you know all the facts.

# A Bestial Society

By ROBERT BLATCHFORD

I am one of those described as crafty agitators; but I am a man, with a head on my shoulders, and eyes in my head, and I am sick and sorry with the sights I see. I look up. I see the solemn heavens and the shining stars; I look down, I see the fertile earth, and the pure rivers, and the radiant flowers of the field. I look around, and I see my fellow-creatures struggling and sweating, suffering and debauching; I see them fighting and plundering and oppressing each other the wide world over.

I bethink me that the earth is fruitful and fair; that man is clever and strong; that life is short, and its needs few. I bethink me that with order in the place of chaos; that with wisdom in the place of folly; that with peace in the place of war; that with helpfulness in the place of antagonism; that with love in the place of hate, the earth would yield to all men all things needful, both for the body and the mind.

I see that men might be happier and better, and more free and able to grow in grace than they now are. I see that grace and peace can no more be born of lust and hatred than a dove of a vulture, or a lamb of a wolf. I see that lust and hatred prevail in a society which foredooms helpless babes to crime, and young girls to prostitution; which rewards industry with contumely, and seals brave histories with a pauper's grave; which promotes vice and greed to high places, and clothes idleness in robes of price; which fosters craft and falsehood, and dignifies the whole

swinish, hellish system with the name of Christ. I say that such a society is bestial and accursed.

But the "crafty agitators" will not rest satisfied while one willing worker has no work, while one idle loafer lives on other men, while one child lacks bread, or one woman is exposed to ruin. They will first have the people fed and clothed, and taught and cherished, and not till then will they put one cathedral stone upon another, nor grant one ounce of gold for royal or plutocratic crowns.

When a captain, a passenger, a chaplain, and a dozen sailors are adrift in an open boat, there is no thought of keeping up positions. The bread and the water are equally shared out; the captain commands, but he does not steal rations from the common stock.

Study the words of Christ and the Apostles, and you will find that the true dignity and honor of the great and the strong are in their sacrifice, not in their clothing and their wages. It is the *duty* of the brave to lead, of the able to rule, of the strong to work. It is the *right* of the colonel to die *first*, and of the captain to quit the sinking vessel *last*.

What would be said of an Atlantic liner if, while the crew were dying of typhoid fever and starvation, the captain, the chaplain, the passengers, and the ladies were feasting in the cabin, or dancing on the quarter-deck?

*Yet the ship of State is just such a ship, and in it are such things done.*

Observe the ostentation of our day. Observe the luxury and display of our town halls, our palaces, our art galleries, our colleges, our cathedrals, and our ships of war; contrast these things with the slums, the work-houses, the prisons, the coalpits and the workshops of the poor. Can you reconcile the splendor and the poverty, the vanity and the misery, to the principles of justice or of wisdom?

I say that while women are weeping and children are starving; while industrious men and women are herding like beasts in filthy and fever-haunted hovels, to build art galleries and churches, town halls and colleges, is like putting on a muslin shirt over a filthy skin, a diamond crown upon a leprous head.

I say that the religion and the culture which demand riches and blazonry while vice and misery are at their side are like painted harlots hiding their debaucheries with rouge, and their shame with satin and spices.

I say that the cant and affectation of piety and culture which lisp sentiment and chant hymns in drawing-rooms and chapels while flesh and blood are perishing in the streets, and while the souls of our sisters creep shuddering to hell—I say that these maudlin, sickening things, with their poems and sonatas, their chants and benedictions, are things false and vain.

We Socialists are honestly desirous of doing good. We submit our proposals frankly. We demand sound argument and fair hearing. We think Socialism would prove practicable, and we are sure that it is just. Socialism would not bring perfect universal happiness. No political system could do that. But Socialism would let Labor breathe. Think again what Socialism is, and then you may easily compare it with the state in which we now suffer and struggle for a brief, anxious, and feverish life.

Under Socialism, we should not have heaven on earth. But there would be no starvation; there would be no pauperism; there would be no strikes; there would be no barefooted children in the streets; there would be no fraudulent trustees, no bankrupts; there would be no slums, no annual massacre of innocents by preventable disease; there would be hardly such a thing known as ignorance, there would be scarcely any drunkenness, and crime would shrink to microscopic dimensions.

Then no man who would work need be idle, no man who had worked should be unpaid, idleness would be checked, luxury would be dispised, the people would have freedom, and hope, and rest, and pleasure; and the commercial greatness of this sordid, famine-stricken, benighted, miserable land would appear to the happier people of America like the memory of a hideous dream.

One of the cheering signs at the big Minneapolis labor convention was the attendance of representatives of the American Society of Equity, known as the farmers' union and a sort of lineal descendant of the Farmers' Alliance,

Grange, and other movements of the tillers of the soil for living conditions. A committee of nine was appointed to arrange a plan whereby the Equity society could obtain admission to the great labor federation.



# A Ship Of the Dead

By WILLIAM MORRIS

In one of Edgar Allen Poe's tales he tells how a little group of wrecked sailors on a water-logged vessel, at the last extremity of starvation, are suddenly made delirious with joy at seeing a sail approaching them.

As she came near them she seemed to be managed strangely and unseamanly, as though she were scarcely steered at all, but come near she did, and their joy was too great for them to think much of this peculiarity.

At last they saw the seamen on board of her, and noted one in the bows especially, who seemed to be looking at them with great curiosity, nodding also, as if encouraging them to have patience, and smiling at them constantly, showing while he did so a set of very white teeth, and apparently so anxious for their safety that he did not notice that the red cap he had on his head was falling in the water.

All of a sudden, as the vessel neared them, and while their hearts were leaping with joy at their now certain deliverance, an inconceivable and horrible stench was wafted to them across the waters, and presently to their horror and misery they saw that this was a ship of the dead. The bowing man in the bow was a tottering corpse, his red cap was a piece of his flesh torn from him by a sea-fowl; his smile was caused by his jaws, denuded of the flesh, showing his white teeth set in a perpetual grin.

So passed the ship of the dead into the landless ocean, leaving the poor wretches to their despair.

To us Socialists this ship of the dead is an image of the civilization of our time, just as the cast-away seamen are of the hopes of the workers now held captive by this "civilization".

The cheerfully bowing man, whose signs of encouragement and good feeling turn out to be the results of death and corruption, well represents the much be-praised philanthropy of the rich and refined classes of society, which is born of the misery necessary to their very existence,

How the people note eagerly the beautiful hope of the softening of life by the cultivation of good feeling, kindness, and gratitude between rich and poor, with its external manifestations — its missionary enterprises at home and abroad; hospitals, churches, refuges and the like; its hard working clergy, working, dwelling, amidst the wretched homes of those souls they are saving; its elegant and enthusiastic ladies sometimes visiting them; the cultured gentlemen with lectures on thrift and economy, which the poor can scarcely fail to practice even unpreached to; etc., etc. All this, which seems so refined and humane, is but the effect of the distant view of the fleshless grinning skull of civilization seeming to offer an escape to the helpless castaways, but destined on its nearer approach to suffocate them with the stench of its corruption, and then to vanish aimlessly into the void, leaving them weltering on the ocean of life, which its false hope has rendered more dreadful than before.

The one reality of modern society is industrial slavery, far-reaching and supreme over every man's life. No man and no set of men can do anything that does not tend towards the support of this slavery unless they act as conscious rebels against it.

The first struggles of the trade unions with capital took place when those trade unions *were still illegal*. But the repeal of laws against combinations of workmen in various countries set them partially free. Aided by the rising tide of commercial prosperity, which made the capitalists more willing to yield up some part of their enormous profits, under penalty of a hard struggle, the unions succeeded in raising the standard of livelihood for skilled workmen, although in ridiculous disproportion to the huge increase in the sum of the national income.

It seems, therefore, that along this line, which the workers are be-

ginning to take up of themselves, progress towards revolution will be made. They will press forward their case politically.

Twenty years ago the working class knew very little of Socialism, and misjudged it. The worker looked upon himself as a free citizen, like any other man, and had no idea that the reason for his existence as a workman was that he might produce profit by his labor for his master.

His ideal was good wages and constant employment—that is, enough to live without much trouble, *but in a constant condition of inferiority*. And this was the old idea of unionism, some vestiges of which still remain.

This is now so much changed that the mass of the working class is beginning to feel its position of economic slavery, and hence to take part in the movement for Social-Democracy.

A false analogy has been drawn between the Darwinian struggle which the animals wage among themselves for the means of subsistence and reproduction and that which is let loose among the bourgeois for the distribution of wealth. The qualities of strength, courage, agility, patience, ingenuity, etc., which assure victory to the animal, constitute integral parts of his organism, while the property which gives the bourgeois part of the wealth which he has not produced is not incorporated in his individuality. This property may increase and thus procure for him a larger or smaller share without its in-

crease or diminution being occasioned by the exercise of his physical or intellectual qualities. At the very most it might be said that trickery, intrigue, charlatanism, in a word, the lowest mental qualities, permit the bourgeois to take a part larger than that which the value of his capital authorizes him to take; in that case he pilfers from his bourgeois brothers. If then the struggle for life can in a number of cases be a cause for progress among animals, the struggle for wealth is a cause of degeneracy for the bourgeois.—Lafargue, "Social and Philosophical Studies."

# Great Change in Germany

By RICHARD ELSNER

We take the following account of the work of the Social-Democrats in Germany from a campaign address delivered in Milwaukee the past week by Comrade Richard Elsner, candidate for attorney general of Wisconsin. He began by speaking of conditions in Germany in former years, and said:

"In those days the workers were not respected and had no rights to speak of and poverty was evident everywhere.

"The governmental and military officers were wielding their powers without regard to the rights of civilians, who had to give way to the former conspicuously on sidewalks and public streets, and duels were frequent. The cities especially were almost as poorly managed as our American cities; all in the interest of the exploiting aristocracy and nobility, so that before the advent of our party's power the Germans furnished, of all the countries, the largest contingent of emigrants to our country.

"Having seen all this myself, and having seen Germany again in 1883 and 1884, I would not believe such a tremendous change for the better has taken place, especially in the last ten years, if I had not seen Germany again last year for myself. Instead of bureaucratic and autocratic spirit a rather democratic spirit now exists. The Kaiser has long since given orders to pay due respect to all civilians. The governmental and military officers give way to civilians, and workingmen can now ride even on first and second class railway cars when other cars are occupied, which was never

the case in my time. The royalty and nobility can hardly be seen in the open street for fear of making a "break" and to be criticised thereafter in the Social-Democratic or liberal press. The Kaiser, according to his principle, "Sic volo, sic jubeo," has influenced, in order to please the workingmen and to guard against further increase of votes for our party, the manufacturers to produce as cheap and good articles as possible with little profits and give the workers the highest possible wages, with the result that the export trade of Germany is constantly increasing. Old-age pensions, invalid and sick benefit provisions have been made by law so that the workingmen of Germany are protected under any circumstances from becoming public charges or inmates of a poorhouse, as is usually the case in our country of so-called Democratic or Republican rule.

"Germany has now the best factory laws of any country for the protection of the workers. I did not see more than perhaps three cripples, and the governmental railroads did not kill a single passenger last year.

"Through the constant agitation of the Socialists in the German 'Reichstag' against military cruelties, the Kaiser has created—all with a view to decrease and neutralize the Socialistic vote—the office of special adjutant, to whom all such cruelties must be reported after investigation, and who must daily report to the Kaiser as to the punishment received by the offending officer, which must always be

most severe "per order of the Kaiser;" and, last but not least, the Kaiser has secret agents working among Social-Democrats for the principal purpose of finding out their next movements and particularly the next laws to be introduced by them in the German 'Reichstag', for the improvement of the conditions of the working class, with the not infrequent result that the Kaiser himself takes the initiative of such laws to make people believe that they don't need those radical Socialists. And the German people have the benefit of enjoying the resulting better laws to such an extent that I have not seen a single beggar. The workingmen are better clad and housed and have a healthier appearance than the 'sovereign' voters and 'free' American citizens. And as an additional relief all the public utilities are placed in the hands of the respective municipalities as fast as possible. No corrupt politics about that. A dishonest public official is a rarity, while with us nonest public officials form the rarity.

"Compare conditions: At every election our working class has to face a fake issue, like: Free trade and protection; silver and gold, although the workingmen have the least of it; full (empty) dinner pails; Greater Milwaukee—while the only true issue in every campaign is: 'Shall the capitalist class or the class that works control our government?'"

"The capitalistic class of America especially will personally talk to the workingmen every day, but can do it only through their newspapers, and the majority of the workers are foolish enough to read capitalistic instead of their own papers. To such a degree of mental lethargy have our people been trained by the

capitalistic press and capitalistic hirelings of all kinds down to the ward heelers, that the corporation magnates openly arrogate to themselves the guardianship of the public utilities for the people, thus leaving the inference that the people are wards and incompetents. How degrading a picture!

"To hope for enactments and successful application of labor laws in a truly capitalistic state, with capitalistic legislatures, with capitalistic governors and capitalistic judges, is another conspicuous picture of political childishness on the part of Democratic and Republican workmen. A little thinking should drive them to the conclusion that through ever-increasing Socialistic votes they can force the other side to the same position as Emperor William is in—to do all possible to stem the tide of Social-Democracy—and with similar results.

"At least 50,000 Socialistic votes in Wisconsin would have more effect than 250,000 Democratic or Republican votes for the workers. The politicians would surely hustle at the next session of the legislature to do "something" for labor, in order not to lose more votes the next time. As long as workingmen vote, in the main, the Democratic or Republican ticket, the politicians are not in a hurry.

"If the workingmen would, instead of doing so much hard manual work, do only a very little thinking, they would see wonders in improving their conditions in a short time.

"I conclude by quoting our Karl Marx: 'Workingmen of all countries, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains.'"

# The Story of Bankhead

By "H"

For an out and out insult to capitalism commend us to the Canadian government publicly owned coal fields at the Rocky Mountain National Park of Canada, which is a national reservation twice as large as our own Yellowstone Park, and much more sought after by tourists. Hard coal has been found in the mountains in the park in almost unlimited quantities, rivalling, it is said, the anthracite deposit of Pennsylvania, and the government has caused a model mining camp to develop there, with miners' homes lighted by electricity and the great and beautiful park for the miners' children to run and grow up healthy in. Compared to the conditions there, the Pennsylvania coal fields with its hovels, pluck-me stores, mounted Cossacks maintained by the local governments and damnable treatment of the miners, their wives and their hapless children, presents one of the foulest ulcers with which capitalism has blotched this globe. The story of the Canadian mining community is worth giving in these columns.

When anthracite coal was discovered in the government reservation in quantities which geologists say are larger than those of the Pennsylvania field, an issue was at once precipitated between the utilitarian and artistic mind. Canadians who took pride in their national park protested that its purpose and its beauty would be destroyed if the mountains were disfigured by mining operations and miners' shacks. Howard Douglas, the superintendent of the park, self-educated and practical, made it pos-

sible to effect a compromise by suggesting the experiment of an ideal mining camp as an object lesson for the world.

The Canadian Pacific railroad undertook to operate the coal fields under the conditions which the government imposed, and the mineral rights were leased to it for a period of twenty-one years. Cottages were built for the miners as they were needed and the building of Bankhead progressed along artistic lines as the coal fields were developed. The name of Bankhead was given to the miners' camp. The town is controlled exclusively by the miners and no one else is permitted to lease grounds there. Its streets are well laid out and it has its own schools and churches.

Its population is, roughly, 700. Each head of a family has a separate house, or cottage, and each house has a little plot of ground all its own, with a flower garden usually in front and vegetables growing in the rear. These little houses, of one or two stories, are as pretty as the natty little residences of a neat, prosperous suburban village.

The boarding houses, too, are like the more pretentious dwellings in such a village. The requirement is that each man in them, and they are for single men entirely, must have a separate room. They have their plots of ground, too. Every house has running water, bath rooms, sanitary plumbing and electric lighting. All these buildings, and those occupied by the company for office purposes must follow an approved type of architecture.

The government sees to that and passes on the plans. The rent charged the miners is placed at a nominal figure, and the price of board is regulated. The free ground about the village must be kept sodded and have a good appearance. The general appearance of Bankhead is as far from the usual type of mining town as it is possible to imagine.

Miners are paid by the piece and the average is about \$5 a day. Each miner has three helpers who receive \$3 a day. The company pays an annual ground rent of 30 cents an acre on the whole concession and a royalty of 10 cents a ton on all coal mined. The revenue derived from this source last year was \$15,000, which exceeded the fixed expenses of maintaining the whole park.

The peculiar conditions which govern mining at Bankhead make it possible for the company with the concession to take a comfortable profit in spite of the burden carried. Indeed it has been found possible to offer coal in Seattle, after paying the American tariff on it, at a lower price than the Pittsburg people can meet with their anthracite, after paying the freight on it to the Pacific coast. For mining at Bankhead is conducted not by shafts driven into the ground, but by horizontal borings straight into the side of the mountain. The tunnel or bore is given a slight up grade as it is pushed into the coal. It is easy to push the empty cars to the loading point and, once load-

ed, gravity and a light push takes them to the tippie without any power.

A Socialist, will, of course, see much to still criticise about the arrangement the Canadian government has made, but however so, the fact remains that the Canadian coal field presents another object lesson as to the beneficent workings of the collective principle as against the individualistic, exploitative - earth - for - private - enrichment principle.

Every bit as favorable human conditions might have been enjoyed today in the Pennsylvania coal fields if the meddlesome Roosevelt had not butted in to save the big coal fields to the rich robber owners of that bounty of nature. The public temper was warming up to the idea that it was time to quit fooling and get the coal beds into the possession of the entire people, and something in this direction, if even only a beginning, would have resulted but for Teddy's fine work at a critical moment of the great strike there.

And the result is that today the miners are worse wretches than ever, are hedged in and kept docile by a mounted constabulary, and the people of this nation are still paying the robber prices for coal that were put upon them in order that the barons might get back their losses occasioned by the big strike. But then, we Yankees are so much smarter than the rest of the earth! Nobody can get ahead of us, no siree-bob!

Sentence at hard labor and imprisonment aggregating seventy years were passed upon various Socialists in Germany during the present year. It looks as if we will

soon have to keep a similar record in this county, judging by the frequency of arrests for street speaking.

# King Steel

By FREDERIC HEATH

Do you know that the United States Steel corporation owns the states of Massachusetts, Vermont and Rhode Island? That great octopus does not own those three states as constituted on the map, but it owns land in the United States equal to those three states, so it makes no difference just what the state boundaries are—and what's more, it does not own any of your common land, such as deserted farms and the like, but land that is of vast prospective wealth, the pick of the country. Nor is that all. It owns a railroad trackage that would reach from New York clear down to Galveston, Texas, and has thirty thousand cars and seven hundred locomotives. It owns mines that produce one-sixth of the iron ore of the entire globe, and it employs more men than went to make up the combined armies of Lee and Meade at Gettysburg. Ten million tons of coal, eleven million tons of coke and fifteen billion cubic feet of natural gas are required to keep its fires up, and they burn day and night. A wonderful thing, this great corporation, and especially so when you realize that its ownership is small. Ostensibly its product is iron and steel, but its real product is millions, millions for a few first families, who thereby become better than the common rabble and can wine and dine it through life and force almost everyone in sight to minister to their wants and whims. Added to this is the power for corruption possessed by this band of fleecers of the people, and nothing is too sacred for it to lay its vandal hand on when the notion or the necessity moves it. As against such a typical capitalistic machine for plunder and corruption the Social-Democrat demands that the mineral or any other social wealth shall not be the spoil of the few, that it shall not be the means whereby a few men can enslave thousands of the sons of toil, impoverishing them while they work, and using the loot to the injury of society, but that the production of steel as well as other things shall be carried on by society itself and that the profit to society shall be the resultant steel itself, the return to each laborer being so just that there are no profits to be skimmed off their toil. Anything short of such an adjustment means a stratified society, with a stratum of snobs and inhumans on top and a vast stratum of proletarians below, chronically impoverished, demoralized, degenerate and crushed in spirit. It ought not to be hard to see this, yet it has taken a long time for the Socialists to drive it into the general understanding of the people. Once planted there, however, it cannot be shaken, and that this is a fact is shown by the change in the attitude of the big magazines on the social question and their inability to get away from it unless willing to risk bankruptcy.

But the steel corporation and other aggregations of wealth like it are doing splendid work for human freedom, even though unconsciously. First, they are organizing industry ready for socialization; and second, they are forcing the attention of the people to the coming necessity of taking over these great enterprises so that the people and

not a few "swollen" stockholders may derive the great benefits. There can be no doubt as to the promise the future holds out to mankind, providing, of course, that enough Socialism gets into the people's heads so that the new conquests can be brought about by peace and not vainly attempted through some great cataclysm.

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## For a Breath Of Air

By WAYFARER

On the proposition that pure air is as necessary to health as pure water, or pure food, a member of the staff at Cornell university medical college has been investigating the work conditions in some of the New York factories. A poorly ventilated factory is an ideal place for the spread of disease. The waste products from the lungs and skin are all detrimental to health if the atmosphere becomes vitiated thereby. And especially dangerous is the factory where there are consumptive employes constantly coughing germs into the air or expectorating them upon the floor where they turn to dust and are raised up into the air that has to be breathed.

Science tells us that the best way to determine pure air is by the amount of carbonic acid gas contained in it. Carbonic acid gas is otherwise known as carbon dioxid. This gas, which is a waste product of the respiration, is expelled into the air by every breath. Air that has a large amount of it is polluted air and is dangerous for breathing.

Out-door air contains about three parts carbon dioxid to the ten thousand parts of air (in the country) and in a city like New York about 4.5 parts to the ten thousand parts of atmosphere. As far as indoor air is concerned eminent sanitarians hold that it should not contain more than two parts more per ten thousand than outdoor air, which means that in 10,000 parts of air in a factory, for instance, there should not be more than 6.5 parts of carbon dioxid present. But here is another point. A single gas burner produces as much carbon dioxid as six persons, although it does not vitiate the air as much as six persons would, so that calculations in rooms where gas is burning have to be made accordingly.

This Cornell professor made examination of eight factories in New York City, using a little apparatus invented by an English scientist for determining the air pollution. The results are interesting. He found one factory in which seventy-four persons were at work, in the air of which there was a total of over nine parts of carbon dioxid per ten thousand parts of air, each employe having 372 cubic feet of air space to breathe (the state law requires at least 250 cubic feet of air space in the daytime, and 450 in the night). This factory was devoted to making cigars. In all but one of the factories visited the air was found to be polluted to some degree, this one, a leather goods factory, employing 128 people and allowing each one a cubic space of air of 630 feet.



The fact that one factory in eight showed wretched air pollution, while the others might be classed as passable, shows the need of more strict regulation along this line. One in every eight of the factories of a large city would mean a good many bad factories and a great many operatives being poisoned. The eminent English scientist, Alfred Russel Wallace, claims that it is not the practice of vaccinating people with the filth from the sores of cows that has decreased smallpox, but that its decrease has been due to better sanitary methods, and it is altogether likely that if health boards spent as much time surrounding the people with sanitary living and working conditions a good many of the diseases that baffle their skill now would practically die out. At all events there is crying need of more supervision of factories by the health authorities, and working people ought to insist on it.

Francis E. Willard started out with the idea that inebriety was the cause of poverty and that the poor of this land were poor because they brought it upon themselves by their habits. All they had to do was to change their habits, and then—presto!—the working people would all be rich. Gradually she began to realize that this was not the fact, that there was an economic condition that doomed those who worked hardest to poverty, and before she died she had progressed far enough to come out frankly and on a public platform admit her error. She boldly declared that she had found by painstaking and long investigation that poverty was not caused by drink, but that drink was caused by poverty. From that time on she paid more attention to the economic problem, and, being an honest and a fearless woman, she soon saw that the thing society needed was Socialism. In 1897 Miss Willard spoke on Socialism to the national convention of the W. C. T. U. at Buffalo, saying, among other things, the following:

"I believe that **COMPETITION IS DOOMED**. The trusts, whose single object is to abolish competition,

have proved that **WE ARE BETTER WITHOUT THAN WITH IT**, and the moment corporations control the supply of any product they combine. What the **SOCIALISTS** desire is that the **CORPORATION OF HUMANITY SHOULD CONTROL ALL PRODUCTION**. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it enacts into our everyday living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.

"Oh, that I were young again, and it would have my life!"

Out in Utah the supreme court has handed down a decree that the smelters cannot smelt ore carrying more than ten per cent of copper. This is a blow to the smelters and arose from numerous suits brought by owners of cattle and crops that were damaged by the terrific fumes of the smelters. There were money interests behind the fight on the smelters so that the protesters won out. But human beings, common workmen, have to work and breathe the deadly fumes. There is no powerful money interest back of them, so the cattle get protection and the men none.

# Shots at Capitalism

Our Victor L. Berger was a delegate again at the national convention of the American Federation of Labor at Minneapolis, and indeed the newspaper reports show that he was in the thick of the fight there for progressive measures. A press dispatch reported: "The progressive element in the convention of the American Federation of Labor has won a point over a very determined and bitter opposition. It was at a conference of the union label delegates. For over ten years Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee among other things has advocated the use of the universal label, or at least a universal design for all labels used by unions. There is a multitude of union labels, now over seventy. The best union man knows no more than half of them."

"With one design for all union labels it is believed the public would become accustomed to it and more readily recognize it when it appears. It was also emphasized that the bogus could be more readily detected than it is today."

"After a warm discussion it was decided to defer action until the next convention and have the delegates study the matter in the meantime. There is no doubt that the idea of a universal label for all union goods is making progress. No less than eleven international unions, among them the hatters and the garment workers, are in favor of it now."

"Resolutions denouncing the judicial system of the United States as 'tyrannical and antiquated from the police court up to the supreme court of the United States' were introduced and referred to the committee. These, with other resolutions

known as the 'Socialist resolutions,' were presented by Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee.

"Charging that the judiciary, and especially the federal judiciary, is recruited from corporation lawyers upon the recommendation of 'plutocrats,' the resolutions call for the election of all judges, including federal judges, by the people of their respective districts or states for a term not longer than four years, with the privilege of being re-elected from time to time if the people so desire."

"On the subject of insurance the resolutions are equally outspoken, denouncing the system in the United States as a notorious method of graft and exploitation and demanding compulsory life and other insurance by legislative enactment. That the Japanese and Koreans be excluded in the same manner as the Chinese was another of the radical demands. Women employment was denounced and child labor censured. More factory inspectors were demanded."

Capitalism is impracticable. It is a nightmare.

Do you think a system which drives thousands of men to suicide is practicable?

Do you think a system which drives thousands of people insane is practicable?

Do you think a system which drives millions of men to drink is practicable?

Do you think a system which drives hundreds of thousands of girls to prostitution is practicable?

Do you think a system which throws hundreds of thousands of children into the industrial mill and

grinds the life out of them is practicable?

Do you think a system which puts a premium on dishonesty is practicable?

Do you think a system which is an enemy of the family relation is practicable?

Do you think a system which bars out the masses of the people from the higher things of life is practicable?

Do you think a system which compels everybody to violate the Golden Rule is practicable?

Do you think a system which takes the product of the useful worker away from him and hands it over to the useless capitalist practicable?

Capitalism is guilty of all these and many other crimes. And all of them are constantly growing worse.

Capitalism is impracticable. It has been a mere makeshift. It has been a mere stepping stone to something better.

Socialism is practicable. —*John M. Work.*

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Proof that low wages are driving girls to lives of immorality received added substantiation in Chicago last week when, at a committee hearing of the city council, the statement was made that the chief of police, on request of purity workers, had set two detectives to watch one of the big stores and that they had traced sixty girls from that one store alone to certain downtown bed-house "hotels" within the space of six days. They went to the places accompanied by men. Chicago has been making an attempt to stem the downtown "hotel" evil, but has run up against

the influence of powerful "leading" citizens who have money invested in them. The evil is not confined to Chicago; it is everywhere where capitalistic city conditions exist. Capitalism, with its ruinous wages and its enterprise in providing fashionable resorts where women can be started on the downward path, so as to make profits out of the traffic, is the enemy of womanhood, the wrecker of the American home. And this is one of the many reasons why Socialists are making war on the capitalist system, and will continue to make war on it, whether Archbishop Ireland approves of our course or not.

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The Countess von Wurtemberg, a relative of the kaiser, is in this country investigating social conditions. She is going about under the assumed name of Winkler, it is said, in order to carry on her investigations more freely, and she now gives it out that hunger is the thing that recruits the ranks of prostitution, and that everywhere she finds "poor girls working at low wages in order that big dividends may be earned from dollars invested." Under capitalism there is an economic law that compels this. In order that profits can be made in spite of competition cheaper and cheaper labor must be had. And if there were no woman and child labor at hand, the capitalists would import coolies, just as Roosevelt proposes for the Panama canal. The exploitation of labor is rooted in the capitalist system, and prostitution will be one of its fruits so long as those roots continue to get nourishment. It is the system that is at fault, and you vote your approval of

that system and its evil fruits every time you soil your hands by casting a Republican or Democratic ballot.

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The editor of the Sentinel is quite pleased over the action of the government in letting out the making of postage stamps to a private concern. The private concern underbid the government bureau of engraving and printing, and will employ the **usual contract methods** as a means of coming out ahead in the deal. For one thing, it goes without saying, that it will get most of its profit out of its employes. Which is best for the people? To do this work themselves, paying those of their number thus employed a relatively decent wage, and granting them relatively humane hours of daily employment, or, swell the profits of a few individuals, with that portion of the people who have to work for them getting lower wages and longer hours—consequently a reduced citizenship! Which is best for society, and which is best for those who do the work of society?

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Social-Democratic Alderman Seidel of Milwaukee has refused to accept expense money from the city for his trip to Chicago as a regularly appointed delegate to the national convention of the League of American Municipalities, on the ground that the convention was a good deal of a farce, that it merely skimmed over the surface of things and was antiquated in its views. The Milwaukee council sent three delegates, the two men from the other parties being rather above the average aldermanic intelligence, but they brought

back no very valuable information from the "annual talk." Alderman Seidel says the convention was visibly startled on several occasions when he spoke out in meeting and punctured some of the smug periods of the speakers by facts from the lives of the working class.

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Just for a joke a man cried out that "there's a five-dollar bill on the floor!" when fully two thousand people were elbowing each other at a big Louisville bargain sale, and in the struggle of the temporarily mad crowd to get at the imaginary bill twelve persons were injured. One woman had a broken arm, another was internally injured, one had a part of her hair torn out by the roots, and still another lies in a serious condition and may die. Modern civilization produces wealth in marvelous abundance, with enough for everybody and to spare, and yet it gets into the clutches of the few, and the struggle to escape poverty is so fierce among the rest that such scenes as that scramble for a five-dollar bill here narrated can take place.

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In the Tenth district of Saxony all the old parties combined to capture a seat in the National parliament, but a Berlin cable announces that they failed. Socialists polled 12,716 votes; combined opposition, 12,014.

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At an old soldiers' reunion at Oswego, Kan., a Socialist day was set apart, same as for the other parties. Among the addresses was one by Comrade Harry Gilham, mayor of Oswego, and the candidate of our party for governor.





JACK LONDON

# THE VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray,  
Yet never strength we borrow,  
And where the Vanguard camps today,  
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

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## The Month's Story.

### Playing

### For Time

The messages of our presidents in former years used to be sleepy affairs, and the conscientious editor who waded clear through them was in danger of dislocating his jaws with yawning. But this year the president's message was quite a different matter. It was a highly amusing document. In fact, if an American citizen had not just been fined for prefixing to Roosevelt's sacred name an adjective beginning and ending with the letter "d," we might call His Majesty the President—as Josh Billings used to phrase it—"an amooosin' cuss."

For Teddy the Terrible is scared. The "sinister demagogues" and "foolish visionaries," the "preachers of mere discontent," the "base creature who appeals and panders to the lowest instincts and passions in order to arouse one set of Americans against their fellows," the "men who seek to excite a violent class hatred against all men of wealth," the "purveyors of sensational slander in newspaper or magazine," the "dangerous and wicked agitation against the men of wealth as such," and "the deadening and degrading effect of pure Socialism," occupied a large part of the presidential message.

Most of the remainder was taken up with antidotes for these awful dangers. For, said the president naively, "as a matter of fact, it is the reactionaries and ultra-conservatives who are themselves most potent in increasing Socialistic feeling." Thus, while Roosevelt poses as a reformer, he is really a conservative—a scared pilot, who will throw overboard part of the cargo in order to save the ship.

The truth is that Roosevelt, like all rulers who see the red spectre coming, is simply playing for time. Just so Kaiser Wilhelm has played for time with labor legislation and old age insurance, and all the other sops which he has thrown to his people, in the vain hope of bribing them to forsake the Social-Democracy.

The sops which Roosevelt advises congress to fling to the American workingmen are of much the same nature. After all the reproaches heaped upon American Socialists for getting ideas from Europe, it is funny to see the president borrowing the Kaiser's prescriptions for their cure.

And it is still funnier—immensely funnier—because the Kaiser's remedies have *not* cured his Socialists at home, as every German election makes more alarmingly apparent.

Thus Roosevelt recommends an accident insurance for workingmen, to be paid exclusively by the employers, which goes even beyond the German law. He recommends an eight-hour working day—where it will not bother the employers—arbitration of labor troubles—but here “it is well to advance cautiously”—and an “investigation of the conditions of child labor”—how many babies will be murdered before the investigators get ready to report? Also he is for an income and inheritance tax, and against the “careless use” of the injunction in labor troubles—if anybody knows what that means.

Clearly, the president and the Republican party are simply playing for time against the red spectre. It is coming—the ruling class of every land now sees that terrible fact. But they will stave it off as long as they may by sacrificing a little of their privilege. Socialism is still so young and weak in America that the concessions they offer to it are more in pretense than in fact. But the nearer the peril comes, as in Germany, the more substantial will be the measures conceded to the working class.

And, at any rate, it is a great victory that “laissez faire”—the let-alone policy—is dead at last. Admit the right to the regulation of capital by the people, and the right to ownership of capital by the people must logically follow.

Meantime, the way to gain further concessions is clear!

If we want good labor legislation, if we want accident insurance, sickness insurance, old age pensions, an eight-hour day, all the sacrifices which capitalism will make rather than lose its last grip, we shall gain it by this “dangerous and wicked agitation” which has scared our rulers into considering the working class.

Not love for us, but fear of us, has set them to thinking. If congress at this session passes some favorable labor legislation we should thank neither congress nor Roosevelt, but the “base creatures” who “excite class hatred” and “preach discontent.”

Up and at it, then, Social-Democrats! Ye “wicked agitators.” Ye “sinister demagogues!”

Just in proportion to your activity will be the amount of justice wrung from the unwilling hands of our terrified masters. Push the Social-Democratic propaganda and gain the advantage inspired by fear!

\* \* \*

**The** Yes, the immense progress which Socialist sentiment has  
**Enterprising** made in America within the last eighteen months is  
**Burglar** marked by capitalistic uneasiness.

Not only the president, but every orator at political meetings, public banquets, college commencements, anniversary celebrations, cornerstone layings, and what not, takes a whack at Socialism. A mighty change from the contemptuous silence of only two years ago!

These oratorical Jeremiahs who warn us against the rising Socialist peril are chiefly concerned about two things.

First, they charge that the Social-Democratic system would discourage “genius and enterprise.” It would destroy “individual effort,” which they insist is the “backbone of enterprise.”



But how about the present system? Does it always reward genius? Does it always encourage initiative?

For instance, the enterprise and industry of the average burglar have never been duly appreciated. While the honest citizen is slothfully slumbering, the strenuous knight of the jimmy goes forth to pursue his "individual effort." He shows considerable "genius and energy" in prying open windows, picking locks and blowing up safes. He displays a great deal of "initiative" in appropriating other people's property. It should also be borne in mind that he assumes a heavy risk, and according to all rules of the present system should be remunerated for this risk. Moreover, his labor may be classed as brain work. It requires considerable planning and forethought, and therefore should be more highly compensated than mere mechanical toil.

Incidentally, it may be noted that he provides employment for a large number of persons. But for him, the lock-making industry would sadly dwindle. Men engaged in the manufacture of safes and burglar alarms would be thrown out of work altogether and left a burden on the community. Thus it is clear on all counts that the burglar is a benefactor to society.

It is to be feared that this would be one of the cases of individual effort—"the backbone of enterprise"—which would be destroyed by the introduction of the Socialist system. The initiative of the burglar and other enterprising characters who derive their wealth from appropriating that of other men would be so thoroughly discouraged under the co-operative commonwealth that it would disappear altogether.

In fact the Social-Democrats have a strange way of estimating the value of enterprise and initiative. They hold that only work which is productive of good to the community is to be considered as work worthy of remuneration. They insist that enterprise which is directed toward the expropriation of the fruits of other men's labor should be repressed instead of encouraged. This, of course, would eliminate both the burglar and the capitalist.

The "singleness of purpose" of the energetic burglar is beyond all praise. He has but one thought—to acquire the property of others, by any means that come to hand. But the singleness of purpose of the great capitalist is equally surprising.

The labors of Rockefeller are stupendous. They scarcely leave him time for food, sleep and proper exercise. He is hurried and worried to such an extent that he has become a chronic dyspeptic and "his complexion is that of a plucked chicken," as the French paper *Figaro* graphically describes it. But his labor is not productive work. It is warfare—a combination of forces against rivals at home and abroad. He certainly shows "genius and energy" in conquering his competitors and grasping the control of many industries. But he is not a producer. With the real process of manufacture he has nothing to do. The production of oil would go on after his death in exactly as large quantities, and all would remain unchanged in the Standard Oil company, providing his competitors kept their hands off.

The same is equally true of all the large trust magnates, and to a considerable degree of the smaller capitalists. They are much more

concerned, as a rule, with ingenious methods of advertising than with the process of production. To down a competitor is of more importance than the improvement of the quality of their goods.

This sort of enterprise will indeed disappear under the Socialist regime. But will productive enterprise diminish on this account? Will the community lack for inventors of new industrial processes, or for managers of its great co-operative industries?

It is a notorious fact that inventors receive little compensation for their services, as a rule, and that the pecuniary benefits of their inventions go to the capitalists who buy them up. Neither does the public always profit by the inventions of the present day. Almost every large plant contains what is known as "the grave-yard," where are stored patents bought by the company to keep them out of the hands of competitors, but never put to use. Thus a large part of the inventive genius of the country is lost to the world.

As for the management of great industries, they are no longer in the hands of their owners. The salaried manager does the real labor of directing the process of production. And why should he not labor as faithfully in the employ of the nation, the state or the city as on the salary of a Carnegie, a Schwab or an Armour?

Energy and enterprise are inherent in the Anglo-Saxon race, and the introduction of Socialism cannot deaden them.

On the contrary, it will stimulate them. At present, while energy is encouraged in the capitalist class, it is discouraged in the masses. The life and spirit are all taken out of the wage worker by his hopeless struggle. The Socialist system will give a man a chance to live. The shorter hours of work will allow him opportunity to recuperate his energy.

The man who is worked every day to the last limit of his powers cannot be expected to have much enterprise. Have you not observed the new activity which even a vacation of a week or two in the country can give a worn worker? You feel as though you could move mountains and would enjoy the task. The energy of the college student, not yet harnessed into the machine of money-making, has to be expended in football and various mad-cap tricks which in themselves are labor.

A world of healthy, well-fed and well-bred men and women will not lack for enterprise.

\* \* \*

**Are We Materialists?** The other great card of anti-Socialists of another type is the charge that Socialists are materialists, that they look only on the grosser side of life and expect to settle everything by solving the economic question. This charge is false, although like most charges which receive general acceptance it has a little grain of truth.

Socialists care for other things besides the material interests of humanity. Indeed, one of their main reasons for struggling toward a better economic system is the fact that this will clear the way for the settlement of other questions, social, moral and intellectual. This may be gathered from the writings of all Socialists. Their criticism of capitalistic morals and educational processes forms a large part of their arraignment of modern society. Capitalism has not merely

failed in making men comfortable and healthy. It has fallen short in supplying humanity with an intellectual and moral basis of happiness.

But can this basis be supplied by altering the economic system? Will the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth mean nobler and wiser, as well as better clothed and better fed, men and women?

At first sight, the connection does not appear. What has the collective ownership of capital to do with moral and intellectual life?

But on closer examination it will be found that the tie between the two is very close. In fact, from the study of the world's history, we find that human progress has always traveled on the line of intellectual development following material development.

Take for example one of the very first human inventions—the invention of the bow and arrow. The savages who first learned to make them at once gained a better or more certain food supply than those lower savages who to this day live by fishing and on wild fruits. Our savage with the bow became a higher type of man, he had a new and changed life, and his thoughts and morals, though still very primitive, were a degree higher than those of his wilder neighbor.

Another great invention was the taming of wild animals. The tribe that had a little flock or herd was sure of a stock of provisions in the bad seasons of the year. They no longer had to rely upon the uncertainties of the chase. The consequence was that this material change in their condition brought about a total change in their ways of thinking and living. The pastoral or patriarchal age began. The men who "lived in tents with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob" were far beyond the savage in all their thoughts and feelings.

Again, agriculture was invented, and again the race was provided with a still better and surer food supply, and changed all its ways to correspond with its new material conditions. Then came the birth of the arts, crude and simple at first, but beautiful even in their beginnings. Then Homer sung, and the real intellectual life of the race had its bright and wonderful dawn.

Yet all these eras of thought and development had their origin in some material change of the conditions of living. Indeed, students of history tell us that every period of intellectual improvement has been a period when the food supply was good. And this is perfectly natural. A hungry man has only one thought. When our lower wants are supplied, we become conscious of higher needs.

The introduction of Socialism will ensure to all men the product of their labor. For all who work there will be a comfortable competence. And all will have an opportunity to work. No anxious cares for tomorrow's daily bread will drive away all other thoughts and deprive men of all their zest for intellectual pleasures. People will no longer crave the sensational and highly spiced entertainments that make them forget their troubles for a little time. A calmer and healthier thought will succeed. Intellectual and moral life will take a new turn.

Just what course the new thought, the new art and literature, the new morals and new social development will adopt under the benign influence of the Socialist system, no one can foretell. That there will be something far higher and more beautiful than anything that the world has yet seen, must be expected from the natural course of human progress. The savage could not have foreseen the life of the patriarch, nor the patriarch the life of the present age. Neither can we foresee the enjoyment and the culture which posterity will attain under a rational and just distribution of the products of labor.

It is our privilege, however, to pave the way for that better time. And this work is the best enjoyment that our present unhealthy society permits.

## Trial Marriages

By "F. H."

Again we smile. The comments of the press on the "trial marriage" proposal of Mrs. Parsons, daughter of Henry Clews of Wall street and wife of Congressman Parsons, have nowhere called out more violent disapproval than from the Catholic clergy and Catholic papers, although their utterances would have been much more excited had it been possible in any way to connect the new recipe for marital happiness under capitalism with the old enemy, the Socialists. The trouble is here: That Mrs. Parson comes from a Catholic family, and is, so far as we know, a Catholic herself.

The utter bankruptcy of the capitalist system, so far as ability to preserve good morals among the people goes, is always shown in these recurring schemes to save the disintegration of the modern family. People are reared to marry for economic advantage, and naturally in many cases it is discovered after the ceremony that no real love exists. What follows is set forth in the interminable number of divorce proceedings that swell the calendar of every civil court in the land.

Remedies for the divorce evil range from whipping posts for wife deserters to "trial marriages," and still the ugly situation goes on increasing.

And so we must smile—pityingly. They do not dare strike at the root. For the root of all the trouble is the capitalist system, and the capitalist system is sacred to rich prelates and congressmen's wives who are born in Wall street families. But the divorce evil will be gone once the capitalist system has been toned down far enough so that people are economically independent and free to marry for love and not for place or social advantage. The divorce evil will die out just in proportion as the system of society permits young men to dare to marry and undertake home building. There are "trial marriages" today—every city teems with the places of assignation wherein this abnormality is consummated—but the wreck that follows them, especially for womankind, is the foulest blot on our present capitalist system.

# Some Errors Nailed

By A CATHOLIC

## I. SOCIALISM AND PROPERTY.

It is unfortunate that in all human affairs the points at issue are often obscured by misapprehension. Some of the acrimony that has characterized discussions on Socialism has its source in misapprehension arising from a faulty historic perspective.

Like all great human movements, Socialism is a matter of growth. It has a right to insist that too much stress shall not be laid on the imperfection and mistakes in its past history. The vagaries and errors of some of its adherents, of some of its leaders, even on matters pertaining to the vital questions, do not detract from the value of its principles. In the forum of public opinion, Socialism must be judged by its present intentions and the value of its practical aims.

It is important to distinguish Socialism from some movements with which it is sometimes confounded.

Socialism is not communism. The latter is the denial of the right of private property. Socialism is based on the principle that a man has a sacred right to the product of his labor.

Property is a sacred right, but there are rights more sacred. It has important limitations which are sometimes forgotten. There are different kinds of property.

First, there is the right of a man to the product of his labor. In all ages, religion has declared it a "heaven crying" sin to deprive a laborer of his just compensation. Yet even this kind of property has a moral limitation. It must not be used to the detriment of others.

Secondly, there is the property in land and the resources of nature. This right is limited by the right of every one to use the gifts of God, the common heritage of the children of Adam. Every state has the right of "eminent domain." A man's property in land is exclusive only against another individual, but must give way to common right of all. The joint owners have a right to insist that the resources of nature shall be used in such a way as to bring the greatest returns to society.

Thirdly, there is the right to the services of others. In the complex economic organization of society this is the most extensive form of private property. It has a vital limitation. In extent it ought not to exceed the value of the service rendered in return. Can a man render a service that shall entitle him to the extent of millions of dollars to the services of his fellow men and their children? Can a mature man lay a moral claim on the service of his fellows, because his father accumulated a million?

These are some of the fundamental limitations of property that Socialism is emphasizing. It denounces the present economic system because it does not recognize these limitations and because it is based on many of the ruthless exploitations of the ignorant and the poor.

Social discontent is justified. The demand that economic conditions shall be governed by the principles of justice may to some seem utopian, but deserves the hearty approval of every Christian.

## II. SOCIALISM AND GOVERNMENT.

Socialism must be distinguished from anarchism. Anarchism denies the right of government and seeks to destroy it. Socialism makes government the supreme agent to accomplish social reforms necessary to preserve the economic rights of individuals.

Therefore, it is today represented by a strong political party in every civilized country.

But what have economics to do with politics? Everything.

A learned jurist assures us that there is a vital correspondence between the economic conditions of a people and its political institutions.

When De Tocqueville, in the middle of the last century, made a study of American institutions, he came to the conclusion that political equality was the outgrowth of the equal distribution of wealth then existing in the United States.

Those conditions no longer exist today.

Dr. Spahr, as a result of his analysis of the census returns of 1890, came to the conclusion that seven-eighths of the American people owned only one-eighth of the property.

Thomas Spearman, a noted corporation lawyer, and an able economist, stated in the Forum in 1889, that the United States was practically owned by 250,000 people, and he predicted that in thirty years it would be owned by 25,000.

A New York financial journal stated in 1902 that the "steel trust", which represents one-twelfth of the nation's wealth, is controlled by twenty-four men.

Robert Hunter in his work "Poverty in the United States" assures us that ten million American citizens are unable to procure sufficient food, sufficient clothes, and suffi-

cient shelter.

It is not necessary to multiply quotations. These are typical of the present economic conditions.

If we look on the political side of the question, the outlook is not assuring. In his book on Constructive Democracy, Dr. Smythe speaks of the following four evils that threaten our institutions.

1. The abuse of the colossal power of monopoly to rob consumer and producer.

2. The monstrous corruption in business and political life.

3. The ominous strife between employer and employee.

4. The misery and hopelessness of those who on account of new methods in business and industry are unable to procure profitable employment.

On all sides we hear the question "What is the remedy?" Every one applauds the vociferous cry of President Roosevelt for "a square deal". Judge Grosscup of Chicago, who is not a Socialist, states that our free institutions are doomed unless we secure to every citizen "an equality of opportunity."

But how shall it be done? Some say, "Do nothing." "Let things alone." "*Laissez Faire*" as the French say. They are not Socialists. Socialists insist that something should be done; that it should be done by the government of the people, for the people, and by the people; that economic conditions should be so controlled as to secure the greatest return to society, so that every worker shall receive full value for the product of his labor, so that everyone shall have an equal opportunity to labor.

To secure their aims, they propose two things. First, the legal enforcement of the collective ownership of the resources of nature. Secondly, the public management

of the agencies of production and distribution.

Can these two things be accomplished? and how?

These two are the only questions that Socialism has to answer.

### III. SOCIALISM AND RELIGION.

The aim of Socialism is economic justice, its methods are political. The legal enforcement of the collective ownership of natural resources and the public management of the agencies of production and distribution are the means proposed.

"But," say some of the opponents of Socialism, "how about the church, the family, personal liberty?"

Socialism is not inimical to the integrity of the family. It insists that conjugal relations should not be based on sordid considerations, but on a free choice based on affection. The rational aim of matrimony is the rearing of healthy children, healthy physically and morally. It cannot be accomplished without the permanent and loving co-operation of both parents. Socialism does not in any way interfere with the moral and religious basis of matrimony. It seeks to give it a firm economic basis. Its strongest argument is that many a father, in spite of unremitting toil, is not able to provide properly for his wife and immature children, especially if he has followed the Christian ideal so strenuously advocated by President Roosevelt. How

many parents are not anxious about the future prospects of their daughters, either as wives, or as independent workers without compensation sufficient to secure them against want and temptation?

Socialism is not opposed to religion. If there are some Socialists who do not believe in revealed religion, there are more opponents of Socialism who violate the moral teachings of religion in private, business and public affairs; who have no respect for the authority of the church; who have no faith in her doctrines; and who relentlessly persecute her if she is not subservient to their selfish interests. The difficulties in Europe arising from the historic association of ecclesiastical and political affairs cannot arise in this country where the church is free. There can be no serious danger to the church in a co-operative commonwealth, where men will be free to associate and devote their means to the promotion of scientific, literary, social, political, or religious aims.

Socialism is not opposed to personal liberty, but would add to it economic liberty. It leaves everyone free choice as to the manner and extent of his labor, and secures him in the enjoyment of its fruits. It seeks to make every citizen responsible for the welfare of his fellows, and gives him a voice in the management of the common interests. It does not aim at equality of station, or equality of possession, but equality of opportunity.

No wonder the Milwaukee *Free Press* has editorial paroxysms when the Social-Democrats can increase their percentage of the total vote in Milwaukee county without the aid of a single daily newspaper. What would become of the old capitalist parties if it were not for the daily

papers and the capitalistic campaign dough! The *Free Press* scolds Gen. Bragg and some Eastern capitalist newspapers for getting frightened at the advancing wave of Socialism, but by all the signs the *Free Press* is not without its tremors!

# Self-Made or Luck-Made?

By INDEX

If the real lives of our proud "self-made" men of this country were searched, too many of them, we are afraid, would have to be put in the "luck" class, for riches do not always go to the scheming and thoughtful. Often we meet with ex-rich men, who once downed by some unlucky circumstance or mistake are seen to be incapable of rising again, in spite of all their smartness and knowledge of the capitalist game. One of the early millionaires of this country once told how he got up in the world. The story was told by the millionaire himself to the some-time editor of the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, and has been retold later in a recent issue of the *New York Sun*. And this was the millionaire's story:—

"I should be as poor as a church rat, but for one incident in my life. I had come from the backwoods of New York and a dollar looked like a big sum to me. I was a raw and struggling young lawyer, and paid four dollars a week for my board and washing, and found it hard to make both ends meet. It looked as if I should starve at the law, so I was looking for work outside of it.

"Just then a friendly lawyer in the office where I had desk room said to me: 'Here's a chance for you to buy a farm, Bixby. I want to sell it to close up the estate. You can have it at the appraised value, \$200. I think you will be able to get more for it in time.'

"No, thank you," said I; 'I have no money.'

"But," said he, 'I will take your note for it, and renew it till you sell it.'

"The upshot was that I took his advice, and gave him my note for \$200 for the farm. I felt very nervous about giving my note for such a large amount, and once offered to sell the farm back to him for the note. But after two or three renewals of the note New York had grown so fast northward that I was able to sell a small part of the farm for more than enough to pay the note and interest and taxes. The rest of the farm was then free and clear, and if I had kept it all I should now be worth about \$7,000,000. As it is, I have sold parcels of it that have brought me more than \$1,500,000 in cash, and I value what I have left at two or three times as much—all made out of nothing, by giving a note for \$200, almost against my will, and when I was practically not worth a dollar."

In this millionaire (Bixby's) case it was a lucky speculation in land. In many another case it is a lucky and chance investment in some manufacturing affair that has the luck to "catch on." Unsuccessful enterprises are often financed by men who are really much smarter. In fact all investment is the taking of the gambler's chance, the sure-thing investment being parallel to the sure-thing game of the gambler who has the cards stacked. Leave the element of chance out and your "self-made" men would most of them be in the poverty list.



# The Motives of Men

By ROBERT BLATCHFORD

Non-Socialists are in the habit of saying that Socialism demands a complete change in human nature. They say Socialism is very pretty in theory, but that it is wrong because human nature is not good enough for Socialism. They tell us that we Socialists are mistaken because we have built up a scheme without first considering human nature. They are entirely mistaken.

The fact is that we Socialists have studied human nature, and that our opponents only object to Socialism because they do not understand human nature at all.

"Socialism," say these critics, "is impossible, because it would destroy the incentive of gain." The incentive of gain!

And then they quote the dogma of the political economist:

"The social affections are accidental and disturbing elements in human nature, but avarice and the desire of progress are constant elements."

Avarice, they say, is a constant element of human nature, and they proceed to build up what they foolishly call "a science" of human affairs upon this one single element. They ignore the second element, "The desire of progress," and the only conclusion we can come to, after reading their stupid books and shallow articles, is the conclusion that they recognize avarice, that is love of money, as the ruling passion of mankind.

The last refuge of Gradgrind, when he is beaten by Socialistic argument, is the assertion that human nature is incapable of good.

But this is not true. Men instinctively prefer light to darkness, love to hate, and good to evil.

The most selfish man would not see a fellow creature die or suffer if he could save him without personal cost or risk.

Only a lunatic would wantonly destroy a harvest or poison a well, unless he might thereby reap some personal advantage.

It is clear, therefore, that men will do good for its own sake; but they will not do evil except with the hope of gain. And this may be said of the lowest and the basest types of mankind.

Major Burke, of the Wild West, told me one day that on the prairies the cowboys went about finger on trigger, ever on the qui vive for an ambush. If a leaf stirred they fired, if a twig snapped they fired; and in about five cases out of a hundred they shot an Indian.

This is the state in which men live under a competitive commercial system. It is a war. The hand of every man is against every man's hand. Men move finger on trigger, and fire at the falling of a leaf. But in a Socialistic state of society they would no more go armed and in fear of their fellow-creatures than did the Wild West cowboys in London.

It is no use arguing whether or not man is bad by nature, and without respect to circumstances. Man is a creature of circumstances.

The question asked is whether human nature is bad. We must begin by asking under what circumstances? Will a peach tree bear peaches? Yes, if planted in good

soil and against a south wall. Will a rose tree flourish? Not if you set it in an ash-heap and exclude the light and air. Is a river a beautiful and a wholesome thing? Yes, when it is fed by the mountain streams, washed by the autumn rains, and runs over a pebbly bed between grassy meadows decked with water lilies, fringed with flowering rushes, shaded by stately trees; but not when it is polluted by city sewers, stained by the refuse of filthy dye-vats and chemical works; not when its bed is slime, its banks ashes, and when the light falling upon it is the flame of forges, and the shadows those of mills, and manure works, and prisons. Is human nature sweet, and holy, and fruitful of good things? Yes. When it gets light and air and culture, such as we give to the beasts of the farm and to the lilies of the field; but when it is poisoned and perverted and defiled, when it is crushed, cursed, and spat upon, then human nature becomes bad.

We know how a man grows selfish and cruel. We know how he sinks to sottishness, to gluttony, to torpid, savage boorishness. We know we have with us vast numbers of rich and poor, of respectable and disreputable liars and rogues and beasts and dastards. Is that the fault of human nature? Or is it the fault of the evil influences that choke and poison human nature?

Gradgrind tells me that greed is the chief motor to the human heart. It has been so called by generations of shallow cynics and stupid dunces before him; and, as he never thinks for himself, he has never found out the error. But let any man look about him and think of what he sees, and I believe that he will agree with me that what phrenologists call "Love of approbation" is a hundred-fold a stronger force than

greed. What observer of life will deny this? Is it not plain to all when the eyes are opened that the desire to get praise or admiration is a stronger motive than the desire to get money? Nay, this desire to get wealth is only one out of a thousand consequences of the love of approbation. Only a miser loves money for its own sake. The great bulk of our graspers and grubbers value money for what it will bring. A few and to a small extent because it brings them luxury, ease, indulgence. A larger number, and to a greater extent, because it saves them and theirs from the risks of penury and degradation. A great preponderance, and to the widest extent, because it wins them the admiration, the wonder, the envy, and the service of their fellows.

As society is at present constituted nearly every man gets as much money as he can. What are the ordinary motives for this conduct? Plutocrat says, "I can make a fortune out of the cotton trade, and why should I not? If I don't make it some other man will; and perhaps the other man will be a rogue." You see, men cannot trust each other. Under the operation of unfettered individual enterprise, life is a scramble. A man knows he could live on less than ten thousand a year, and he knows that multitudes are hungry. But if he foregoes the making of a fortune it will not benefit the poor. Some other man will seize on what he relinquishes, and the scramble will go on. So men amass wealth because they think they might as well do it as let another do it in their stead.

There is another thing. Plutocrat will tell you he has a wife and family to provide for. He knows the world too well to leave a widow and children to the tender mercies

of his brother graspers. It is every man for himself and the weakest to the wall. So he will grind other people to make money to prevent other people from grinding his children. He is right in a great measure. It is his duty to provide for his wife and children. And under our present system of robbery and murder by individual enterprise the widow and the orphan will find none to pity and defend them—unless they can pay for value received.

Again, in a commercial era and in a commercial nation, wealth is the reward of merit, the crown of honor and the sign of virtue. Every man dreads failure.

The Gradgrind supposes greed to be the ruling passion because in the Society he knows most men strive to get money. But why do they strive to get money? There are two chief motives. One the desire to provide for or confer happiness upon children or friends; the other the desire to purchase applause. But in the first case the motive is not greed, but love; and in the second case it is not greed

but vanity.

For the sake of love, for the sake of duty, for the sake of pity, for the sake of religion, and for the sake of truth, men and women have resigned their bodies to the flames, have laid their heads upon the block, have suffered imprisonment, disgrace, and torture, and starvation. Who will do as much for money?

Money never had a martyr. In Mammon's bible the text of the Christian Bible is altered. It reads, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own life?" Men will fight for money; but they will not die for it. Now millions have died for honor, for love, for religion, for duty, for country, for fame. And how then can any sensible person stand by the base and brutish dogma that greed is the chief motor of the human heart?

It seems an amazing thing to me, this persistence in the belief that greed is the motive power of humanity. The refutation of that error is forever under our noses.

## About Private Property

By FREDERIC HEATH

"It is just as well to be fair, even to the Socialists," says the editor of the *Portland Oregonian*, in an editorial on the attack on us by Archbishop Ireland, the millionaire prelate of the Roman Catholic church of America. He says that, in attacking the Socialists, Archbishop Ireland is following the usual custom with the men high up in his church, but that he gains nothing by misrepresenting his opponents. The misrepresentation consists in saying that the Socialists are opposed to private property. "It is a fundamental idea of Socialism," says the *Oregonian*, "that to every man must be accorded absolutely and indisputably the whole of what he produces by his labor. This the Socialists hold is rightfully his own property and the state sees to it that he gets it." In the main this is a correct statement and it disposes of the archbishop's charge completely. It is the exploitation of man by man that the Social-Democrats seek to stop. Under the capitalist regime the foundation facts of personal enrichment are plun-

der and the exploitation of the labor of others. If the combined labor of a certain group of men in a certain industry, working with modern machinery, produces a certain amount of wealth, capitalism gives the men a "living wage" and then divides the rest of the wealth that has been produced among the capitalist owners of the machines. The owners of the machines get the wealth and the workers get just enough to keep them going and in working condition, generally speaking. This fact led Victor Hugo to say that in modern society "we *produce* wonderfully, but we *distribute* abominably." The abominable arrangement is that the men who do the work do not get the wealth. And it will be impossible to change this so long as the machinery and forces of production remain private property. This is the kind of private property we are opposed to, and the *Oregonian* is to be thanked for trying to set the archbishop right in the matter.

But while defending us against misrepresentation, the *Oregonian*, being a capitalist newspaper, cannot see how Socialism can be practicable. "The extreme demands of Socialism will be met," it says, "and their causes removed, only by removal of the evils of which not only Socialists, but the whole body of the people, complain." Under Socialism, it says, the income of the individual would be derived from his labor and he could not make profits from trade, promote productive industry, or receive profits therefrom, and could have no personal income from other sources. Such an arrangement as Socialism comprehends is not adequate to the requirements of a complex civilization, the editor thinks.

But the present complex system—there isn't much system about it—is simply the result of capitalism. Carlisle said our modern society reminded him of a basket of vipers, each struggling to reach the top. Such a struggle is complex—and no wonder. It is essentially predatory, each one trying to better himself at the expense of his fellows, and "the Devil taking the hindmost." To the man with the capitalist mind this seems natural and proper. To us the idea of a person getting an income he does not earn with his labor is simply immoral, for an income under such conditions means loss for someone else. The players in a poker game cannot all come out ahead. No wonder present society is complex, when every man is scheming to trap his neighbor.

The Socialist sees the key to the situation in the fact that the unequal and scandalous distribution of wealth follows as a consequence of the private ownership of the machinery of production. Production is social, but its ownership is individual, therefore wrong relations exist. Right relations can only exist when the social act of producing the wealth of society shall be also socially ordered. Each individual worker cannot own the factory or shop where he is employed, the workers must own it collectively, through society. Such an ownership would stop the piling up of private fortunes at the expense of the working class. The proposition is simple. There is nothing so "impossible" in it that it need frighten anyone who honestly desires an end to the present wretched and murderous conditions of life.

# Mr. Gompers' Convention

By VICTOR L. BERGER

**T**O understand fully the fight made by Socialistic union men in the convention of the American Federation of Labor, one must take into consideration how the convention is made up. The American Federation of Labor is a voluntary confederation of national and international unions. If a national union wants to withdraw there is really no way to force it back into the fold—especially if such a union has no “label” to boom.

For instance, the Mine Workers and the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers have withdrawn in the past without suffering much injury from such act. The big railroad brotherhoods are still out, and all attempts to coax them into the fold have failed so far. Of course, for unions with a “label” that depends on the patronage of other union men, a charter from the American Federation of Labor means something. And as capitalism developes, *all* unions will sooner or later be welded into one big labor organization.

Under the present conditions the national and international officers of the various unions are by far the most important element in the convention. They are usually reelected every year—some of them are even delegates by virtue of their offices. These unions have one vote for every one hundred members of their respective unions, so it can be seen that they have a large voting power. For instance, the miners' delegation has over 2,379 votes, and the carpenters have 1,637 votes. The miners' delegation has not changed more than one or two men in ten years—and the same condition prevails in most of the other unions. Now all the big unions are represented in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the council having enlarged whenever the occasion required it, to make this possible. It is even claimed that at least one national union is paying a per capita for 50,000 members without having the membership, in order to retain “the prestige” and the seat in the Executive Council.

Another very numerous and very influential element in the convention, is made up of the general organizers of the American Federation of Labor. They are men who are doing very necessary and very good work in the trades union movement. But they seem to find it necessary to have themselves elected to the conventions, and there they form as effective a “claque” for Mr. Gompers as any actor in a Bowery theater ever had.

These general organizers do the “hissing” and the applauding, move the “previous question,” and attend to all the other little but telling work of the machine. The general organizers depend upon Gompers, by whom they are appointed, for their living, and naturally he controls them entirely.

The third and last element are the delegates of the central bodies of states and cities, of the Federal Unions, and of unions not having a national organization. They have only one vote each. The State

Federation of the state of New York and the central body of Kenosha have the same vote.

Now, under these conditions, while we had over 313 delegates in Minneapolis, I was told that about a dozen men controlled the voting power of the convention.

It is true that as a rule the vote is simply an "aye" and "no" vote, yet everybody knows that if there was any proposition of importance, or one where the power of the executive council would come into question, a "roll call" would be demanded. And while there were a goodly number of Socialists and Socialist sympathizers in the convention, most of them did not dare to open their mouths, because they depended on favors from Gompers and the executive council—they had "axes to grind," as one of them who is a member of the party expressed it.

\* \* \*

The principal issue in the last convention was the declaration of Gompers concerning the part that the trades unions should take in politics.

It has been the avowed policy of the American Federation of Labor not to mingle in politics—that is, on the face of it; because in reality the American Federation of Labor always was in politics head over heels.

But this time Gompers held that the policy forbidding politics in the trades unions meant that it forbids partisan politics. He said the Federation ought to go into politics on what he called non-partisan lines, which means that a unionist should vote for a Republican in one district, and for a Democrat in another.

We held that the moment a union man votes either the Republican or Democratic ticket, he is voting a partisan ticket, only he is voting for partisans of the capitalistic class, which both parties represent, standing for the existing system. In our opinion if the Federation was to go into politics at all, it was to be politics on class lines. A unionist should vote on election day just for the interests of the working class, exactly as he is working for his class in the trades unions, and this would require, since we do not want the trades unions to be used as a political machine, an independent labor party.

Gompers' position meant that we ought to get promises from the representatives of the old parties, the congressmen and other office-holders, and to support those on election day that promise most.

We declared that before election *every* capitalistic politician would promise everything, and has promised in the past, but the moment he gets to Washington, he is under the control of Joe Cannon on the Republican side, or John Sharp Williams on the Democratic side, both of whom are party whips for the capitalists. The Republican or Democratic congressman could not do anything for labor even if he really tried. Therefore we told Mr. Gompers, if he only wanted promises, he could get all he wanted.

Gompers then made personal attacks upon the writer.

He picked up a statement that appeared in the *Social - Democratic Herald* in December last year, describing him as a "self-complacent old fool," and he tried to make the most out of that

phrase instead of answering our arguments. Gompers vehemently charged the Socialists with trying to disrupt the trades unions, and, of course, the whole crowd of his supporters applauded. He had not only the advantage of a good "claque," but as the last man to speak—he always is—he was allowed to take practically all the time he desired for his speech, without anybody troubling himself about making a motion to suspend the rules. In fact he held the entire convention after the time of adjournment had arrived, just to listen to his harangue. The whole affair was not only very undignified and actor-like, but a keen observer could notice all afternoon how the scenery was being built up. Yet it was unnecessary, since Gompers had the votes and the crowd with him to begin with, and he could well afford to be dignified. But it appeared as if Gompers wanted to show the world, and especially the reporters present, that he was the czar and the omnipotent ruler of the American Federation of Labor.

\* \* \*

I will give Gompers credit for several things, though. He is changing his position, and not only so far as the participation in politics is concerned. For instance, he was always considered a "craft autonomist", who believed that every national union had jurisdiction over its craft only. But this time when Victor L. Berger's resolutions in favor of industrialism came up, he took special pains to explain that he was not a craft autonomist, and that most, if not all national unions, are more or less based on industrial lines and comprised all kinds of crafts working in that industry.

And Gompers had mighty good reasons for changing his position on the question of craft autonomy.

The big and strong unions are swallowing the smaller and weaker organizations in spite of all the American Federation of Labor can do.

A striking example is that of the carpenters who at this convention benevolently assimilated the woodworkers, although all decisions of the Federation during the last ten years were in favor of the woodworkers. But the carpenters swallowed them up by sheer strength.

So it is clear that we are bound to get "industrialism" of some sort. There is a tendency toward the formation of a huge labor trust. This cannot be stopped. It will come, without question. Now we want to bring about this inevitable unification of labor forces by civilized and constructive methods, instead of by a continuous warfare and jurisdiction fights.

Therefore we want some sort of plan of industrial organization of the trades unions. We do not care particularly by what plan this is brought about. We proposed a plan to the convention, which was to create allied trades councils and to have interchange of union cards, but we do not insist that this is the only plan.

But the entire idea was opposed and voted down by the wizards in convention assembled, because it was supposed to be "Socialistic"; although as a matter of fact Socialism has no more to do with "industrialism" than it has with "craft autonomy." Such questions are purely trades union matters.

*Victor L. Berger.*

# Morals and Capitalism

By WAYFARER

Says a Milwaukee preacher, who holds forth from a "people's" pulpit supported by the corporation scalawags of the city, "Vice and its correlative, poverty, are still in evidence. No prosperity can eradicate the misery which depraved life brings upon the innocent." So it is vice that makes poverty? We always supposed the reason the working class had to live in poverty was because the capitalist system did not permit them to keep the wealth they create. Or, in other words, that under the capitalist wage system the wage to labor is too small for labor to buy back the things it itself produces. But this capitalist preacher says vice is at the bottom of poverty. If there were no vice, then, would the working class be the rich class, as in all justice it ought to be? Would ten hours' hard work in a factory mean that the worker's family would dress in silks and ride in automobiles? There are lots of men who do not work at all, unless traveling for pleasure or clipping coupons may be called work, and yet whose families live in superabundance, and if this class has a superabundance out of the common store without work, wouldn't it follow that many others get less than a necessary abundance, with almost all members of the family out as bread earners? The great social question is up for discussion and cannot be dodged. Trying to lay the fault of poverty at the door of vice is not a very honest thing to do, but then we have never considered this particular preacher a very honest man.

Here's a woman accused by the police with poisoning three children to get their insurance. Here's a Denver girl accused of running down a man on the street with her automobile and refusing to let him be taken to the hospital in the auto for fear his blood would stain her finery and the man dying while waiting for a regular ambulance to be secured. Here's a lot of more leading business men arrested for gigantic land frauds out West by which the people at large were despoiled. Here's a report that manufacturers and jobbers in adulterated, painted and tainted foods are scrambling to work off the poisonous stuff on the people before the new pure food laws go into effect. And so on. Pick up any paper and this is the sort of thing you see.

The heart is taken out of vast numbers of people by the sharpness of the struggle for existence under capitalism. A daily newspaper is a daily record of crime, of deceit, of sharp practice and of demoralization. It is a picture of human degradation, and it is all because we live under a system that stifles the good impulses and develops the bad. The capitalist mouthpieces lay it all to human nature and say that human nature must be changed before we can have Socialism or any perfect form of society.

It is a gross libel. Human nature is all right. It is the system that is wrong. And that we are going to change.



A probate judge up for re-election in Kansas City told the voters he had saved many a small estate from despoilment. From despoilment! Why should anyone want to despoil widows and orphans? But this judge talks about it as if it was a very common thing, which, in fact, it is. Where is the peace on earth, good will toward men? There is none. There is none because under the capitalist system there is always the incentive to despoil. The predatory instinct is always uppermost. Socialists want a change in the system. They want a system under which the promptings will be for good instead of for evil, where the incentive for wolfishness will be absent. And we do not want to change human nature, either. We want to give human nature a chance to really be human. When it pays to be good, human nature can afford to be good. There is good human nature today, but it is good *in spite of the capitalist system.*

Indignation has been aroused in Chicago by the action of the telephone company, now out after a new franchise, forcing its hello girls to hustle among men residents of the city for signatures to petitions in favor of the granting of the new rights. The prettiest employees are picked out for this degrading service and forced to make themselves agreeable to men in public places under penalty of losing their chance to earn bread and butter. It is only another evidence of the fact that capitalism is preeminently the "dirty bird that befouls its own nest," for in its mad greed for profits it is willing to tear down womankind, blight the home, and pollute the race. Nothing is too sacred for its leprous hands to clutch at.

The curator of the Milwaukee public museum says it is not practicable to maintain a coin collection on exhibition as it would form a continuous temptation to those in "desperate financial straits." Trying to "knock" the capitalist system, again! It's a fine system of society that produces "desperate financial straits" in the midst of loudly vaunted prosperity!

Under the capitalist system people live a sort of topsy-turvy justice. The workers are the poor and the shirkers are the rich, and the shorter work-hours go to the workers who have the least hard jobs and the longest hours of labor are required where the work conditions are most dangerous—the Panama canal, for instance. Oh, the capitalist system is a most moral affair!

The *Ohio Penitentiary News* has been suspended after a career of many years. The reason for the suspension is that there is not a single printer in the penitentiary at the present time to set the type. On the other hand there are said to be plenty of bankers, lawyers, brokers, and other "eminently respectables" in the institution.

The German Social-Democratic parliamentary group has just celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. Of the seventy-eight men now in parliament, Comrades Singer, Dietz, Frohme and Stolle are the only members who have served continuously since Socialism first invaded the reichstag. Bebel would be included, but he was out of service three years while in prison.

# Facts From the Inside

From "APPLETONS"

One of the worst blotches on our modern civilization is the private detective agency which makes a specialty of supplying strike breakers and armed thugs to capitalists when they have dirty work to be done during labor conflicts. A writer in *Appleton's Magazine* for October who is said to be an American representative of the Scotland Yards detective force, has the following to say as information from the inside, on the private detective system that flourishes in manufacturing centers in this country:

"There is another phase of the private detective evil which has worked untold damage in America. This is the private constabulary system, by which armed forces are employed during labor troubles. It is a condition akin to the feudal system of warfare, when private interests can employ troops of mercenaries to wage war at their command.

"Ostensibly, these armed private detectives are hurried to the scene of the trouble to maintain order and prevent destruction of property, although this work should always be left to the official guardians of the peace. That there is a sinister motive back of the employment of these men has been shown time and again. Have you ever followed the episodes of a great strike and noticed that most of the disorderly outbreaks were so guided as to work harm to the interests of the strikers? It is not going too far to state that many of the great strikes have been lost to the workers because after a time public sympathy and support were withdrawn. And this change of public senti-

ment invariably follows the alleged lawless and violent acts of the strikers. Therefore, instead of preventing these acts, it is to the interest of the employers that they should occur.

"In this, perhaps, lies usually the reason why private detectives are brought on the scene. Before every duty to the public as a whole, their duty consists in bringing the result desired by their employers—that is, breaking the strike. Time and again it has been shown that private detectives employed every effort, fair or foul, to accomplish this end by turning the public against the strikers. Private detectives, unsuspected in their guise of workmen, mingle with the strikers and by incendiary talk or action sometimes stir them up to violence.

"In one of the greatest of our strikes, that involving the steel industry, over two thousand armed detectives were employed supposedly to protect property, while several hundred more were scattered in the ranks of strikers as workmen. Many of the latter became officers in the labor bodies, helped to make laws for the organizations, made incendiary speeches, cast their votes for the most radical movements made by the strikers, participated in and led bodies of the members in the acts of lawlessness that eventually caused the sending of state troops and the declaration of martial law. While doing this, these spies within the ranks were making daily reports of the plans and purpose of the strikers. To my knowledge, when lawlessness was at its height, and murder ran riot, these men wore little

patches of white on the lapels of their coats that their fellow-detectives of the "two thousand" would not shoot them down by mistake.

*"In no other country in the world, with the exception of China, is it possible for an individual to surround himself with a standing army to do his bidding in defiance*

of law and order. The conditions I have outlined could never under any circumstance obtain in England. During labor troubles the government looks after the policing, and under no circumstances permits the meddling of private detectives."

## On We March!

By WATCHMAN

Gen. Bragg has been speaking out in meeting again. He declares that the Democratic party has vanished north of the Mason and Dixon line, and that Socialism is in the air. It was Bragg who electrified the country when Cleveland was nominated the first time by declaring in the convention that the people loved him for the enemies he had made. The old Iron brigade commander has just returned from his consulate in South America. He has evidently kept posted. Thus he says: "The fact that Hearst was given such a tremendous vote in New York state *indicates clearly to me that Socialism has a greater hold on the American people than the conservative element has ever dreamed of before.* The New York election shows that Socialism is a thing to be reckoned with. Money controls government. We will never have relief until we send men to congress whose skulls are thick enough on top to protect their brains from the heat reflected by the shine of gold. The remedy is in the hands of the voter. I am almost forced to the conclusion that we have not the capacity for self-government. WHAT HAS EVERY INVESTIGATION INTO THE DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT REVEALED? EV-

ERY DEPARTMENT INVESTIGATED HAS BEEN SHOWN TO BE HONEYCOMBED WITH GRAFT AND CORRUPTION." And then the old man added, by way of hedging on the effect of his words, that government ownership would mean still more officials to watch, which is certainly a danger against which the people must also be watchful so long as capitalist parties, without civil service, fill the offices. "But I want to say," he added, as if the thought that was uppermost in his mind could not be kept under cover, "that when you consider the effort that was required to defeat Hearst, the personal influence of Pres. Roosevelt, and that speech of Root's charging Hearst with the murder of McKinley, you cannot escape the conclusion *that Socialism has a tremendous hold on the American people.*" Such an utterance is a sign of the times, surely, especially as it is from a man who does not believe in Socialism, one who has become petrified in the old time doctrines of the Democratic party. Compare the present with only a few years back and then ask yourself if Social-Democracy is not clearly the irrepressible question of the present age.

The Social-Democrats of France have just held their congress at Limoges. A great white streamer was stretched across the hall over the platform reading "Workmen of all the World, Unite." There were 289 delegates, representing sixty-nine federations. M. Jaures spoke on the general political situation. He said that if Clemenceau was in earnest in his radical program the Socialists would help him to realize it, and would help him vote the funds for the new Ministry of Labor. His remarks were warmly commended by Guesde. The debate on trade unionism came on during the second day. Jaures said co-operation with the unions should be an easy matter. Political action was necessary in order to achieve the final victory. Surely the unions could not hope to gain it by the general strike. He also appealed to the congress not to leave the peasant proprietors of France to their fate. Guesde said he did not deny the efficiency of the trade unions, but trade unionism was not all sufficient. What they had to fight was the wage system and they would have to have recourse to political methods. A motion by Jaures to the effect that the trade unions and the Social-Democratic movement should travel hand in hand, each having its particular part to play, was carried, 148 to 130 were in favor of a motion of Guesde which held to much the same thing but insisted that they must not be allowed to oppose themselves, the one to the other. A committee was appointed to draw up a declaration for the country districts, following a discussion of the agricultural question. A resolution was passed in favor of the general strike as a means of thwarting war. The utmost harmony prevailed, showing that the former

division in the party are now completely ended.

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In Paris, the other day, there was an election to fill a vacancy in the national chamber of deputies, and of the five candidates in the field only one did not claim to be either a radical Socialist or an independent Socialist, or something of the sort. The regular party Socialist led on the first ballot and was elected on the second. He is a leather worker.

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Says the *Cleveland Citizen*: One of the most surprising facts in connection with the growth of Socialism that has come to our notice is the information that the *Citizen* has received from a student in the college of the City of New York to the effect that a majority of the 5,000 students in that institution are Socialists. The one live topic among the students is Socialism. There are a number of clubs in existence and books, papers and pamphlets are widely circulated.

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The *Chicago Tribune* is getting bewildered. In one column it writes editorials to show that the Socialists can never amount to anything as a major party, and in another urges a change in the voting system to count the Socialists out before they can get strong in the legislature.

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Hanna said that the time was near at hand when the fight would be between the Republicans and Social-Democrats. In Milwaukee the fight has already taken on that phase.

Some rather dizzy "official" returns from Wisconsin counties are being printed in the daily papers. In some instances the real official returns give us a third more and sometimes double the votes of the "official" reports in the press.

The Canadian trades unionists, in convention at Vancouver, B. C., have endorsed the Socialist party. It was at first planned to form an

independent labor party, but wiser counsel prevailed.

It must have been a bitter pill to Gompers to have to sit and listen to the British fraternal delegate to the A. F. of L. convention tell what great things had been accomplished through the Socialist movement in England.

A Socialist monthly in the Japanese language will be started soon on the Pacific coast.

## Shots at Capitalism

The American conscience is threatened with fatty degeneration.

The American heart is beating too rapidly to stand the pace.

The American brain is awirl with money-madness.

These three complications are the principal ones which make up Americanitis, a disease with which the nation is suffering at present.

Speaking as a doctor I should say this is a very complicated disease. I find, as I lay my hand upon the patient's heart, that it is beating with abnormal rapidity. It cannot keep up that pace very long.

I find extreme nervousness and restlessness. The American does not walk, he runs. When he eats he does not masticate. It is no wonder men who are dying long before they grow old are traveling around trying to keep the spark of life in their bodies. In one block not far from where I am standing are 34 widows whose husbands burned out their nerve force and hearts by overwork.

There is another complication in this disease of the nation. As I examine the conscience I find a strange sluggishness. It does not

respond to the touch. It seems to be threatened with fatty degeneration. And it is not surprising when one considers all the terrible recent exposures of graft and dishonesty among insurance companies, among the packers, among the railroads. One does not know where to look for absolute integrity. Graft of all kinds seems to abound—commercial graft, educational graft, political graft and medical graft. But back of the other complications of Americanitis is the trouble with the brain. The American head is turned on the question of greed and gain. Without question we are getting money mad. Gold is our great besetting sin. The simple fact is that unless some cure is speedily found, the nation will perish.

*Dr. John Balcom Shaw.*

Almost fabulous in their extent are the figures made public November 22, 1906, by the Interstate Commerce Commission of the earnings of the American railroads for the year ending June 30, 1906.

This was in the nature of a preliminary report on the income account of the railways of the country, and it covers returns for railway companies operating 220,026.44 miles of lines. These include the lines operated under trackage rights, or about 99 per cent of the mileage that will be covered by the final report on the statistics of railways for the year. The total gross earnings of the roads as shown in the report under consideration were \$2,319,760,030, being equivalent to \$10,543 per mile; passenger earnings were \$618,555,934, or \$2,811 per mile, and freight earnings \$1,640,942,862, or \$7,458 per mile. Operating expenses were \$1,532,163,163, or \$963 per mile. The net earnings of the roads were \$787,596,877, being \$3,850 per mile, and nearly \$97,000,000 more than the corresponding amount reported for the previous year. The amount reported as income from sources other than operation was \$132,624,982. This amount includes a few duplications due to the method of accounting followed by certain of the carriers. Adding this amount to net earnings from operation gives \$920,221,859. Against this amount were charged as interest, rents, betterments, taxes and miscellaneous items, the sum of \$590,386,554, and as dividends the sum of \$229,406,598, leaving a surplus for the year of \$100,428,707. The taxes paid during the year were \$68,903,288. The final report of the year ended June 30, 1905, showed a surplus of \$89,043,490. The amount of dividends declared in 1906 was \$34,248,605 more than that shown for the dividends of practically the same roads in 1905. This preliminary report relates to operating roads only, and does not include the statements of any dividends paid by leased lines

from the income they received as rent. The dividends declared by the subsidiary released lines for the year 1905 were about \$35,750,000. Where does our American sovereign, Mr. Wage Slave, come in?—*St. Louis Labor.*

A report on the conditions of living among the poor of this country in a recent bulletin of the Department of Commerce and Labor, contains this startling observation deduced from the facts and figures contained in the report:

"After the rent has been paid and food has been bought the very poor have but little left for anything else."

The figures in the report are not taken from pauper families but from those of workmen's families where every effort at thrift and economy is made, and where the wife and children work as hard as they can to help keep the wolf from the door. In America where the people are "free", where there is plenty of room for the oppressed of the world to "grow up with the country", and where every native boy has a "chance" to be president, we have now reached the period of our proud prosperity and development toward a people's government when thrifty, hardworking people merely exist, with no hope for the future and a consciousness of no participation in the wonderful increase of wealth all about them—wealth that increases because there is a working class to make it increase.

This is the situation, and if it were inevitable, if it were unpreventable, the common crowd would probably manage to put up with it. It IS preventable; it is NOT inevitable and hence the mighty unrest, and the demand of the people

that the system be altered and that there be a new deal.

They demand a new deal in which every worthy living soul shall have the chance to live decently and without having to bear the terrible burden of the support of the modern capitalistic parasitism.

Hence: Social-Democracy!

Upton Sinclair has met the "worker with the capitalist mind," as what Socialist has not? He thus describes him:

"You would begin talking to some poor devil who had worked in one shop for the last thirty years, and had never been able to save a penny; who left home every morning at six o'clock, to go tend a machine, and came back at night too tired to take his clothes off; who had never traveled, never had an adventure, never learned anything, never hoped anything—and when you started to tell him anything about Socialism he would sniff and say, 'I'm not interested in that—I'm an individualist!' And then he would go on and tell you that Socialism was 'paternalism,' and that if ever it had its way the world would stop progressing. It was enough to make a mule laugh to hear arguments like that; and yet it was no laughing matter as you found out—for how many millions of poor deluded wretches there were, whose lives have been so stunted by capitalism that they no longer knew what freedom was! And they really thought that it was 'individualism' for tens of thousands of them to herd together and obey the orders of a steel magnate, and produce hundreds of millions of dollars of wealth for him, and then let him give them libraries; while for them to take the industry,

and run it to suit themselves, and build their own libraries—that would be 'paternalism!'"

Juneau, (Wis.) *Independent*: The searchlight of investigation was recently turned onto the operators of the tobacco trust in some of the Southern states, especially in Georgia. The facts resulting from this investigation are appalling. The investigation shows conclusively that the American Tobacco Co., of which James B. Duke is president, is the absolute master of the tobacco industry in this country and is rapidly becoming an international affair. From the plant in the field to the finished product, there is not one person connected with the tobacco industry but is compelled to pay tribute to this trust. In the tobacco fields of Georgia, where the work of harvesting the crop is done by women and children, this trust is guilty of crimes of the most atrocious character. From the report of the investigation it is evident that the tobacco trust is, if possible, more avaricious than John D.'s oil trust. One cannot read this report without fully realizing that the trust question is one of the great questions before the people today. It is not remarkable, when such conditions exist as are depicted in this report, that there are many who have already reached that point where faith in the present order of things ceases, and doubt takes up the trail.

Bishop Potter says the founders of this country had no right to expect that no caste would develop in America, and that is was a "grotesque" expectation. It was grotesque, wasn't it! To expect that the capitalist system could go on robbing the many and loading

up the few with economic power and yet not stratify society, was a funny expectation. Still the Revolutionists of 1776 were courageous according to their lights. They met the big problem of political injustice that confronted them and they certainly thought that their descendants would inherit enough spunk and humanity to tackle the other problems when they developed to the right importance. However, it took the colonists some time to get ready to tackle *their* problem, and even to the last they did not expect to do as much as they did when they really got down to business. The present time is a sort of making-ready time, and we may yet honor our American ancestry by proving to be as much the right kind of revolutionists for our time as they were the right kind for theirs.

A little group of Socialists in Oakland, Cal., are preparing to issue a small paper devoted to Social-Democratic propaganda among Uncle Sam's soldiers and sailors. They can be addressed at 528 Telegraph avenue, Oakland. In a prospectus they say among other things: "Do you realize that there exists in the United States today two of the most feudalistic institutions in the world? We refer to the United States Army and the United States Navy. The discipline in these two institutions is such as to render them the most powerful and at the same time the most servile tools in the hands of the capitalist class. It is simply appalling to contemplate the damage these two institutions could do the working class in case the present revolution assumed a violent aspect. The men composing the rank and file of the army and navy are trained to MURDER without the slightest

provocation, merely on command of their officers—and often without that command, if they think their orders received from headquarters require them to do so."

"Many a foreigner, living on our side streets, in what our reformers call poverty, graduates into business which gives him independence, the fruit of his years of simple self-denial." So says one of our preachers. Did you ever notice that such men are careful never to picture a man becoming wealthy on mere wage labor! In all such cases of alleged workingmen getting rich it is always by means of alleged savings put out at speculation or put into trade! But as to the quotation above, it is arrant misrepresentation—unless he is referring to the saloon business, and even that business produces a good many failures. The real fact is that, while the ranks of the small tradesmen keep filled up, it is only because new victims venture into the places made by the many who are unsuccessful. The proletariat is full of men who have staked their all in little stores and then been forced to the wall.

Pierpont Morgan told a Chicago reporter that the "prevailing prosperity" would continue "unless some agitator is successful in arousing public clamor and public passion against the property interests of the country." But how public clamor could be aroused if the people were really sharers in the "prosperity", he conveniently neglected to state.

By the way, the Social-Democrats of Wisconsin have elected a "walking delegate" to the state legislature. Now what has capitalism to say!







**THE COUNTESS OF WARWICK.**

# THE VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray,  
Yet never strength we borrow,  
And where the Vanguard camps today,  
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

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## The Month's Story.

**A** In our frontispiece of this issue we give the portrait of  
**Socialist** one of the world's greatest women, Lady Warwick, the  
**Countess** Socialist countess.

We have not yet heard of any English lord who is devoting his time to sawing off the bough of the social tree on which he is comfortably seated. But women, as a rule, are more inclined to self-sacrifice. The Countess of Warwick, unblinded by her class interests, has thrown all the weight of her rank, beauty and social powers into the struggle for economic freedom. She has well earned the title of "the most ardent Socialist in England."

Lady Warwick was born in 1861, and in 1881 married Lord Brooke, who succeeded to the title of Earl of Warwick in 1893. Lady Warwick was distinguished for her beauty and her charities. She served on the board of poor law guardians. She founded a college for training the daughters of professional men in horticulture, dairy, bee and poultry keeping, etc. She founded a technical school for boys and girls. She established and still maintains a home for crippled children.

But, like all sincere and intelligent workers through private charity and private benevolence, Lady Warwick at last came to see that all this was no better than dipping up the Atlantic with a teaspoon. She was clear-sighted enough to penetrate to the bottom all the woes of society. And she was honest enough to take up the fight against the system which causes them.

When several years ago, Lady Warwick came out as a clear-cut Socialist, the papers sneered at her as a woman who had taken up a silly fad which she would soon drop for some new folly. But time went on, and she did not drop Socialism. On the contrary, she devoted herself to it with increasing energy. She joined the Social-Democratic Federation. She labored for it with voice and pen. During the campaign preceding the last general election in England, Lady Warwick toured the country and spoke nightly in behalf of the Labor and Socialist candidates for seats in parliament. She had her share in the splendid triumph which sent to parliament 53 Labor representatives.

In an age of greed and selfishness, it is a joy to contemplate such a character. Here is a splendid specimen of the social con-

science. Here is a woman, unbribed by self-interest and class privilege, who sets the welfare of the collectivity above her own. So long life to the beautiful and noble Countess of Warwick!

And yet—and yet—somehow the thought pains. For where are the Lady Warwicks of the proletariat? Where are the Socialist working women and workingmen's wives? The women of the working class have a thousand fold more reasons for cursing the present system than have their husbands and brothers. Why are they silent?

The yoke on their necks is too heavy. It strangles their throats till their voices come only in whispers. It bows their heads so that they cannot look upward or forward.

The workingman's wife—the slave of a slave, as Blatchford has well said—lives under economic conditions fully five hundred years behind those of her husband. While his work is social and done by machinery, she performs nearly the same labor process as did her great-great-great-grandmother, twenty generations back. Cooking and scrubbing are much the same as they were in those days. And as for her general condition, in many cases she works harder and gets worse food than did the black slaves of the South before the Civil war.

The women wage-workers, on the other hand, are mostly a part of the modern industrial system. But can we expect agitators from these dragged-out, leaden-eyed, anemic slaves, utterly crushed by low wages and long hours? The heaviest end of the capitalist system weighs on them. It is much to ask of physical human nature, that these shall throw off such a terrible incubus, and rise up as the world's emancipators.

And nevertheless just from these we may get some of our best agitators. Women have a stronger motive even than their own wrongs for joining the Socialist movement. The wrongs of her children may rouse the most cowed woman worker. "The wren, the most diminutive of birds, will for her offspring fight against the owl."

The capitalist system is eating up the lives of little children and destroying their future. When the mother heart of our proletarian women understand this, we may expect from them some of our most impassioned agitators—more "ardent Socialists" than even the Countess of Warwick.

\* \* \*

**A Child Suicide**      A child suicide! Consing fact for our social system than society sometimes driveing one—that the present state of this awful and astounds even children to suicide?

Is there any more damnder it well. The little cold hands crossed on the breast, that should be busy with happy play. The young eyes forever closed that have seen so little of the world, and found that little so evil.

Such a case occured in Milwaukee a couple of weeks ago. Pretty little Erma, aged fourteen, was employed in a department store. She had always been a good little girl, modest, quiet and dutiful to her mother. One day she received a letter which her mother opened and read. It was couched in the vilest language and arranged a rendez-

vous for the child with a young man. The mother, horror-stricken, carried the letter to the police.

While she was gone, the little girl went to the neighboring school to bid her younger brother good-bye, then bought carbolic acid, and locked herself in her room. When her mother returned, her little daughter was a corpse.

A ruined child of fourteen! Can these things be? Is this a land of civilized human beings, or is it hell?

Why was this lamb turned out among the wolves, at an age when she should have been at home under a mother's protection and guidance? Why were these innocent feet, and this child's heart pure as the snowflakes, sent to the moral contamination of life in a department store?

Because capitalism needed her. Because it wanted to grind its profits out of the poor little body, which now lies in a suicide's grave. Because her labor was CHEAP.

And every day the power of capitalism is tearing the little ones out of their homes. And still, in one form or another, the slaughter of the innocents goes on.

Fathers and mothers, what do you think of this story?

Does it give you only a passing shudder? Or will you register a solemn vow that from this day on you will do *all within your power* to overthrow this modern Moloch which feeds on the bodies and souls of the little children?

If each one of our readers will take upon himself this covenant and keep it, the blasted life of poor little Erma will be avenged.

\* \* \*

**Moral Fresh Air in The School** It is a cheery sign of the times that the teachers of Wisconsin have taken up a course of studies in Socialism. And it would be a good thing if the public school teachers of all the United States would follow this bright example.

Our public school system is the finest example of a Socialist institution to which we can point today. Nevertheless, the poison germs of capitalism have entered even here. From their very school-books, from the very instructions of their teachers, our little ones are breathing in the moral bacteria of the profit system.

If the child is confined in an ill-ventilated room, he becomes physically stunted and sickly. If he is shut up in the foul odors of a false ethical system, he will become morally small and deformed.

For the future's sake, for the nation's sake, give the children air!

Half a century ago, American boys were at least fed on the ideals of democracy and freedom. On "last day," the little urchin, clad perhaps in homespun or "jeans," but with flashing eyes and shining face, declaimed Patrick Henry's burning plea for liberty or Warren's address:

"Stand! the ground's your own, my braves!"

Nowadays, most of the little proletarians would have to parody the line:

"The ground is the property of the landlord, the real estate speculator or the building loan shark, ye slaves!"

What is the ideal held up before the American boy today? Success, success, success! The lowest and most ignoble of all success—skill in stealing and hoarding money!

The pattern set to the children in our schools is the captain of industry, who at best, after fattening off the laboring class all his life, on his death-bed founds a hospital or a college—like the generous highwayman, who used to fling back a few coins to the traveler whom he had just robbed of a fat purse.

With such base standards in our public instruction, is it strange that every year presents a new set of grafters and boodlers, who have just a little too logically followed the maxim of individualism?

We are therefore right glad that the Wisconsin teachers are going to study Socialism. They will *learn to teach*. They will find better principles to present to the little ones committed to their guidance.

Not that there is any peculiar system of "Socialist ethics." That is a common notion, but a mistake.

But the Wisconsin teachers, if they really and fairly study the principles of Socialism, will find better standards than the pigish ideal of the individualist. They will never again teach their boys to admire the triumph of the one overfed big man riding on the backs of the hungry and defeated many. The child will be taught that the only worthy triumphs are those in which his brother man can share—the triumphs of the collectivity.

And so we hope that this course of studies in Socialism will be like a whiff of moral fresh air in the school-rooms of Wisconsin. If continued thoroughly, it will result in a crop of young citizens with *real* "public spirit"—the spirit of the *social conscience*.

\* \* \*

### **You Are Not In It, Mr. Workman**

The law factories of the various states opened up last month. The state legislatures are now in full blast, and with congress also grinding out bills as fast as it is able, we shall have our usual avalanche of new laws before the end of the season.

Well, what of it? What interest have they for the workingmen?

Did you ever take the trouble to follow a debate in congress or the legislature? If so, you must have noticed that the whole wordy war was merely the clash of opposing property interests. Different classes of property-holders, through their representatives, presented their wants and defended their claims.

But about the interests of the class without property, not one word was said.

All last winter a furious fight was waged in congress for and against the railway rate bill. Some proletarians were foolish enough to be well pleased at its passage. It had nothing more to do with them than the laws passed by the House and Senate of Mars—if that bright little planet is stupid enough to use our cumbrous form of law-making. The railway rate bill was merely a question between the big shippers and the little shippers.

The same may be said of the bills which are before the state leg-

islature and congress this winter. Even those measures which might affect the working people are not discussed from their standpoint, but from the interests of the propertied classes only. The regulation of corporations, which is now cutting so large a figure in the public view, is nothing but a middle class measure. Nobody proposes to regulate the corporations in the treatment of their employes. No, no! That would be "interfering with private business."

One exception to this rule passed the United States Senate last month. The excessive working hours of railway employes have been shortened. But the debates brought out very clearly that this was done, not for the benefit of the railway employes, but to secure the public from the risk of accidents caused by overworked engineers, brakemen and flagmen. As usual, the working class interests received no consideration.

Whose fault? Yours, Mr. Workingman. You have never taken the trouble to send representatives to congress and legislature. In the case of the railway hours bill, you actually allowed the railway kings to bulldoze you into signing remonstrances against it, and some silly railway employes even declared that they were grown men, could take care of themselves, and needed no special legislation!

They certainly will not get it just as long as they are in that state of mind.

The railway kings want special legislation, and they have got it ever since the grants of the first railway lands. Every big trust wants special legislation, and gets it. The middle class, who are trying to "curb" the trusts, wants special legislation and gets it. All the propertied interests get special legislation, because they have their representatives in the legislative bodies. The workingmen get no special legislation, because they don't want it, and because they have no representation in congress or legislature.

They don't even know that they are paying all the taxes which support this queer system of law factories for grinding out laws to please all the owners of property, big and little.

And until they understand that they are paying the piper for the other fellows to dance, they will continue to be a sort of neglected "wall-flowers" at the nation's great carnival of prosperity.

Wake up, Mr. Workingman! Send your own representatives to Washington and the state capitol. Look out for your own interests. Nobody else will give them one single thought.

\* \* \*

### **Our Best Thunder Untouched**

Where, but in Wisconsin, which has 6 Social-Democratic members of legislature, 18 Social-Democratic aldermen in four different cities, and 35 Social-Democratic officials all told — where, we ask, except in Wisconsin would such a governor's message be issued as that which Gov. Davidson sent to the Wisconsin legislature last month? A message recommending laws to end all public service franchises in 1930? That no new franchises be given for more than twenty years? Calling for an income tax? For legislation permitting cities and villages to establish public utilities or to acquire them by the right of eminent domain? And stipulating that the

value of franchises shall not be included in the purchase price?

Is not this about as near to semi-Socialist measures as any American capitalistic politician ever yet came? In fact, is it not the most interesting case of "stealing socialistic thunder" which American politicians have as yet presented?

And far from regretting our stolen thunder, we are chuckling with satisfaction. We have plenty of thunder left, and by far our loudest peals are yet to come.

Moreover, we are only too glad to have Gov. Davidson and the Republican party—if they will—do a little of our preliminary work for us. Municipal Socialism will necessarily be the first step of Socialists in America. If the Republicans want to do some agitation at least along the line of municipal ownership, why, let them. We have so many other things for which to agitate, that we are quite willing to divide the labor. We are not in this movement for agitation, but for Socialism. We do not agitate just for the sake of agitation.

Therefore we say to Gov. Davidson: Come again. Our *best* "thunder" you have left untouched. Municipal ownership is not municipal Socialism.

Help yourself freely. We should like it best if you and your party or any other big party, would steal ALL our thunder, provided you would really use it.

But we have a strong fear that you and your political confreres never intended to actually use our thunder, but only to make a noise with it. Yet, even in that case, it is well that you preach the preliminary measures of Socialism, even if you have no notion of practising them.

We have lots of other work to do. Your Excellency is welcome to carry on at least a part of our propaganda.

The Social-Democrats of Wisconsin may pride themselves on being the first American Socialists to force a few semi-socialistic measures upon the capitalist parties. They are bidding against us. And at any rate, this shows that the "red spectre" is giving them a good scare!

By bringing a suit for back wages in a Milwaukee court it developed that a girl named Rosa Kobs, 16 years of age, had been taken into a house of questionable reputation ostensibly as a domestic but really for the purpose of leading her into immorality so as to make her shame a source of gain. The judge of the civil court recognized it as a case for criminal proceedings and the proprietress of the "boarding house" and an old soldier friend of her dead father, whom she had trusted to get her

employment, were placed under arrest. The capitalist regime demands a "statistically ascertainable" amount of female prostitution, and this is one of the ways in which it reaches out for its unsuspecting victims.

"Had I said that it was hard for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven I would be decried as a Socialist, but it was Jesus Christ who said it."—Bishop Mercer, at Melbourne, Australia, Church of England conference.



# The Situation in France.

By Victor L. Berger.

THE Roman pontiff claims to be the vicar of Christ, and the representative of the almighty God on this earth. The Roman Catholic Church at no time since Pope Gregory VII. (1073-1085)—who was the first to formulate this dogma—has ever renounced its claim "to rule the world." The pope and his spokesmen say that they mean "spiritual rule" of course, but as they construe the word "spiritual," it includes the regulation of every function of civil life, from birth to death.

The history of the Middle ages tells us of terrible wars fought out on these lines. Untold millions of men, women and children were killed, and whole nations perished—for the greater glory of God, as they put it. The best thinkers of those ages died by the faggot or rotted away in dungeons "where no ray of the sun or of the moon ever could reach them," all for the greater glory of God and of this church.

With the invention of the printing press slowly came education and enlightenment and humanitarism, which had disappeared—or had sought refuge with the Arabs—since the church had become all-powerful. The Reformation played havoc with the power of the Roman Catholic church among Germanic nations. Changed economic conditions resulted in making the Reformation almost as much of a social revolution as it was a religious upheaval. The "church" and its adherents resisted. But the Thirty Years war (1618-1648) was the last great "religious war." It cost many millions of lives and German civilization was retarded for about 150 years. And it is significant that the Roman pope *protested* against the *treaty of peace* that put an end to it. But that was the *last* great religious war.

\* \* \*

We recall all of this here, because without a knowledge of what happened in the past, the struggle between church and state cannot be understood.

Very few American newspaper readers realize that the Roman Catholic church has never given up its claim that the church is above the state, and that the pope is above the government, whether monarchy or republic, or whatever the form may be. The church still claims jurisdiction, not only over Catholics, but over non-Catholics as well. The church simply submits to the inevitable, because it has not the power to have things its own way.

Theoretically, the church stands today where it stood 800 years ago. If it could get back its old power, we should get back the same old conditions that we had then, which were only a little degree removed from Dante's description of Hell. But all the chants, masses, and pilgrimages in the world will not be able to bring that time back again as long as men and women will be able to *read print*, provided they are permitted to read whatever they please, and to do their own thinking.

And the church knows that. Therefore the church has always tried to control the schools and the printing press—which, by the way, the monks first described as the *invention of the Devil*. The church not only demands the right to tell what is to be taught in the schools and what is not to be taught—but it wants jurisdiction over all matter that is to be printed. The church wants the right to say what people are to print, to read, and to think. The works of Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, etc., are still on the “Index” of the books forbidden by the pope.

\* \* \*

The result of the domination of the church we have seen during the middle ages all over Europe, but of late only in Spain, Belgium, Austria, and such parts of Italy as were under that influence up to 1860, and also in some of the South American republics.

France is a Catholic country. There are 35,377,000 Roman Catholics, and only 560,000 Protestants, and 49,000 Jews in France. The Roman Catholic religion was until now the state religion and the archbishops, bishops, and priests were paid by the state. France is subdivided into 17 church provinces, each under the rule of an archbishop. These provinces were again subdivided into 67 bishoprics, with about 50,000 priests. There were also, in 1900, about 1663 different monasteries and nunneries. So the pope has quite an army in France.

\* \* \*

In France, atheism was always exceedingly strong ever since Voltaire, Diderot, and the Encyclopedists. The educated and professional classes are atheists, almost without exception. The masses in the large cities have grown up in the tradition of the Great French Revolution and also have no religion. The main stronghold of the church is the French peasantry, especially in districts where they are still illiterates and can neither read nor write. And its other stronghold is the women.

The Great French Revolution (1789-1795) went as much against the Roman Catholic church (which was in alliance with the monarchy) as against the Feudal system. The church at that time lost all its property—it owned over one-third of France. Some church dignitaries even lost their heads—not speaking figuratively either.

Napoleon I. tried to pacify the church by a treaty (July 15, 1801) but in 1802 he also published the so-called “organic articles” which declared the supremacy of the state over the church. This the pope rejected. The restoration of the Bourbons, in 1815, brought the church to the top again. But times had changed. In 1830 the July Revolution made an end to the Bourbon rule and to the predominance of the church. Before Louis Phillip (1830-1848) could re-establish the old relations between the church and state, the February Revolution of 1848 swept him away.

Napoleon III. (1851-1870) tried before all things to strengthen his rule by a concordat—a treaty with the pope—which was very favorable to the church, and which was based on the treaty of 1801.

After the fall of the second empire, the republicans thought that the regulation of church matters in France was an *internal affair* and

not to be settled by a treaty with a "foreign power," which the pope considered himself, being represented by an ambassador. Republican Frenchmen resented this so much the more because the church in France was strongly anti-republican and inclined to favor monarchy. Every pretender to the throne of France, from "Henry V" to "Napoleon V," and every military conspirator, from Boulanger to Mercier, found a ready ally and friend in the clerical portion of France.

\* \* \*

The war between the Republicans and the Church began in 1884, when the government passed a law forbidding the monks and nuns to teach in the public schools of France without passing the regular examination. Since then the breach has continually widened until the separation of church and state became the watchword of French radicals and, of course, of Socialists. The great majority of the members of the last chamber of deputies were elected on that platform.

But the charge has been made that the French government is an enemy of religion and is seeking to destroy religion, and that the government has brought on the present issue to get control of a large amount of property belonging to the church. That charge is not true.

The new French law does *not* provide for the taking over of the church property by the government. It vests the control of the property in the *church membership*, as it is in Protestant denominations in this country, for instance.

This is surely not a scheme to rob the church, while it may take away such capitalist power of the bishops as the *control* of the church *property* gave him *personally*.

But the congregation must incorporate, very much the same way as in this country. The government turns over to the incorporated congregations the churches and the church property. About 2,000 priests and congregations have done so. But the majority of the priests have refused, being forbidden by the pope to comply with the law. The government, on the other hand, will keep possession of all the churches and the church property, until the congregations to take them over have been formed. This is the situation in France.

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To the fair-minded American all this ought to be plain enough. We have had separation of church and state in this country from the beginning of this commonwealth. Yet all the churches, and particularly the Roman Catholic church, fared well. The Roman Catholics have not only grown in number, but their clergy much more so in influence. The pope, just a few days ago, claimed that the United States are "the great center of Catholicism in the world" and his "only consolation." Archbishop Quigley of Chicago predicted that within 20 years this country will be entirely Roman Catholic. And other church dignitaries make similar claims.

And surely they know what they are talking about. Just lately Cardinal Gibbons proved to be strong enough to stop American interference against the Belgian atrocities at the Congo—whether that

was because King "Cleopold," the biggest scoundrel and child ravisher in Europe, happens to be a Catholic and a friend of the cardinal, or whether because Gas Trust Ryan of New York received a big land grant at the Congo—we don't know.

But the same cardinal now upbraids America for lack of sympathy with the church in France. I suppose if France were a smaller country the cardinal would demand that warships be sent to France to enforce the edicts of the pope. The time may come when our church dignitaries will make such demands.

\* \* \*

The secret of the whole matter is this: The Roman Catholic church is, of course, everywhere in the whole world the friend of the capitalists, but nowhere in the world is this alliance getting to be closer than in America. Conversions among the wealthy are nowhere as numerous as here—the Stors, who tried to get the cardinalship for Archbishop Ireland, are only one example out of many. Only in rare cases a change of religious conviction is responsible for the proselitism. Marriage with the scions of the rotten European aristocracy, love of sensation and of display and in most cases the intuition that the Roman Catholic church is the last bulwark of capitalism—are the real reasons for the rapid growth of Roman Catholic influence among the wealthy in this country.

\* \* \*

But to go back to the situation in France. The pope could, of course, have accepted the new law without any damage to the church. But he *desired* a conflict with the French government, hoping thereby to create there a Catholic party similar to the "Centrist" party in Germany.

But Pius X. is making a mistake. In Germany, Pius IX. had a monarchy to fight, which had a special interest in religion as a means of keeping the masses of the people in obedience. But France is a republic. The radicals who rule that country now, do not care to use religion as a "police measure." And the Socialists in France, as everywhere, demand a separation of church and state. So there can be no doubt that separation of church and state will win in France.

*Victor L. Berger.*

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Says the N. Y. *Mail*: "Parents and guardians should not be alarmed because it has been discovered that four professors in Columbia University are 'sympathetically interested' in Socialism and a students' Socialist league is being formed. Our opposition to Socialism, as a practical working scheme of civilization, needs no reaffirmation. But a brief period of belief in the doctrine is apt, on the whole, to do a boy more good than harm."

Is this a case of making a virtue of a necessity?

# Just a Child.

By MAY BEALS.

All night she had walked back and forth between flying spindles. The roar of the machinery was still numbing her tired brain as she sat down by the road to rest a minute for the long walk homeward. She was a very little girl—one of those who are ceremoniously bundled out of the mill while the inspector is being entertained in the office; one of those whose pitiful and well proven wrongs would take many men from legislative halls and the pews of fashionable churches to spend long terms behind prison bars if our laws were enforced against the rich as they are enforced against the poor. She could not understand, she could only feel, the injustice that was crushing the life from her frail little body. Her blindness and ignorance caused the worst of her suffering.

For she was not yet past suffering the sharp mental anguish that is so much worse than any physical pain. You can work a child until it grows incapable of thought—in-capable of any feeling save physical sensations. She had not worked long enough for that.

The sun had risen more than an hour before she had been freed from the machines. She basked in its rays for a moment, stretched out on the hard ground, then taking up her tiny dinner pail she started down the long, red road between the rows of box-like shanties where many of the mill operatives lived. Her home was in the country, three miles out across low, red hills. She had not been used to walking alone. Her older sister had walked with her and worked beside her in the mill, but one day her sister had been

too sick to work, and a few days afterward they had put her down in the ground and had told the child she was in heaven. The child could not understand, but then all grown-up people are hard to understand. They told her in Sunday school—these strange, grown-up people—that God loves little children and that he had put it into the good capitalist to build the cotton mill so that they have work. The child accepted it all with a child's faith, doubting nothing, but it was like some strange puzzle to her mind. If God loves little girls why does he want them to work in the mill? He knows everything, so, of course, he knows how it hurts.

The child was not rebellious, she was only puzzled—and tired, so tired. She heard the far off whistle of the morning train as she neared the crossing and thought of how careful her sister had always been to keep her off the track when the train rushed past them. There was a sharp curve in the track just above the crossing, so near that the man could not stop the train, so her sister had said, even if he saw them on the track. The child remembered it now and the memory tore her heart, for she had loved her sister better than anything in the world.

She stood on the track and looked at the interminable red hills stretched out between her and her home. She was tired, so tired. Do you know what it is to be so tired that each step you take is torture and each breath a long-drawn-out agony? The child stood still for a moment with bent head, then she

turned and walked deliberately up the track a little nearer the curve. She knelt on the track and turned her little old face with its hopeless eyes toward the clear morning sky.

"Dear Lord," she said. "I'm plum beat out. I don't want to work in the mill no more and I do want Janey so bad. I've prayed and prayed for other things and none of 'em ever comed, but I won't pester you no more for nothin' if you'll let me be with Janey. For Jesus sake, Amen."

She lay down on the track with her small hands folded beneath her and her eyes shut tight that she might not see it coming. She felt the rough timbers shuddering beneath her and the distant roar of the train grew louder, more deafening, more like the machinery that roared around her all night.

And then the engineer, who was wildly cursing his own powerlessness, felt the sickening crunch as her little life was ground out beneath the wheels, so much more mercifully than it would otherwise be ground out in the wheels of the mill. As soon as the train could

be stopped the trainmen ran back to the rear where the scattered fragments lay. The engineer laid his hand on the largest piece of the child and felt that it was warm and quivering. He turned on the others furiously, his hard features drenched with tears.

"There's her dinner pail," he said. "She's laid down here and went to sleep after working all night in that hell of a mill."

And then he cursed the mill and its owner and the civilization that produced them both with such rare and savage profanity that the ladies in the rear car, who had looked out at the window to ascertain the cause of the delay, turned away disdainfully and summoned the porter to close the windows. When a little later they learned the cause of his outburst they felt sorry, of course, for the child, but then—such perfectly shocking language could not help it.

They wondered as the train again moved forward why an inscrutable providence ever permits such people to come within earshot of the respectable and refined.

Monarchical capitalism is cutting off the hands of the blacks in the Congo and the world is shuddering at the awfulness of it. But what is capitalism doing in *this* country? Last week three women were burned to death in molten ore at Pittsburg, others were being minced up on the railroads, hands, arms, feet and legs were being chopped off in the great industrial plants all over the country and so on, and scarcely a shudder from the public. It was taken as a matter of course by newspaper readers, who are so used to such things that they

habitually shrug their shoulders when they chance upon some little two line notice of industrial casualties or fatalities and turn to more pleasant reading.

H. H. Rogers says Rockefeller's annual income was sixty millions of dollars for 1906. This is \$114 a minute, or \$6,840.98 an hour, rain or shine, sleeping or waking. This is a wonderful country and we are living under a marvelous system that can give a man such good returns for his saintliness and business acumen.

# The Way Out.

By JEAN JAURES.

The main idea of Socialism is simple and noble. Scientists believe that the present form of property-holding divides society into two great classes. One of these classes, the wage-earning, the proletariat, is obliged to pay the other, the capitalist, a sort of tax, in order to be able to live at all, and exercise its faculties to any degree. Here is a multitude of human beings, citizens; they possess nothing, they can live only by their work. But in order to work they need an expensive equipment which they have not got, and raw material and capital which they have not got. Another class owns the means of production, the land, the factories, the machines, the raw materials, and accumulated capital in the form of money. The first class is, then, forced to put itself into the hands of the second, and naturally this capitalist and possessing class, taking advantage of its power, makes the working and non-owning class pay large forfeit. It does not rest content after it has been reimbursed for the advances it has made and has repaired the wear and tear on the machinery. It levies in addition every year and indefinitely a considerable tax on the product of the workman and the farmer in the form of rent for farms, ground rent, rent of land in the cities, taxes for the payment of the public debt, industrial profit, commercial profit, and interest on stocks and bonds.

Just as the old feudal road was blocked and cut up at every step by toll-rights and dues, so, for the proletariat, the road of life is cut up by the feudal rights imposed upon him by capital. He can neither

work nor eat, clothe nor shelter himself, without paying a sort of ransom to the owning and capitalist class.

To have responsibility without authority, to be punished without having been even consulted, such is the paradoxical fate of the proletariat under capitalist disorder. And if capital were organized, if by means of vast trusts it were able to regulate production, it would only regulate it for its own profit. It would abuse the power gained by union to impose usurious prices on the community of buyers, and the working class would escape from economic disorder only to fall under the yoke of monopoly.

All this misery, all this injustice and disorder result from the fact that one class monopolizes the means of production and of life, and imposes its law on another class and on society as a whole. The thing to do, therefore, is to break down this supremacy of one class. The oppressed class must be enfranchised, and with it the whole of society. All difference of class must be abolished by transferring to the whole body of citizens, the organized community, the ownership of the means of production and of life which today, in the hands of a single class, is a power of exploitation and oppression. The universal co-operation of all citizens must be substituted for the disorderly and abusive rule of the minority. This is the only method by which the individual can be enfranchised.

In the present state of humanity, where our only organization is on the basis of nationality, social property will take the form of national

property. But the action of the proletariat will assume more and more an international character. The various nations that are evolving toward Socialism will regulate their dealings with each other more and more according to the principle of justice and peace. But for a long time to come the nation as such will furnish the historical setting of Socialism; it will be the mold in which the new justice will be cast.

Let no one be astonished that we bring forward the idea of a national community now, whereas at first we set ourselves to establish the liberty of the individual. The nation, and the nation alone, can enfranchise all citizens. Only the nation can furnish the means of free development to all. Private associations, temporary and limited in character, can protect limited groups of individuals only for a time. But there is only one univer-

sal association that can guarantee the rights of all individuals without exception, not only the rights of living, but of those who are yet unborn, and who will take their places in the generations to come.

If, then, we invoke the nation, we do so in order to insure the rights of the individual in the fullest and most universal sense. Not a single human being for a single moment of time should be excluded from the sphere of rights. Not one should be in danger of becoming the party or instrument of another individual. Not one should be deprived of the sure means of laboring freely without servile dependence on any other individual.

Social ownership of property is merely opportunity of action brought within the reach of all.

Socialism will exalt and ennoble humanity. It will level up all men and give new meaning and dignity to life.

Down in Mexico there has just been a tragic ending to a big strike involving nearly seven thousand men. The strike resulted in rioting. The government troops interfered. They took the secretary and vice-president of the union and five other leaders in the organization prisoners, quelled the strike and then, as the factory whistles were blowing, and the men were going in to work, marched the prisoners to a space in front of the factory. Then the members of the working class comprising the military squad in charge of the prisoners stepped back the desired number of paces and shot them down in cold blood. The throngs of dazed workmen who unwillingly witnessed the horrible sight waited for a moment until the

smoke cleared away and then entered the mill. They had been given a lesson in class mastery as a warning to them not to revolt again for better conditions. Workingmen should know their place! Otherwise they run the risk of being murdered. This horrible affair in Mexico shows what capitalism will do where it has the power and is not opposed sharply by a humane and awakened public sentiment. The same murderous methods would be used in this country if the masters dared (Colorado bull pens and Idaho "justice" indicate this), and the soldiers here, we are afraid, would commit the same murder on command, just as readily as in the republic to the south of us!



# Senator Rummel's Report on Life Insurance.

Wisconsin has had its life insurance investigation and the reports are now in. The commission was appointed by the legislature, one member being our Social-Democratic Senator, Jacob Rummel of Milwaukee. While the general committee of the senate made a report recommending state supervision, Senator Rummel, in a minority report, urges state ownership, and his report is attracting really more attention than that of the majority of the committee. Owing to the length of the minority report, we can only print the first part in this issue.

The minority report of the senate committee on state insurance by Senator Rummel is a lengthy Socialistic document and comes out in favor of conducting insurance by the state. It makes many charges not contained in the joint committee report. The following digest was furnished the press by Senator Rummel:

"Other countries have been much quicker to realize the advantage of government insurance and the possibilities of protection and benefit to the common people, especially the working classes, in the matter of government insurance than have the American states. At the present time the entire field of insurance against sickness, accident, and old age and invalidity has already long ago been entered and occupied by the various cities, states, and nations of foreign countries.

"In America, however, this field has so far been left entirely open

for exploitation by private companies."

## I.

### INEFFICIENCY OF PRIVATE LIFE INSURANCE.

The report then goes on to recite the results of the investigation of life insurance which was made in the east last year. It mentions the following points:

"1. Salaries of the officials have been all out of proportion to the services rendered—so much so as to amount to a gigantic fraud and theft, the officials receiving as high as \$150,000 per year, or three times as much as the president of the United States. This item alone amounts to multiplied millions.

"2. That the affairs of the companies were manipulated so as to put the relatives and personal friends of the high officials into positions where they also would draw vast sums of money. At this point the report mentions a long list of noted officials of the private insurance companies and their relatives who have been drawing enormous salaries amounting in all to multiplied millions.

"3. That the funds of the company were used to influence the law-making bodies of the state to secure legislation favorable to the companies, as well as for the political purposes. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were used in this manner. 'The House of Mirth' in Albany and the 'Yellow Dog' fund have become proverbial.

"4. That funds belonging to these companies have been diverted by the officials to improper, illegal,

and reprehensive purposes for the personal advantage of the officials and at the expense of the members and the company in general.

"In other words, the investigation of our great private life insurance companies, operating in America, has shown that they have practiced upon the American people dishonest appropriations of funds, menacing manipulations of the political affairs of the country and gigantic fraud. It has therefore demonstrated that the private ownership and operation of the life insurance business, when viewed from the standpoint of the interests of the people, is a failure. And its continuance will assure and assume the proportions of a national peril.

## II.

### LIFE INSURANCE IN WISCONSIN.

"Turning now to Wisconsin, we find quite a similar condition here. While the results of our investigations are not so startling in their exposures, yet we see the beginning of the same practices.

"The report of your committee that has investigated the conditions of the Wisconsin life insurance companies shows the following abuses:

"1. Salaries are out of all proportion to the services rendered. For example, H. L. Palmer, the president of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance company, draws a salary of \$25,000 a year. W. Merrill, as second vice president, received \$17,000 a year. J. W. Skinner, as secretary, received \$15,000 per annum. The late Charles E. Dyer, as general counsel, received \$18,000 per annum. J. W. Fisher, as assistant medical director, received \$12,000 per annum. W. P. McLaren, as third vice president, received \$18,000 per annum. G. G. Markham, as first vice presi-

dent, received \$18,000 per annum. While the great ability of these men may be urged, we hold that the service which they render is not proportionate to the salaries which they receive. While this is insignificant in proportion to the New York case, it nevertheless discloses the presence of the evil.

"2. The relatives of personal officers in the employ of the Northwestern Mutual company also receive salaries which are out of proportion to the services they render. For example, C. H. Palmer, son of President Palmer, receives \$3,000 per annum as a clerk. Thomas Balding, clerk of executive and finance committee, husband of a niece of President Palmer, receives a salary of \$6,500. W. A. Adams, auditor of the company, and son-in-law of President Palmer, receives \$6,500 per annum. J. H. Dyer, son of the late general counsel of the company, receives \$9,000 per annum as assistant counsel. And so on through a long list of relatives and special favorites.

"Here again is evidence of the same kind of abuse, although admittedly of not so great a degree as has been so notorious in the case of the New York companies.

"3. The testimony given before your committee above referred to shows the same tendency on the part of the Wisconsin life insurance companies to defraud the policy holders out of their rights, by means of the fraudulent lapsing of policies.

"4. Your committee reports that premiums on most classes of policy are unnecessarily high.

"The report recites that the present average charge for life insurance, on the private management, is about \$35 per \$1,000 a year and holds that under state insurance,

with the charges brought down to the actual cost of efficient management, with full provision against possible and unforeseen contingencies, such as epidemics, etc., the cost of insurance should not exceed an average of \$20 per \$1,000, and could possibly be reduced considerably from that figure.

"5. Unjust discriminations have been used by the company in such ways as to advance its interests and to the detriment of certain of its policy holders. The report, quoting from the general committee's report, recites the case of a certain judge in California whose policy was paid promptly and in full. He had just previous to this rendered two decisions decidedly in favor of the company. And in contrast to this was the case of a man, without influence or standing, whose insurance the company refused to pay.

"6. It also appears from a report of your committee that for a great many years the officers of this company were profiting by loans on securities of the company's policies, opposed the correction of this abuse and succeeded in deferring it for several years.

"7. It is also apparent that the same methods of evasion and deception have been used by the officers of these companies in giving testimony before this committee as are generally used by private corporations under such circumstances where the state is trying to get at the truth in regard to their business.

"At this point we again wish to emphasize the fact that while these abuses, on the part of the Wisconsin life insurance companies, as far as found out by the committee, are not so glaring as those of the New York companies, they are, nevertheless, of the same nature, arise from the same causes, and are inevitably

inherent in the private operation of life insurance.

"The minority of your committee is therefore of the opinion that the experience of the American people with private life insurance companies, both nationally and in the state of Wisconsin, has proven the private operation of life insurance to be excessively expensive, inefficient, inadequate, fraudulent, and oppressive and having a tendency to corrupt legislation.

### III.

#### *Government Insurance in Foreign Countries.*

"In contrast with the above experience which the people of this country have had with the private management of the insurance business we present below a few facts in regard to the public or government management of insurance business in foreign countries.

#### *New Zealand.*

"New Zealand has successfully conducted national life insurance since 1860. The business is directed by a government insurance commissioner, who determines the various details of the business.

"The total salaries of the head office were less in amount than that paid to a single officer in some of the old line companies. This fact is admitted by the majority of your committee, thus showing the tendency to correct one of the most glaring abuses of private management.

"The government issues policies at a low rate and all the savings are returned to the policy holders in dividends, thus correcting another of the most offensive features of private management.

"New Zealand also insures its working classes against invalidity and old age, as many other foreign countries do.

"Any person who has been a resident of the country for twenty-five years, whose income is less than \$260 per year, or whose property amounts to less than \$3,000, is entitled to a pension. Provided, however, he has led a sober and reputable life for the last five years, has not been convicted of idleness or drunkenness, has not suffered dishonorable imprisonment, nor been guilty of desertion of wife or children.

"This form of insurance is carried on by the New Zealand government in connection with their postal system, and has been handled with eminent success.

## 2. Germany.

"During the last twenty years, during which period the various forms of insurance have been established, the German government has expended for workingmen's insurance alone \$965,466,040.

"According to the reports of 1901:

"10,319,564 persons were insured against sickness.

"17,366,000 persons were insured against accident.

"13,196,000 persons were insured against invalidity and old age."

"The benefits of the insurance against sickness include the usual medical service for sickness and one-half wage for a certain period of disablement.

"The receipts from this branch of the German insurance of 1901 amounted to \$50,087,555. The expense of administration was only 10 per cent of the receipts. The law requiring insurance against accident applies to wage workers with an annual income of less than \$750 and includes the same classes as in the preceding case. Seventeen million three hundred and sixty-six

thousand, or over one-fourth of the entire population, were carrying such insurance in 1900.

"The working men's indemnity for temporary injury consists of a payment of the cost of cure, with an allowance during incapacity for a period of six weeks. An indemnity for permanent disability consists of a payment of two-thirds of the workingmen's wages.

"Insurance against invalidity and old age is obligatory on all wage earners with an annual income of less than \$500. In 1902 the receipts from this branch of insurance amounted to \$52,669,278, the amount of pensions paid \$25,971,054, and the expense of administration about \$3,000,000.

"It appears, therefore, that under the system of government insurance in Germany, the cost of administration is about 10 per cent. Over 41,000,000 are thus insured by the government in one way or another, or about 70 per cent of the entire population.

"On the whole, the government operation of the life insurance in Germany has been so satisfactory that the present emperor and the government are at the present time preparing to considerably enlarge this sphere of the governmental activity.

"So successful and economical has been the administration of this state insurance by the German government, in contrast to the enormous waste and extravagance of the private management here in America, that even the majority of your committee are led to exclaim in their report, 'the prodigious waste existing under some forms of industrial insurance sold in this country, becomes significant when compared with these statistics furnished by the German government.'

### 3. *England.*

The British government through its postal savings banks insures any one over five years of age for amounts ranging from 1 pound (\$4.87) to 100 pounds (\$487.00). It also sells ordinary life insurance ranging from 5 pounds (\$24.35) to 100 pounds (\$487.00) on the life of persons between 14 and 65 years of age. Children between 8 and 14 may be insured for 5 pounds (\$24.35).

The total number of annuities issued in 1894 was 1565, amounting to \$201,250. In 1904 the total number issued was 1768, amounting to \$198,850. The issuance of the annuities seems to have been stationary. A less number of annuities were issued by the post office department. In 1904 there was a total of 1128 amounting to \$71,648.

The English government seems to have given little attention to government life insurance, and yet even with this meagre experience it appears that the insurance is cheaper and more liberal than that issued by private companies.

The present Campbell-Bannerman Liberal government, however, is pledged to the enactment of an old-age pension for workingmen, and to state insurance against accident, invalidity and death.

### 4. *Austria.*

"Austria has followed resolutely in the footsteps of Germany in the introduction of compulsory insurance of workingmen. She has now in practical operation general systems for the insurance of workingmen against accidents and sickness, and measures looking to the organization of the third branch, that against old age and invalidity, are now pending before the imperial parliament.

"About 175,000 people in Austria were insured against accident in 1893. The insurance provided that in case of death there shall be paid (1) the sum of \$12.06 for funeral expenses, and an annuity to the widow, if there is one, equal to 20 per cent of the annual wages of her husband; (2) an annuity to each legitimate child until 15 years of age, equal to 15 per cent, or in case the child has no mother, equal to 20 per cent of the father's wages; and (3) an annuity to the father or mother if they were depending upon their son for support equal to 20 per cent of his wages.

### 5. *France.*

"France has had one form or another of old age insurance since June, 1850. Scientific workingmen's insurance has been in operation about ten years.

"The total number of pensions on the roll at the end of 1893 was 189,498. The total expenditure for that year was \$6,451,295.

"The present premier of France, Clemenceau, is at the present time proposing to the French government an elaborate extension of the principles of state insurance, and there is no doubt that France will soon have the most thorough-going system of government insurance in existence. Clemenceau's plan, when carried out, will go far beyond the system now in operation in Germany.

### 6. *Other Countries.*

"Several other countries also have systems of state insurance more or less extensive. Among them are Hungary, Belgium, Italy, Norway, Finland, and Roumania.

### 7. *Florida.*

"The only state in America to attempt anything in the line of life insurance so far as your committee has been able to learn, is Florida.

"In 1905 a bill, providing for state insurance, was introduced in the Florida legislature. After consideration it passed the house with only seven dissenting votes. It never reached a final vote, and the governor of the state has publicly charged that the measure was purposely stifled by insurance influence working in the state senate.

#### IV.

##### *Summary and Conclusion.*

"From the general survey of the experience of various states that have carried on government insurance, as outlined above, it is clearly evident that the management of insurance business in the hands of the government, is in every way superior to private insurance.

"We concur with the majority report in stating, as they do, the following conclusions:

"We find that government management insures—

"1. Reasonable salaries to officers.

"2. Economical administration.

"3. Liberal forms of policies.

"4. Absolute security."

"So much has been clearly proven. And it shows a striking contrast to what has been found to be true with reference to the affairs of the private companies.

"The government operation of insurance seems in every respect superior to private, but the following points may be emphasized:

"1. Every individual insured is absolutely secure, the payment of his insurance being guaranteed by the state.

"2. Reserve funds are conservatively invested by the state.

"3. All investments by state government insurance are made by the state locally, thus assisting the state as well as the policy holders.

"4. The cost of insurance is everywhere much lower under government management than is charged by private companies.

"5. The expense of operation, especially in relation to salaries and management, are a great deal lower, under government insurance than in the case of private companies.

"6. The insured under government management secures practically all of the benefits of the insurances.

"7. No lapses of these policies occur. Provision is made under government insurance against the possibility of lapse.

"8. No large initial cost is incurred by government management since much of the machinery for the inauguration of life insurance is already in existence. In New Zealand, England, and France, for example, the government makes use of the postoffice department for the carrying on of its government insurance.

"It is thus clearly shown:

"1. That the private management and operation of insurance has been disastrously inefficient, oppressive and unjust.

"2. That state or government insurance has been efficient, safe, and whenever tried, eminently successful.

#### V.

##### *Recommendations are Made.*

"In view of these facts the minority of your committee therefore recommends:

"First, That the state legislature of Wisconsin at once appoint a commission consisting of three assemblymen and two senators, who shall employ one or more insurance experts, as they may see fit, and secure such other scientific advice as may be required, and recommend

at the next session of the legislature, a system of state insurance to cover sickness, accident, invalidity, old age, and death, this committee also to submit a bill outlining the details of system of insurance such as they shall deem most practical. This system should embody:

"1. Provisions for life insurance upon the usual basis of scientific knowledge of risks and liabilities, such as are well known.

"2. Old age and invalidity insurance for all who have been resident of the state of Wisconsin for a period of ten years, who have led a sober and industrious life for the

last ten years preceding their application for pension, and who have not been guilty of any civil or criminal misdemeanor.

"3. Accident or sickness insurance with proper provision and restrictions.

"The minority of your committee also recommends:

"Second. A committee be appointed at once to draft resolutions to the national congress of the United States requesting that body to take the necessary steps for the organization of national insurance, which shall also cover the various forms outlined above."

# Why the Pews are Empty.

By R. A. DAGUE.

The separation of church and state in France, the revolt against churchocracy in Russia; the unrest of the people throughout all Europe; the frequent heresy trials and growing non-attendance at church of the people of America; the general discontent everywhere, over religious and economic systems, would seem to indicate that the old order of things, theological and economic, is passing away.

Surely great changes in our theology and economic system will come in the not distant future. The time is nearly ripe for a change. A new cycle began about sixty years ago. Since the days of ancient Egypt the farmer gathered his grain by hand-tools, and threshed by a flail. There had been but little advancement for thousands of years

in methods of wealth production. Then, quite simultaneously, inventors sprang up in all civilized countries, and marvelous machinery began to do the work of the world. Who can believe that the age of invention came by accident? By the aid of machinery one worker now produces more wealth than forty could create sixty years ago. A child attending a spinning and weaving machine, can produce more cloth than could be made in the same time by fifty grandmothers. The problem of production has been solved, but the problem of the equitable distribution of wealth remains to be solved. That is being threshed out in all the more civilized countries of the world. The cry is going up in Europe and America: "Every man and woman

must have the full product of their labor." The contention of Socialists, "that all the means of production and distribution must be owned by all the people collectively," denounced as anarchy a few years ago, is meeting the approval of earnest, clear-thinking men in all the stations of life, from the proletariat to the most learned and profound student of political economy. Unquestionably this is a transitional age. A new order of things is struggling to be born. That it will not be ushered in without travail is certain. Those who have not caught the glimmerings of the rising sun of the new era, and who still believe in large armies and navies, and in the necessity for prisons and the rigorous application of brute force and severe punishments, will go on advocating war and the old methods, and will look upon the new as rank heresy, and as visionary and impracticable propositions; but as the intolerant bigots of the past were left behind, so will these men see nations march by them, while they frantically prophesy sure destruction of their fellow men who have dared to abandon the ignorant and cruel religious and economic systems of the dark ages, and taken up their march toward a higher and better civilization. Even now, while all Europe resounds to the tread of immense armies, the rulers are clamoring for an increase of their fighting forces. In the United States we are expending vast sums of money in building great war ships in a time of peace, and it is but a few days ago, that Rear Admiral Evans said: "We want more war ships, more soldiers, and more guns. I prophesy that in ten years we will have the greatest navy in the world." Evidence is not wanting that our chief executive and our

congress is in sympathy with the sentiment as expressed by Admiral Evans. To those who believe in the law of kindness and love, it would seem that it were better to expend money to put a stop to child slavery in the factories and mills, and in other similar acts of kindness, than to build war ships, and swords, and other implements of death and destruction. In all of the first decades of the transitional periods of the world's history, while a few illuminated minds were leading the more progressive of their fellow men from the old to the newer order, they were surrounded by those who regarded them as visionary fanatics, and dangerous agitators and heretics. So it is today. The Socialists are advocating the inauguration of a pure democratic government under which no forms of tyranny and wrong could legally exist, and in which every man, woman and child would have the full benefit of their labor, and all be given a "square deal;" and yet they find almost solidly arrayed against this proposition the kings, the emperors, and generals, and monopolists, and plutocrats, and exploiters of every name, and in a large measure the clergy of the so-called Christian churches. To one religiously inclined, as is the writer, this attitude of the church is anomalous; for, while Socialism is purely an economic movement, and has nothing to say about religion, yet a careful examination of its cardinal principles reveals the fact that it is proposing to put into active operation all the essential principles which the Christian church professes to stand for, but most lamentably fails to practice.

Who does not know that the Christian church, once leading its contemporaries, is now far in the



rear of the marching processions? Its pews are largely empty, the students in its theological schools are few in number, and are each year diminishing; the poor no longer feel welcome at its meetings, and they stay away; the clergy, with rare exceptions, frown upon all progressive ideas. Those who are in sympathy with progress, and who would preach against mercenary and cruel wrongs inflicted upon the poor, dare not, for they know if they should, they will be persecuted as heretics, or their means of support taken from them. Apathy, love of display, insincerity, permeate the membership. At a late ministers' meeting held in this city, the Rev. John B. Reid said "that of the 100,000 people in Tacoma, only 25,000 go to any church." A similar condition exists in all the cities of the Union. The ministers fail to see the real cause of non-attendance, and of the lack of sincerity and spirituality in the churches. The fact is, the working people and the poor are fast losing faith in the church, for they find it upholds and tenaciously defends the competitive system of business with all its greed and injustice, under which system the workers are exploited out of five-sixths of the products of their toil, and under which the few scheming idlers are growing immensely rich while those who create all wealth are steadily growing poorer and poorer. They are coming to know that, while the total wealth of the United States is one hundred billions, the workers own but ten per cent of that colossal sum, and that half of the American people are propertyless. As the laity come to the knowledge of these alarming facts, they do not understand why the clergy persists in slandering

and defaming Socialists who are doing all in their power to displace this kingdom of Mammon and of unrighteousness, and establish in its stead the co-operative commonwealth, under which the observance of the golden rule would be possible—under which child-slavery would be abolished, and "an injury to one would be the concern of all." It is not at all surprising that the church pews are empty. Unless the clergy comes to a correct understanding of the trouble, and "right about faces," still more empty pews will confront them.

It would seem that Infinite Intelligence, or Nature, or God, or whatever moving power is behind or in matter, has so planned the earth that it shall go forward and upward and when the planet reaches a certain age of refinement or unfoldment, the old order of things fade away and disappear, and a new order is ushered in. The old always dies hard but die it must, for when inventors give to the world marvelous machines, and scientists discover and apply heretofore unknown forces in nature, and when profound thinkers come forward with new and better systems of religion, or put new interpretation on the old dogmas, and when statesmen and political economists, of honest hearts and clear brains, show the injustice and cruelty of old systems of economics, and point out better systems, then no pope nor body of ecclesiastics, nor doctors, nor politicians, nor captains of industry, nor congresses, nor kings, can long delay the movement of man to a higher plane. It behooves us in our day and generation to get in harmony with God and take up our march toward a juster and more humane civilization.

# Straus and Labor.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

No sooner had Isador Straus gotten warm in his seat in Roosevelt's cabinet, as commissioner of commerce and labor, than he rendered one of the most infamous and capitalistic decisions that has been handed down by the reigning plutocracy for years—the decision that the alien contract labor law does not prevent state governments from sending agents abroad and bringing human work machines over to this country under contract or promise of employment. The appointment of Straus, a Democrat, to the cabinet by a Republican president made quite a sensation and we were told that it indicated the passion of Roosevelt to serve the people, no matter what party barriers were in the way. But party barriers as between the capitalist class mean nothing so far as the people at large are concerned; the "big men" of the two capitalist parties are equally capable of weird work for the capitalist class and against the people. This Straus instance shows this clear enough for the most thoughtless work drudge to see through.

Some idea of to what fell uses this new decision will be put may be had from the article published elsewhere in regard to the peonage system in certain Southern states.

In those states capitalism runs rampant. The whole state government is a dread conspiracy against the common class that must eat bread in the sweat of its face.

The state is simply the big corporations and the little proprietors who ape the methods and exploitations of the corporations banded together to get cheap and even free labor out of the people.

It is not hard to see that these corporations, masked under official state organization, will at once flood Europe with their agents in search of cheap labor. The late decision will bring about a slaving trade that will only be less embarrassing than black slavery later on in that imported white slaves will not produce a color question or one of real or fancied injurious miscegenation.

Let there be no question as to the fact of the Southern peonage. Only recently the *Atlanta Constitution* printed a special dispatch from Columbus, Ga., to the effect that "A. Q. Campbell, superintendent; A. L. Bradshaw, general foreman, and William Matthews, commissary of the Atlanta & Birmingham Construction Company, who are building the Atlanta, Birmingham & Atlanta railroad, were arraigned before United States Commissioner Nathan A. Brown here today on a charge of peonage. The complainants in the case are a party of laborers who were brought from New York about six weeks ago. The men claim they were told that they would be put on the chain gang if they did not work long enough to pay their transportation expenses. One witness said he saw a man whipped in camp because he would not work."

A Washington dispatch in the New York *World* recently stated that "Fresh allegations of the existence of slavery in southern Florida, below Tampa, have been made to the department of justice, and it is alleged that hundreds of men in the state, both whites and negroes, are held in virtual slavery." We need not give space for further citations.

And there are other outrages on labor to which the decision of the "reformer and philanthropist" Straus will contribute. And Straus is a big toad in the Civic Federation puddle, and the Civic Federation pretends to be organized to bring more mutual feeling on the part of labor and capital. And it is a Northern affair and it is said that a great deal of Northern capital is invested in the Southern phosphate mines, turpentine farms and lumber camps.

## Is an Alliance Possible?

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

### I

**A**T the recent convention in Minneapolis, a national farmers' organization, called the *Sons of Equity*, sought an alliance with the American Federation of Labor. The farmers promised to patronize union-made goods. On the other hand, they demanded that the trades unionists should help them to get better prices for farm products.

The Sons of Equity did not try at all to hide the fact that they were simply after more money for grain, meat, butter, eggs, etc. This in the last analysis the city workmen would have to pay, although the farmers did not say so. But they told the delegates at the convention that by making money on the farm, boys and girls would stay on the farm and not flock to the cities. Thus they would diminish competition for labor in the factories.

So far, so good.

\* \* \*

The difficulty in this case is, however, that the farmers will not be able to keep their boys and girls on the farm as long as the farmer's life is what it is—dreary and lonesome and lacking the advantages of modern civilization. The farmer boys and farmer girls hunger for modern life—for theaters, concerts and other entertainments. The farmer boys and girls read of these things in the papers and they want to see and enjoy them. They are not satisfied with an occasional circus or a revival meeting—as were the old folks who did not read papers and magazines.

This is one reason why the young folks do not wish to stay on the farm.

\* \* \*

But there is another reason. Hope eternal springs in every human breast, and false hopes are kindled in every school building and every

class room of this country. The pupils hear and read of some farmer's boy who went into the city and became a millionaire or a railroad president, although starting as a molder's helper or street car driver. So the boy goes into the city and becomes a molder's helper or looks for a job on a street car. And in 9,999 cases out of ten thousand he will stay on that job all the rest of his life, and make competition for the city proletarian.

The Sons of Equity can do nothing to help this, no matter what they promise.

\* \* \*

And now let us take up the second proposition—in regard to getting higher prices for their products.

The farmers, just at the present time, get better prices for their products than ever before in the history of America since the Civil war. Eggs are 35 cents a dozen, wheat is over a dollar, meat is more expensive than it ever has been since the war. And mind you, all this is not on a *cheap* money basis, but on a *gold* basis.

Many farmers all over the country have paid off their mortgages. Many have money in the banks. Many have pianos, fine carpets and other luxuries which they never had before. This is an epoch of unparalleled prosperity for the capitalist and a period of *money-making* for the *farmer*.

\* \* \*

But what do the wage-workers have? They are, as a rule, just as poor now as they were eight or nine years ago, although they are constantly employed. And the standard of living of the man and woman working in the shop, and the man and woman working for a "salary" has absolutely gone down, although many of them do not realize it. The necessities of life have gone up 55 per cent since 1897, while wages have only gone up from 10 to 15 per cent.

The workmen eat less and poorer meat, and they get more oleo-margarine and less butter. They wear more shoddy and less woollen goods than they used to wear. If the prices of wool and of meat and of butter should go up still further, then their standard of living would go down still further.

As for the promise of the farmers to patronize only union made goods, that, of course, in the first place, would help the *manufacturers* of those goods. And, in the second place, the wives of the farmers do most of the buying, and it is one hundred to one that they will buy where they can buy the cheapest, union or non-union. The farmers' wives are known to be very thrifty. And, in the third place, a large part of the buying is done through catalogue houses, and the rest through country stores. There is no union sentiment in those places.

The promise of the Sons of Equity to buy union goods and thereby raise the wages of the proletarians *amounts to virtually nothing* in practice.

\* \* \*

The truth of the matter is that these two classes—the agriculturists and the city proletarians—are much *too large in numbers* to get together for the purpose of plundering the capitalist class in its *capacity as a consumer*.

By putting up the prices of the necessities of life they would inevitably plunder *each other*, never the capitalist class, which, owing to its small numbers, consumes only a very small percentage of the total product of either farm or factory.

Therefore the idea that the trades unions and the farmers should get together on the basis of the *present system* and on the basis of keeping up the present *competitive methods*, each simply grabbing all they can, must surely be a *failure*. And for a while at least, the workman in the city (and the man working for a salary) would get the worst of it. But in the end *both* sides would get left.

\* \* \*

All this does not say that the farmers have no good reason for complaint. While they are enjoying a period of prosperity just now, they are exploited by the railroads, the elevator trust (which in a good many instances means the same thing as the railroads), by the bankers and by the commission houses. So the fact is that the farmers are really exploited by the *middle man*. Therefore the *elimination* of the *middle man* is the actual basis on which they can unite with the proletariat.

\* \* \*

In order to be successful, such an alliance must closely *follow the economic development* of the country. It can only be done by each class *honestly* taking care of its own class interests. And it can only be done on a political basis.

Now, to begin with, I am frank to say that the Socialists of this country will have to give up some of their illusions and some of their cast-iron phrases.

Karl Marx' theory about the concentration of industry and the big fellows eating up the small ones and the trusts being the final outcome of capitalist individual ownership has not proven true in the *field of agriculture*. At least not up till today, nor for any time that can be foreseen today. We do not know whether it will be true in a hundred years or not, nor are we figuring on that.

The average size of the farm in America has not changed materially within the last thirty years. And, if anything, it has become no larger, but a little smaller.

\* \* \*

But fortunately Social-Democrats have other *facts* in their favor. Socialist measures will benefit the farmers as they benefit the city workers. We can show the farmers where and how far the national ownership of the means of transportation and communication, of the railroads, telegraphs, boat lines, elevators, etc., would benefit them immediately. We can also show that collective ownership of all the trusts, big iron industries, and mines would help to raise the farmers to a standard of culture, comfort and civilization of which they dare not even dream today.

And on that basis, on the basis of the national ownership of transportation facilities and national ownership of the trusts, there is a close *alliance possible today* between the farmers and the city proletariat, with tremendous benefits for both sides.

And for generations to come, there is no other basis possible. Especially since we do not know whether the economic development in the farming industry will finally wind up in the "bonanza farm" or in "intensive small farming" or in both.

## II

A way must be found to get the producers of the country together, to get the farmers and the city proletariat into close touch. But it cannot be done on the trades union basis.

\* \* \*

To begin with, we have in this country no class of farm laborers who have been wage laborers for generations, nor even of those who have to remain wage laborers for life. It is easy for a farm laborer who is willing to work hard to become a farm renter, and later on a farm owner. If he has saved one or two hundred dollars, he can start out to rent a farm. Even the negroes down South who are not very provident, usually succeed in this. In fact, almost every real farmer can soon start out to buy a farm, for there is still plenty of land in Wisconsin and other Northwestern states and in the South to be had for five dollars an acre. In the eastern states he can at least rent one for little money. So if a man stays a hired farm hand all his life in this country, there is something the matter with him.

As a matter of fact, it is exceedingly hard all over the country to get hired farm help. In Waukesha county, Wisconsin, hired men are offered thirty dollars a month and their board and washing. Yet help is scarce at this price. So it is nonsense to figure on an established class of farm hands which as a fixed class does *not* exist.

Of course, people ought not to study the farm question on the east side of New York or on the west side of Chicago or from books. They should go out and observe with their own eyes.

\* \* \*

I will not try here to explain this phenomenon, and why, in spite of the introduction of machinery, concentration has not taken place in the farming industry as it has in the factories. I will mention only one or two points.

The first is that the introduction of machinery in farming has *not changed the entire mode* of production as it has in the factory.

In the factory, the introduction of machinery has resulted in a tremendous division of labor, one article sometimes going through fifty hands, before the product is finished. Furthermore the big and costly machine has absolutely pushed out of existence the small manufacturer and his shop.

This has not been the case in agriculture. After the introduction of machinery, the mode of production has more or less still remained the same. The wheat is growing in very much the same way as before, and cattle require just about the same kind of care. The machine has so far helped only the *middle sized* farmer. It has made it possible for him to run a farm of about 120 to 160 acres with the help of a grown son and dispensing with a hired man, where formerly he had to have a hired man besides his son for a farm of that size.

So the introduction of machinery has not worked the revolution on the farm which it made in the factory.

\* \* \*

The other point is that while capitalism has found it profitable to go into cattle and sheep raising on a large scale, and into beet sugar and vineyards, *capitalism has failed* whenever it has tried other branches of farming on a large scale.

The bonanza farms have failed or are not paying.

The cause of this is pretty plain. The introduction of costly machinery in factories pays because the capital invested is *used all the year around*. In other words the machinery is used every day in the year, sometimes even in two or three shifts.

In farming this is not the case.

Most of the machinery can be used only a few weeks in the year, and the rest of the time it lies idle.

The farmers help themselves to the more expensive machinery either by having co-operative threshing machines, co-operative creameries, etc., or by simply renting the service of a threshing machine that is continually going from place to place. These circumstances, of course, are not favorable for the growth of capitalism in agriculture.

\* \* \*

On the other hand, this *co-operation of the farmers*, of which we have hundreds of examples in Wisconsin, and just as many in other states, is bound to form the second bridge that will connect the farmer with the proletarian movement.

The first bridge necessarily will be the *political* movement—the movement for the nationalization of the big *transportation* facilities, the *mines* and the *trusts*.

*Co-operation*, although still in its infancy, will have a great and beneficial influence on the laborers in the cities, and very soon it will be fully as important as the political and the trade union movements. At the same time co-operation will be as wide spread and as valuable for the farmers as for the city workers.

So here is another link.

\* \* \*

Electricity makes it possible to use small machinery and transport power from great distances to the farm. And we do not as yet know the possibilities of this for the farmer—if the state or the collectivity in some form should own the electric power.

\* \* \*

Therefore it would be useless to ask the farmers to stand for a collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution that would require them to give up their farms. Socialism wants to restore property to the propertyless, not to take property from those who make good use of it. Socialism wants to restore property to the factory workers, and *there* it can be done only in a *collective* manner. But it would be criminal and absurd to try to take away the land from the farmers as long as they are the only ones who can use it for themselves and for the nation, and as long as they are fairly prosperous.

Besides, it *could not be done*. Any attempt of that kind would very soon end with the worst disaster for the city proletariat that the world has ever seen. The failure of the Paris Commune would be child's play compared with that catastrophe.

\* \* \*

In political affairs and especially in class politics, it is useless to deal in hollow phrases. We have to consider realities and facts. It is foolish for one class to try to get the support of the other by promising it the millenium in the distant future. Promises for the distant future will not go. Intelligent men want realities and want them today. And that is something that "impossibilists" at least have never considered.

\* \* \*

I will close with a quotation from Wilhelm Liebknecht. He says: "It is true that both farmers and small shopkeepers are still in the camp of our adversaries, but only because they do not understand the causes that underlie their condition. It is of prime importance for our party to enlighten them and bring them over to our side. *This is a vital question for our party, because these two classes form the majority of the nation.* It would be both stupid and ingenuous to insist that we should have a majority sealed and ready in our pockets before we begin to apply our principles. But it would be still more ingenuous to imagine that we could put our principles into practice against the will of the immense majority of the nation."

So the way must be found.

*Victor L. Berger*

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The biennial report of the Wisconsin Dairy and Food Commissioner is an interesting one, as it contains the results of analysis of various commercial preparations and tends to show the widespread "sophistication" which is practiced by the modern manufacturer of foods. Out of fifty-eight samples of baking powder analyzed FORTY-THREE were found fraudulent and tricky. Out of thirty-one samples of buckwheat flour, TWENTY-FIVE were adulterated. Out of seven samples of honey FIVE were adulterated. EIGHT out of eleven samples of jelly were found to be manufactured abominations, from the food standpoint. FIFTY-ONE out of eighty-eight samples of lemon extract were found unfit for the human stomach. FIFTEEN samples of maple sugar out of twenty-five were found to be doped or colored with poisonous dyes. OF ELEVEN SAMPLES of SPICES ALL WERE FOUND TO BE ADULTERATED. SEVEN out of nine samples of vanilla extract were found to be dishonest—and so on! How many commercial saints, how many captains of triumphant democracy, how many holy deacons were concerned in the rascalities thus laid bare? No wonder some ministers are turning in disgust from subsidized churchianity, from the gospels according to Oily John and Saint Ryan of Wall street, and looking to the Socialist movement for the true spirit of the Nazarene!







**CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN-**

# THE VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray,  
Yet never strength we borrow,  
And where the Vanguard camps today,  
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

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## The Month's Story.

### To Hide Or to Cure?

The proposition to bar newspapers reporting the Thaw trial from the United States mails was based on a curious principle. It reminds us of those mothers, stronger in discipline than in knowledge of hygiene, who spank their babies to keep them still, instead of finding out what is the matter with them. All the capitalistic fears of yellow journalism do in fact betray a complete ignorance of moral hygiene. There is something the matter with our present society. To hush it up is of no use. It is not by imposing silence, but by applying a remedy, that we can cure the disease.

The truth is that the present system of society is getting into a decidedly crumbling state here in America. President Roosevelt's knowledge of this fact is what makes him a better statesman than the trustocrat politicians of the senate. All his reforms and all his activity, from the settling of the great coal strike to the suggestion of suppressing the Thaw trial reports, have been for the purpose of saving capitalism from its own follies. They have not been in the nature of *cures*. His chief object has been to keep the public from getting excited. The Thaw trial has laid bare the hideous sores of the "better" class of society. Hence the necessity of throwing a veil over it, not because the conditions are evil, but because they are dangerous to capitalism.

The most disgusting moral quality of capitalistic society is its hypocrisy. The sins of the ages of slavery and serfdom were frankly wicked. The despot of the ancient and middle ages did not pretend to be anything but a despot. The robber was a robber—not a teacher in the Sunday school nor a member of the Y. M. C. A. Vice and oppression did not snivel out a lot of moral cant and philanthropic twaddle.

John Bull has the reputation of being the biggest hypocrite in Europe. Not that the British character was naturally hypocritical—quite the contrary. But the long development of capitalism in England has perverted the original blunt and bluff English nature. Brother Johnathan is fast following in the same direction. American hypocrisy is also becoming a by-word.

The murders, suicides and divorces which fill our newspapers do indeed make horrible reading. But these horrors *exist in society*, and it is a comparatively small matter whether they exist *in print*. The

infectious corpse exhales its poisons just the same when it is covered over with a sheet. The hushing up process will never save society.

\* \* \*

**Socialism's Short Cut** Uncle Sam has no right to defend his own children! So say the wisecracks in the United States senate and the house. The senate and house judiciary committees insist that it is unconstitutional for the United States to free by law the little white slaves in factory, mill and workshop. They are native citizens of the United States—oh yes! But the United States has no right to protect their lives and limbs, or even to guarantee them an education! The sacred constitution blocks the way!

It is constitutional for the American flag to protect the property of missionaries in China who are preaching a religion that the "heathen Chinese" don't want and can't understand. But it is unconstitutional for the American flag to protect the bodies and souls of its young citizens at home on American soil. For them, that flag waves in vain over school-houses which they are forbidden to enter!

It was no violation of the constitution when the president of the United States and the United States army forcibly freed the black slaves of the south. But to abolish *white* slavery and emancipate its little fair-skinned victims—that would be a terrible infringement of the American constitution.

Finally, it was perfectly constitutional for United States troops to take in hand the relief of the sufferers from the San Francisco earthquake. But here is a far more fearful suffering, spread over not one city, but through the cities and industrial towns of the entire country. Here is a danger that is poisoning the population at its source, and turning out physically and mentally stunted men and women. But America has no power to save *herself*—for the abstract thing we call "America" is not its land and rivers and lakes, but the *American people*.

Of course, the magnates in the senate and house explain that they are most strenuously opposed to child labor. Surely! Only they will stand right in the path when the nation tries to abolish it. Your capitalist politician is nothing if not a consummate hypocrite.

Now we are not writing these lines to show up the evils of child labor. That is a theme which has become so popular that even the ministers preach about it from their pulpits. All that we wish to point out is that in everything else, just as in this one reform, where there is a will there is a way.

Negro slavery was long supposed to be so constitutionally entrenched that to overthrow it meant to overthrow the union of the States. But when the people demanded its abolition, an army was unceremoniously marched into the slave states and the slaves were freedmen before ever the constitution was amended to fit the new conditions.

Now the Socialists have devised a simple way of cutting this Gordian knot of child labor. Our Social-Democratic members in the Wisconsin legislature propose to request congress to tax it out of existence. They want congress to lay "a tax of one thousand dollars

per year upon any person, firm or corporation for each child employed in the business of said person, firm or corporation, under the age of fourteen years, for the current year in every occupation in which the employment of such children has been seen to be harmful," the tax "to be collected annually by the internal revenue collector of the district," who is empowered to seize and sell property of those not paying on demand, "such sale to be on short notice and without redemption, so as to make the remedy short and summary."

This is simple enough. Is it constitutional? It would be, if it were for the benefit of the trusts, the big corporations or the ruling class in general.

Ruling powers do not fit to the constitution and laws. The constitution and laws fit to the ruling powers.

And when the Socialists become the ruling power in the United States, the United States constitution will be read the other side up.

This one resolution introduced by our Social-Democrats at Madison, shows what lines they can follow when they get control of the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government. They will find a short cut around or through the constitution, not only to the abolition of child labor, but even to the establishment of the Socialist Republic.

And that is what is meant by revolution. Not necessarily bloodshed. A revolution simply means that MEN have got on the top of THINGS.

\* \* \*

### **An American Socialist Poet**

Our February issue contained the picture of the great woman Socialist of England, the Countess of Warwick. This month we are proud to present a portrait of America's greatest and most thoughtful woman.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman—better known by her former name, Charlotte Perkins Stetson—was born in 1860 at Hartford, Conn. She is a great-granddaughter of old Lyman Beecher, who begot so many rebels in various lines of thought, and is grand-niece of the famous author of Uncle Tom's Cabin. Young Charlotte was a radical born, and early became a Socialist. One of her best poems, "Similar Cases," was published in 1890. In 1896 she went abroad, became a member of the English Fabian Society, and lectured on Socialism from a Socialist van which took the road through several counties of England.

Some years later appeared her great book, "Women and Economics." Perhaps no other writer on the woman question, not excepting August Bebel himself, has gone so deeply to the root of the condition of half the human race. "Women and Economics" long will be a standard work, to be carefully studied and pondered.

Aside from her economic writings, Mrs. Gilman has the distinction of being almost the only Socialist poet of America, and certainly the only poet who has thoroughly understood the life of the wage-workers. While Markham writes of the Man with the Hoe as of a man in a picture, Mrs. Gilman makes us live with those who have the Wolf at the Door. In a few vivid lines she lays bare the past and future of those who are "born to hoarded weariness, as some to hoard-

ed gold." She does **not** philosophize from above over the Three Men Under the Car. She tells their story, simply and sternly. We could wish that Mrs. Gilman had done more work of this kind.

Perhaps as a satirist Mrs. Gilman is most widely known. She is at her best when she assails some absurd objection to Socialism which "was a crushing argument in the paleozoic age," but which looks like a burst bubble after it has been pricked by the needle of her wit. In short Mrs. Gilman is so good in her three separate lines of satirical and pathetic verse, and of the serious consideration of economic subjects, that it is a matter for real regret that she has written so little. Let us hope that in the future her pen may be more productive.

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### **Degrading Education**

A great deal of discussion has been hurled to and fro about the motives of John D. Rockefeller in giving his \$32,000,000 gift to education. Was he trying to bribe public opinion and influence the courts before which he stands indicted? Or was he sincerely trying to do good?

Now the fact is that history—and the events taking place in this first decade of the Twentieth century will form the first page of a mighty interesting chapter in American history—history, we say, deals with actions, not motives. We are inclined to give the oily king the benefit of the doubt as to his motives for the gift. But his acts remain the same, and the example set to young America is none the less corrupting. A large number of young American citizens will be indebted for their education to the notorious methods of money-grabbing known as "the system." It is a demoralizing standard of success to set before young men and women. It will be a degrading influence for them to feel that they received their own start in life from stolen money.

Not that poor, rich, old John D. is one whit better or worse than the average capitalist. He is merely a symbol of the capitalist system—the chief Captain of Industry. The small manufacturers and "independents," who hold up hands of holy horror against him, would follow his methods to the letter if they could. Nor is Rockefeller the first man who has given "tainted money" for colleges and universities. What we deplore is that our young people should owe their education to any *individual*, whether high up or low down on the ladder of accumulated wealth.

On the other hand, what an inspiration to a young man to feel that the STATE is interested in his intellectual development! What an ennobling thought to remember that he has received *all* from his country, and must repay the debt by upright citizenship and conscientious service to the community!

The principle of the public school is the grandest idea which America has yet evolved. We want to see it thoroughly applied straight through the entire system of education. We want everything from the child's primer to the most advanced instruction in the university to be freely furnished to all by the city, state or nation. No other arrangement is truly democratic. No other can turn out young citizens with wholesome standards and sound ethical principles.

Only such citizens can really understand the littleness, the incompetence, the degradation of individualism.

Only such citizens will fully appreciate the grandeur and the practicability of collectivism.

Only such citizens will be morally and mentally competent to establish the Socialist republic.

## Capitalist "Liberty"

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

**M**R. Frank M. Hoyt, a well known corporation lawyer, recently delivered a lecture on *Socialism* before the *Men's Club* in this city. He evidently tried to give a fair statement of Socialism, and aside from the error that he considered the "iron law of wages," as formulated by Ricardo and repeated by Lassalle, a part of Socialistic doctrine, he succeeded pretty well.

\* \* \*

But he concluded:

"The objection which is the most potent in this country to the acceptance of the Socialists' proposal that the state shall own or control property to the degree asked by them, is the feeling that such a plan would result in the tyranny of the state, and absolutely destroy all individual freedom.

"The idea is thus expressed by *Judge Grosscup* in a recent address:

"The deepest instinct of the American is the instinct of individual freedom. Beginning with himself, and those who depend upon him, the American will willingly surrender nothing to the community that he feels bound in conscience to perform himself; nothing to the larger community, called the state, that he feels should be performed by the smaller community of which he is proportionally a larger part; nothing to the nation that he feels should be performed by the state.

"And when you ask him in the interest of this or any other cause to separate himself farther and farther from individual control of those duties that are dearest to him—the education of his children, their religious training, the whole circle of what he has always looked upon as a personal responsibility—you ask him to surrender a thing that rather than surrender he will abandon the cause."

"Another objection, to at least the present suggestions of the party, is found in what is claimed to be its failure to formulate measures, which shall operate in a practical manner against the evils of which they complain, without doing that which is confessedly impossible, namely: immediately subvert and change our entire existing system.

"As a friend of mine humorously puts it: 'The Socialists bring us to the banks of a deep stream, assure us there is excellent pasturage on the other side, and fail to supply any means of crossing over to it.'"

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The trouble with our honest opponents—for there are also dishonest opponents, who deal in all kinds of scientific fibs, the hollowness of which they themselves recognize—lies in the fact that these honest opponents cannot, in their train of thought, sufficiently abstract from present conditions. This explains why so many people are frightened away from Social-Democracy by all kinds of catch-words and phrases.

And the objection that is raised with special emphasis against Social-Democracy is that the Co-operative Commonwealth is *inconsistent with "individual freedom."*

Now we could make very short work of this.

We could simply answer that the *present* society does not grant freedom to the individual.

We could point to the fact that the great majority of our fellow citizens, during all their lives, are in the service of others. All their lives the great majority must work according to the wish and will of a small minority. And these workers and their families do not get even enough to eat, cannot dress themselves properly or live in a decent home upon the wages they receive. And besides, they are not allowed to speak and act as they feel. If they do so, they run the risk of losing work and livelihood.

We could prove that even the well-to-do classes are *not* free at present. They are tied in their *business* life by *competition*, in their political, religious and social life by *considerations of their position*, by public opinion and by the pressure of the powerful.

And this is Mr. Hoyt's case, for instance.

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Thus much has already been admitted by every unprejudiced observer, that our present society does *not in reality give* to its members *that freedom*, which the constitution promises—the Fourth of July orators notwithstanding.

Herbert Spencer, who opposed Socialism because he *feared* the dangers to individual liberty, was unprejudiced enough to admit that if he had only the choice between our present capitalistic society and the Socialist system, he would unhesitatingly prefer the latter. And this just from the standpoint of the real and actual, and not of the imagined, freedom of the individual.

I could further point out that every forward step of culture and civilization generally is connected with a certain restriction of personal liberty. The further we advance, the more fields are withdrawn from the discretion of the individual, and put under the control of the community. Even today our entire state rests on the restriction of the liberty of the individual.

Compulsory education and taxation—to speak only of these foundations of our present government—are simply restrictions of our personal liberty. But would Mr. Hoyt on that account wish to go back to the times when no father was compelled to send his children to school and when nobody knew anything of taxation? Such regions still exist—in Central Asia and in Central Africa. Yet every one of us knows perfectly well that we civilized servants of the tax commissioner and of the school superintendent are, in fact and truth, infinitely freer than our forefathers were, who roamed "freely" in the deep forests of Germany and Great Britain; or than the inhabitants of this globe who still live in similar conditions.



We all know perfectly well that the great problem of the history of mankind consists just in this: How to *restrict the liberty of each individual* in such manner as to make way for the *greatest freedom for all*.

We all know perfectly well that the most unrestricted liberty leads to the brute battle of each against all.

And this never meant freedom.

It meant slavery in ancient times, and serfdom in the middle ages.

In modern days we find this unrestricted liberty only in the *economic* field. And there it has anarchy in its wake, which reigns supreme in our present society with its chronic industrial crises, (called "panics"), its permanent reserve army of the unemployed, its ever-increasing destitution of the masses, its business corruption and its ethical hypocrisy.

All this should really be quite sufficient to prove to every thinking man the absurdity of the twaddle about the dangers of Social-Democracy to individual freedom. For a freedom that does not exist cannot be in danger. And least of all can it be endangered by something that does not yet exist, but is going to come, as is the case with the Socialist Republic.

So Judge Grosscup may rest assured that we ask him to surrender nothing.

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Social-Democracy, however, need not content itself with this negative proof. It is fully able to furnish also the positive information that the Socialist Republic is not only entirely consistent with personal freedom, but will bring it to its fullest development.

If there are still many well-meaning and educated people who fear the "almighty" Socialistic state, this probably arises from the fact that they always think of the utopian schemes of the first communists, who wanted to rule everything from above.

But modern, scientific Socialists never dream of such a thing.

Indeed should we, in the Socialist Republic, need other means to keep people to their work than we need in the present society? Why do we work today? In order to live. Will this be otherwise in a society where all means of production belong to the commonwealth, instead of belonging to a few capitalists? Why should a laborer cease to work, because the *entire value of his labor* will go to the laborer?

I cannot see any logical reason.

It is said that man is a "*self-seeker*" by nature. That he works only when he *himself* reaps the benefit, that he will not work for others.

But is it not a fact just now that the *greater part of mankind works for others*? And is it not just in the Co-operative Commonwealth that everybody will be enabled to call the *full product* of his labor *his own*? Where then will justifiable self-seeking be better satisfied, in the present or in the future society?

In future society, the genius of work will be freed from its most fatal defect, which is inherent today—the fact that the chief aim of all labor is the *individual interest of somebody else, the profit of somebody else, the making of surplus for somebody else*.

In the Socialist Republic this will not be possible. There only that will be produced which the commonwealth needs. And everybody will get the full product of what he has earned. Or, to express it better, the equivalent of his work.

The material and individual interest of the workingman in his work, therefore, will not cease in the society of the future, but, on the contrary, there it will find its real and absolute basis.

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Thus we see, that nothing will be changed regarding the *motive* to work. At least nothing in its disfavor.

It is also clear, on the other hand, that the freedom of choice of work will be much greater than at present.

How it is today every one knows. Of course, our constitution "guarantees" us, in the most solemn way, the most unrestricted freedom. In reality, however, it depends upon a whole series of extraordinarily *fortunate* chances and circumstances, whether any one can really choose his life's work at will.

With most parents and young people, pecuniary considerations *alone* decide as to the choice of professions. A single glance at the statistics on this subject show that the choice of a profession depends upon the prospect which the law of "supply and demand" offers at the time. Even theology, which should be above all a matter of sentiment, is not excluded from this rule.

And the overwhelming majority of children have *no choice at all*—they must go into the factory at the age of 14 or even earlier.

How different this will be in a society which guarantees all labor its full product! How all foreign considerations, which today determine the choice of work, will fall away! So much the more, because then the educational institutions will be open to all competent persons. *Not the money-bag*, but solely ability, talent, and inclination will decide. There is some genius hidden in almost every person. And every young man and every young woman will have time to become clearly conscious of his or her inclinations and gifts.

And should any one have been mistaken about his or her choice of work, how much easier will be the transition to another sphere of action than it is today.

\*   \*   \*

It is not the intention of Socialists to interfere with municipal rights, county rights or state rights which are essential to the habit of self-government. The *American capitalist will lose the liberty of the libertine*—the liberty to abuse—but the American citizen will *gain the freedom of the man who is free economically as well as politically*.

As to the education of the children, their religious training and so forth, that will be less interfered with than today. Religion is a private matter—that is Socialist doctrine the world over. It is for that very reason that the Roman Catholic Church bitterly opposes Socialism. That church wants religion—the Romanist brand of it—to be a *state affair*.

So much for the objection of Judge Grosscup.

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As for the remark of Mr. Hoyt that we want "to immediately subvert and change our entire existing system," I will say that no true Social-Democrat ever dreams of a sudden change of society. We build upon the past historical development and take into consideration the present conditions.

We are the greatest advocates of reforms of all kinds and every description the world has ever seen.

Mr. Hoyt ought to know that. We are proposing these reform measures right here in Milwaukee before his very eyes and at Madison, Wis. in the legislature. And we will advocate them in Washington as soon as we elect members to congress.

Yet these reforms are only stepping-stones—very necessary and indispensable stepping-stones, if the Socialist Republic is ever to be brought about peaceably—but our aim is to abolish the capitalist system entirely.

The Socialist Republic will come by evolution. It cannot come in any other way. We may see, however, the most fearful revolutions (and many of them) as a part of that great *evolution*.

Bloody revolutions will not hasten—they may even retard—the coming of the Socialist Republic. And whether such eruptions are to take place at all, will depend as much upon the policy of the capitalist class as upon the leadership of the proletariat.

\* \* \*

We are Social-Democrats, because we have recognized that the economical development of the present capitalist system, with its concentration of wealth, its trusts, etc., leads toward Socialistic production. Socialism is the next phase of civilization, if civilization is to survive.

And once granted that the Socialist Republic is the *necessary product* of our economical development, the *question of its possibility* is indeed *absurd*. That which *must* come by *necessity* is for that very reason possible, without further question.

So, dear Mr. Hoyt, "we shall have to cross to the other bank of that deep stream." We Social-Democrats supply all kinds of social reform vehicles and bridges to cross. We reach out the helping hand of brotherly love. But those who refuse and fight—will perish in the stream.

And that is the grim "humor" of it.

Victor L. Berger.

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"God's great blessings, pure air and bright sunshine, are all about us, and certainly we have much to be thankful for," says John D. Rockefeller. Yes, we *are* thankful that the air and the sunshine are still free, considering that the people have lost the land and the tools and the greater part of the wealth their industry has produced!

# Just What It Does.

FROM SOCIALIST PLATFORM OF IOWA.

The present capitalist system of industry is a failure.

It is impracticable.

It has divided the people into warring classes.

It has reduced the wage workers to slavish dependence upon the capitalists for an opportunity to earn a living.

It has reduced the masses of the people to poverty.

It compels the masses of the people to work all their lives for a bare living.

It deprives the masses of the people of the benefits of the marvelous improvements in production, and hands those benefits over to the useless few.

It bars the masses of the people out from the higher things of life.

It drives thousands of men and women to suicide.

It drives thousands of men and women to insanity.

It drives hundreds of thousands of men and women to crime.

It drives hundreds of thousands of women to prostitution, because they are unable to make a living in any other way.

It drives millions of men to drink.

It puts a premium on graft and corruption.

It makes it to the financial interest of men to adulterate food and to perpetrate all the other villain-

ous frauds and deceptions which surround us on every hand.

It causes the death or injury of millions of the people by preventable accidents.

It blights the lives of the child slaves.

It bars a majority of the children out of school altogether, and compels most of the remainder to leave school just when their education is really beginning.

It is infamously unjust to the unemployed, causing hundreds of thousands of them to become tramps.

It is an enemy to the family.

It causes hundreds of thousands of divorces.

It has destroyed individual initiative.

It has reduced the masses of the people to a dead level.

It has made it impossible for the masses of the people to develop their individuality.

It has made it impossible for the masses of the people to own any private property worth mentioning.

It makes it hard to do right and easy to do wrong.

It makes it impossible for the people to live sanitary lives.

It promotes disease.

It brings premature death to all the people.

Socialism is the natural and the only remedy for these evils.

"Tew enjoy a good reputashun," said Josh Billings, "give publikly and steal privately." This is an in-

dictment that will cover a multitude of sinners under the capitalist regime!

# A Catholic's Reply.

By W. I. BROWN.

In "Timely Sermon of His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, on baneful doctrine of Socialism," as reported in Church Progress, Sept. 20, 1906, there are some remarkable statements which are intended to discredit Socialism. Among other things the Cardinal said: "The most mischievous and dangerous individual to be met with in the community is the demagog." The Socialist speaker is not a demagog. He advocates collective interests, and not that of an individual or faction of the people. The Cardinal continues: "who is habitually sowing broadcast the seeds of discontent among the people." This is true. We Socialists believe that it is our imperative duty to be dissatisfied with the system that enables a few avaricious persons to monopolize the means of producing and distributing the necessities of life, as they are now doing under the present private ownership system. The Cardinal continues: "He is disseminating the baneful doctrine of Socialism." The doctrine of Socialism is this: That all of nature's resources shall be collectively owned and co-operatively utilized by and for the entire human race. The Cardinal says: "which would bring all men down 'to a dead level.'" Quite the contrary. Socialism will bring the capitalist exploiter up to the high and honorable level of economic justice by depriving him of the opportunity and incentive to be unjust. The Cardinal said: "would paralyze industry." This is the Cardinal's greatest mistake. In the public supervision and co-operative organization of the industries, Socialism will achieve its greatest tri-

umph. As all things will be produced for *use* and *not* for *sale*, every element of imperfection in material used and methods employed, and all adulterations in foods and medicines, will be studiously excluded. All labor that is now wasted or misdirected, will be co-operatively utilized, so that the aggregate of production will be at least double what it is at present. The Cardinal continues: "and destroy all healthy competition." Yes, as light destroys darkness, Socialism will destroy competition by *being* "co-operation." The Cardinal said: "The demagog is blaming the rich for the condition of the poor, and the laboring classes." Socialist speakers generally tell the laboring classes that they are to blame for their own degraded condition, because they leave politics entirely in the hands of the rich, and their friends, the politicians, who take good care that their faithful servants are placed in nomination as candidates for the lawmaking positions, and the laborer, in this, his first and only political act of the year, betrays his fellow-toilers by casting his ballot for their capitalist masters. The Cardinal said: "He has not the capacity to discern that after all due allowance is made for human energy, this varied condition of society must result from a law of life established by an overruling providence." As a Catholic Socialist, I most emphatically deny that God's providence ever established a law of life that can reasonably be construed to justify the system that divides the people into antagonistic classes, arrogant rich, degraded poor, millionaires and paup-

ers; the system that is cursing humanity with the most complete system of human slavery that was ever devised by the ingenuity of human greed. It drives childhood from the home and school into the mill and factory; it drags woman down from her rightful and exalted position in the home circle, as mother of the race, into the degrading servitude of the factory and the sweat-shop, into the demoralizing tenement house, where men and women of all ages are huddled together like a brood of animals, where domestic privacy is impossible and, worst of all, into the den of vice, where the field of respectability is forever closed against her; the system that places a premium of profit on every species of financial crime, including three of the "sins that cry to heaven for vengeance," "willfully murderous Wars," "Oppression of the Poor," "Defrauding laborers of their rightful wages." No! God's providence is *not* responsible for riches and poverty. These deplorable conditions result from the criminal use that man makes of his "free will." That God condemns riches is proven by the fact that He closes the gates of heaven against the rich. "Woe be to you, Oh rich, for you have your consolation in this world." "It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven." These facts do not sustain the Cardinal's assertion that "God gave you riches," etc. Did God wreck railroads to enable J. Gould and others to buy them for a trifle, and get rich from their revenues? Did God destroy competing refineries so that John D. Rockefeller could establish the "Standard Oil" monopoly? We know that God did not give these men riches, but He *did* "overturn the tables of the money changers and scourged from the temple those who bought and sold, saying: "My house is a house of prayer, but you have made it a den of thieves." If banking and commerce were unjust when Our Savior "dwelt amongst us," when did His unqualified condemnation change to imperative approval? For the Cardinal says that riches and poverty,—"these varied conditions"—*must result*, etc. Socialists insist that transactions that were unjust in our Savior's time, are equally unjust today. They will never cease to condemn the system that makes *justice* impossible, nor will they ever cease to strive for the inauguration of the system that will make *injustice* impossible. The Socialist philosophy is very simple as well as just, and God became its author when He gave man "dominion over the whole earth, and every creeping creature that moveth upon the earth."—Gen. 1-36. Socialism is strictly and exclusively a material, an economic science, the natural, the common sense means of sustaining life. After giving man collectively dominion over the earth and its resources, God said: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."—Gen. 3-19. Thus, God gave every human being the unrestricted opportunity and an imperative command to labor for his daily bread. God is also the author of the family of father, mother and children, the first and most essential collective unit of society. In this miniature co-operative organization, direct from the hand of God, the Christian Socialist sees a model of his ideal co-operative commonwealth. In the family, God established the principle that is indispensable to perfect civilization, the principle that requires every

one to contribute of useful service to the community according to his ability, and entitles him to receive from the common store of products according to his needs. The above is God's system, and on His word and work it is impossible for man to improve. This is all there is in the entire Socialist philosophy, and Socialists challenge all, and especially the great mass of human toilers, to a thorough investigation. Who will respond to this challenge? Will it be Cardinal Gibbons? Will it be the hierarchy and priesthood of the Catholic church? The non-Catholic Socialist accuses them of being the special friends of the wealthy and in league with them to prevent or retard the co-operative movement. Will they permit the above charge to seem true by continuing to uphold the capitalist system? Or will they make it *untrue* by espousing the cause of economic justice to the toiler, under collective ownership? In this regard, the outlook is not encouraging. They denounce Socialism, and as they teach under divine authority, the confiding Catholic thinks they cannot be mistaken. They warn him against the "pest of Socialism," so he carefully shuns the "demagog" orator, and persistently refuses to read Socialist literature. His mind is more and more mislead and prejudiced against Socialism by such writings as Father Conway's "Socialism Examined and Refuted." Some Catholic periodicals refuse to publish the truth about Socialism, although they publish much that is not true. Monsignor Vaughan of England, claims that Socialism is an anti-Christian movement, because some Socialist writings are anti-Christian, yet, in the same article he says: "There are Christian Socialists," which completely disproves the other assertion. Bishop Spaulding

of Peoria, Ill., says that a Socialist may be "a theist, an atheist, a spiritist, a materialist, a CHRISTIAN or an agnostic," therefore the above accusation is utterly groundless. On the contrary, co-operation is the only system under which economic justice can be secured to all the people, and no true Catholic can knowingly oppose it. Socialists alone fully recognize and appreciate the wisdom and beneficence of God's arrangement, and under Socialism, for the first time in the history of the race, will the great variety of individual capabilities be co-operatively organized and intelligently employed in the general interests of humanity. It will be the glory of Socialism that it will weld into one common purpose the material interests and effort of the entire human family. The wisdom of every intellect, and the power of every muscle, will be centralized and directed under one gigantic co-operative system. Will these conditions ever be realized? Will Socialism ever become an accomplished fact? As it depends on the use we make of our intelligence, that gratuitous fountain of logic—common sense—gives an encouraging answer. It tells us that human needs can be best supplied by co-operative effort, that harmony is better than discord, that peace is better than war, that all expedient methods should be employed to produce and distribute the necessities and comforts of life. Experience also gives a favorable answer. The first and best Christians had things in common. All the religious orders own their property collectively. The bishops hold the churches' property in trust for the people, so that "the poor may have the Gospel preached to them." All public utilities that are collectively owned give the best service, the best satis-

faction. The public school, the fire department, the sidewalk, the street, the public highway, the postal service, all herald the approach of Socialism. Between those who see in Socialism the only means of emancipating the human race from poverty, and those who denounce it as an anti-Christian movement, there is a lamentable misunderstanding. Who is wrong? Who is right? Is there a reasonable answer to these questions? The Christian Socialist is as sure that he is right in wishing to re-establish God's system of collective ownership and co-operation, as he is that God, its author, is right. Can those on the other side, with equal confidence and plausibility, hold God's "overruling providence" responsible for the system that has spread over the human race the present black pall of crime and suffering? We are very sure they cannot. May we not reasonably hope that the day is not far distant when they will agree with the Socialist, who

confidently assures us that there is one sovereign remedy for the economic evils that now afflict the human race—the extortions of wealth, the privations of poverty. That remedy is "SOCIALISM!"—and—"UNIVERSAL CO-OPERATION!" The Socialist will proudly bear aloft the banner with the above motto emblazoned on its face, fearlessly defying the unjust epithets that ignorance or malice may cast at him. The Socialist and his philosophy of equity are here to stay till the last vestige of compulsory servitude is swept from the face of the earth. No human power can turn back the ever augmenting and onward sweep of economic evolution. For the first time since man inhabited this earth, has the human mind become broad enough and wise enough to grasp with sufficient clearness the co-operative philosophy, the principle of true civilization to make its early inauguration inevitable.

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The man who said that for the working class it was either the red flag or the white flag, said a great truth. It is either the conquest for economic justice which the red flag typifies or the thing that the white flag typifies: surrender. The red flag has been referred to as the age-long flag of labor, and some have claimed that it therefore merely stands for human brotherhood. But it stands for more than that. Throughout history it has been the banner of the downtrodden with aspirations for better citizenship through emancipation. It is therefore a revolutionary emblem—not revolutionary in the vulgar Anarchistic sense, denoting assassination and vengeful revolt, but revolutionary in the higher Socialistic sense. And so we say that with the working class, the builders of the world in chains, it is either the red flag of emancipation or the white flag of surrender. And this does not mean that American workmen do not respect the American flag, for they will give it every bit of respect that is its due, proud of it when it waves for freedom, sorrowful, when it waves over subjugated weaker races or is flaunted above the fortified work prisons of the capitalists or snaps its folds above soldiers ordered out by capitalism to shoot workmen into submission to economic wrongs.



# Restitution of Income.

By J. G. PHELPS STOKES.

Whenever a rich man turns Social-Democrat the cheerful idiots with capitalistic minds immediately ask why he does not turn back his wealth to those who have produced it. A New York millionaire, J. G. Phelps Stokes, has recently joined the Socialist party and thrown in his lot absolutely with the cause. The following is his reply to carping capitalist critics, and will be an eye-opener to many people who do not comprehend the involved nature of the capitalistic system of production and therefore the necessity for attacking it in its entirety:

"I receive annually an income from investments amounting to about \$2,000. I consider that this income has been produced by others than myself, and that I am not entitled to make any personal use of it. If I could ascertain the names and addresses of those individuals who by their own productive and creative effort produced this unearned income which I receive, I would return every penny of it to them severally—to each in proportion to his contribution to it.

## *Wealth Created Co-operatively.*

"There are circumstances, however, evidently such that it would be entirely impossible to secure the information that would be required to make possible such a return, for the reason that the production of wealth has long since ceased to be individual in its nature. With rare exceptions there is no wealth created today except by the co-operation of vast multitudes of people, who each contribute in some manner to its production.

"It would be impossible, for instance, to ascertain the individuals who have contributed to the wealth represented by the few hundred dollars which I receive as dividends on stock which I own in the Woodbridge Company of this city. That company has improved and for many years rented and managed high-class office property in our financial district. Large banking, insurance, manufacturing, mercantile and other productive enterprises pay the rentals of which I receive a share.

"All the employees of all those companies have contributed through their productive effort to the creation of that income of a few hundred dollars a year. So, also, have all persons who, directly or indirectly, participated in the development of the communities in which these business enterprises have sought and received support. So, also, have all those individuals who, as citizens of our country, have contributed to the support of those institutions without the aid of which these businesses could not have been conducted.

## *Used for Good Purpose.*

"At least a majority of our people—i. e., at least as many as the number of those who support our present political and industrial system—have contributed, each in a measure, to the incomes of each and all of our important industries. To ascertain the proportion of my unearned income of \$2,000 which should be returned to each or any of this majority would be utterly impossible. A simple calculation

would show that the average amount due to each would be approximately the fortieth part of one cent.

"Since, then, this \$2,000 cannot be returned proportionately to those who are better entitled to it than am I, and since it is impossible to determine the proportion due to any, and since to single out any individual and give him more than his due would be unjust to some other rightly entitled to the excess, it is clear to me that the entire amount must be devoted to the sup-

port of such work as is, in my judgment, likely to hasten public recognition of the injustice of the capitalist system which legalizes the appropriations by non-producers of portions of the wealth produced by others.

"My personal expenses are all defrayed from the earnings which I receive as compensation for productive services rendered. Of my unearned income I use not a penny for my own support or otherwise than as above stated."

According to the advertising pages of *American Industries*, which is the self-confessed national organ of the alone respectable manufacturing capitalists, the Joy Detective Service of Cleveland, O., handles labor troubles "in all their phases," and is "prepared to place *secret* operatives who are skilled mechanics in any shop, mill or factory, to discover whether *organizing* is being done." And also that the firm of Wadell & Mahon of New York City, with branch offices in Philadelphia and Baltimore, are "licensed special agents who act for corporations and manufacturers in the termination of labor difficulties," secure and furnish "non-union mechanics in all trades and skilled labor in all branches of industry for service *during strikes*," and in the "establishing of the open shop." They perform "special service" during strikes and provide "special police patrolmen," trained in protecting non-union workmen, and also the looking after the commissaries made necessary by the open shop efforts. Also that there is a Cleveland firm that advertises: "We Break Strikes." All of which shows how much pains capitalism is taking to leave the working class

only the ballot as their means of redress from oppression and exploitation. They are forcing the strikes to be big ones, bigger each year, and to mean a tremendous outlay of money, both in strike benefits and in lost profits. And they seem not to realize what they are doing. And what can happen except that the working people will finally decide to put as much money into the political fight as they now have to in their economic struggle? The capitalist parties win nowadays by mere force of money. When the working class starts in to finance its own political campaigns in earnest, where are your old capitalistic bunco parties going to land, do you think?

The Rev. Father Clifford out West says, "I unhesitatingly say that a Catholic cannot be a Socialist." And the Rev. Father Stafford down East says "Nothing is further from the truth than that there is a deadly hatred between religion and Socialism. Rightly understood the Christian religion is Socialism." Isn't it about time the fathers of the East and the West got together!

# Conversion By Law.

By WAYFARER.

And now another Milwaukee clergyman has spoken out. This time it is the Rev. William Austin Smith of fashionable St. Paul's Episcopal church, a great brown-stone edifice within whose rich confines some of the wealthiest people of the city own their homes. He recently preached a most radical sermon which had for its central idea the truth of the Socialist's contention that there is an economic basis to morals, and for holding which opinion the Social-Democrats the world over have been repeatedly denounced as "gross materialists." He boldly declared that the superior morality of the present society was but the fruit of removed temptation, of improved environment. And he applied this idea also to the status of the classes in our present day civilization.

"You and I," he said, "in our comfortable homes and decent surroundings, with our ethical safeguards, are not subjected to the peculiar temptations of the family in the slums of a great city. We sin but with a difference. Public opinion, education, our tastes, our environment stand between us and certain types of debasement and vulgarity. We have our subtle gloved way of being cruel and selfish, but it is of a lighter, more winning tint than theirs. The only inherent difference between Mr. Rockefeller, for example, and many another of us is merely a difference of genius. Many a poor man, the smaller merchant, has not abused the power because he has not the power in his grasp to abuse."

"The moment we describe the government of a people, its social laws, we know what sort of sins to expect within the nation. If, for example, slavery is permitted by law, we shall expect to see the brotherhood principle of Christ commonly violated by a disregard of the chastity, the sanctity of manhood, the value of human life of the slave population by its masters.

"So, with feudal abuses that followed the age when slavery ceased to be the economic basis of society. Abuses were there still in abundance. Some of them received their final death blow only by the burning scorn and vitriol of the pen of Voltaire. For ages in medieval Europe the feudal lord was a victim of certain temptations which the law permitted to exist. The law gave him power over the serf which brought the temptation to abuse the power."

Of the moral state he said:

"There is a large class of well wishers to society and a much larger class of selfish men who hold that the only way to correct abuses is to regenerate society. Eradicate the sin from men's hearts, transform selfishness into unselfishness, greed and dishonesty into integrity and high-mindedness, let the spiritual leaven of Christ work in the heart, only so can you correct the evils that afflict us. They argue that the law on the statute books can not change human nature. Hence they look with suspicion upon all agitation to correct by legislation what ought to be corrected by moral conversion.

"Society can not afford to wait for the conversion of every one of its members before it removes certain temptations. All that bad men, selfish men ask is freedom. The bad rich man wants to be free to use his power as he will. Freedom is what that unsightly host of industrial princes want, who have nearly wrecked our nation and thrown us into Socialism. They simply desire to be free to do what they will. Freedom is all the men asked who made adulterated foods, and poisoned medicines, and gave short weights. They wanted freedom to exploit society for their selfish profits.

"Now, it is folly to wait for such men's conversion before we right our wrongs. The evolution of morals and society has proceeded along quite another line. Business selfishness can be converted far more quickly by wise legislation, which restricts commercial freedom, than by harmless platitudes in the churches where commercialism loves to keep them, is willing to support them, and deems it wholesome for the poor and good people in general.

"The law, the public opinion which prevents a certain type of man from making a brute of himself for profit, not only protects society, but ultimately helps to educate the brute.

"One way to help on social evolution, to spread the ethics of Christ, is patiently to win all men, one by one, to your ideal. That might take a million years, and still leave the unregenerate tenth to prey upon society. There is another far more

practical way of abolishing sin. Restrict men's freedom. Let the best public opinion, the highest ideals, the better human nature reflect themselves in legislation, safeguards, and sanctions."

Of course, there are some things in the reverend gentleman's position that would not go far enough to satisfy the ideas of a Socialist. The law does not merely happen; social evolution works through it. As the era of capitalism wanes and the era of Socialism gradually dawns, the law will reflect more and more the change in the ideas of right and wrong growing out of the new economic base. The law is society's means of registering its will, but a law to amount to anything must reflect the economic interests of the majority. Men are forced to pitilessly exploit their fellows today, to grind their faces through the profit system, to plunder the workers in industry through wage labor, because the capitalist system forces them to it. The struggle for existence is so sharp that men are driven to put aside their feelings of humanity and to scramble according to the unwritten law "each for himself and the Devil take the hindmost." The change in the laws which tends to lessen the field for this unholy scramble simply marks the growth of Socialist ideas and necessities among the people. The capitalist system is moving on to its fall. It no longer ministers to the best interests of the majority of the people. And more and more that fact must shape our laws. It is the principle of "economic determinism" at work.

"A colossal merger to unite all packers." And this is the answer of capitalism to all the work of the past few years to haidle the meat

monopoly in the people's interests! Capitalism will run its course, no matter how much the people mistake its power.

# About the Devil.

By ARTHUR BRISBANE in N. Y. Journal.

Mr. D. R. Masterson of South Amboy, writes to the editor a very interesting and thoughtful letter on the subject of the devil, and of the latter's gloomy, overheated abode.

Mr. Masterson regrets the fact that this newspaper does not believe in an ACTUAL devil, or an ACTUAL hell. The important sentence in his letter is this:

"You must certainly know that if everybody believed that there is 'no devil' or 'hell' hereafter this world would be extremely more wicked than it is now."

This view is taken by many. There was a famous Frenchman—he has been quoted over and over—who remarked: "If there had been no Divine Providence, it would have been necessary to invent one."

There seem to be many who imagine that if there IS no roaring, fierce, burning devil, it is necessary to "invent one" in order to keep people frightened and GOOD.

We do not agree with Mr. Masterson, or others who believe that an actual devil, in a pit of sulphur, fire and brimstone, is necessary to the welfare of mankind.

If you believe in a devil with his dreadful torments lasting FOREVER, you must believe that this horrible creature is the actual creation of "a merciful God," that he acts under the sanction, with the permission, of the Ruler of this universe.

Nobody, of course, can DENY that the devil exists, or that anything ELSE exists. To DENY that a thing exists without any proof is almost as foolish as to BELIEVE that a thing exists without any proof.

But we KNOW that this world in which we live, and this universe in which it is a speck, is beautifully, wisely, and mercifully ruled. We know that the progress of human beings in morals, happiness and prosperity has been steady, and still continues.

We know that the most sinful of men and women ARE THOSE THAT HAVE HAD THE WORST CHANCE IN THE WORLD. We know that some are born under conditions that make a good life almost impossible. It takes a good deal of believing capacity to imagine that a merciful Creator would CREATE SUCH WRETCHED, MISERABLE CREATURES AND THEN TURN THEM OVER TO BE TORMENTED THROUGH ALL ETERNITY BY A HORRIBLE, VILE, CRUEL, INFERNAL CREATURE, DELIGHTING IN THE SUFFERING OF WRETCHED SOULS.

As men improve, THEIR CONCEPTION OF GOD AND HIS MERCY AND JUSTICE BECOMES HIGHER. Is it a high conception of the Creator to imagine Him as sorting out souls that He has brought into being, and turning over part of them to eternal, merciless torment?

But, of course, all this is a matter OF BELIEF.

Some are probably made much better by believing in the devil and in hell. Some undoubtedly would not behave themselves if they didn't think they might get burned up hereafter. It is well for THEM to believe in the terrors that keep them

on their good behavior, AND THEY ARE APT TO KEEP ON BELIEVING IN THOSE TERRORS, no matter what might be said.

The VICIOUS mind is the IGNORANT mind. The vicious and the ignorant mind easily believe in the devil, in brimstone that never cools, and in the other atrocities.

When our friend Mr. Masterson says, "You certainly know that if everybody believed there is no devil this world would be extremely more wicked than it is," he is entirely mistaken. We "KNOW" nothing of the kind.

The devil is the creation partly of a guilty conscience and partly of intelligent planning. While men are wicked they will be ignorant—THEY WILL STOP BEING WICKED WHEN THEY CEASE BEING IGNORANT. As long as they are wicked their imagination will create some appropriate devil, some appropriate infernal punishment.

We wish to tell Mr. Masterson, however, that the NOBLEST MEN IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY ARE NOT THOSE THAT BELIEVED IN THE DEVIL, at least not in recent days.

There have been some very respectable and useful Americans that hadn't the slightest faith in the existence of the devil, or of a material hell.

Benjamin Franklin was a useful citizen; he didn't believe in the devil.

Thomas Jefferson was a great man, moral, RELIGIOUS IN THE TRUE SENSE OF THE WORD. But he hadn't the faintest belief in the devil or an eternal fire.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN BELIEVED IN NO DEVIL. Yet Lincoln WAS A GOOD MAN. He was perfectly willing to live or to die for the truth, for decency. It didn't require any devil to frighten

him into doing his duty.

The time will come, soon we hope, in a few thousand years anyhow, when all men will be as good as Lincoln, and willing to do their best, even without any sharp pitchfork behind them in their imaginations.

We do believe, firmly and steadfastly, of the Creator of this universe that "HIS MERCY ENDURETH FOREVER." And we do not believe that mercy enduring forever is compatible with the creation of wretched creatures TO BE TORTURED FOREVER.

However, as we have said, those that WANT to believe in the old gentleman with the pitchfork, can do so. If it makes them better, let them continue to believe, or if it makes them happier.

Among clergymen at the present time less than half, we should say, preach belief in an actual devil. And of the half that do preach the belief from a sense of duty, and because they think that those who listen to them require the devil's inducements to be good, we don't believe that one in ten actually thinks of the terrible monster as a reality.

MEN'S CONSCIENCES PUNISH THEM FOR THEIR MORAL MISDEEDS.

MEN'S BODIES PUNISH THEM FOR THEIR PHYSICAL SINS.

The real devils live ON THIS EARTH, and their names are in the telephone directory and in the society directory. They are the men that take what belongs to the poor; they are the men that CAUSE DRUNKENNESS BY CAUSING POVERTY.

The real devils are those that cheat the country of its taxes; that cheat children of an education. They are the fathers of the crimes due to ignorance.

# Jaures' Great Book.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

"STUDIES in Socialism," by *Jean Jaures*, translated by Miss Mildred Minturn, has been sent to our office. Jean Jaures is probably the most famous Socialist in France today. The book before us is a collection of articles that appeared in 1901 in the "*Petite Republique*," and which were afterwards collected for the "*Cahiers de la Quinzaine*."

The translation is very well done. Therefore we are sorry that the translator has omitted the articles on French politics and rural conditions dealing with the "Farm Question and Socialism," which latter phase is of particular interest to the United States.

Jaures all throughout his book shows the impossibility of the catastrophe theory. Also the tremendous difference that must necessarily exist between the tactics of the Socialists in a monarchical country, like Germany, for instance, and democratic republics like France and America. But the articles omitted discuss the difficulties with which the Socialist party has to deal in countries where there are *many farm owners* as in France. And, we may add, in America.

These obstacles do not exist in England or in Italy, where much of the land is in the hands of large owners. Even in Germany, where the feudal lords still have very *large* holdings, the difficulties to be met are very much smaller.

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We also should have been glad to see included in this translation the essays dealing with the *French law regulating property and inheritance*. The translator thinks these essays "are extremely interesting in themselves, but not applicable to countries where the Napoleonic Code is not in force." We differ with the esteemed translator in this. These essays would be most valuable to all intelligent Americans.

Jaures proves by history how paradoxical and full of contradiction is the bourgeois idea of personal property. He shows that the great bourgeois revolution of the 18th century, the revolution of Robespierre and Marat, tried to fix the right of private property as a *personal and natural right*. Yet nowhere in history before was this personal and natural right limited more than in the great French Revolution. Proof of this is the inheritance legislation of the Code of Napoleon.

Just now this would be of particular interest to Americans.

A Theodore Roosevelt is advising a high and graduated inheritance tax to curb swollen fortunes. Even a Carnegie is not averse to the confiscation of large fortunes of the deceased.

\* \* \*

Besides, the peculiar inheritance legislation of the French Revolution had two results.

First, a very large distribution of land ownership.

Second, the practical application of the Malthusian theory in France. The French peasantry restricted themselves in the number of their children in order not to divide up their land still further. This in turn brought about a standstill in the population of France.

It might also be interesting to note in connection that this extreme individualism caused the same sort of sterilization of the population as did the communism of the Jesuit state in Paraguay. There was also a standstill and afterwards a retrogression in the population. Extremes meet.

\* \* \*

The book of course is exceedingly interesting as it is. Special attention should be given the chapters where Jaures discusses a posthumous manuscript of Liebknecht, which was reprinted in the Berlin *Vorwaerts* of August 7, 1901. From Liebknecht's views Jaures draws conclusions for the French Social-Democracy, particularly against Guesde and the ultra-Marxists, who before the unification of the Socialist forces in France formed the French Socialist Labor party and were opposed to Jaures and the constructive Socialists.

Jaures says, "That method of procedure which of late years has gone by the somewhat insulting name of "*Socialist opportunism*" has never been more energetically formulated."

Here are some sayings of Liebknecht as quoted by Jaures.

\* \* \*

"We have seen that it is impossible to decide beforehand on tactics for our party which would hold good in every case. Tactics must depend upon circumstances. The *interest of the party* is our only law, our only rule.

"We have seen the necessity of emancipating ourselves from the bondage of certain catch-words, and of developing the power of the party in the direction of clear thought and brave and methodical action, instead of displaying it in phrases of revolutionary violence, which too often only serve to hide a lack of previous thought and vigorous action.

"We must not limit our conception of the term 'working-class' too narrowly. As we have explained in speeches, tracts, and articles, we include in the working class all those who live exclusively or principally by means of their own work and who do not grow rich through the work of others.

"Thus, besides the wage earners, we should include in the working class the small farmers and small shop-keepers, who tend more and more to drop to the level of the proletariat—in other words, all those who suffer from our present system of production on a large scale.

"Not to contract, but to expand, ought to be our motto. The circle of Socialism should widen more and more *until we have converted most of our adversaries to being friends*, or at least disarmed their opposition.

"All the legislative measures which we shall support, if the opportunity is given us, ought to have for their object to prove the fitness of Socialism to serve the common good, and to destroy current prejudices against us.



"Socialism pre-supposes our modern civilization. It does not go counter to it in any way. Far from being the enemy of civilization, Socialism wishes to extend it to all humanity, whereas now it is the monopoly of a privileged minority.

"Some people may be surprised that we lay so *much stress* on the *question of taxation*, since in the Socialist State there will be no question of taxation.

"It is true that *if* we could pass over to Socialism at one bound, we should not need to concern ourselves with taxation at all, because the funds necessary for public expenses would come from the product of social labor. And in a still further stage of development, when all economic functions would be State concerns, there would be no longer any difference between public and private expenses.

"*But we are not going to attain Socialism at one bound. The transition is going on all the time*, and the important thing for us, in this explanation, is not to paint a picture of the future—which in any case would be useless labor—but to forecast a practical program for the intermediate period, to formulate and justify measures that shall be applicable at once, and that will serve as aids to the new Socialist birth."

\* \* \*

Thus wrote Liebknecht in 1881, at a time when the "special laws" against the Social-Democrats were still in force in Germany.

And Jaures tries to explain the inconsistency of this same Liebknecht in so bitterly condemning the entrance of a French Socialist (Millerand) into a bourgeois government.

Jaures thinks Liebknecht's reason for this was that under Bismarck's rule there was no room for Socialist and democratic activity, but that Liebknecht hoped that the Socialist party would obtain political control even under the Imperial regime *after* Bismarck.

The fact of the matter is, there was a *dualism* in the ideas of Liebknecht. He was a practical Social-Democrat and also a utopian communist at the same time.

In the first place, Karl Marx, the great teacher of Liebknecht, was a communist in his early days. The "Communist Manifesto," which Jaures very often criticises, is a communist, not a Socialist document—although some Socialist parties, particularly those in America and in Russia, use it in their propaganda. Very foolishly, it seems to me.

Karl Marx, in his early days, bitterly fought the early German Socialists—men like Moses Hess, Karl Gruen, Arnold Ruge and others. Later on, while he never directly recanted, Marx himself adopted the names "Socialist" and "*Social-Democracy*." He did this on account of the German movement, where Lassalle and his immediate successors had founded a very promising party by the latter name. And besides this streak of communism there also remained with Karl Marx all his life a touch of *Blanquism*—of the miracle working "coup de force" and the catastrophe idea.

It can thus readily be seen that those who are Marxists, pure and simple, very easily become impossibilists, adherents of the catastrophe theory, and believers in some wonder-working "coup de

force"—even expecting this miracle or this catastrophe to come through the *ballot*, which makes it doubly wonderful and doubly ridiculous.

Friederich Engels, the co-laborer and successor of Marx, later on several occasions took special pains to repudiate the catastrophe idea. He even declared that the Communist Manifesto had value *only as an historic document*. But those who had *practical* work to perform, like William Liebknecht, and were still orthodox Marxists, naturally wiggled between Scylla and Charybdis on this point. Therefore we can see Liebknecht issuing some pamphlets which have a strong impossibilistic tinge, while in others he speaks of "the gradual growth of capitalist society into Socialism."

Or as in the "Studies" which are before us, Liebknecht expresses his contempt for the "frothy and theatrical phrases of the fanatic supporters of the 'class struggle' dogma."

\* \* \*

The essays on "Socialism and Life" are also very interesting, and show the origin of Socialist theories. And in these days when the question of a "general strike" and of "direct action" is spooking about in every country and for a while had a foothold even in America, we would advise *every American Socialist* to read the essay, "General Strike and Revolution."

We should like every one of our readers to get a copy of this book. It is published by Putnam & Sons, New York, and can be obtained through the *SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD*. I also hope that Putnam's will put forth a cheap paper edition, so that the book may be used for propaganda.

\* \* \*

There is *one fault* I have to find with Comrade Jaures. He nowhere makes a distinction between communism and Socialism. In fact he uses these terms interchangeably.

We can readily understand why a Frenchman should do this. The French Socialist movement is deeply rooted in the tradition of Fourier, St. Simon, Cabet, Blanqui and other communists. All of these schools still have some followers. The influence of their writings is still felt in France.

As a matter of **fact**, the strong touches of Blanquism which are found at least in the **early** writings of Karl Marx, first made it *possible* for Marxism to get a foothold in France.

\* \* \*

But in **other countries**, particularly in Germany, England and in America, the **communistic** experiments had no bearing at all upon the growth of the Socialist movement.

If there is any **communistic** sentiment at all in Germany, it is of late growth, through the "Communist Manifesto" and after it had become simply an historic document.

In America communistic colonies have lately been founded to "try Socialism." But the Socialist movement is *not* the result and has no connection at all with the *early* utopian experiments.

The Socialist movement grew out of capitalism, as its child or its presumptive heir. It has nothing to do with the communistic theories or experiments of the past.

Socialism is *not* communism.

\* \* \*

We ought to have these terms absolutely clear. Communism means producing together *and using* together, or even *not* producing together but *consuming together*. To consume in common, is *always* at the bottom of the communist idea.

Thus the Nazarenes in the times of Jesus, the Buddhist monks and the Christian monks lived in communism. They consumed together, although they rarely produced together, and generally lived by begging. There were also many communistic colonies that produced *and* consumed together.

Socialism simply means the collective ownership of the means of *production* and distribution. We will produce collectively, but we will *consume individually*.

\* \* \*

Thus Socialism is an eminently *modern* idea. It is really not even a theory—it is the name of a phase of civilization, like feudalism and capitalism. Socialism is the outcome of the revolution in the means of production which makes the collective ownership of the means of production inevitable, if we want to preserve civilization. Socialism was not possible 50 or 100 years ago.

But Socialism does not in any way compel us to consume together. And we, and probably the great majority, would not choose communism as a mode of living. The writer for one would most decidedly *object* to it.

Yet, of course, the Socialist movement in any country is in its infancy, even when its adherents count by millions. And all these finer points will be worked out in course of time. In fact, the evolution of modern civilization and of Socialism will work them out.

Victor L. Berger

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Robert Hunter, author of "Poverty," and famous as a settlement worker, has written from Europe that he is now ready to enroll himself as a Social-Democrat without reservation, thus placing himself in direct opposition to "the most fundamental cause of our social distresses, namely, capitalism itself." He says that capitalism will go the way of the other class systems that preceded it. "Lawson," he says, "sees its frenzied finance, Hughes sees its robbery of the widows and orphans, Hearst sees its political treachery, Steffens sees its political perfidy, Miss Tarbell its soul of dishonor and hypocrisy, Robert De Forest its murderous tenements, Felix Adler the slavery of the children, Roosevelt its poisonous food products." Mr. Hunter sees all these things at once, and the sight has driven him to join those who demand "the social ownership of the instruments of production."

# The German Elections.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

THE figures of the general election of the German Reichstag speak a plain language.

In the light of these figures the German government has not conquered. The majority of the German voters have not placed themselves on the side of the government. The majority of the German voters are not a "hurrah crowd." They do not allow themselves to be fooled by an idiotic Hottentot issue. Of the million and a half or two million voters who have grown up since 1903, not more than half voted for the government.

The vote of the opposition parties has grown no less than that of the government parties.

The Social-Democracy has not been beaten, as capitalistic writers falsely maintained after the first election days. Our party has experienced no Waterloo in Germany. It has even kept the phenomenal growth which it showed at the last election.

It has increased its vote by over 240,000. Its growth, of course, is absolutely not so great in three years as in five, but relatively it has kept the same pace in the gain.

Therefore that talk about the sympathizers who have left the party ought to stop. This election had to show what was 'sympathy' and what was the genuine article. All parties did their utmost to increase their standing. The government's appeal to patriotism also has had a certain effect. But in spite of this the outcome for the Social-Democracy was truly glorious.

\* \* \*

Equal suffrage is a myth in Germany—on account of the most shameless "gerrymander" of the election districts. Germany was divided into electoral districts in 1871, and since then they have not been changed. But meantime the city and industrial districts have undergone a gigantic increase of population, while the country districts have gained in population very little, or not at all. The strength of the Social-Democratic party is in the cities and factory districts. And, therefore, the Social-Democracy, which received over a quarter of the votes, will have perhaps scarcely a ninth of the delegates in the reichstag. On the other hand, we see that the Centrum (the Clerical party) with only one fifth of the total vote, has about one-fourth of the seats. The peasant, intellectually dependent upon the landed aristocracy and the clergy, has therefore relatively two votes, when compared with the city proletarian, while the city inhabitant has only one.

It is a remarkable sign that the Centrum—the clerical party—can also point to the greatest increase in votes. The Catholic priests have the people well in hand.

The Social-Democracy remains numerically the strongest party in Germany, since its voting strength is 3,261,005 votes in a total of 11,109,768 voters. The votes cast for the Centrum amount to 2,274,097, and for the candidates of the Conservatives 1,124,923 votes in all were polled.

The complete returns of the election for the German reichstag show that *all* the political parties increased their number of votes. The Centrum (Clerical party) has an increase of 398,900 votes. The National Liberals have an increase of 245,981; the Social-Democrats 240,238, the Conservatives 210,654, and the Independent Liberals 200,860.

The government will now have a majority for its colonial schemes. Perhaps it will play the Liberals and the Centrum against each other, and thus probably, in the end, it will fall between two stools. But all this is conjecture.

The main thing is that the Social-Democracy, although it has lost a number of seats, has lost neither its numerical force nor its authority. It has gained in both.

Victor L. Berqu.

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Now Socialism has become a bogey man in Congress. They are setting it up in straw and then knocking it down! On Jan. 16 Congressman Shepard made a long speech filled with railings at the Socialists and Social-Democracy. He could not tell the truth about us. He did not dare to. But he told no new lie.

One of the toughest knots in his tirade was this: "The happiest and purest government is the impersonal government of law (the police government, he doubtless means!), of law *before which all citizens stand as independent equals*, NOT AS SERVANTS AND EMPLOYES."

The italics and capitals are ours. Shepard is evidently one of the old politicians with which this country has been overrun these many decades, who say loftily things they know are not true, yet which when delivered positively fool the gudgeons—but there are *not* so many gudgeons as there were at one time! On another page we give some contrasts from the law as it is handed out to the "servants and employes" of America, and also as it is handed out *on a gold platter* to the members of the master class who are part of the class in control of both government and law. We are a little tired of your mere police government, Mr. Congressman Shepard. We are tired of allowing a class to own the government and use it as a mere police power to keep the common folks in check and prevent them from revolting against the awful plundering which is put upon them. And it is a mighty good sign that you are beginning to spew at us from the halls of congress. It shows that we are now so big and formidable that you dare not treat us longer with the "conspiracy of silence." Much obleeged, much obleeged!

# Shots at Capitalism.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

What is the worst day? Chancellor Day, of course!

Six more years of Bailey! Yet why not? He is as fit to sit in the American House of Lords and Scoundrels as most of the others.

The vast wealth of the United States is not a drop in the bucket to what it will be, the newspapers tell us. And the working class will have the growing pains and the capitalists the wealth!

Wasn't it funny to hear Rockefeller talking to that Bible class about the beauty of the sunshine and the flowers and the fragrant atmosphere just at the time the government was declaring him to be the prize bandit of modern capitalism, and his methods an abomination in the sight of men!

The Milwaukee *Sentinel* wants a whipping post established for wife deserters. Suppose you try it first on those other products of the capitalist system, the captains of industry, under whose regime wife deserters are becoming more and more numerous by reason of the higher cost of maintaining families!

The new pure food law seems to be doing some good anyway. A Milwaukee grocer has taken down the placard on a tub of "strawberry preserves" and replaced it with another bearing these words: "Genuine Imitation of Glucose Strawberry Compound." It is a good

thing to have these "genuine" imitations" correctly labelled.

The agent of the Associated Charities of Milwaukee says that from his experience an old age pension is badly needed. Only he wants the pension fund made up by charity instead of by the state. It is hard to get over that feeling that the care of the dispossessed must be a thing for the philanthropic glorification of their despoilers.

*Everybody's* magazine in its pictorial enumeration of the dangerous employments of labor as a means of illuminating the annual blood bill of American industry, leaves out one of the most horrible deaths of all. We refer to the death by smothering in the giant heaps of coal on the various coal docks in the distributing cities. The number of such fatalities is very large, considering how extensively labor has been displaced by machinery on those docks. The victim, once upon the "quicksand" of such a coal heap, only sinks down the faster the more he struggles in his panic, and then the black dust closes in over him and his efforts to breathe draw into his lungs the cutting and smothering dust that finally ends his horrible struggles. It is a more frightful death than that of the men who lose their balance and fall into the great vats of white hot metal in the Pittsburgh furnaces, for it is more lingering. Labor not only pays the blood bill of our boasted American industry, but it has to pay it in the most horrible ways.

Carnegie says poverty is a blessing, and it has also been said that it is more blessed to give than to receive. Andy has handed out a good deal of poverty to the work slaves in his employ and probably feels, it was a *blessed* thing to do.

How would this do for a good sample of capitalistic fustian: The new senator from the state of— was once a mere boy, therefore no boy need despair of a chance to rise. That's about as logical as a good many of these wierd stories about "great" men who have become great in spite of the fact that they were employed as most boys are employed during their youth.

Here's a funny one. It is reported that the son of Kaiser William of Germany recently began to show signs of interest in the Social-Democratic movement, and to betray great admiration for Bebel, the great Social-Democratic leader. He tried to associate himself with a Socialist publication in Berlin, and then his dad got after him hot-foot and he will be sent to this country to get his attention distracted to other subjects.

John R. Walsh, proprietor of the *Chicago Chronicle*, the most virulent of ultra-capitalistic opponents of Socialism, has just been indicted by a grand jury as a high grade thief, in connection with the looting of a bank which he got control of. Still we do not expect that other capitalistic papers round the country will cease reprinting the *Chronicle's* mendacious lies about Socialism simply because of this little unpleasant difficulty of Walsh's.

Prof. Lombroso, the Italian criminologist, says of American millionaires, "The ordinary million-

aire is destitute of moral sense, kindness or justice. He will borrow money from a banker and use it to ruin the lender. The insatiable thirst for money renders him absolutely unscrupulous. The successful money getter does not hesitate to ruin ten or twelve of his friends or break his wife's heart. Sometimes only an infinitesimal line divides the millionaire from the thief."

The president of the Milwaukee Foundrymen says the "open" shop is "founded on Christian principles." Is it so very Christian for a compactly organized band of masters to insist that their employes shall each stand before them naked and alone in bargaining for the sale of their labor power! This setting up a blasphemous religious claim by men who are able under the workings of the capitalist system to live and wax fat on the unrequited toil of the working class reminds us of a parallel offense well hit off by Macauley when he said that patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel.

The truth is stranger than fiction, we are told. Just now a new method has been invented, whereby sheet-like blocks of porcelain for building purposes can be turned out. This means that the future homes may be of china! Glass blocks are also quite likely to be used. What utopian writer could have dreamed of such a thing! In fact some of the "wonders" of the Socialistic era dreamed of by Bellamy in his "Looking Backward" have already come to pass, and all these things are piling up the possibilities for ample living for the coming supremacy of the people who toil with hand and brain.

"Every man ought to be willing to pay for what he gets. He ought to desire to give full value for value received," says a well known American. Yes, but that is not the principle underlying the capitalist system, which is entrenched behind capitalist law and capitalist government in this country. Nearly every Sunday school talk to young people advises them to save up something from their earnings and *invest* it, so as to get an *increase*. Investing to get an increase is trying to get more than you give, isn't it?

"Who is to blame for Rockefeller's wealth? Who is to blame for Carnegie's wealth? Who is to blame for the swollen fortunes of all the multimillionaires? The government. The way out is not by confiscation by a progressive income tax, but by legislation making it impossible for men to attain to the position that those men occupy." So said the Rev. Hodgins of a Milwaukee Unitarian church before the Sunset Club's symposium on "Swollen Fortunes", in Milwaukee last week. The sentiment of the minister is typical of a certain type of citizens. They have no visible objections to the capitalist class riding round on the backs of the working class, they are not after any law to shut that species of cannibalism off, but they want the law invoked to prevent the capitalist class *from itself being ridden*.

Chop suey joints and wine rooms are alleged to have ruined so many young girls in Toledo that a crusade is to be made against them. A 14-year old girl was taken from one of the chop suey joints in a state of beastly intoxication. Such dens exist because there is money in the traffic, and there is money in it, because capitalism demoralizes

people down to such standards. The social system is like the human body, when its condition is soon reflected in ulcers and boils, and both the system and the boils need expert attention. Such joints as they are fighting in Toledo are the boils and ulcers that denote a bad state of social health. So long as the capitalist system rules mankind these social boils and ulcers cannot be exterminated in society. They may be individually suppressed in an effort to prevent them from contaminating those other than their habitues, but are sure to return in some form or other.

A lecturer in Milwaukee the other night said:

"Above all things, let me urge you mothers not to allow your children to play at war with tin soldiers and toy cannon. They can be amused just as easily in other ways. Why should you permit the boy whom you hope will become a fine and gentle man to pretend that he is killing people and to cut whole platoons of infantry at one volley? Do not, I beg of you, let the children mimic this ghastly business of violent death."

This is sound advice, but it is contrary to the teachings of our public schools, in which this sort of thing under the guise of patriotism is constantly inculcated, from an empty flag worship to military hero worship. And if you will take the pains to notice reading for the young, especially for boys, is now almost wholly confined to glorification of the murder-in-gross, called war. Go to your public library and see the poison of this sort that is given out in the boy's books. It is a fine food with which to follow up the previous miseducation of our boys via the Sunday funny papers, and it is about time to call a halt.





# How Social-Democracy Grows in Germany!

(Republished from the "Literary Digest.")

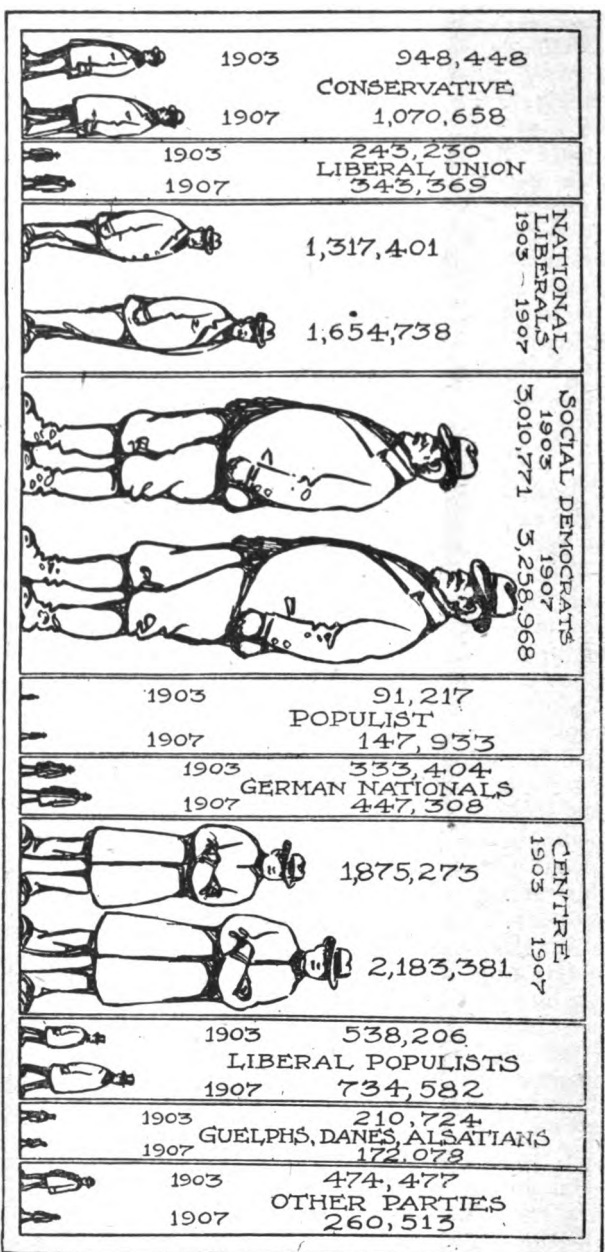


DIAGRAM SHOWING THE RELATIVE NUMBER OF VOTES CAST BY THE VARIOUS PARTIES FOR THE REICHSTAG ELECTIONS IN 1903 AND 1907.

By the Government's limitation of representation from the cities, the Socialists, despite their increased vote, suffer a large reduction in strength in the Reichstag.

# THE VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray,  
Yet newer strength we borrow,  
And where the Vanguard camps today,  
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

Vol. 5. No. 6.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., APRIL, 1907.

Whole Number 50.

## The Month's Story.

### Give Us More Such Defeats

Dear Fellow-Socialist, when you read in your morning paper of "another Socialist knockout" in Germany, London, or some other remote locality, don't let it spoil your appetite for breakfast. Don't be afraid that "Socialism is going back." Just paste in your hat the little cartoon which forms the frontispiece for this issue of the VANGUARD, and look at it upon all such occasions. Remember, that it commemorates one of these Socialist "defeats."

Notice that the sturdy Social-Democratic giant, who towers above the political pigmies around him, has added several inches to his stature in the last German election. And all the capitalist papers gloried in the result of this election as a Social-Democratic Waterloo!

Oh, for a few more such Waterloos!

A few more such years of growth, and our giant will be able to stride over the heads of the German parties. And then the German Social-Democrats will be in a position to do away with the infamous gerrymander which keeps them a minority party in the Reichstag, although the largest party in the Empire.

Give us more such Waterloos!

From London, also, comes the news of "another Socialist knockout!" As the Progressives defeated in London were *not* Socialists, this crowing of the capitalist papers is rather funny.

And thereby hangs a tale. The Duke of Westminster, as is well known, is the great landlord of London, and owns a big share of its real estate. He and the "noble" vampires of his class lease their property, and the lease-holders are obliged to pay the taxes. Now, the Progressives, very justly, felt that the slums of the East End of London are the blackest disgrace of England. They tore down a great number of these horrible dens, and replaced them with model tenements, comfortable and sanitary. This, and all the other improvements made in London by the Progressives, of course greatly increased the value of the noble duke's property. But the noble duke does not pay for them. The lease-holders and tenants foot the bill. The taxes being raised by this class of expenditures, middle-class John Bull has rebelled. Hence the turn-down of the Progressives in the last London elections.

In the end, the gain will be for the Socialists. The English reformers will be forced to go deeper. They will be compelled to at-

tack the land question, which, in England, underlies the whole capitalist system. So the "Waterloo" of the Progressives will be a good piece of Socialist propaganda.

Yet, at the same time, the sneers against the London County Council's expenditures for improvements, which are now going the rounds of the capitalist press, are about as bad an example of the spirit of commercialism as can often be found.

Suppose a thousand times the price of these improvements had been spent in shooting holes through human beings by way of "opening up a world market." This would have been a good investment, according to the cruel notions of our capitalist editors. But for London to spend her taxes in saving the lives of her own children, in removing the conditions which breed disease and death, in giving men and women the chance to live like human creatures instead of filthy wild beasts—oh! that is terrible extravagance!

Good heavens, what sort of a civilization do we live under?

\* \* \*

### The Paternal Bogie-Man

Next to "extravagance", "paternalism" is the pet bogie-man with which the capitalist press likes to scare the public from all Socialistic, semi-Socialistic, or even *quarter-Socialistic* measures. They are "un-democratic", "un-American", they are "contrary to the genius of our institutions," and they "savor of paternalism."

Now, this is a queer kind of bogie-man, indeed. Certainly, the present system is not exactly "paternal." It is not fatherly to the little children in southern factories, or northern mines or glassworks, yearly murdered by our *un-paternal* system. It is still less fatherly to the thousands of innocent young girls, scarcely more than children, who are yearly forced into a life of shame, by economic conditions.

Surely, a really paternal despotism could not be worse than this unnatural system of physical and moral infanticide.

Yet whether Socialism is or is not un-American, we cannot say. The two opposite principles, democracy and plutocracy, are now at war in America, and it remains yet to be seen which will finally triumph as the "American" idea.

Already the American experiment of giving democracy the right of way in the political field, and enthroning plutocracy in the economic field, is beginning to prove a most dismal failure. Democracy is decidedly getting the worst of it in this division of powers. The two are oil and water. They never can mix. "Democratic" America has broken up into classes. And the plutocracy is fast becoming the ruling class.

So we cannot yet say whether Socialism is American or un-American, because it is not yet decided whether democracy shall be American or un-American.

For Social-Democracy is the economic side of democracy. It is democracy applied to the economic sphere.

What is more un-democratic than for one man to rule the economic destinies, the wages, the conditions of labor, the employment or

non-employment of his fellowmen? Such a system is much farther removed from true democracy than is the concentration of mere political power in the hands of a king or an emperor. The lords of the bread are worse tyrants than the lords of the laws, because they enter into our very lives, into our very homes, and dictate all the details of our way of living.

And what more genuinely democratic arrangement of our industries is possible than for the American people, collectively, to own and operate the factories, the plants, the mines, the railways of America, all the machinery by which the wealth of our country is created or transported?

Then, and then only, shall we be real democrats. Then, and then only, will our political liberties stand on a solid foundation. Then, and then only, shall we enjoy that genuine equality, which alone can guarantee the permanent success of democracy.

And if the capitalist press perversely chooses to call this "paternalism"—well, the Social-Democratic rose under that name will be just as sweet for the working class.

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**Russian vs. American Muzzles** Some ten years ago, the editor of the VANGUARD chanced to spend a few months in Russia. A frightful silence then reigned throughout the Czar's domains. For those who knew where to find it, a strong and bitter undercurrent of discontent even then flowed under the surface of things, like a sullen river under the ice. But in public it was invisible. The press was muzzled. From Russian newspapers, magazines and books, you could scarcely get a hint of the real state of things. The men who dared to speak their thoughts, were buried alive in the stone-bags of the Peter and Paul fortress, or were marched to Siberia in leg-fetters.

"Free" Americans used to ask, rather contemptuously, how one hundred and twenty million men could be gagged by one tyrant? And they pointed with pride to their "free" press and the blaze of publicity lighting up, as they supposed, every corner of American life.

It is so easy for Brother Jonathan to see an evil across the Atlantic through a telescope. And it is so easy to hide from him an evil at home, while you flatter him with Fourth of July speeches.

For it is a shameful fact, that the Czars of our big industries shroud their dealings with their employes in as much mystery as that which covered Russian affairs ten years ago. And it is almost as hard to find out what is done within their plants as to investigate the grim fortress on the quay of the frozen Neva.

A few years ago, when the agitation was started against child labor in Southern factories, some New England women learned, for the first time, that the industries in which they owned a few shares of stock were among the most criminal in their employment of children. These New England women undertook to assist the investigation of conditions in those industries. They personally visited the Southern industrial districts, and in their capacity of small stock-holders sought

admission to the factories. The doors were closed upon them. In the very factories of which they were joint-owners, they were refused permission to examine conditions, or even to enter the premises!

Nor is it only in the dark corners of the remote south where capitalism hides its tracks. In the suburbs of the second largest American city, a despotic secrecy prevails, almost equalling the mysterious power of the Czar in the palmiest days of his autocracy.

"At South Chicago," says Charles Edward Russell, "the Illinois Steel Company, a part of the steel trust, owns a great tract of land, whereon are situated its rolling mills and factories, and in that area the company acknowledges no authority but its own. It will not admit to that area policeman, nor constable, nor coroner. Ordinarily, if a man is killed on that territory, the coroner holds no inquest, the police make no report. If a man is injured there, he cannot be taken to any public hospital; the company has a hospital of its own on its territory, the injured man goes there, whether he wishes to go or not, and no authority can make any investigation into the manner of his wounding. It may have been criminal, he may have been assaulted; that makes no difference. The Illinois Steel Company takes care of that, it has its own laws, its own jurisdiction. In the midst of the United States, it is an independent principality, wherein the laws that apply to the rest of us do not exist."

Is that pleasant reading for you, patriotic American citizen, who loves to boast that wherever Old Glory flies, there American laws and American freedom go hand in hand?

Let me tell you, my patriotic friend, that unless you and men like you do something pretty quick, "Old Glory" will have to change its name.

The New York Herald, some years ago, published a series of articles about conditions of labor in the coal mines. The information was taken from some miners' monthly bills, showing that at the end of the month, after their employers had deducted every thing which it was possible to deduct, sometimes only sixteen or eighteen dollars remained to the miner for his month's work. Facsimiles of six of these bills were printed, no names, of course, being given. But the men who furnished these bills were somehow ferreted out by the lords of the mines and promptly dismissed. No bones were made of the matter—the men were bluntly told that they were discharged for giving information to the New York Herald. And they were not only discharged, but also blacklisted in every mine of the anthracite coal regions. Five years later, this blacklist was still in force.

No, if you are going to have a press censorship, the Russian method is more humane than this, and causes less suffering.

And, by the way, how much information about the Moyer-Haywood case have you obtained from your capitalistic newspapers?

In fact, there are two ways of working a press censorship. The Czar's way was to compel every editor to submit all his articles, news items, stories, jokes, and squibs to the persual of a government censor. If he did not approve of the editorial comments, or if he thought the news might damage the autocracy—whack! down came his big black stamp on the editorial or the news item, and when you opened

your paper next morning, there was a tantalizing inky mess in the place where your news ought to be.

The American plan is not so crude and barbarous. It consists in the ownership of the press by the capitalist class, who may generally be trusted to be their own censors in behalf of their own class interests.

Since we visited the silent Russia of ten years ago, the Russians have uprisen against these conditions.

But Americans, who are proverbially "good-natured" and "patient," meekly submit to the American system of suppressing facts.

Yet there is a time when "patience ceases to be a virtue", and may be rebaptized with the ugly name of—COWARDICE.

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## The Failure of "Big Men"

By EASTERN SOCIALIST

Capitalist papers never tire of telling us how well private interests are served, and with what extravagance and inefficiency public business is conducted. They say that public service breeds indolence, shelters incompetence, and rewards mediocrity; that it destroys incentive, lowers energy, and corrupts moral character in most persons who are so unfortunate as to become connected with it.

It is somewhat surprising, therefore, to find the New York Evening Post, a capitalist paper of the most uncompromising type, paying a fine tribute to the character and integrity of men in public service, and drawing comparisons between public and private service which are distinctly favorable to the former, though, of course, all this is unconsciously done. In discussing the resignation of John F. Stevens as chief engineer of the Panama canal, in its issue of February 28, the *Post* said:

"The discouraging feature to Secretary Taft and other officers of the administration is that the so-called "Big Men" who have been connected with the canal enterprise, have viewed their positions solely as money-making jobs, and have squabbled for precedence, the limelight and glory, like so many soubrettes in a musical show. Shonts and Stevens were jealous of Magoon. Stevens was jealous of Shonts, and, in his day, Wallace was jealous of his superiors and associates. None of them has ever been able to take the view that Schley crystallized into a phrase at Santiago, 'There's glory enough for us all.'

"None of these men showed himself of the fiber that can endure from Congress, the press, and the public, the hostile criticism, often unintelligent, and the close scrutiny of their acts that men in the public service have to endure and accept as part of the day's work. This criticism is a necessary and valuable attribute of Government service. Men of broad understanding and a wide outlook on public affairs and their relations to the people whom they serve, understand and appre-

ciate this. Wallace and Stevens had never had to endure any sort of public criticism, and they found it intolerable."

In this statement the Post calls attention to a fact that has been too little commented upon, namely, that continual criticism by the press and the representatives of the people is a "necessary and valuable attribute of government service." The man who is performing service for the whole people has the public eye constantly upon him. His official acts are subjected to the closest scrutiny. If he fails in the slightest degree in the performance of his duties he is immediately pounced upon, and in the fire of criticism that ensues he is either forced out of the service or compelled to effect a reformation in the practice complained of.

The result of all this is that men who occupy public positions are constantly striving to conduct the business of their departments so as to escape criticism. They are continually in dread of being called to account for some real or fancied neglect of duty, and are insistent that their subordinates shall walk in the straight and narrow path of perfect rectitude. There are a few exceptions to this rule, it is true, but they soon find themselves in hot water. Grafters and incompetents are quickly discovered and placed on the rack, as note the post-office and public land thieves who were quite recently sent to prison.

It is worth noting, also, that those who are convicted of dishonesty in the public service are almost invariably men who have obtained positions of responsibility through pull instead of through merit. They are generally politicians of unscrupulous character, who have been useful in rounding up votes for the party in power or for some individual leader of the party, and have been placed in office as a reward for this sort of service. The men who have risen to responsible government positions through merit have generally escaped all suspicion of graft, and it is undoubtedly true that the proportion of defaulters in government service is far less than in private service.

President Roosevelt has scoured the country for "Big Men" to whom he has entrusted the job of digging the Panama canal, and they have all conspicuously failed him, notwithstanding the princely salaries paid them, and the honor which would inevitably come to the man who successfully carried through such a project. Indeed, this latter consideration seems to have affected these big men not at all. Wallace, Shonts, Stevens, all have "viewed their positions solely as money-making jobs," and as soon as they began to be criticised and requested by Congress to make explanation of their acts and policies, they found their positions intolerable. Mr. Roosevelt has finally been compelled to fall back upon the services of men who have been trained in the public service, and the canal will be dug under the direction of army engineers. These men can stand criticism, and are always ready to explain their acts when called upon to do so.

As a matter of fact, the assumption that all the ability and virtue in a particular line of endeavor are to be found in the service of private industry is the veriest rot. The truth is that private industry reeks with corruption and inefficiency. The plunder and utter incompetency, or worse, that have been uncovered by the recent insurance and railroad investigations are something appalling. These men of transcendent



ability that have been held up to the public gaze for years past by the capitalist press as paragons of everything that is to be desired, are shown to be mere sordid grafters without a single redeeming quality. In spite of their enormous salaries they were responsible for executive acts of which any two thousand dollar clerk in the public service would have been ashamed, and which would have caused his immediate dismissal if they had been performed by him in the discharge of his duty.

Private industry does not demand that its captains shall work in the limelight of publicity; on the contrary, it generally requires the opposite. Its ways are dark and devious, and its profits are often the result of processes that are indefensible, even from the capitalist standpoint. The only thing private industry requires of its captains is that they maintain its rate of profit. The means by which they accomplish this are of no consequence. Under such a regime men who are charged with responsibility develop into Czars, whose simplest word cannot be questioned. It was men of this type whom the President selected to dig the canal, and it is small wonder they failed when they were subjected to the criticism which "is a necessary and valuable attribute of government service."

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The testimony in the trial of Steve Adams, out in Idaho, brought out the fact that he had been subjected to torture in jail in order to force him to sign a confession that was not a confession, so as to bolster up the Moyer-Haywood case. Police torture is bad enough when it is used for the "legitimate" purpose of trying to get a truthful confession from some crook who is believed to be actually guilty, but it is an affront to humanity and to civilization when it is used for the purpose of fixing guilt on innocent men as part of a capitalistic conspiracy. Poor devils can be browbeaten, and given the "third degree" by brutal police officials at will, and this sort of outrage is going on in our larger cities every day of the year, but it is only when it is employed in some such case as that of Steve Adams that the public gets a clear idea of it. Adams has friends, and the poor devils, as a

rule, have not.

The police "sweat box" ought to be abolished just as the old inquisition was abolished. It is a sprig from the same old, cruel tree. And if the courts were not so hopelessly in the control of capitalism it would be abolished, for the courts would not tolerate it. Every arrested man, under the guarantees of our form of democratic government, should be given the right to a hearing before a court official, and should be informed by that official of his constitutional right not to answer, the same as any one else under arrest. In other words, the poor man should have the same consideration as the rich man. When a man in a police sweat box has been treated to the "water cure," that is, has had water poured down his throat to force a confession, he is quite apt to admit anything false as well as true to escape the pain.

# The Mistakes of Mallock

By INDEX

W. H. Mallock, one of the last of the old Individualist croakers who hold that the only way to keep men good, and honest, and thrifty, is to keep them at each other's throats through competitive strife, has just come across the ocean on a visit and has been quite warmed up by the joy with which Yankee capitalism has taken to his anti-Socialist fulminations. It is so long since he was able to get an audience among Englishmen to listen to such out-of-date stuff that the change he has met here has been simply captivating.

Some of the things he is saying are really amusing. As soon as the people become better educated they will see through Socialism, he says, and will no longer be fooled by it. Great stuff, especially considering that that great exploiters' aggregation, the National Civic Federation, is the agency that has secured Mallock for his American lectures! Such talk is mighty encouraging to the Belmonts and other broadcloth fleecers, who had begun to worry for fear the naughty Socialists were going to open people's eyes and spoil *their* chances of further parasitism. When people get their eyes open a little way Socialism looks good, but when they get enough education to open them wide, it will all look different and the rules of the game called Thrift, in which the stakes go on to the non-producer and want and anxiety to the producer, will be seen to be the most complete justice imaginable! Mallock says so, and it sounds fine—to the Belmonts!

Mallock's great specialty is to reason from false premises. As an instance of this is his claim that the Socialists have gone back in Germany, upon which false ground work he starts off in his reckless fashion to show why this is, he holding that many non-Socialists formerly allied themselves with the party because they were discontented but have now shifted to other parties, and so on. But how can he know this when his premise that the party went back is false—it having gained a quarter of a million of votes—and if anybody shifted, the returns certainly cannot show it!

We cannot imagine that any Social-Democrat is distressed by the coming of Mallock. He will only serve us by making people discuss our principles. In England, where he has resided all this time, Socialism has been making big gains without so much as asking his pardon. Besides all this, the Civic Federation unmasks itself and its real capitalist aims by seeking an avowed British anti-Socialist to come here to try to dissuade people from becoming Socialists. And this helps to discredit the false labor leaders in the Civic Federation, and to open the eyes of the rank and file to the fact that the men whom they keep in well paid positions are off doing capitalism's bidding against the interests of the toiling, drudging class. All this ought to be eminently satisfactory.

# Fruits of the Tree

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

THE murder trial of Harry K. Thaw in New York is still the sensation of the day. It has been going on for weeks, but it still holds the front pages of our daily papers. There are murder trials of that type to be found in nearly every city of the United States at almost any time. But the Thaw trial creates more attention because Thaw is many times a millionaire.

The worship of the Dollar-god shows its power on this occasion as on any other.

We may also state that if Harry K. Thaw was a poor man and not a member of the Pittsburg trustocracy they would make short work with him. The best thing that he could then do would be to declare himself guilty and throw himself on the mercy of the court. It is probable that under the circumstances he would get off with a few years. But the Thaw family would not be satisfied with that. Their intention it to get Harry "scot free." And for that purpose they want to use the theory of insanity and to prove that he is a degenerate.

Now, there can be no doubt of the fact that Harry is a degenerate. He is one of the "*second generation*" of very wealthy people in America who spend their youth in idleness and folly. They very soon have to pay with a crippled body and a crippled mind for the greatest sin of the capitalist system—the sin that is committed by permitting one class of our nation to go to perdition through idleness and over-plenty, and the other class, infinitely larger in number, to go to waste through misery and want.

The personality of Harry Thaw is of very little interest in this matter. Whether there is one more millionaire, who is spending the money taken away from the laboring class in riotous living, or whether he is sent to the electric chair, is of little moment. Probably the best thing for the human race would be to put him out of the way, as it is a good thing that the other monster, Stanford White, is out of the way.

But Harry Thaw is a type. And his case is typical. There are plenty of others of the Thaw kind in every large city of the United States. They all lead the same sort of life in their youth. They all are brought up in superabundant luxury, do no useful work, learn nothing from books, and "graduate themselves." They all are a part of the social evil—its "upper crust." What we are to do with them is becoming a serious question, since we cannot make "boy wonders" out of them all.

And so much must be obvious to all intelligent observers, that society as a whole—that the present economic system—is responsible for them. And society as a whole—as long as the present system lasts—ought to legislate so as to put them and society out of danger.

A graduated income tax—a confiscatory inheritance legislation—might help some.

Nor is the woman in the case, Evelyn Nesbit Thaw, particularly to be condemned. She is also a creature of conditions. Of course there are plenty of prostitutes in New York, Chicago or Milwaukee fully as "good" as she is. But her case also is one of many.

Her mother was very poor, so poor that the family was once ejected by the sheriff for not paying rent. There were no assets in that household except Evelyn's pretty face and fine figure. She became an artist's model at thirteen in order to make money. There was more money to be made on the stage, and so she became a chorus girl. Evelyn naturally wanted to enjoy life, or what is called "enjoying life" in New York in the circle of the chorus girls. So she fell an easy prey to White.

And there is the mother. She shows up very badly, because White evidently got the girl with her consent. But even this mother is a product of the present economic system. She had tasted abject poverty. Here was a chance to live in affluence. She was weak, and fell. Capitalism, with its misery and its temptations, is as much to blame as she.

So, after all, Harry K. Thaw is only possible in a world where the class distinctions are so fearful as they are in our society—but here the Harry Thaws are numerous.

Affairs like the connection between White and Evelyn Nesbit are going on continually in every large city of the United States; and also in very many small cities—only in the overwhelming majority of cases the story never comes out.

Of course, there is not often a case where a Harry K. Thaw really falls in love with a woman like Evelyn Nesbit. As a rule, these men and women are not capable of love.

Yet the question is whether Harry K. Thaw, leading exactly the same kind of a life as White did, had really any right to shoot White. But, of course, the plea is "insanity."

And we might add that anybody can make the same plea for the working of the entire system—it is insane. And it is clear to see that it is incurable, and will, therefore, come to a very bad ending.

In a Socialist society, where there will be no beggars and no millionaires, where nobody will sell and nobody will buy love, affairs of this kind will be impossible. Love will be free from economic fetters, and lust will be suppressed. But it is more than ridiculous when our opponents say that Socialists want to destroy the family in favor of what our opponents call "free love." Love of the type that we see exposed in the Thaw trial is, of course, not free; it is all paid for.

And the capitalist class feels that this trial is one of the many things that destroy the respect of the masses for our plutocracy. We can readily understand why the president wants to exclude the New York papers even from the mails. And it is significant that the Socialist press of the country has given less attention to this trial, with its disgusting details, than even the church papers.

But the trial itself cannot be expunged. We can always point to it and say once more: "Ye shall know the tree by its fruits."

*Victor L. Berger.*

# Night Side of London

By JACK LONDON, in "People of the Abyss"

"To carry the banner," means to walk the streets all night; and I, with the figurative emblem hoisted, went out to see what I could see.

Men and women walk the streets at night all over this great city, but I selected the West End, making Leicester Square my base, and scouting about from the Thames Embankment to Hyde Park.

The rain was falling heavily when the theaters let out, and the brilliant throng which poured from the places of amusement was hard put to find cabs.

The streets were so many wild rivers of cabs, most of which were engaged, however; and here I saw the desperate attempts of ragged men and boys to get a shelter for the night by procuring cabs for the cableless ladies and gentlemen.

I use the word "desperate" advisedly; for these wretched homeless ones were gambling a soaking against a bed; and most of them, I took notice, got the soaking and missed the bed.

Now, to go through a stormy night with wet clothes, and, in addition, to be ill nourished and not have tasted meat for a week or a month, is about as severe a hardship as a man can undergo.

Well-fed and well-clad, I have travelled all day with the spirit thermometer down to seventy-four degrees below zero; and though I suffered, it was a mere nothing compared with carrying the banner for a night, ill-fed, ill-clad, and soaking wet.

The streets grew very quiet and lonely after the theater crowd had

gone home. Only were to be seen the ubiquitous policemen, flashing their dark lanterns into doorways and alleys, and men and women and boys taking shelter in the lee of buildings from the wind and rain. Piccadilly, however, was not quite so deserted.

Its pavements were brightened by well-dressed women without escort, and there was more life and action there than elsewhere, due to the process of finding escort. But by three o'clock the last of them had vanished, and it was then indeed lonely.

At half-past one the steady downpour ceased, and only showers fell thereafter. The homeless folk came away from the protection of the buildings, and slouched up and down and everywhere, in order to rush up the circulation and keep warm.

One old woman, between fifty and sixty, a sheer wreck, I had noticed earlier in the night, standing on Piccadilly, not far from Leicester Square. She seemed to have neither the sense nor the strength to get out of the rain or keep walking, but stood stupidly, whenever she got the chance, meditating on past days, I imagine, when life was young and blood was warm.

But she did not get the chance often. She was moved on by every policeman, and it required an average of six moves to send her doddering off one man's beat and on to another's.

By three o'clock she had progressed as far as St. James street, and as the clocks were striking four I saw her sleeping soundly

against the iron railings of Green Park. A brisk shower was falling at the time, and she must have been drenched to the skin.

Now, said I, at one o'clock, to myself, consider that you are a poor man, penniless, in London Town, and that tomorrow you must look for work. It is necessary, therefore, that you get some sleep in order that you may have strength to look for work and to do work in case you find it.

So I sat down on the stone steps of a building. Five minutes later a policeman was looking at me. My eyes were wide open, so he only grunted and passed on.

Ten minutes later my head was on my knees, I was dozing, and the same policeman was saying gruffly, "'Ere, you, get outa that!"

I got. And, like the old woman, I continued to get; for every time I dozed a policeman was there to rout me along again.

Not long after, when I had given this up, I was walking with a young Londoner (who had been out to the colonies and wished he were out to them again) when I noticed an open passage leading under a building. A low iron gate barred the entrance.

"Come on," I said. "Let's climb over and get a good sleep."

"Wot?" he answered, recoiling from me. "An' get run in fer three months! Blimey if I do!"

Later on, I was passing Hyde Park with a young boy of fourteen or fifteen, a most wretched-looking youth, gaunt, and hollow-eyed and sick.

"Let's go over the fence," I proposed, "and crawl into the shrubbery for a sleep. The bobbies couldn't find us there."

"No fear," he answered. "There's the park guardians, and they'd run you in for six months."

Times have changed, alas! When I was a youngster I used to read of homeless boys sleeping in doorways. Already the thing has become a tradition. As a stock situation it will doubtless linger in literature for a century to come, but as a cold fact it has ceased to be. Here are the doorways, and here are the boys, but happy conjunctions are no longer effected. The doorways remain empty, and the boys keep awake and carry the banner.

"I was down under the arches," grumbled another young fellow. By "arches" he meant the shore arches where begin the bridges that span the Thames. "I was down the arches, w'en it was rying its ardest, an' a bobby comes in an' chyses me out. But I come back, an' 'e come too. 'Ere,' sez 'e, 'wot you doin' 'ere?' An' out I goes, but I sez, 'Think I want to pinch (steal) the bleeding bridge?'"

Among those who carry the banner, Green Park has the reputation of opening its gates earlier than the other parks, and at a quarter-past four in the morning, I, and many more, entered Green Park.

It was raining again, but they were worn out with the night's walking, and they were down on the benches and asleep at once. Many of the men stretched out full length on the dripping wet grass, and, with the rain falling steadily upon them, were sleeping the sleep of exhaustion.

And now I wish to criticise the Powers that be. They *are* the Powers, therefore they may decree whatever they please; so I make bold only to criticise the ridiculousness of their decrees.

All night long they make the homeless ones walk up and down. They drive them out of doors and passages, and lock them out of the

parks.

The evident intention of all this is to deprive them of sleep. Well and good, the Powers have the power to deprive them of sleep, or of anything else for that matter; but why under the sun do they open the gates of the parks at five o'clock in the morning and let the homeless ones go inside and sleep? If it is their intention to deprive them of sleep, why do they let them sleep after five in the morning? And if it is not their intention to deprive them of sleep, why don't they let them sleep earlier in the night?

In this connection, I will say that I came by Green Park that same day, at one in the afternoon, and that I counted scores of the ragged wretches asleep in the grass.

It was Sunday afternoon, the sun was fitfully appearing, and the well-dressed West Enders, with their wives and progeny, were out by thousands, taking the air. It was not a pleasant sight for them, those horrible, unkempt, sleeping vagabonds; while the vagabonds themselves, I know, would rather have done their sleeping the night before.

And so, dear soft people, should you ever visit London Town, and see these men asleep on the benches and in the grass, please do not think they are lazy creatures, preferring sleep to work. Know that the Powers that be have kept them walking all the night long, and that in the day they have nowhere else to sleep.

## A Shameless Class Organ

By WAYFARER

*American Industries*, the Parry-site organ which in all conscience should be rechristened the *Labor Skinners' Own*, is one of the most unashamed capitalistic stand-pat organs of all. It makes no bones of capitalism's predatory character nor of its class hatreds based on a pocket book conscience, and virtually says, in the language of the late lamented Tweed, "What are you going to do about it?" Just as the slave drivers of ante-bellum days insisted that it was a social duty to keep the nigger in his place, so the *American Industries* is published for the express purpose of stiffening the backbone of the masters of the present day in keeping their dependents "in their places." The aspiration of the toiling class, the builders of this nation, for better citizenship, is treason in its eyes.

The working class was intended by an allwise providence as the spoil of capitalism, to be plundered legally and thrown on the scrap heap after being used up. Something of the conscience of the paper may be understood by the manner in which it is being published. It set up a number of type-setting machines and then got in a number of young men under an offer to teach them the trade of type-setting, manned the machines with these victims, replaces them with others when they get to the point of wanting wages for their work, and thus gets its type-setting done labor free. This is its ideal of free labor, of the "open" shop, and it cannot abide labor revolts.

Now there are two ways by which men treated with the kind of capitalistic brutality that is advocated by *American Industries* can seek redress. One is by striking, when all peaceable methods of gaining their point have been exhausted. The other is by using the ballot as a labor weapon through which to force better work conditions and better citizenship for those who must consent to a wage labor existence. Naturally, therefore, the paper is violently bitter against both the strike and the ballot as a labor weapon. If it could have its way the wage workers would be disfranchised, and so it loses no opportunity to besmirch the Socialists. In regard to strikes its specialty is to help on strike-breaking, and to foster the growth of firms making a specialty of furnishing detectives and strike breakers. "We Break Strikes," reads the top line of one advertisement that it prints, The specialty of this particular agency is to supply detectives to work midst the men in shops where there is fear that the men are organizing, so as to ascertain the fact, become members of the union and play a traitorous part in it—a part which the editor of the paper does not hesitate to applaud. Another like agency announces that it performs "special service" during strikes, which we presume includes the procuring of immoral women for the strike-breakers in big factories as a means of keeping them from wandering away from the place at night, for this has been done in several strikes in recent years. And in the current issue we are not at all surprised to read in Pres. Van Cleave's department his gloating laudation of Secretary Straus's recent ruling that the alien contract labor law be gotten around by having the state governments act for the capitalists in making the contracts. "I favor Mr. Straus's plan," he says, "as one of the steps we will have to take to strengthen our system."

All of which shows how thoroughly *American Industries* is devoted to the plunder and exhaustion of the working class and to keeping it in its place where it can be kept tractable while being skinned. And the Citizens' Alliance, which is back of the paper, has its branches in most industrial cities, and always works the "patriotism" game. But predatory patriotism is not the kind that will eventually prevail in modern society, as all the evidences are going to show. There is no power strong enough to keep an enlightened working class from aspiring to higher citizenship, and any success that Alliance methods may gain are but temporary at best.

Every third man over the age of twenty-five in Germany is a Social-Democrat, according to the showing of the recent elections.

To a large audience in St. Patrick's church in Washington, the

Rev. Father Stafford declared that Socialism was the most important question up for consideration at the present time, and urged his hearers to make an unbiased investigation of its principles.



# “Disagreeable” Work

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

**A** LAWYER who has read our answer to Mr. Hoyt, is very much disturbed, lest in the Socialist Republic nobody could be found who would do the “disagreeable” work. He fears that everybody would want the “easy” jobs.

In answer to this we would first say that the decision as to what work or employment is “agreeable” and what is “disagreeable” will no doubt differ according to personal taste and inclination. Agricultural pursuits, which, for example, are the most agreeable occupation to some, might be perfectly intolerable to others. Office work and bookkeeping, which to some people seem very desirable, would be the last occupation I would choose.

One could therefore wager ten to one that almost every “disagreeable” employment might find its lover.

To this must be added the fact that the machine will do more and more the work of men. Today competition is the incentive of the capitalist to let the machine do as much work as possible, in order to save money. In the Socialist society the prospect of the alleviation and embellishment of life for everybody will have that effect even in a greater degree.

But to those who point to street-cleaning, scavenging, etc., I should like to draw their attention to the fact, that not only in foreign countries, but also in America, there are many cities which use machines for that kind of work. It is perfectly clear that a society which makes its special aim to fashion human life as humanely as possible, will endeavor much more than the present society to have as much labor as possible done by machines.

\* \* \*

That all “disagreeable work” will ever be entirely abolished in this world, I do not believe.

Of course, nobody knows the future. But I am sure that such labor will be limited to the smallest possible amount. Maybe even then there will be a good deal more disagreeable labor than will please most people.

Suppose this should be the case, what would that prove against the Socialist Republic?

Is it not a fact; that even *today* the most disagreeable work is done without remuneration, without wages or material gain, simply from a feeling of solidarity? Or from friendship and love?

Just think of the care of the sick, the nursing of little children and the efforts for the salvation of fallen women. You will then agree that if even a society like our present capitalist society, built on egotism and greed, and which, therefore, necessarily must promote and strengthen egotism and anti-social impulses—if even such a society is capable of bringing forth deeds of unselfish sacrifice, how

much more a society founded upon the feeling of solidarity, which naturally will endeavor to strengthen that side of humanity.

\* \* \*

And even if we should not succeed, at least not immediately and from the very first, in resurrecting the altruistic spirit to such a degree that it will be strong enough to secure the performance of the "most disagreeable labor" because it is necessary, we should still have the expedient of securing the performance of such labor through the greatest shortening of the working day for those performing such labor, and by granting of special premiums, or even by assigning such work as a punishment to those who have broken the laws of society.

I believe, therefore, that after calm consideration, even this objection will lose the illusive power which it did seem to have at first glance to our lawyer friend.

\* \* \*

And if our friend should bring up the other notion, that in the Co-operative Commonwealth men would lack the incentive to activity, this only proves what wrong ideas our perverted order of society has produced. Because today *greed* and *graft* are the basis of society, some people believe that society will fall to pieces the minute that greed and graft make room for a noble and stronger basis.

Does not the sight of every child teach that a healthy human being cannot exist without activity?

And is it not clear that a society which for the first time makes us all bodily and mentally healthy will bring this inherent impulse towards activity to its fullest development?

This inherent impulse to work will be mightily strengthened in a society which offers opportunity to every one to choose that kind of work which is best suited to him or her, and which will burden nobody too much, and which will secure to every one the fullest equivalent of his or her labor.

To this must be added the stimulating thought—that *only* work is being done which is *necessary* and *useful* to the community.

Where *everybody* must work, the idea of compulsion vanishes of itself.

On the contrary, work will then become the only badge of honor that society knows. Today money and inherited wealth are the golden keys.

And where *all* work which is done, is necessary from a social standpoint, by and by the different valuation of different kinds of work will also cease.

\* \* \*

For, if we look at it more closely, we find that today it is the wages of labor, i. e. money, which decides the higher or lesser respect which is accorded to a skilled trade or profession. In a society which no longer knows such standard of value, the valuation of the different kinds of work which depend solely upon the money earned, will also come to an end.

\* \* \*

Far from destroying in men the joy of work or even diminishing it, the Socialist Republic, on the contrary, will rather bring it to its

fullest development. It is only in the Socialist Republic that the time in human history will have been reached when labor will cease to be a burden and become a joy.

*There* for the first time labor will cease to be a sign of degradation and become a title of honor.

In reality it is the society of today which is the great penitentiary, which some—and not only Herbert Spencer—suppose the Socialistic society is to be. On the contrary, it will be the Walhalla of labor, flooded with light and air, in which the song of freedom, of happy human beings will never cease.

The Socialist Republic does not mean the destruction and downfall of our culture and civilization—this is threatened by the present society—but its *salvation* and *maintenance*. Our victory will be the victory of civilization.

\* \* \*

Whoever still doubts this should be taught by the fact that the Social-Democratic party alone is called upon to defend more and more the immortal achievements of the Declaration of Independence, of true democracy. All other parties will grow more and more into one reactionary mass—look at the attitude of the courts, Congress, and the various legislatures in the Moyer-Haywood case.

\* \* \*

There is no doubt that a great historical day is again approaching when men will separate to the right and the left. This will be done whether we want it or not.

Those who remain true to the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity can follow no other flag than the red international banner of Social-Democracy.

One Michael Kelley has been dropped from the Chicago police force. He was appointed because as a labor leader he offered to give the employers' organization valuable information by which Cornelius Shea of the teamsters could be proven to have encouraged slugging in the big strike of some months ago. He and Al. Young and others were the great hope of the employers' organization when they forced the trial of Shea and others, on a charge of conspiracy. The trial simply showed that Kelley and Young and others *had* been doing the devilish work they

claimed was done in the strike, but that Shea was innocent of it. Ungrateful capitalism has now dumped Kelley out into the cold, cold world, and now the question is asked whether it will add to its ungratefulness by sending him up for the crimes he confessed to in the hope of injuring Shea. The trial itself was sensational and disclosed an adulterous relation between the department of justice in Chicago and the capitalistic organization. It showed also that the case was not brought for the sake of justice but for the purpose of giving organized labor a black eye.

# Telegraphers' Hours

By CARL D. THOMPSON

The safety of the traveling public, as well as the welfare of the men who do the work, demand that the telegraph operators upon our railway lines should not be permitted or required to remain on duty more than eight hours per day. Socialist Assemblyman Thompson has presented a bill before the Wisconsin legislature providing for an eight-hour day for all telegraph operators. In the following article is presented a part of the facts and arguments which he is making in support of this measure.

## 1. Excessive duties:

The duties required of telegraph operators are so numerous and excessive that they should never be required to work for more than eight hours during any day.

The following list of the duties that are required of the general run of railroad telegraphers, and station agents, will show the great number of matters which these men must carry constantly upon their minds:

1, sell tickets; 2, telegraph, Western Union and railway business; 3, handle express; 4, handle freight; 5, carry mail to and from the post office; 6, check baggage and help load it; 7, deliver orders to all trains; 8, keep books, there are 14 different sets of books that have to be kept as follows: (a) freight receipt book, (b) local abstract book; (c) foreign abstract book; (d) cash book, (e) deal records, (f) car book, (g) out freight book, (h) out freight abstract local book, (i) out freight abstract foreign, (j) abstract for company material forwarded, (k) abstract for company material received, (l) out billing of company material, (m) baggage book daily, (n) ticket book daily; 9, reports, daily, weekly and monthly; 10, answer phone, generally two lines; 11, keep fires in stoves,

coal bin sometimes 200 feet distance, and one agent reports being required to take care of six stoves; 12, sweep office and clean platform from snow, etc.; 12, keep lamps inside and signal lights outside; 14, seal all cars; 15, inspect cars.

As one of the operators writes in regard to his duties: "Go into a small railroad office about twenty minutes before a passenger train is due, and you will find one lone man doing the various duties of delivering freight, carrying United States mail, selling tickets, checking baggage, waiting on a freight train crew, waiting on the public, answering a thousand and one questions, getting his report ready for the passenger train, etc., etc. During all this confusion, he must be on the alert for the train dispatcher, who may call him on the wire for train orders. He takes the order in a hurry, and the moment he is through he must attend to his other duties; he has no time to look over his work carefully, to see that he has done everything properly. He may forget to turn the semaphore, he may forget to deliver all of the orders for that certain passenger train, in his hurry to perform his other duties and to get the train out. He would lose his position if he delayed that train a moment, and therefore he works with nervous swiftness."

And when it is remembered that these men have no recess or vacation, or holiday, but work 365 days per year, year in and year out, it would seem that their condition is very serious.

When there are such a multitude of duties, involving the life and

death of so many people, where so much depends upon the slightest error or inattention, we submit, in the name of justice and humanity, that eight hours a day is all that any man should be asked or allowed to work.

No mortal man can be subject to the strain necessary to perform these duties for a longer period without sooner or later breaking down. Neither the working class nor the public at large should consent to allow such a wrong as this to be forced upon men in our state.

## 2. Long hours:

Telegraph operators are required to work longer hours than any other class of railroad employes. Nearly all of the office men work on an eight-hour day, or at most ten hours. The train men, of course, may, under certain circumstances, have much longer hours, but as a rule not so long as the telegraph operators.

Up to about a year ago, the hours of labor required of the telegraph operators were practically without limit. The men have succeeded, however, through their labor unions, in securing a concession, so that the railroad companies now pay for overtime at the rate of twenty-five cents per hour for all time over twelve hours. Since this is more than the regular rate of pay, the railroad companies are less inclined to overwork the men than formerly. However, the regular day now required for telegraph operators is twelve hours, which is at least four hours too long.

It is also provided that this day may be lengthened one-half hour more without allowing the men for overtime.

This, therefore, makes the day at least twelve and a half hours.

Of course, when a man is kept on

duty for twelve hours over time, and, therefore, has worked twenty-four hours, he must then remain on duty for twelve hours longer without overtime, for the reason that it is held, not only by railroad companies, but by all corporations, that the third period of twelve hours constitutes his regular shift, so that in many cases the men work thirty-six hours in one stretch without being allowed overtime except for the middle period of twelve hours.

It is probable that 75 per cent of the men are required to do overtime work for which they are not paid. The men are required to fill out reports, to make their books balance, to keep the correct account of cash, etc., and all of these matters are supposed to be accomplished within the twelve hours. But, with the multitude of other duties required, this cannot be done within the hours allotted. It is not infrequent, therefore, that the men who have put in the full twelve hours of work for the companies, at the ordinarily required duties, have had to work on over their books and accounts until 10, 11, 12 at night, and even until 2 o'clock in the morning, in order to finish this work for which they are never allowed any overtime.

One division chairman, reporting the hours of labor for the men on his division, and explaining that he thought that the men to which he referred, were not nearly so much overcrowded as in other parts of the state, shows that in only one case were the hours limited to 12. In every other case, the hours required of the men exceeded 12 by from 30 minutes to three hours. From this it will appear that the average number of hours which these men were on duty, was 14 hours. Many other operators testify to a day of 14 hours and upwards.

Many cases of extreme excessive long hours have been discovered. The following are a few illustrations:

An operator on duty 60 consecutive hours without relief, which means two full days and three consecutive nights.

Another case in a different section of the state is reported by one of the O. R. T. men of 60 consecutive hours of work without rest. This was on account of sickness, but it was claimed that the matter could have been adjusted had the official seen fit to do so.

Another case is reported of a man on duty from 6:30 a. m. until 9 and 10 o'clock at night, so pressed with work that he had his wife assist him without pay, and still could not give satisfaction, to the auditing departments on account of not being able to render his reports in time. He finally gave up and resigned his position. Still another telegraph operator reports:

"We have worked at this station 60 consecutive hours without relief, and it is a common occurrence that we are subjected to work 36 hours. This, however, has been somewhat better of late for the reason that we are now allowed for overtime, and they do not like to pay extra."

One operator writes: "I have been putting in from 14 to 24 hours a day for seven years, and am disgusted with the work.

"Some nights the dispatcher would hold me until the night train, which came after 9 o'clock, not even allowing me to go to eat. I have dinner about 11 a. m., as a rule, and to wait for supper until 9 and 10 p. m., is very unpleasant.

"I got a cold in February last year, but kept at these ungodly hours until I finally went to bed in March with pneumonia and pleurisy, and was sick for three months. I have no doubt in my mind that it was the unreasonable hours that was the sole cause of my sickness. I have got to get out of the work. I can see that the ungodly hours at this kind of work are slowly but surely breaking me down. I am figuring on throwing up the work. But if, eventually, we shall get an eight-hour day, I might try again."

Another operator writes that "as a rule, operators are expected to meet an early train and a late train, which often brings out the hours of service to 14 and 15 hours a day."

Still another telegraph operator reports:

"It is easy for almost any operator to recall instances when he has been obliged to remain on duty from 36 to 48 hours, or even more. I remember very distinctly one instance, when I was obliged to remain on duty for 36 hours without even getting to my meals."

A case is reported of one operator in a small office who used to be called at 3:30 every morning to get orders for a certain train, and so held on duty until 10:30 or 11 o'clock p. m. at night. At one time this nearly resulted in a very serious railroad accident.

In fact, nearly every one of the telegraph operators interrogated reports excessive hours in one form or another.

We all ought to stop with the mad rush of the world and pay our respects now and then to the boys and men who stand between us and death. They work extremely long hours, at very low pay, and as a rule they do their duty with remarkable precision.

The marvel is that they do not oftener forget, in the increasing stream of business, where forty or fifty trains a day are rushed over one single track. It is only now and then that these guardians of public safety fail us, and usually in these cases they are half dead for want of sleep. Not long ago a lad of 18 years of age, who was kept on duty for three days and nights, at last on the last night of his long vigil, fell across his table as he reached for his cord to signal an approaching train. He was awakened by the engineer who climbed to the tower to get his orders.

Such hours of labor, so brutally long, so fraught with peril, constitute a crime.

3. Injurious effects upon the men:

Long hours and excessive duties, especially when they carry extreme responsibility, inevitably overburden the men who work. The work

of a telegraph operator and train dispatcher is extremely trying upon the nervous system. Not infrequently the men have been rendered temporarily insane from the strain involved. The least mistake in the discharge of these duties is liable to cause an accident, destroying the lives of many people, and perhaps thousands of dollars worth of property.

The work is so trying that many men find themselves unable to endure the nervous strain, and in many cases men become nervous wrecks and are forced to give up the work.

Dr. Chas. H. Hughes of St. Louis, a noted neurologist and brain specialist, writing in a comprehensive monograph, which appeared in a recent number of the "Alienist and Neurologist", speaking of the effect of long hours of work upon the mind, insists that "the hours of those employed in the train engineering and switch service, are entirely too long. Six consecutive hours' service for train dispatching, with sufficient opportunity for brain and nerve rebuilding, are most desirable if the service is to be conducted with the minimum possibility of accident."

It is not unusual for telegraph operators, conductors and engineers to work 24 hours at a stretch; less frequently they do a 48-hour's trick. While in extreme cases of emergency men have been called to work 72 hours.

The pathological results of such unendurable exertion in positions of great responsibility are brain strain, paralysis, morbid conditions, approaching epilepsy, true epilepsy, and nervous prostration.

Dr. Hughes recounts an instance in which a train dispatcher, who was suffering from toothache and neuralgia, asked to be excused long enough to have the tooth extracted. He was informed that if he was well enough to report for duty, he was able to continue. He remained at his desk until a condition resembling epilepsy developed, and he was obliged to quit the service and lay up in a hospital.

Another dispatcher remained at his desk until he fell to the floor in an epileptic fit.

Farther he says, "the railroads are wrecking men and blasting lives in other ways than collisions and derailments," and holds that an eight-hour day all round would be nearly the daily limit of endurance of the strained brain's recuperative capacity.

This neurologist also contends that the attitude of the railroad managers is wrong, regarding the non-employment of men past 35 years, for the reason that the terrible punishment to which they are subjected earlier in life, is responsible for prematurely wrecked lives.

Here in the state of Wisconsin, we have already records of a number of men who have broken down completely—Don Chandler, who worked years ago in Baraboo, became insane as a result of the nervous strain and finally died from its effects. F. L. Pearson, who for years was a chief train dispatcher, first at Madison, and later at Baraboo, became insane, and died in the asylum.

The following press dispatch tells the sad story of this reckless disregard of the physical and nervous condition of working men in this line:

"Causes Wreck; Now Insane. Wisconsin Operator Whose Error Resulted in Three Deaths Loses His Mind.

Ashland, Wis., Feb. 20.—W. J. Daugherty, a train dispatcher for the Northwestern road, whose error is blamed for a collision last week, resulting in three deaths, near here, is insane in a hospital at Ironwood. He may not recover."

The following press dispatch from Cincinnati, of Feb. 22, gives us another view into the life of these men: "Commits Suicide in Signal Tower. Ohio Man Believed to Have Been Unbalanced by Four Years' Continuous Work.

Cincinnati, O., Feb. 22.—After four years of service at his post, without a single week day or Sunday off for recreation, Charles W. Snook, watchman in the signal tower at the B. & O., S. W. and N. & W. junction, near Bond Hill, ended his life last night by sending a bullet through his brain. His body was found in his bunk shortly before daylight this morning by the members of a train crew that stopped to ascertain why the lights had not been manipulated when the train approached.

"That the unknown series of long night watches affected his mental bal-

ance is indicated by his remark to his sweetheart, Miss Norma Echler of Bond Hill, who often called upon him to relieve in a degree the tedium of his continuous service.

"Yesterday evening she called at the tower and chatted with him for a short time. He complained of the demands of the position, she said today, and exclaimed as she was leaving: "I can't stand this slavery any longer."

"His mother and brother stated to the coroner that the loneliness of Snook's surroundings made him despondent. He was 27 years of age."

4. Railroad accidents from the over-work of telegraph operators:

The most appalling feature of recent railroad management has been the murderous wrecks. With every year they seem to increase in frequency and deadly effects. And, of all the railroads of all the world, the American roads seem most reckless and most murderous.

Perhaps no record has been so dreadful, destroying so many lives, and so much property, as the wreckage on the railroads of this country during the two months beginning Jan. 1, 1907, and ending with the last of February.

During the first fifty-three days of this year there have been thirty-three railroad wrecks recorded, in which 150 people have lost their lives, and 395 have been wounded—and how much property has been destroyed cannot yet be known. And even this does not complete the list.

In looking over the causes for these disasters, we discover that very frequently the trouble lay in the system of regulating the movement of trains.

And in almost every case where the accident is a result from this particular cause it has been shown that the men had been on duty extremely long hours.

For example, in the Rock Island wreck of Jan. 2, in which 35 people were killed and 40 wounded, it was discovered that the cause of this dis-

aster was the fact that the operator at Volland made a mistake in delivering the messages to the train. This boy was 18 years old, and had been on duty for 36 hours.

The accident on the Oregon short line, Jan. 1, was also due to a similar condition, one killed and two injured.

Collision reported in the congressional record, Fifty-ninth congress, page 812 following, in which 34 were killed and 24 injured, the cause was the operator had fallen asleep and allowed a train to pass. He had been on duty 16 hours.

A wreck on the Baltimore and Ohio, Dec. 30, 1906, in which 39 were killed and 50 injured, was due to the failure of the signal system.

The wreck at Tacoma Park, near Washington, in which 30 were killed, was due to the fact that there was no night operator. The day operator had set the signals at danger, and left them so, before the trains had regularly passed by these dangerous signals.

The collision on Jan. 15, was due to misinterpretation of signals.

And in looking over the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, on their investigations of the cause of railroad wrecks, one is struck with the frequent occurrence of references to some failure on the part of the telegraph operator or train dispatcher. And in view of the fact, as we have already shown, these men are almost universally overworked with excessive duties, long hours, it is evident that here is a wrong that needs correcting more than any other in the railroad mismanagement of today.

During 1905, 9,703 were killed, and 86,008 injured by the railroads of this country. It is claimed that the railroads have killed 46,632 people and crippled 346,417 during the last few years. In Wisconsin alone the total killed by railways in one year (June 15, 1905 to June 30, 1906) was 211, injured 1,783. The total stationmen killed and injured were 46.

This may truly be called a murderous industry. The blood of these men, killed and wounded, cries out to us for reform and the methods of railroad operation. And the sob of the orphaned child, and the pathos and pain of the widowed mother call upon us today to make some earnest, some mighty effort to protect our people from these reckless, these brutal, these murderous, ravages of corporate greed.



Let it be understood in conclusion that our demand for the passage of this eight-hour law rests upon two great interests.

In the first place, we need this law in order to insure the safety of the traveling public, as well as the safety of the thousands of men employed on the railroads. There is hardly a man, woman or child in this state who does not travel more or less. Thousands of our people are almost constantly upon railway journeys. And every moment that people spend upon the railway trains their lives and limbs are in jeopardy. It is of absolute necessity, that every possible precaution shall be taken to make this travel safe, to reduce to the minimum the possibility of accidents.

And no part of the railway service is more vitally essential to the safety of railway traveling than efficient train dispatching and direction of train movements.

Our lives are constantly in the hands of these men.

In the name of the public, therefore, we demand and urge the passage of this law.

In the second place, we base our appeal for this law upon the needs and welfare of that vast army of men who work as telegraph operators and train dispatchers in this state.

Here is an army of men who are today working, all of them at least twelve hours a day, and some of them fourteen, and some on into the night, and not a few for twenty-four and thirty-six hours, and even sixty hours at a stretch.

And, besides, these men never have a day of rest. They work Sundays. They work holidays. They work every day of the year or every night of the year, 365

days or 365 nights every year. They work year in and year out.

Such work, without a rest or relief, will make the life of these men, if continued, a life of drudgery and servitude.

And, too, during all the hours that these men are on service, their duties are excessive. They are of a kind that are exhausting. They are a constant strain upon the nerves. They are a constant weight upon the brain. Human flesh and blood cannot endure this fearful strain during these long, relentless hours without at times breaking down.

The mad rush of our commercial life, the brutal greed of our calculating capitalism, is grinding out their hope, their joy, their strength and their sanity. Shall we consent to this? Shall the people of Wisconsin know these facts, and remain silent?

And, too, the families of these men should not be forgotten. You and I go home at night to spend an hour amid the romp and laughter, the smiles, the caresses of those who love us at the hearthstone. These are the things that make life worth living. But what shall we say when a whole section of our working class is plied with burdens so hard, and with hours of labor so long, that they are hardly permitted to see their children awake? Men who are never allowed to go with wife and child to some place of amusement or social gathering; who work so long and work so hard that not infrequently they read off their train orders in their dreams through hours of troubled sleep; who bear burdens so heavy that joy is forgotten, smiles are unknown, and homes are shadowed with hopelessness and despair.

# Reward to Perjurers

By R. A. DAGUE

The governor of the state of Washington recently appended his signature to as iniquitous an act of the legislature as capitalism has been guilty of for many years, perhaps. The *Tacoma Daily News* correctly states the provisions of the law as follows:

Governor Mead, yesterday afternoon, signed the tax exemption bill, which contained an emergency clause and became effective at once.

This relieves all depositors from paying taxes from money on hand, and also all mortgage holders.

In the list of non-taxable effects included in the scope of the bill are bonds, tax certificates, shares, money on hand, notes secured by real estate mortgage, book accounts, bills receivable and judgments secured by real estate mortgage.

The assessor's books must be dated March 1, and with the emergency clause in the bill the assessor will be relieved of the work of listing the property exempt from taxation.

"This measure," says a well-known real estate man, "will put an end to a tremendous lot of lying and consequent tax dodging. It is a good thing for the state."

Now, what are the reasons given for enacting this law? But one reason is given and that is that bankers and money loaners and speculators, and the rich generally, are so addicted to false swearing and tax-dodging that it will be better to exempt them from paying any taxes at all. Instead of sending them to the penitentiary for perjury, they shall be made a special privileged class and be allowed to go free from all burdens of carrying on the government. It was thought best by this Republican legislature and Republican governor to pass this class legislation and shift all taxes on to the farmers and workers who own homes. The farmer who is in debt must hereafter pay double taxes and the tax-rate must be heavily increased on the small property owner. This is "class legislation" pure and simple.

"Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad."

The law is both unconstitutional and vicious.

An officer of the Chicago juvenile court has made a report with regard to the department stores in which appears this item: "It is needless to estimate the *moral significance* of the fact that from twenty-five to fifty per cent of girls employed in the big department stores do not make enough to live on by store work and do not live at home. *Yet they live.*" In the face of such things the concern of certain members of the capitalist class for the

souls of the benighted in Africa and their unconcern for the souls of the civilized here at home becomes all the more suspicious.

Because the state of Wisconsin has decided that insurance companies must deal honestly with the state and people, the insurance companies threaten to stop doing business in the state. Confessing they don't want to do business honestly, eh?

# The Tyranny of Dress

By ROSE PASTOR STOKES

Rose Pastor Stokes, who recently publicly took the New York banker Morisini's daughter to task for claiming that she was helping the workers by spending vast sums of money on dress, has now launched another drive at the criminal rich under the title of "The Tragedy of Extravagant Dress." She says:

A cat may look at a king. At the opera the poor may look at the rich. The poor do come and look. The rich are so far down below; in the boxes and the parquet. Tiers upon tiers of boxes—rows upon rows in the parquet! To the "rail birds"—as some one has designated the 'or'nary lot' in the galleries—the folks below, in their shimmer and glitter, seem birds of paradise. Between the acts those above crane their necks to see and better observe the gorgeous ones below. Those below, however, observe and study those below; they are not interested in the galleries, tho' fully aware of the interest taken there.

*What is the "rabble" to them!*

The people 'up there' are moved to various moods of thought and feeling as they look down from the poorer heights to the richer depths below.

*Who are they up there?*

In the first place there are music lovers who are there in great numbers. Those who can afford to pay least and must sit nearest the ceiling are perhaps the luckiest. There is less there to distract the sense—no glitter, no scenic and dramatic tomfoolery near them—nothing but the music floating up to them.

*Types in Galleries.*

But there are other types in the galleries, too, particularly in the lower ones. Mingled among earnest people there are the vain and foolish.

There is the little Capitalist, for instance, who has for years been striving for a securer footing on the slippery rungs of the ladder of success. He has his dreams of finding his way some day to wealth and luxury, and into the charmed circle of the Most Secure. He is foolishly eager to become a part of that 'enviable' thing called 'Society,' and to some day escort his wife and his daughter to their seats amid wealth and fashion.

Still others are there, both men and women chastened by much sorrow and great spiritual awakening, who pity the throng wrapped heartlessly and joyously in their jeweled raiment. 'Pity them,' say these, 'who see not their part in the Social Whole. That despite fine clothes and jewels and yachts and mansions they lack a wholesome, happy life.'

*Peril to Poor Women.*

And some hard-working women there are who, stunned by the sudden first flash upon their vision of the outer glory of jewels and finery in that atmosphere of light and music, are seized with the first temptation!—"light, music, jewels, fine clothes!"—without the struggle for bread, without the dark shop, without slavery!—a sub-conscious or vague thought at first, perhaps, but a thought that grows concrete, conscious, powerful, insistent! And

some are strong and banish the thought, and some are weak and yield, sinking into endless depths of degradation beyond recall.

What interested me most was the condition of the people there. I had never before in a public place seen so many women in all their extravagance of dress—their satin and silks and gold cloth, their laces and jewels. And yet I was told by one who knows that this was a quiet moderate display compared with that of other evenings; that Wednesday's assemblage is rarely so 'brilliant' as those on Monday or Friday.

Here was represented no slight amount of human labor. A gown, a glove, a shoe, a jewel, its setting, a bit of lace, a fan. A million men and women—aye, and children!—laboring for these idle sisters! If we consider also all they possess that they have not brought with them—a heap of gowns, of jewels, wardrobes bursting with their store; houses, yachts, automobiles, carriages, silver and gold plate, collections of wonderful things of the world, rich carpets, tapestries, ornaments, many books, fine paint-

ings—and leisure! leisure! Think of it! Time to grow, time to learn, to see, time to hear, to absorb the best things of life; time to get culture, refinement, learning, knowledge, wisdom.

A million people working for them! And they render no service in return. And yet no widespread, keen realization among them of the deep injustice of grinding the lives and the health and the hopes of the workers into unearned profits!

#### *Need of Education.*

Yet there seems to be absolutely no true reason why people in any class who know how to read and have had the advantages of education should remain ignorant of the deep injustice of a system which produces dividends for idlers.

But the world that works is waking up! Those already fully awake are the Socialists; some unfortunately with bitterness and hatred against the master class; a bitterness and hatred which is the product of injustice of idle capitalists, but no less deplorable on that account.

*The world that works is waking up.*

Capitalism has been rather staggered by the fact coming into the consciousness of the people of Great Britain that the paupers in the almshouses live longer than the people outside. It has been a little disquieting, for the capitalists have been telling people that Socialism meant a dead level existence, and that this was bad for humanity. Now, Socialism proposes something very much different from a dead level existence, as a matter of fact, but it has also been pointing out that

it is capitalism that is killing people off, and this poor house report seems to bear the claim out. These old people sheltered by the almshouses from the rigors of a capitalistic, competitive existence are found to be quite sure of long life. Socialism proposes to safeguard the lives of *all* and without penning people in almshouses to do it. Worry and care and poverty have killed millions on millions. Change the system and give mankind a chance to live its normal life.

# Wisconsin Socialists

By WALTER THOMAS MILLS

During the last four years it has been my privilege to be a frequent visitor, and often a helper in the party work in Wisconsin. I am sure I can do the comrades everywhere no better service than to give them the result of impressions gained from sharing in the campaigns, attendance at party meetings and conventions, visiting the city council when in session and maintaining various business relations with its executive committees and its publishing association.

And here it seems to me are the sources of the strength of the Wisconsin movement:

## 1. *Its Effective Organization.*

1. They know more men, and more about them, who are very near being Socialists than any other state, and their campaign is always directed to these men.

2. They use all the most effective methods of reaching these men, no such man is overlooked, and no means of reaching him is neglected.

3. All committees are given definite work to do, are trained in the best method of doing it, and report when it is done. There is no mixing of legislative work and there is no escaping responsibility for doing definite things when once definitely assigned.

4. As a result all party workers are all the time in training for more and more responsible positions, and promotions always follow effective service, and hence personal favoritism does not exist, and incapacity has no pull.

## 2. *Its Dependence on Literature.*

Among the means for reaching the most hopeful man, literature,

books, pamphlets, and newspapers are given the first place. Over and over again throughout the year, to every house in the city of Milwaukee are distributed—to each reader in his own language—the arguments for Socialism. They can and do reach every house in the city on twenty-four hours notice, and then they can reach direct, by mail, every one known to be at all in sympathy with our party within six hours, or in the first mail delivery after it is decided to do so. Having the names of all such persons carded, classified and ready for use on a mailing machine—they do not even have to wait for addressing the envelopes, the machine does that. And this again is often done. It is practically impossible to mislead or stampede the Milwaukee movement.

## 3. *Its Public Meetings.*

It is quite likely that there is less talking and more working for Socialism in Milwaukee than anywhere else. But when meetings are held they are in the largest halls, the speakers selected with care. The doubtful man in the ranks and the hopeful man just outside are surely in attendance. The speaking is to the point or the speaker ceases to be a speaker. Moreover, the meeting is made a center for promoting organization, the distribution of literature and the raising of party funds. There are many well-known speakers in the Socialist party who are never heard in Milwaukee and likely never will be till they learn the knack of making Socialists rather than making trouble for those who are Socialists.

Street meetings are rarely held. When they are held, the speakers are selected and preparations made as carefully as for the largest hall. The best meetings of all are at the shops where the noon hour puts the speaker in direct contact with the workers only. Here the time is short, the men in earnest. Trifling doesn't go. Short, plain, direct conclusive arguments alone count, and these count as nowhere else.

#### 4. *Its Finances.*

The bills are paid by dues, profits on literature, special contributions, and the money made by entertainments and the annual picnics.

The sums of money thus raised and the world of work accomplished in its use is one of the most remarkable things in the Wisconsin movement.

Milwaukee made its picnic the greatest propaganda meeting of the whole year, gathered together more than twenty thousand people and cleared three thousand dollars. But every dollar was accounted for to the people who raised it and more and more is coming for the same purposes which are as often approved as accounts are given.

#### 5. *The Headquarters.*

The headquarters is purely a place of business. No provision is made for a loafer's hang-out, where those who won't help may kick about those who do help.

#### 6. *The Men in Office.*

As soon as a new man enters any public office anywhere in the state, he is at once put into communication with those already in office, and the frequent meetings of those men in office, to discuss together the task before them, constitute the most effective school in effective political work and public service of which I have any knowledge anywhere. They do not wait for mistakes to

be made, and then complain. They help each other avoid mistakes and everywhere become the most valuable men in any of the offices entrusted to their care.

They are winning public confidence by doing things which the public must approve, and are rapidly establishing conditions under which members of the working class will not fear to put the Socialist in office; instead, they will fear to put him out of office because of the comparative incompetence of those officials who are not Socialists.

#### 7. *The Labor Unions.*

There is no danger of the organization of a Union Labor party in Milwaukee. The Social-Democratic party is such a party now. This has been achieved, not by capturing central bodies, nor by passing resolutions. It has been done by the Socialist's party at all times being the defender of the working class.

Those who are the most active among the Socialists are at the same time most active in the unions. They are not there for the purpose, secretly or openly, to use the union for personal political purposes, but to help do effectively the work of the union as a union in its conflicts with employers. The result has been *no divisions among the unions* on account of the Socialists and *no divisions among the Socialists* on account of the unions.

#### 8. *Its Platform.*

Nowhere else have I been more frequently assured, in my public addresses for Socialism, that the effort is never to be to secure voters for Socialism who are not Socialists, but always to make Socialists who will of their own accord and always be voters for Socialism, simply because they are Socialists. Nowhere is the whole revolutionary

program more constantly emphasized than in Wisconsin. No other utterance is more constantly on the lips of its candidates than the caution that no one is to vote for special Socialist candidates unless they

vote for the whole ticket.

The result is a solid, compact voting force with fewer split tickets in proportion to the number voting than anywhere within my knowledge.

## Shots at Capitalism.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

Says the *State Journal*, of Madison, Wis., in an editorial article: "Several of the amendments to the child labor law of Wisconsin, which are now before the legislature, it would seem to the outsider, ought to be accepted with little discussion. But merchants and manufacturers chiefly from Milwaukee are opposing them." Now, what are these amendments which have been proposed by the Social-Democratic legislators? Cutting the child worker's day down to at least nine hours. Merely a beginning, you will say, and rightly. Prohibiting night work by children. The very thought of children working at night arouses every parental and humane instinct within us. Forbidding the employment of children in various dangerous occupations. Certainly humanity has a stake in such safeguards. Requiring an educational test before a child may be permitted to enter on his factory career. If we provide a public school system, who shall say that any child is not entitled to some education before his school days shall be closed by capitalism? And lastly, the requirement for a physical examination before the child can be employed. It is simply barbarous that

this has not been required before. In every large child labor factory there are children unfit for work, and who are being slowly murdered by capitalism for the sake of profit. Now all these amendments, as the Madison paper says, are reasonable and humane, and they are certainly according to public policy. But what happens? Trooping out to Madison go the highly paid lobbyists of the merchants and manufacturers to try to prevent the enactment of these amendments. And, mind you, these lobbyists are composed of "leading" citizens, the flower of American business life, the kind of men whose opinion is usually secured by the capitalist press whenever matters of public moment and civic betterment are up for consideration. But business is business, and profit-hunger is profit-hunger, and out they go ready for battle every time the attempt is made to protect the children a little more from the rapacity of the business system these men stand representative of. According to the statisticians there are nearly three thousand children under fourteen years of age in the Milwaukee factories alone. And this shocking state of things, this grind-

ing of baby flesh into profits in order that our Grand avenues and our Prospect avenues may scintillate, not only has the sanction of the big business man, but he insists upon it. And then we are told that the interests of capital and labor are identical!

Emperor William has been so energetic in his campaign against the Socialists that he presented a medal to the Village of Lunow, a place of some 1,500 inhabitants, because it was the only community he could find in the empire that did not cast a single Socialist vote. Wilhelm has made himself rather ridiculous with his presentation of medals and statues for almost any old reason or none. It is also reported that during the recent campaign an engineer was arrested for using a red flag with his surveying chain; five hundred people were arrested for wearing red neckties, and in one case a widow was locked up for decorating her poodle dog with a red ribbon.

We take the following paragraph from the sermon of an Episcopal clergyman at one of Milwaukee's oldest and most sedate churches a Sunday ago, as showing how at last the clergy are daring to defy the rich pews and discuss the situation as it really is:

"If there is no higher law in the industrial world than the law of competition—if cheapness of production, the value of commodities, is more vital to us than human life and character—then let us give up our cant and frankly confess that twentieth century industrialism can't be Christianized—that the

laws of business and the laws of Christ are eternally at enmity, the one with the other."

The mothers of India, we are reminded, feed their children to the crocodiles in the sacred Ganges river. A good many mothers in this country are feeding their children to the almost equally deadly operations of our sacred capitalism. Two "men" were injured in the Duluth yards of the Northern Pacific road, in a wreck, the other day, and both died. One, a fireman, was only sixteen years of age, The telegraph operator, whose mistake cost forty people their lives in Kansas last week was only eighteen years of age.

In the discussion of the child labor amendments before the Wisconsin legislature, the Social-Democratic legislators pointed out the significant fact that there were no parents on hand to protest against the changes in the law, only rich manufacturers. And yet the manufacturers always put forth the excuse that they don't believe in child labor, but the parents insist on it!

The government has decided that it is unlawful to use the United States flag in connection with labels. But the flag, under its present auspices, is used for business purposes, just the same.

The desire of the large employers not to hire men over forty-five is counterbalanced by their grim determination not to give up their right to employ "men" under fourteen.







UPTON SINCLAIR.

# THE VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray,  
Yet newer strength we borrow,  
And where the Vanguard camps today,  
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

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## The Month's Story.

**Socialism** Now here are some pointers which point a long way. We  
**and** commend them especially to those who see in the Socialist  
**Peace** movement only a crowd of materialists fighting for  
more bread and butter. And we refer them also to the  
orators and editors who are croaking that "Socialism  
would stop the march of progress."

There is a memorial now pending in the Wisconsin legislature, asking the Congress of the United States to invite all the nations of the world to establish a permanent parliamentary union composed of delegates from all nations. The object of the union is to inaugurate a system of international arbitration in the interests of a world-peace.

This measure was not proposed by either of the old parties, who certainly have had time enough to initiate such a policy. No, it was the new party, the Social-Democrats, who at the beginning of their career have hoisted the white flag of peace together with the red banner of brotherhood. This memorial for international arbitration was one of the first measures introduced by our Social-Democrats at Madison during the present session. To these "materialists" must belong the credit of this humane and noble-spirited suggestion.

Now this was not a matter of chance, nor anything peculiar to the Socialists of Wisconsin. All over the globe, the Social-Democracy is the standard-bearer of peace.

When the German Social-Democrats in the last election lost a number of seats in the Reichstag, the world at once recognized this as a triumph for the Kaiser's Jingo policy in Africa. It was readily understood that now the brutal African wars would go on murdering and mutilating the natives unhindered. The Social-Democrats are acknowledged as the peace-makers of Germany.

Nor is this all. Many a time when relations have been strained between the German Empire and the French Republic, war has really been averted by the efforts of German Social-Democrats and French Socialists. It is generally admitted that the Socialist movement is the greatest factor for peace in European politics at the present day. And if there could be a second St. Bartholemew's, in which all Socialists should be exterminated, the result, no doubt, would be that a terrific European war would burst out in less than a year.

Now how is this? The rulers of Europe and America profess to be guided by all sorts of high-flown moral and even Christian senti-

ments, and denounce the Socialists as "materialists." And the Socialists themselves do not claim to be philanthropists or sentimentalists, and admit that they are guided by their own interests.

The capitalist editor and bourgeois philanthropist cannot understand this. For when they talk about their own interests, each man means the interest of Number One—with the mental reservation that the devil may take the hindmost.

This is just the difference between individualism, which stands for private interest, and Socialism, which is working for the collective interest.

And this is the reason that "interests" are safe enough guides when understood in the broad sense of Socialism, while "sentiments" and "ideals" and even Christian principles themselves are degraded into rank hypocrisy as soon as they are enlisted in the defense of individualism.

Here, too, we have the explanation of the strange fact that Social-Democrats, though denounced as "materialists" by their enemies, are nevertheless the champions of peace, of higher education, of culture and refinement, of decent provisions for the sick and aged, and of the rights of women and children.

The Socialist makes his interest the interest of all humanity. And that is the collective principle!

\* \* \*

### **"The Jungle's" Author**

Americans are a novel-reading nation. During the old anti-slavery struggle, thousands of persons wept over Uncle Tom's Cabin, who would not have glanced at Garrison's *Liberator*, or lent an ear to George Thompson's eloquent pleas for liberty. In our day, a still larger number were electrified by *The Jungle*, who, we fear, would only have looked askance at the cover of the *VANGUARD*.

We give this month a portrait of Upton Sinclair, the Knight of the Jungle. Our readers know the story of his living in the stock-yard district, and quietly absorbing all the secrets of the trade. The whole history of that investigation will never be written. The names of the faithful helpers who assisted him in getting at the bottom facts will not be known until the stock-yards are collectively owned and operated by the people.

The Socialists of America have recently sympathized with Comrade Sinclair in the loss of his establishment at Helicon Hall. What we must regret most deeply is the destruction of the half completed manuscript of his new book, which perished in the flames. But the brain of Comrade Sinclair has not been destroyed, and what it has produced once it can produce again.

So we say, good speed to the Knight of the Jungle.

# The Tendency of Economic Development

By PAUL KAMPFMEYER

(Translated by E. H. THOMAS)

## *The Collapse of Capitalism through Unrestrained Production.*

**T**O what is economic development tending? The Erfurter Program (the platform of the Social-Democratic party of Germany, adopted in 1891, and still in force) answers this question very clearly: The divided petty industries will be replaced by colossal industries, the tool grows into the machine, the powers of production develop with giant strides. "But all the advantages of this change will be monopolized by the capitalists and the great land-owners. For the proletariat and the decaying middle classes—the small traders and farmers—it means a growing increase in the insecurity of their existence, an increase of poverty, oppression, servitude, degradation and exploitation."

Ever sharper and more destructive rage the industrial crisis; they make universal insecurity the normal condition of society. Ever more numerous becomes the army of superfluous workingmen, and with growing bitterness the exploited carry on their mighty class struggle. The forces of production have grown over the head of capitalist society. This last phase awakes in us a whole chain of Marxian ideas. And in fact the spirit of Karl Marx breathes in this entire part of the Erfurt Program.

With dramatic vividness, Marx in his "Capital" shows how the powers of production, in the shape of perfecting machines, are developing into man-slayers of the workingmen. With the increase of the social wealth of today, of the functioning capital, the army of the unemployed comprises larger and larger battalions.

The higher the productive power of labor becomes and the more the workingmen press upon the means of employment, the more insecure and unstable are all their conditions of life. By means of the reserve army of the unemployed, the workingmen are more firmly "fettered to capital, like Prometheus to the rocks." "The accumulation of wealth at one pole," so says Marx literally, "is therefore at the same time the accumulation of poverty, painful toil, slavery, ignorance, bestiality and degradation at the opposite pole, that is, on the part of that class which produces its own product as capital."

According to the Communist Manifesto, the workingman is being more and more pauperized. Instead of rising with the progress of industry, he is sinking deeper and deeper under the conditions of his class. The workingman becomes a pauper, and pauperism is develop-

ing more rapidly than the population of wealth. The workingman thus is becoming more miserable, not only relatively, but also absolutely.

As a natural necessity, according to Marx, the economic development leads to the downfall of the capitalistic industrial system. "Along with the continually diminishing number of the magnates of capital who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, servitude, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, and organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist shell. This shell is burst asunder. The knell of capitalistic private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."

Under the fixed relations of production, which are legally termed the relations of property, the powers of production, the creating powers, are sprouting. They are spreading out within the narrow bounds of capitalistic property, and they are pushing against these bounds with their tremendous development. These bounds will burst asunder.

The capitalistic process of production draws the mass of workers into the great factories, gives them a natural and then an artificial organization, schools and disciplines them. And at last it drives them, under the influence of growing misery, oppression, and servitude, to burst by force the capitalistic system of production.

Capitalistic conditions, those conditions under which to-day the product of labor is manufactured and appropriated, have become untenable. And they will be destroyed with one mighty explosion shattering the foundations of capitalist society.

Just because the powers of production can expand no further inside the shell of the capitalist system of production, they produce colossal armies of unemployed proletariats, they extend pauperism to positively frightful dimensions.

The contradictory conditions of capitalism as a natural necessity include an increase of misery and servitude. The law of contradictions and the misery theory are in direct relationship to each other as parent and child. Both are inextricably tied together.

The world-wide contradiction between the powers of production and the conditions of production must grow continually sharper. This sharp contradiction leads to its own destruction.

The development of this contradiction, according to Marx, is the only historical road to its solution. According to his theory, processes which contain a contradiction in themselves, point to a sort of reaction to their extreme opposite. The fearful anarchy of production leads to its contrary, to a social order and social management of production.

The growth of the misery, oppression and servitude of the dispossessed mass is a necessary path to the Socialist system of society.

Misery coming to its utmost limit, produces its extreme opposite, the uprising against misery and its final abolition.

Such is the theory of Karl Marx.

*The Development of the Forces of Production in History.*

The contradiction between the powers of production and the conditions of production, amounting to social catastrophe, presupposes a considerable development of the powers of production and a certain unwieldiness and lack of adaptability in the conditions of production.

Such a fatal contradiction cannot arise with technically undeveloped powers, and with a high degree of changableness in the conditions of production and of property. Society must enjoy very effective, technically perfect productive powers before it can manifest a real explosive force.

If we read attentively the famous passage in the Critique of Political Economy by Marx upon the revolutionary effect of restrained productive powers, the idea of a technically highly developed society stands clearly before us in the words of Marx.

"At a certain degree of its development," writes Marx, "the material productive powers of society are found in contradiction with the present conditions of property, within which it has acted up to the present time. These conditions make fetters for the productive forces out of their forms of development. Then comes an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundations the whole immense superstructure is sooner or later changed."

This passage again shows us the development process of a very complicated, multiform society. It speaks of an "immense superstructure" which can only be the creation of many thousands of years.

Mankind lived thousands and thousands of years in a highly primitive, primeval-communistic state. In these almost infinite periods there was no sign of our world-wide rank and class struggle. The most humble beginnings of social rank had not yet arisen in history. The man as yet was absolutely a part of his tribe, his gens. It cost history an immense amount of labor to tear the man out of his tribal relations, to change the member of the gens into a man of rank and class.

Even in Caesar's time, the Germanic industrial and political system rested on very meagre and simple foundations. Communist property was still the foundation of the social and political structure of German life. Private property had struck root only here and there, and we can pass right over it without tripping on one shoot of it. Society is still composed for the most part of free men.

Men who were not free were found only in small numbers, and an old tribal nobility had scarcely raised its head above the overwhelming majority of the free. "The lord exacted from the bondman," says Tacitus, "as his vassal only a certain amount of corn, cattle or clothing. The subjection of the bondman goes no further."

Above the tree tops of the German forests rose as yet no proud, powerful, political and social structure. An industrial revolution then could not yet throw a mighty superstructure of political and legal institutions into the scrap and rubbish pile. Whence moreover



should the vast gigantic forces arise for such a revolution? From the dwarf means of production of those times could spring only mere pigmies of productive forces.

A really deep contradiction of the forces and conditions of production however is closely connected with the possibility of a development of these powers. The earlier historical epochs which had to be satisfied with primitive means of production and which knew only a slow, snail-like progress of production, were free from revolutionary economic break-downs.

Rough-hewn stone implements kept production for thousands of years on the same level. Industrial progress moved so exceedingly slowly that in the course of thousands of years scarcely the least change took place in the conditions of production.

In yet later times described by written history, we find among the German people the first faint development of productive powers. Out of the gloom of the primitive forests here and there appeared green cultivated fields. In the time of Tacitus, the Germans were chiefly cattle-raisers. "Large herds," so writes this Roman historian, "are the delight of the German and cattle are his only and dearest wealth."

From the Eighth to the Fourteenth centuries, Germany passed through one simple process of social development. New social classes arose in society and became the agents of great historic events. As early as the days of Charlemagne, the peasant lost his freedom. He became a serf, yet nevertheless he was by no means an absolutely impoverished peasant. Gigantic feudal estates covered all Germany.

Out of a part of the serfs, the serving men, was formed the class of armed knights. And with the rise of this class, the peasant class did not sink into the deepest misery and the bitterest want. No, for this class dawned a golden age. The peasant ate at a well-filled board, he was of a proud, independent temper and thought himself equal to the knight.

An epoch of great industrial changes began, and with it a general rise of social classes. Now for the first time the means of production, in the workshops of the cities of the middle ages, underwent a fundamental technical revolution. And yet, how childishly feeble, how inefficient they were. The means of production in the middle ages, according to Engels' excellent characterization, were "adapted to individual use, and therefore primitive, clumsy, puny and of small effect." Great world-shaking powers surely did *not* sleep in these means of production.

Powerful, quickly ripening contradictions between the forces of production and the conditions of production, such as Marx and Engels believed they had discovered in our industrial system, could not develop in those times. The gigantic machines and steam-engines were still wanting which were first created in the nineteenth century in such immense numbers.

The end of the middle ages closed with two social revolutions, the character of which has been hotly disputed. With some justice, Ferdinand Lassalle called the Peasant War a reactionary movement. In fact, the revolutionary manifestoes of the peasants express ideas and feelings which grew up in the times of the mark-community,



when meadows, woods, pastures and waters still belonged to the peasants. The peasantry declared the ownership of the land to be a necessary condition for every individual taking part in the government of the country. "That every one should demand a part in it because he is a man, because he is an intelligent being, without any ownership of land—that did not please the peasants at all!"

The unsuccessful rebellion of the knights had a most decidedly reactionary character. They wanted to put back into the rigid conditions of the middle ages the fresh and vigorous productive powers of rising capitalism. The knights' hostility to capital expressed itself in their incessant fights with the cities, the seats of the new capitalistic merchant class. They rebelled against the "pepper sacks"\* and made war on the growing "monopolists," the Fuggers, the Welsers, etc.\*\* Their revolutionary politics aimed at the establishment of a democracy of the nobility.

The collapse of the feudal system of production after this took an essentially different form in Germany than in France. In France, the nobility, the true representative of the feudal industrial system, was violently overthrown. In Germany the nobleman himself, in his own interest, overthrew that system. By means of agrarian legislation favoring the peasants, he disappropriated entire classes of peasant serfs and turned them into free agricultural laborers. The pure class egoism of the nobleman is stamped upon the emancipation of the serfs in Prussia.

In Germany, unlike France, the process of revolutionizing feudalism into capitalism proceeded actually at a snail's pace. We can scarcely speak of any violent, catastrophe-like overthrow of feudal conditions of production in Germany.

Little enough should we say about these two so characteristic economic revolutions, if we described them both with the phrase: "In Germany and in France the powers of production were in contradiction to the conditions of production, and an epoch of social revolution ensued." Every definition, every peculiarity of these historic events would thus be completely wiped out by such a description.

This revolution in Germany had an entirely different character from the revolution in France. Can we seriously characterize as a revolution the slow creeping changes of the feudal system, moving within the limits of the law, which took place in Prussia from the time of the abolition of serfdom until the bourgeois revolution? In fact, even in the transformations of the feudal order since 1848 we scarcely detect even a breath of revolution. In Germany there was a slow adaptation of the conditions of production to the forces of production.

We have now, with a bird's eye view of history, passed from the middle ages proper to the unchaining of the forces of production. Let us proceed, and now direct our steps to that country in which the forces of production were developed as in a hot-house: Old England.

\* Pepper was an important article of commerce in the middle ages.

\*\* The Rockefellers and Vanderbilts of those days. Translators' note.

In spite of all prophecies, here the forces of production to this day have not burst assunder the conditions of production.

The forces of production outgrew society, so Marx and Engels declared, more than sixty years ago. And lo, an amazing, fabulous development of the productive forces began.

The forces of production had outgrown society, so taught many Social-Democratic theorists 35 years ago in the eventful epoch of the great panic. And the forces of production nevertheless grew and expanded like giants.

The forces of production had outgrown society, so said the Erfurt Program in our days (in 1891). The forces of production however strode forward at a double-quick pace.

Up to the present time, the forces of production have not yet thrust their unyielding limbs against the immovable bounds of capitalistic conditions of property. Capitalistic industry has just outgrown its leading strings. And having just learned how to walk, it still has half of the civilized world for its playground.

From the history of panics, Rosa Luxemburg, in her little book "Social Reform or Revolution," shows that until now the sudden expansion and not the contraction of the field of capitalistic business has led to commercial crises. The Marxian theory of how crises are formed, she thinks, only applies to a completely developed capitalistic system, "where the world market is presupposed as something fixed and definite. Only then can crises repeat themselves from the inward, proper movement of the process of production and distribution, without the external impulse of a sudden shock to the conditions of production or of the market, as is understood by the analysis of Marx. If we consider the present economic conditions, we must certainly admit that we have not yet entered on that stage of perfect capitalistic maturity which is presupposed by the Marxian theory of the periodicity of crises. The world market is included in this development."

Now in previous crises Marx and Engels discovered just this contradiction between the forces of production and the conditions of production. Already in the year 1848 the history of industry and commerce had been to them "for decades"—"the history of the uprising of the modern forces of production against the modern conditions of production, against the conditions of property, which are the necessary conditions of life for the bourgeoisie and their rule."

But now it is said—and surely with justice—that the forces of production have not up to this day run against immovable barriers. To these unbridled forces immense avenues are yet standing open. Indeed in our technically highly developed society, some individual contradictions between the forces and conditions of production will not be fatal. Economic breakdowns in the nature of catastrophes, violent explosions of the conditions of production, hitherto have seldom played an important part in the history of humanity.

The dwarfish character of the means of production in the earlier stages of social development curbed and checked the forces of production. There is no iron law of history that the powers of production in any age must burst by force the conditions of production.

*The Development of Productive Forces in the Future.*

The forces of production are extending to new spheres every day. The break-down of the conditions of production has been postponed until the far-off future.

But postponed is not stopped, and so in the dim distance, say the catastrophe theorists, there still lurks the violent, terrible economic break-down!

Impenetrable darkness indeed hides from our eyes the future development of the forces of production. We really do not know toward what ends capitalism is surely steering its course. This we do not know—but the catastrophe theorists feel it in a sort of clairvoyant fashion and loudly proclaim the unlimited expansion of the forces of production. In their imagination, credit is unlimited, and spurs on the forces of production to the most unheard-of achievements. Truly, the most remarkable ideas about a brainless reign of credit sometimes run in the heads of some catastrophe theorists. It almost seems to them as if the great financiers are so completely blinded by their desire to put big profits in their pockets, that they are throwing all precautions to the winds and investing their money in the most hopeless undertakings.

It seems to have escaped these theorists that on the money market today the great banking combines are getting more and more control, and that in their own interest they are introducing order and method into the credit system.

Edward Bernstein has rightly pointed out that speculation celebrates its wildest orgies just at the beginning of the capitalistic era "In the industrial field, speculation flourishes most luxuriantly in the new branches of production. The *older* a branch of production is, (the manufacture of mere articles of fashion excepted) the more speculation *ceases* to play an unrestricted part in it. The conditions of commercial power and the conditions of the market will then be more accurately surveyed, and taken into account with greater certainty."

Who will tell us then that the credit system in the next decades will grow without limit? Cannot an epoch of thorough bank and stock exchange reforms set in? And has not a decided halt been called to private speculation in the great fields of production, even at the present day?

Private speculation has been banished in part from the extensive field of transportation, from the railway system, in which the accumulation of profits in Germany during the seventies was most frenzied and most unscrupulous.

The nationalization of the trade in grain has already been warmly discussed in Switzerland.

Great party groups in Germany now passionately advocate the nationalization of mines.

In some countries the salt and tobacco trades are government monopolies.

The cities of Germany have partly wrested the gas and water service and the street railways out of the hands of private speculation.

In short, strict limits have been set to speculation in many fields. The leavening process of state ownership, city ownership and co-operative ownership takes away the very breath of life from the unlimited credit system and speculation.

The break-down theorist must again usurp the office of the great prophets of the Old Testament, when in his infallible wisdom he proclaims the dawn of an era of unlimited credit. We would ask the breakdown theorists, if credit then must always play the part of a destroying force, driving capitalism to a catastrophe? Did not Marx himself raise the question, as Bernstein emphasizes, whether the credit system cannot offer the means "for the gradual extension of co-operative enterprises on a more or less national and progressive scale?"

Thus credit would act as a transitional means to Socialism and not as a violent explosive material for capitalism.

It is evident that, arranging themselves in the present system, the economic forces are opening the way for collective tendencies.

Everywhere industries managed by the state, the cities or co-operative associations are springing up.

In some countries, as for instance, Denmark and Norway, even small agricultural producers have been lifted out of their isolation by a powerful co-operative movement, and united in great associations.

In England, the consumers' co-operative societies have organized a portion of the consumption of workingmen. The goods are bought up in immense quantities by the co-operative societies. They now no longer go through the hands of innumerable middlemen and jobbers to overflow the smallest shops, but flow in large, well-regulated streams into the organized and collectively managed store-houses of the co-operative societies. In the sphere of consumption certain arranging and collecting forces are springing up with elemental strength.

In the industrial field here and there are arising great combines, enormous trusts. Engels saw in the trusts the final surrender of capitalist society "to the systematic production of a rising Socialist society. At first, of course, they exist for the use and profit of the capitalists. But in them the exploitation will be so evident, that it must break down. No nation would remain content with a production managed by trusts, with such an undisguised exploitation of the community by a little band of coupon-clippers."

Although we are still in the infancy of the trusts, Rosa Luxemburg is already perfectly sure of their disorganizing effect. We consider it a very bold venture to express a positive opinion about the trusts at the present time. We must first study them, and study them again, and be on our guard against all cheap prophecies about how the trusts are going to develop.

In the wild, frenzied dance of the forces of production, can we perhaps find a systematic and orderly measure? This question easily forces itself on every one. Unfortunately, in the hot fight of opinions, it has been forgotten, both at the Hanover convention and in former conventions, that one of our most gifted men, Frederick Engels, answered this question in a peculiar manner.

According to Frederick Engels, the state—of course the capitalist, not the Socialist state—will be forced to carry on production itself.

"In any case," he writes in his "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," "with trusts or without, the official representative of capitalist society—the state—will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production. This necessity for conversion of private capitalist property into state property is felt first in the great institutions for intercourse and communication—the post office, the telegraphs, the railways."

Here Engels pictures to us a mighty power, restraining the caprices of the forces of production. The state, according to Engels, is extending its sphere of government in an increasing degree.

Of course, it still remains a state of the capitalists, the ideal collective capitalist community. But nevertheless state ownership of the forces of production contains concealed within itself the solution of the contradiction which lies in capitalism.

If the capitalistic state embraces the forces of production with its strong arms, then these forces will find themselves in firm iron bands. The representative of capitalism, the state, thus itself fixes heavy, oppressive fetters on the "anarchy," the frenzied lawlessness of the forces of production.

#### *Are the Conditions of Production Stationary or Elastic?*

How dim before us lies the future of the forces of production! Not even in shadowy outlines can we trace the future form of these forces. And just so veiled, just so mysterious for us is the development of the conditions of production.

Karl Marx, as we have already remarked, understands by these conditions of production the conditions of property, in which the forces of production are found at a given time. In the limited form of the present capitalistic property, the forces of production must now work themselves out.

By the sudden stoppage of these forces in time of crises, capitalistic society, according to Marx, makes the painful discovery that it has too much civilization, too much of the means of life, too much trade, too much industry. Capitalistic society cannot absorb the wealth created.

An astounding enlargement of the conditions of property is taking place today before our eyes. Capitalistic private property grows into the capital of a firm, private enterprise becomes enterprise of a stock company, the stock companies proceed to the formation of trusts.

The great desocialized means of production, according to Engels, press forward by natural necessity to their conversion into state and national property. Everywhere in our economic life, tendencies are opening the way for the giant growing forces of production to find more expanded social forms of property. The future extent of this newly arising growth of forms cannot today be foreseen. Today we only see in what abundance state, municipal and co-operative ownership is springing up.

But the catastrophe theorist will point out that all these social forms of industry only increase the "superabundance of the means of life".

Can the million-headed proletariat never get possession of this superabundance? No law of wages, that is sure, banishes the workingman once and forever to a fixed level of civilization.

Frederick Engels, it is true, believes in a certain stationary and immovable condition of wages. Wages guarantee to the workingman only the value of his labor power, and this is determined by the cost of maintenance and reproduction.

But the cost of the workingman's maintenance and reproduction is a very variable quantity. The workingman lives on a certain scale. He has certain historically changing necessities of life.

The extent of his so-called essential needs, as well as the manner of their satisfaction, according to Marx, is an historic product. And it "depends therefore in a great measure on the degree of civilization of a country. And among other things essentially on this—under what conditions and therefore to what habits and to what standard of living the class of free workers has been accustomed. Unlike other wares, the valuation of labor power therefore contains an historic and moral element. For a certain period, however, the average amount of the necessities of life is given."

The workingman, with the general rise of civilization, can extend his wants. The quantity of goods necessary for his existence increases. A wide circle of new foods and new pleasures can be turned to the consumption of the workingman, if his economic and social position experiences an essential improvement.

The "historic and moral" element cannot simply be thrown out of the valuation of labor power. Every year there is a little change in the workingman's standard of living. These little yearly changes accumulate to form the visible revolutions in civilization of an epoch of thirty or forty years.

To state the case accurately: Granted that the workingman receives in the form of wages only the cost of the production of his labor power, yet it is found that the cost of this production is a variable quantity, which is conditioned by the workingman's historic standard of living.

This standard has a connection with the general degree of culture of the country, and is moreover dependent on the economic and political position of the workingman in the society of that epoch and that country. The cost of the workingman's production is inextricably bound up with his economic and political power. The workingman can considerably enlarge his standard of living with his growing economic and social influence. This fact cannot be disputed by the mere statement that the workingman has to be satisfied with the cost of his necessary maintenance and reproduction in the form of wages.

The meaning of the cost of necessary maintenance is very elastic. This cost of maintenance can cover many commodities of a high civilization, which the workingman of a certain historic epoch may consider absolutely necessary for his existence.

The decisive point of the entire discussion about the cost of the necessary maintenance of the workingman lies in the proof whether the workingman can or cannot improve his standard of living by means of his economic, social, and political power and position. The share of the workingman in the social product depends on this power. The catastrophe theorist regards the workingman as perfectly helpless and powerless before the capitalist, and therefore he considers an essential improvement in his condition impossible under the wage system.

To the rise of wages—the catastrophe theorist perhaps replies—are set certain fixed limits in our present capitalistic system. The rise in wages can never reach a point where the profits, the surplus value, will quantitatively so diminish that the capitalist system will thereby be threatened.

Now wages can rise quite considerably without the surplus value being quantitatively diminished. A colossal quantitative growth of surplus value can even go hand in hand with a fall in the rate of capitalist profits.

The capitalist class has a genuine horror of the absence of gain. It does not allow the great, ever wasting apparatus of production to stand still, because profits have perhaps fallen a few per cent. The incentive to gain does not even permit the capitalist to let his capital lie idle. The capitalist is driven to production by competition, by the whole mechanism of capitalistic production. He must invest his capital at a lower interest if wages are valued higher, but he must invest it. The extreme point to which capital can depreciate, is the disappearance of all profits.

Between no profit at all and an investment at, let us say, ten per cent, lies a wide margin. And therefore immovable limits are by no means set to a rise of wages.

The profits of capital are gigantic in quantity, even if they should come down to two per cent. And even with a tendency to a falling rate of profit, capital seeking investment can be found in plenty.

But the working class is under the influence of the conditions of rising wages, when capital is quantitatively increasing and seeking new investments.

Today there is still to be found a vast unentered field for the wants of investing capital. The capitalistic economic system the world is still in its infancy.

Germany just in the last decade has developed to a great industrial country. Great America only a few decades ago entered the world market. An enormous field is still open for capital seeking investment. Golden days still beckon to capitalism.

With the expansion of the capitalistic industrial system the world market is extending considerably. There is now room for immense quantities of goods. And with a doubling and trebling of the consumption of goods, an increased demand for labor arises, and this in spite of all the great progress in the technical development of machines.

Moreover the machine is not conquering all the capitalistic branches to an equal extent and with equal intensity. The separate industrial branches must be examined most carefully as to their technical construction, and the conditions which they offer for the formation of an army of the unemployed must be accurately investigated, before we pass judgment in this matter.

With the extension of our capitalistic industrial system the demand for goods has been enormously increased and will continue to increase in the future. And therefore no prophet can tell us today with any certainty whether the injurious and depressing influence on wages by the army of the unemployed may not be *partly* stopped by the growing demand for labor. And then, moreover, is it proved once and for all time that we are absolutely helpless against the army of the unemployed?

In the forties of the last century the army of the unemployed in England had reached colossal dimensions. At this time that army seemed to threaten the employed workingmen with ruin and death.

Since 1848 a fabulous improvement in industry has set in, and the perfection of machinery has gone forward with seven-league boots. Piles of wealth have been heaped up in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

And in spite of all this, great classes of the English proletariat have sunk no deeper than they were in 1848. On the contrary by their solid strength they have worked their way up to light and freedom.

Mr. Hans von Nostiz has recently devoted a very comprehensive and thorough work to the rise of the working class in England. We extract from this work only a few facts.

"The best proof of the material rise of the lower classes," writes von Nostiz, "is the decrease in mortality, whether this may be caused by better food, better housing or better general care of the health.

"From a comparison of statistical investigations for the years 1838 to 1854 and 1876 to 1889, Humphreys finds that the mortality of the male sex between the ages of 5 and 25 has diminished 28 to 30 per cent, while the mortality of the female sex between the ages of 5 and 35 has diminished 24 to 35 per cent. Consequently the average length of life for men has increased about two years, and for women has even increased about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years.

"Not less significant is the decrease in the number of those persons who receive public charity. According to the reports of the Royal Commission of 1893 on the Aged Poor, the total number of persons receiving alms was:

In 1849—1,087,000 persons, that is 63-1000 of the population.

In 1872—977,000 persons, that is 43-1000 of the population.

In 1892—745,000 persons, that is, 26-1000 of the population.

"Moreover the expense for paupers, as already explained in our introduction, was much heavier before the poor law of 1834.

"This above quoted memorial of 1899 states that a decrease in serious crimes, at least, has taken place in the last generation—in fact from about 750 for every 100,000 inhabitants on the average between 1872 and 1876, to about 500 for the same number of inhabitants between 1892 and 1896.



"The working class of the present day, according to this report, is composed of three divisions, the upper, the middle and the lower. Their development is highly remarkable in two different respects.

"In the first place, the upper division is increasing, the lowest is decreasing. In England the agricultural laborers have always been worse paid than the industrial workers. With the great decline in agriculture noticed in the introduction, the number of agricultural workers is decreasing. The number of industrial workers is increasing. And therefore the number of better paid workers in the great industries of the textile, iron and mining industries is growing, and the income of the working class taken as a whole is becoming larger.

"In the second place, the greatest improvement is taking place in the circles of those industrial workers, who at the beginning of the last century stood the lowest, that is, the miners and textile workers. What intellectual and moral degradation prevailed among them can be seen from chapter 7 of the above cited reports of the Commission, especially for 1832, 1833, 1842 and 1843."

The soft voice of a Saxon attache of the German ambassador will perhaps receive less attention among Socialists than the deep bass of a radical Socialist. And therefore we will now quote Frederick Engels.

According to Engels, two classes of the English working people have undoubtedly risen in the social scale—the factory workers and the members of the great trades unions.

"A permanent improvement," he writes in 1892 in his well-known preface to his Condition of the Working Class in England, "can be recognized for two 'protected' portions only of the working class.

"Firstly, the factory hands. The fixing by Act of Parliament of their working day within relatively rational limits has restored their physical constitution and endowed them with a moral superiority, enhanced by their local concentration.

"Secondly, the great Trades Unions. They are the organizations of those trades in which the labor of *grown-up men* predominates, or is alone applicable. Here the competition neither of women and children nor of machinery has so far weakened their organized strength. The engineers, the carpenters and joiners, the bricklayers, are each of them a power, to that extent that, as in the case of the bricklayers and bricklayers' laborers, they can even successfully resist the introduction of machinery. That their condition has remarkably improved since 1848 there can be no doubt, and the best proof of this is in the fact, that for more than fifteen years not only have their employers been upon exceedingly good terms with them, but they also with their employers. They form an aristocracy among the working class; they have succeeded in enforcing for themselves a relatively comfortable position, and they accept it as final."

The great mass of the workingmen, according to Engels, still remains on their former low level. The East End of London is still the same vast slough of stagnant misery and despair.

But now there is at least a little stir in this frightful pool of filth. The awakening of the East End filled the soul of Frederick

Engels with jubilation. Inspired by this awakening, our old master took it as one of the greatest and most fruitful events of that *fin de siècle*, that end of the nineteenth century.

"The East End," he writes, "has shaken off its torpid despair, has returned to life, and has become the home of what is called the 'New Unionism', that is to say, of the organization of the great mass of 'unskilled' workers. Undoubtedly, the East Enders have committed colossal blunders; so have their predecessors, and so do the doctrinaire Socialists who pooh-pooh them. A large class, like a great nation, never learns better or quicker than by undergoing the consequences of its own mistakes. And for all the faults committed in past, present and future, the revival of the East End of London remains one of the greatest and most fruitful facts of this *fin de siècle*, and glad and proud I am to have lived to see it."

The residuum, the dull, heavy remainder of misery, begins to move. There is now a well founded hope that this residuum, these dark dregs of the people, will be uplifted.

The great expert in the condition of the English workers, Sidney Webb, is also full of this joyful confidence. And since Sidney Webb is no bourgeois optimist, but an outspoken Socialist, we will here cite his words:

"Although we are often inclined," writes the Socialist Sydney Webb in his little book "England's Working Class in 1837 and 1897," "to take a dark view of the condition of the people at the present moment, nevertheless it is evident that since 1837 a considerable change for the better can be noticed.

"In the majority of all trades, and in almost all places, the wages of men are much higher than at that time, and the workingman also receives many more commodities for his labor than 60 years ago. In many cases the working day is shorter, the conditions of labor are better, and the standard of living is higher. In the city as well as in the country the housing has become better, the sanitary conditions have often experienced a complete revolution; education is not only far more universal, but also much more comprehensive, and the means of culture, as libraries, museums, art galleries, concerts, and sanitary institutions, are much more accessible for the workingman than formerly. In short, the great mass of the people is much more civilized than 60 years ago.

"However terrible our industrial system may be, nevertheless, the standard of living in England is now in almost every respect more humane than formerly. The wrongs which still exist at the present moment should not blind us to the remarkable progress already made. Just so far the eulogies of the present optimistic statisticians are justified. . . .

"About the general rise of wages since 1837 I need not say much. As far as male workers are concerned, we have no reason in general to doubt Sir Robert Giffens' statement that in almost all trades wages have risen from 50 to 100 per cent. . . .

"In general, it cannot be denied, that the last 60 years show a remarkable improvement in the standard of living of a very large part of the people. But, nevertheless, it must be emphasized that this great

increase of prosperity, this great rise in the standard of living, has not been universal. There are even at the present day great masses of the people who as to their economic conditions still live in the year 1837. . .

"And when we sum up in one general statement various facts known to us from the comparison of statistics of wages, we come to the following result: While the income of the skilled male mechanic has considerably risen, and entirely new classes of responsible and quite well paid workers and mechanics have arisen, yet at the present day there is a greater number—although a smaller percentage—of hopelessly wretched existences than at any former time."

The result of the industrial development is therefore this: A considerable improvement for the skilled workingman and a percentage decrease of hopelessly wretched existences. Moreover, according to Webb there is a prospect that the dregs of the people, "the wretched existences", may be raised if the different forms of the collective system—municipal Socialism, co-operative societies, and trades unions, and governmental control of industry — everywhere strikes root.

"And just there," writes Sidney Webb, "where the progress of the collective system has been checked—in those industries to which effective factory legislation has not been applied through distrust, in those places which are entirely withheld from municipal undertakings—just there only a very slight or even no progress can be observed. The factory legislation, the trades union movement, and those associations for educational and administrative purposes, which appear either in the form of municipal Socialism or co-operative stores, and moreover, the powerful working system of taxation and the centralized administrative control—these were the powerful factors of all the progress which we note since 1837. We can only hope to raise the dregs of the people by further extending these forms of collectivism."

All these facts seem to us to open a joyful and heart-cheering outlook for a gradual rise of the whole working class. In any case, the fabulously rapid monopolizing of the means of production and the hot-house-like forcing of technical progress in the last half century signify no growing increase of wretchedness, oppression, servitude and degeneration of the English working class. The army of the unemployed could not stop economic and social elevation of this class.

A great multitude of articles of use has passed over to the consumption of the workers. With the general rise of the working class a considerable quantity of the "surplus" of the means of life can overflow into the masses of the people, especially if these masses shall have attained a decisive influence in the great state, city, and co-operative institutions.

The shell of even capitalistic property is elastic and variable. Of course, this shell will no longer remain the same.

Capitalistic private property is passing through a manifold metamorphosis. It is turning into city and state property. And upward-striving workingmen are constructing the city and national institutions

The conditions of production, the conditions of property, under which capitalist society is producing, flow with the eternal stream of change. These conditions of production are perhaps gradually expanding, and altering, and they therefore do not need to be violently broken up.

*Sudden Explosion or Gradual Socialization of the Capitalist Economic System?*

Perhaps the conditions of production require no sudden explosion in order to make room for new forces of production?

On this point, perhaps, the catastrophe theorist is most dogmatic. Thanks to his insight into the all-powerful economic law of contradiction, he is perfectly clear about the future phases of economic history. According to his opinion, the contradiction between the forces of production and the conditions of production is growing wider. The forces of production, on the one hand in the form of labor-saving machines, are producing a continually increasing army of the unemployed, and on the other hand, through overproduction, are producing the most destructive crises, with terrible scarcity of employment and fearful misery. The oppression, servitude, misery and degeneration of the proletariat are continually increasing. The contradiction between the forces of production and the conditions of production is leading to the catastrophe.

According to the catastrophe theorist a real enlargement of the capitalistic conditions of production cannot be obtained. The capitalistic law of wages cannot be broken down. The economic and political struggles of the working class will never bring about a considerable improvement in the condition of the proletariat.

"The great Socialistic significance of the industrial and political struggle consists in this, that they socialize the knowledge and the consciousness of the working class. But when regarded as direct means to the socialization of the capitalist system, they not only belie this effect ascribed to them, but at once lose also their other only possible significance—they cease to be means of educating the working class to the proletarian revolution." So says Rosa Luxemburg.

If it is an undeniable fact that the working class is constantly sinking deeper in misery, servitude and degeneracy, who then can guarantee to us the possibility of a regeneration of this class? The sea of misery not only scourges men and stirs them to rebellion—no, it also swallows them up.

From an enslaved, degenerate class expect no deeds of deliverance. There is a law of life that only might and strength can endure in the struggle for existence. And therefore, we believe, the working class can write victory on its banners only when it develops into the most influential, the most powerful class in society.

The catastrophe theorist expects a mighty, aim-conscious political-social revolution from a class industrially powerless. Whence will this class draw the strong political powers thus working to the revolution? "Is then," I asked ten years ago, "economic impotence compatible with political omnipotence?"

In the statutes of the International Workingmen's Association we read that economic dependence is "the basis of servitude in every form, of social misery, of intellectual degradation and political dependence." Therefore we maintain that economic power is the basis of political power. Can political power abolish its own basis, "can the church spire overturn the foundation of the church?"

Politics, we can say in direct agreement with Marx, is in complete dependence upon economics. Economics is the living and shaping power which lives in all political institutions.

The political power of a class is not a power entirely dependent on itself, but in its basis it is conditioned by the economic and social powers of just this class. The operation of the political rights of a class are just as closely tied to their economic and social power.

The capitalist employer can easily call in question the workingmen's right of organization by discharging the workingmen who have formed a political organization or a trade union obnoxious to him. Finally, strong industrial labor organizations, which at once, upon any infringement of the right of organization, stand unitedly together against the employer, always give the most permanent protection against all attempts of the capitalists to violate this right of organization. The use of the right of assembling must often be won from the landlords by the withdrawal of customers, by boycotts, etc. The success of the parliamentary activity of labor representatives is based upon an extensive labor press. The existence of this press, however, depends upon a certain economic comfort of the working class. The industrial condition everywhere dominates the political condition.

A great political emancipation of the working class, in our opinion, presupposes a universal industrial and social elevation of the working class. A fundamental overthrow of society can no more proceed from the trembling hands of an economically powerless class than a mighty world creation can proceed from nothing.

The entire political history of society up to this day has been really a history of the economic and social powers of the ruling ranks and classes. In the middle ages the economic system rested mainly on agriculture, and in consequence the great land-owners, the possessors of extensive estates for agricultural production, were the lords and masters in the state. With the rise of industry and trade, the bourgeoisie experienced a splendid industrial uprising and now, little by little, they are restamping all the institutions of the state as good bourgeois coin.

In agreement with all history up to this day, we can therefore truly say—as a growing economic and political force the working class will probably put itself in possession of economic and political power and gradually socialize the whole economic system. Thanks to its increasing economic and political strength, the working class, with more and more class-consciousness and consistency of aim, is encroaching upon the capitalist industrial system.

Municipal Socialism, co-operative societies and trade unions, governmental control of industries, in spite of their present imperfect and inconsistent form, have already had a great regenerative influence

upon the English working class. Of what far-reaching social-political importance they will become, when they are systematically furthered by a strong, unitedly acting working class!

The working class is extending the right of control by the government over production. Thanks to its trades union organizations, the working class is conquering for itself the right to participate in the management even of capitalistic private undertakings. It is permeating the present industrial system with governmental, municipal, and co-operative industries. By a decided shortening of the working day and an extensive insurance against lack of employment, it is counteracting the injurious influences of the army of the unemployed. With the growing industrial and political powers of the working class, the laws regulating the wages of the workingman are changing.

Economic and political struggles are direct means of socializing the capitalistic industrial system.

#### *Changes in the Conditions of the Economic Power of the Proletariat:*

Even in the present system, the working class did not once for all bow its neck under the yoke of an unchangeable iron law of wages.

The historically changing standard of living for the working class expresses itself in the rise of wages. We cannot too strongly emphasize the saying of Karl Marx that, unlike other wares, the price of labor power contains an historical and moral element. The price of the workingman's labor power must make good to him his vital necessities, which are closely connected with the general state of civilization in his country.

The capitalist class cannot lightly ignore these civilized needs of the working class. The militant working class, arrived at a certain stage of culture, opposes itself with elemental strength to an arbitrary, unlimited reduction of wages. The capitalist cannot regulate the cost of the workingman's production simply by the most necessary and indispensable expenses for the support of the workingman. The capitalist, however, can do this with all other commodities. But labor power is inseparably bound up with the workingman. Labor power is no dead commodity. It fights bitterly in the market for its historically gained title to civilization and for the enlargement of those rights.

Will the workingman conquer or surrender in the fight? That is now the question. The economic power of the workingman will decide on the triumph or defeat of the workingman. The rise of wages, the extension of the workingman's claim to civilization, is a question of economic-political power.

In the economic struggle, on one side stand the employers, representing the demand, and on the other side stands the working class, representing the supply. Usually the two poles of the market, supply and demand, are disconnected. The more resolute, the more sure of itself is the supply, the more favorable is its position in the struggle for wages.

The industrial struggle itself demands the union of the workers who offer their services into strong, solid organizations. For the wage struggle it is of absolute importance when the employers, embodying

the demand, do not represent a homogeneous mass when there are elements among the employers connected with the working class by important interests of life. Municipal and co-operative industries, which with energy sustain the demands of the organized proletariat, are allies of the workmen in the wage struggle. The workman must sell his labor power, true, but it is quite another thing whether he disposes of it to an unfriendly employer or to his own flesh and blood, to his own comrades in the struggle. The workman must influence not only the supply of labor, but also the demand for labor.

But this does not exhaust the sphere of his endeavors. He must attempt, by legal limitations, to place the fundamental conditions of the labor contract entirely outside of the economic struggle, and must do this by legislative enactments. For instance, there should be no more conflict about the ten-hour day, it should be decreed by law.

The workman thus, for the first time, is regularly and systematically influencing the demand for labor power. With the former petty industries, the permanent welding together of the workmen of one trade into a unitedly acting body could scarcely succeed.

The economic world is rising more and more on the strong support of collective labor. A numerous working class is the foundation of industry on a large scale. Now, this foundation is not unchangeable, not a dead stone. No, it is a splendid vitality. The foundation can easily shake the entire industry which it powerfully supports.

Only it must be perfectly clear about its movements in this or that direction. And now at last it is filled with this clearness.

Marx once said of the mechanism of the capitalistic process of production that it is teaching, uniting and organizing the working class. This natural education and unification, by means of a systematic organization, now has a far more extensive power than formerly.

An examination of the effect of trades unions upon the army of the unemployed is of fundamental importance for the settlement of the question whether the organization of workmen has a permanent influence on the condition of wages.

Strong organizations do, indeed, enter into, and regulate, the competitive struggle of employed and unemployed. This causes capital great distress of heart.

"Therefore," writes Marx, "as soon as the workmen get hold of the secret, how it is that in just the degree that they work more, produce more wealth for others, and increase the productive power of their labor, just so much more precarious for them becomes their function as a means of value to capital—as soon as they discover that the degree of competitive intensity among them itself depends entirely upon the pressure of the relative surplus population; as soon, therefore, as they try, by means of trades unions, etc., to organize a systematic co-operation between the employed and the unemployed, in order to break or weaken the ruinous effects upon their class of that natural law of capitalistic production—then capitalism and its sycophant, political economy, trembles at the violation of the 'eternal' and so to

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“speak ‘holy’ law of supply and demand. Every understanding between the employed and the unemployed destroys just the ‘pure’ working of this law.”

The pure working of law can therefore be influenced by the trades unions.

The size of the army of the unemployed depends among other things on the length of the working day. And the policy of the trades unions helps the shortening of the working day. A systematic and general shortening of the working day must at once greatly reduce the army of the unemployed. “England’s means of saving labor,” says Marx in *Capital*, “are vast. Yet,” he expressly states, “if tomorrow labor in general should be limited to a rational amount and the various layers of the working class should be graded according to age and sex, the present working population would be absolutely insufficient to carry on national production on its present scale. The great majority of the now unproductive laborers would become productive.”

This is a hint, we believe, which points plainly enough to the importance of the shortening of the working day for the lessening of the army of the unemployed. Since, as the trades unions become stronger, their aspirations for shortening the working day always become more effective, their influence on the size of the army of the unemployed is thus increasingly felt.

Moreover, the decision of the question of shortening the working day lies in the hands of a still stronger power than the unions—in the hands of the state.

Outside the trades unions, the municipalities, at least in part, are busying themselves very earnestly with a complete system of insurance against lack of work. The first feeble attempts for the founding of an insurance against non-employment have already been made. And certainly it is rather bold to prophesy today that the insurance against non-employment will never reach the goal which it has set for itself.

The trades union movement, even in old England, may yet develop an immense recruiting strength. The last industrial worker has by no means yet been drafted into the army of the trades unions. And only when the overwhelming mass of the English working class stands under the banners of the labor unions can a correct idea be formed of the ability of this army to fight out the wage struggle.

The catastrophe theorists often regard the English trades unions as already at the acme of their development. They even predict the decline of the union movement.

“England”, says Rosa Luxemburg, “already offers us an example of the beginning of the *second stage* of the trades union movement. It confines itself, of necessity, more and more to the mere preservation of what has been already gained, and even this is becoming more and more difficult.”

And Rosa Luxemburg tries to force this view upon us, although the influence of the English trades unions is continually growing. In England, the trades unions, together with the capitalists, decide the



conditions of labor and wages for entire trades, and there they have replaced individual personal contracts with collective contracts.

In England, according to the view of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, "in all qualified trades, when workmen are engaged in common activity in the work-shops of the employers, 90 per cent of the workmen find their wages, their working day, and often many other details fixed beforehand by a collective contract, in which they personally did not participate, but in which their interests were given expression by the representatives of their class. But although collective contract-making prevails in a wider field than the existence of the trades union, yet only a trades union can furnish the mechanism for every far-reaching, and not merely chance, application of it. Without the existence of a trades union in a given industry, it would be almost impossible to reach a general rule good for an entire district, to say nothing of an international agreement."

The English workmen have already progressed as far as the "constitutional factory". The "absolutism of the employer", says Legien in his great speech against Count Posadowsky, "must yield to the constitutional factory. The former absolute employer must be content to have beside him a representation of the workers of the trade, which has to act sharing the control of the factory with him. It is this constitution which has up to the present time been attained in England. There the employers are obliged to have beside them representatives of the working class. And here also in Germany, where almost unlimited absolutism reigns in this sphere, this constitutional factory will come, which, of course, following further development, will be replaced in the future by the democratic, or, to speak more correctly, the Socialistic factory system."

The trades unions of England strive toward the great aim of uniting in one union the craftsmen of a whole nation. Now, suppose these national craft unions united together and federated—we have a regular industrial state within the state. This industrial state guarantees to the members of the separate crafts a decent income, a sanitary working place and a regulated working time. The federated national trades unions can really influence the conditions of the production of commodities.

Within the Social-Democracy itself a great change in the estimation and valuation of the trades unions is now beginning. "One need be no Manchester man or anarchist," says Edward Bernstein in his appendix to the History of British Trades Unionism, by Sydney and Beatrice Webb, "no opponent of the calling and use of the state, to consider it less desirable that the workmen should be accustomed to expect all help and improvement from the state, 'from above'. Whoever is not given up to belief in a future miracle, to the idea that a competent organic structure can be stamped out of the ground in every moment of need, will welcome in the trades union not only a preparatory school for thorough democratic self-government, but also a mighty lever for the industrial institutions for which the Social-Democracy is striving. The proposition that the emancipation of the working class must be its own work has a wider meaning

than merely the conquering of the powers of government by the workmen."

The working class can influence not only the supply, but also the demand, if it can powerfully bring to bear its interests in the national, municipal, and co-operative industries. First, let us take only the co-operative undertakings. By means of consumers' associations, the workmen are seizing upon a part of commercial trade. A whole army of clerks and commercial workmen are employed by the workmen's associations. In England the consumers' associations have founded mills, bakeries, biscuit factories, soap factories, woolen mills and purchasing associations on a large scale. Numerous industrial existences depend upon them. The consumers' and productive associations, in England called co-operative societies, are striding vigorously forward from year to year.

"In the year 1897," says A. von Elm in his recent essay on the co-operative movement, "there were in England 1686 co-operative consumers' societies. In the year 1898 there were 1603. The number is less only because the Irish agricultural co-operative societies, which were counted with them in 1897, were not reckoned in for 1898. The British co-operative societies in 1897 numbered 1,591,000 members, in 1898 they numbered 1,646,000. In the former year the shares amounted to 18,611,000 pounds, in the latter to 19,759,000 pounds. The purchase of goods in 1897 amounted to 62,000,000 pounds, in 1898 to 65,000,000 pounds. The profits from this in the year 1897 were 6,000,000 pounds, and in 1898 7,000,000 pounds. These are enormous figures. Most interesting of all is the average amount of goods which the individual member has received in the course of the year; since it follows that in the year 1898 the individual member on an average received from the society goods worth 40 pounds (\$200), quite a considerable sum. The profit which was obtained for sharing amounted on an average to 87 marks a year (\$21.75) or 1.67 marks a week. Thus it is seen that it is an enormous advantage which accrues to the share-holding members."

According to the view of the catastrophe theorists, the consumers' associations and productive co-operative societies can develop only in a very narrow limit under capitalistic society. The productive associations were supposed to be restricted to a small local scale. Now, however, the English consumers' associations have already united into national wholesale purchasing societies. Large productive associations work to supply the extensive sale of these societies.

Rosa Luxemburg stoutly maintains that the productive societies of such an important trade as the textile industry are excluded, and yet the English co-operative societies today own large woolen mills. And these co-operative societies have started up only in the last decades. Yet Rosa Luxemburg is now cock-sure and ready with her decision on the future and eventual significance of the co-operative societies.

So excellent an expert in the trades union and co-operative movement as Beatrice Webb sees in the trades unions and co-operative societies two means of revolutionizing the capitalistic industrial system by a direct elementary overthrowing force, while a Rosa Luxemburg

passes by this co-operative and trades union movement with utter indifference.

"In conclusion," says Mrs. Webb in her well-known essay on the Trades Union Movement, "I would emphatically repeat that the social administrative and economic limits of the co-operative state by no means limit the power of the co-operative societies in our national life. The combination of the entire working class in one union of co-operative societies on the one hand, and of a federation of trades unions on the other hand, would actually give the power in the state to the workingmen.

"The organization of workingmen as consumers would effectively oppose every attempt on the part of the capitalists and landlords, should they make the attempt to corrupt certain portions of the working class by promises of higher wages, in order to get their support for a protective policy, whether by law, in the form of protective tariff, or industrially, in the form of trusts and coalitions of capitalists, for raising prices.

"And if the officers of these twin federations, representing the most primitive interests of use and production, bound themselves in a solemn agreement, it would then be comparatively easy to clear out of the association those who use without producing, the parasites of all classes. While on the other hand those who produce without using their full share, would be moved up to a higher place at the national feast.

"That this result cannot be attained without recourse to legislation, the expression of forced co-operation—experience, as I believe, has clearly proved. But before we can have a perfectly developed democracy, the entire nation must possess those moral qualities, which have enabled the co-operators to introduce democratic self-government in a portion of the industry, the trade and the finances of the nation."

The co-operative societies are only a means of strengthening the economic power of the working class. Besides these, the state and municipality must of all broaden and deepen the foundations of the economic power of the working class. The more constantly the workingman acts upon the various branches of production by means of strong industrial and political organization, the more he permeates the present social and political bodies with powerful organs serving his own interests—so much the more effectively can he influence wages.

If he can make his demands felt in strong national and international trades unions, in far-reaching co-operative associations, in the great municipal institutions so deeply affecting his weal or woe, then he has in his hands the main lever of the conditions of wages.

"The workingman," as I said in a recent leaflet, "is his own employer under an industrial system controlled by workingmen's organizations. He then himself directly regulates the conditions of the sale of labor power. He plows deeper and deeper furrows in the soil of the present industrial system. This system changes continually in form and make-up. This capitalistic industrial system, at any rate, has

never remained the same unchangeable system. The giant trusts of today, the immense co-operative consumers' societies, aiming at becoming their own producers, the trades unions combined in international federations, and the municipalities fully accomplishing their social tasks, had not grown up on this foundation one hundred years ago. Therefore do not abuse the idea of a change from the basis of the present system."

In truth the basis of bourgeois society does not stand fast, it turns and turns continually.

*The State Under the Influence of the Growing Proletarian Power.*

The economic powers of the present working class, according to our radical catastrophe theorists, are dry brittle sticks. Depending on these, they claim, the working class can never transform capitalism into Socialism. Neither will the working class succeed in doing this with the help of the political power. The state is a class state!

Certainly, but the state is a class state changing with economic and social conditions of power. The state is not firm as granite, it is very changeable.

In that phase of the state's development which preceded our present state, an abundance of governmental rights were concentrated in the hands of powerful private lords. In the Seventeenth Century the defense of the country in Prussia was still handed over to a few private contractors. The soldier himself practiced the trade of war as a means of earning his bread. He was a soldier for life, like a tailor or a shoemaker.

The administration of justice and the police department were partly turned over to noble landlords and royal farmers of domains. The government offices were often sold, and the lucky buyer wished to live from his office. Within the royal domains, as we read in Koser's History of Frederick the Great, those who were tenants of the royal officials' estates had curiously enough thereby also leased the administration of justice. They were indeed directed to let a learned jurist undertake the pronouncing of sentences, but a chronicle of Neumark declares that there was not then a single deputy judge who understood the law. The staff, complains the author of this chronicle, is the body of the law. It came to pass that the magistrate required fifteen thalers or six groschen for a marriage certificate. Even in the patrimonial courts of the landed gentry, the noble landlord willingly dispensed with the appointment of a jurist, in order himself to undertake the duties of a judge, whether he was legally educated or entirely unprepared. The Supreme court practice of 1709 provided that all suits brought before the Supreme court from the lower courts should be immediately referred back to these courts, since it was the intention of the king to most graciously protect the courts of the noble and the magistrate in their rights.

This seignorial jurisdiction delivered the poor peasant entirely into the hands of the noblemen. Until the reforms of Coccejis and his great successor, that is, up to the reign of Frederick the Great, according to Schmoller, "The paramount jurisdiction in all cases lay in the

hands of men who possessed it as a personal right, whether they used it as a source of fees or otherwise for their own ends, and which along with other offices and other business they exercised often without any professional education."

The Prussian junkers, (landed noblemen) possessing jurisdiction over their own serfs, and this jurisdiction moreover a source of rich profits,—please imagine the conditions. Just imagine, that the great exploiter Sturm, employing many thousand workingmen and hating union men and Socialists should get from the state the right to administer justice and police powers over his working men, and that he would then use these powerful state offices as his principal source of income through fees, the imposition of fines, etc.! This fearful thought alone makes one shiver!

The peasant of the Eighteenth century, however, was accustomed to having his employer for his judge and at the same time for his chief of police. The one-sided class rule of that time, which remained untouched by any public critic, thus possessed entirely different thorns from the present class rule.

In those days the peculiar independent life of the cities was almost entirely obliterated. The politics and economic life of the cities in the Eighteenth century were under the strictest governmental control. The city government of Berlin was regarded only as a sort of governmental board. The state enchainé the oppressed majority of the population to the soil by means of serfdom and bound them fast to a certain mode of life.

In the Eighteenth century, the condition of the trades, the corporations and the guilds depended on the grace of the all-powerful state. In the statutes of the corporations it inscribed itself with a firm hand and modeled their paragraphs to its own liking. The state immediately threw legal obstacles in the way of every energetic wage movement. The strike, to these good shepherds of the people, seemed to be a real insurrection. In some parts of the country striking was punished by penal labor and the house of correction. The journeymen who celebrated "Blue Monday" must be denounced to the magistrates. Policemen scoured all the public houses to hunt down there the celebrating journeymen.

The absolute state also invaded industrial life with taxes like a swarm of locusts. What did it not tax heavily—the wages of numerous hand-workers, the price of goods, the operations of surgeons, etc. The industrial individual felt everywhere heavy bonds and fetters on hand and foot. The state with keen scent hunted out all the personal affairs of the individual.

Under the rule of absolutism the subject of the state had not even a legal right to his own person. The dear father of his country could sell his subjects and willfully put them in the soldier's coat. The father of his country looked carefully into their books and tore out the godless and pernicious passages and writings which might endanger the patient nature of his sheeplike subjects. He spoke very plainly on the clothing question through his sumptuary laws. He prescribed the number of courses for marriage feasts, he fixed the time

for wearing of mourning, he even bothered himself about the coffins of the dead. The state forced his dear sheep to extreme meekness by frequent attendance at church, and held them in godly customs by severe penalties. Thus the state pursued its subjects even into the house of God and into their last resting place. And the state was the king, or the elector, or the duke, as the case might be.

If one correctly considers the authoritative features of different systems of government, one immediately understands that the proletariat cannot remain indifferent to the question of government. An absolute monarchy, in which only the monarch and perhaps the social groups surrounding him, can act politically, contains in itself quite a different servitude for the proletariat than a well-ordered democracy, founded on self-government, which gives complete freedom of movement to all economic and social associations. Even majority rule is always less hostile to freedom than minority rule, than the regime of any one over-powerful group. In one case a minority, and in the other case a majority, is oppressed. Moreover majority rule necessarily permits itself to be weakened by a proportional representative system, which itself admits the representation of small parties. Thus the authoritative character of majority rule is softened. Majority rule moreover can be improved by the direct participation of the masses in politics, by popular legislation. In short, the proletariat has means enough at its disposal to smooth off the angles and sharp points of the state's authority. To this last aim contributes also the greatest possible self-government of cities, districts, provinces, etc.

The working class in its struggles for emancipation sees itself chiefly opposed by a scarcely movable centralized state which exerts a paralyzing influence on the great process of economic and social development. High developed industrial localities are governmentally united with quite backward agricultural districts and a strong centralization robs the progressive circles of all possibility of independent development. The working class therefore must mobilize the state through the widest possible self-government of cities and districts. Free organization for self-government must arise in place of authoritative official bodies.

A free self-governing legislation gives an essential point of support to the social-political activity of the workingmen in the cities. Many cities own a large amount of land and carry on extensive business enterprises. In their hands rests the fate of great masses of the workingmen. They can essentially improve the economic condition of the city workingmen. And the situation of these workingmen again tends to advance the position of allied groups of the proletarian class. In short, a liberal self-governing legislation possesses a great value for the economic and social aspirations of the working class.

In England, municipal Socialism has gone on from victory to victory. In the street-cleaning question, it has accomplished a true labor of Hercules. It has carried on a bitter fight against the monopolistic spirit of the great gas and water companies, and has continually opened new fields of activity to self-government. It has spread light

among the masses by the founding of schools, libraries and museums. It has been an efficient protector and promoter of the aims of the trades unions by paying trades union wages to its employees.

In the wonderful renaissance of the English proletariat it has taken a prominent part, as testified in the interesting work by C. Hugo on Municipal Socialism in England.

The Social-Democracy from its infancy has comprehended the importance of democracy in the struggle of the proletariat for emancipation. The political program of this party very early contained a certain completeness and an adequate provision for democracy. The modern state's gigantic apparatus of power was seen at work, and it was foreseen what a vast revolutionary force this apparatus might develop if once in the hands of the working class. In the political struggles, sometimes, more was recognized than a mere means of socializing "the conscious impulse of the workingmen." These struggles were so very highly prized because they afforded the working class excellent opportunities for the gradual attainment of the power of government.

The schools are open to all social classes, legal counsel is furnished gratis, hospitals and convalescence houses are free to all, the industrial plants are inspected by the government, labor boards regulate the conditions of labor in city and country, the nation itself assumes all the various insurances of the working people.

The nation everywhere breaks into the domain of the rule of capitalistic monopoly. It binds capitalism hand and foot, and strikes one fetter after another from the wage workers.

Rosa Luxemburg laughs at the idea that wage slavery can be gradually and legally abolished. According to her view, wage slavery was not introduced in this way, and therefore cannot be thus removed.

The Prussian free wage-working class arose through the forced and partly legal expropriation of the means of production of the peasants and by their legal emancipation from the bonds of subjection and serfdom. This expropriation (for instance, in North Germany) was carried out on a large scale and in a thoroughly "legal fashion" with the aid of the power of government. Even in the Nineteenth century, the agrarian legislation expropriated entire classes of small peasants and changed them into free wage-workers.

Rosa Luxemburg is therefore in error when she maintains that wage slavery was not partly established by law. "The proletariat," she says, "is compelled to bow under the yoke of capital by no law, but by poverty, through lack of the means of production. No law in the world, however, within the limits of bourgeois society, can decree to the proletariat these means, because it was not robbed of them by law, but by economic force."

The proletariat, just at the start of the capitalistic system, was driven under the capitalistic yoke by law. A bloody legislation against vagabonds and paupers scourged the proletariat into wage slavery. Pauper legislation even to this day has not lost all its terrors for all elements "afraid of work," who wish to escape capitalistic exploitation.

Moreover, capitalistic exploitation was essentially extended by law. In England the working day was compulsorily lengthened. Marx in his main work devotes an entire chapter to the compulsory legislation for lengthening the working day, from the middle of the Fourteenth to the end of the Seventeenth century. Germany saw a protracted campaign of legislation against Blue Monday.

Later on, legislation arose against unlimited wage slavery and created the laws for the protection of labor. It lends a legal basis to the workingmen's resistance against capitalistic exploitation through the right of combination. Here and there the workingmen have won establishment of minimum wages by law. With the aid of governmental legislation, the right of the capitalists to unlimited rule in their work shops and plants can be considerably restricted. In workingmen's committees and arbitration boards, a considerable co-operation and control by vote over the management of the industry can be legally given to the workingmen.

In short, the government in England, through its compulsory legislation, interferes very authoritatively against industrial exploitation. A nation is in a position to gradually abolish wage slavery and legally to take over the means of production into the possession of the democratic government and of the free, self-governing cities. When we set clearly before our eyes the activity of governmental legislation in the founding and in all the changes of the capitalistic industrial system, we must recognize as absolutely unfounded the claim of Rosa Luxemburg that all the fundamental conditions of capitalistic class rule cannot be transformed on a bourgeois basis, because they were neither introduced by bourgeois laws nor took their form from such laws.

In the fight for the ten-hour law, according to Marx, a great controversy was opened. This question, as is stated in the preface to the famous international Manifesto, is the controversy between the blind rule of the law of supply and demand, which forms the political economy of the middle class, and the control of social production by social insight and foresight, which forms the political economy of the working class.

The ten-hour law was not therefore merely a great practical achievement, it was the victory of a principle. For the first time, the political economy of the middle class surrendered in broad daylight to the political economy of the working class. Marx sees in the ten-hour law a victory of the principle of the control of social production through social insight and foresight. Poor Marx perhaps must be further taken to task by Rosa Luxemburg because, just as Conrad Schmidt and Bernstein, he speaks of governmental social reform as a piece of control by society. Thus in the pronounced class state, the working class can already make its new political-economical principle triumph. The capitalistic world is therefore not divided by the breadth of a wide ocean from the new Socialist world!

The state, by its labor legislation, limits the legal sphere of power of the means of production. They thus receive, as it were, a



different social and legal character. The property rights of the owners of the means of production are *restricted* by labor legislation.

The state today is in the midst of the process of moulting. The social composition of the population of Prussia has undergone a fundamental change since the days of the bourgeois revolution of 1848-49. Then 64 per cent of the population were employed in agriculture, today scarcely more than 35 per cent. The forces of social persistence have been broken, the forces of social progress have gone mightily forward.

The progress of the political movement of the German proletariat in the last two decades resembles a rapid victorious march. One year ago I wrote in a Social-Democratic jubilee memorial of the close of the century:

"The means of the working class for forming new economic and political organs have increased to really gigantic proportions. Influential proletarian groups try to breathe a new social spirit into the present governmental institutions and executive bodies. Often forced by economic development itself to the exercise of arrangements for the general welfare, the cities in a progressive ratio are following co-operative paths.

"The German proletariat could not worthily conclude this century, without uniting in one brief presentation the entire completeness of the self-governing activity, which is performed by the political bodies and by the industrial organizations. This gives us a clear light on how the proletariat is gradually penetrating into all the pores of bourgeois society, is securing itself there and inspiring it with its own peculiar social spirit. It is itself becoming a determining factor in this society. Try to tear it by force out of the present social system, and you will see how society will bleed to death.

"With trembling anxiety therefore our mortal enemies, the conservatives, watch our well-considered systematic entrance into all institutions of the present society. The Social-Democracy, living and acting in all political, economic and social institutions, announces the certain overthrow of the present system. From a mere union for purposes of political propaganda, which only occasionally in great political actions was in touch with the masses, the Social-Democracy has become an institution firmly rooted among the people. And looking backward at its mighty development, it feels itself the bearer of a great new epoch of civilization."

The modern state must lean more and more upon the masses. Its defenders, the soldiers recruited from the masses of the people, like the mighty extending system of industry on a large scale, originate from the growing mass of the proletariat. Moreover the living foundation of the state, the giant army of the petty officials and the workingmen in government employ, have been carried away on the high tide of the political idea of the proletariat. These workingmen and officials live in poor and thoroughly proletarian conditions. The state often acts towards them like a hard-hearted capitalistic employer, looking out merely for his own private interests. In many cases the state does not

even guarantee to these classes the right of free organization. No wonder that they openly or secretly place themselves in opposition to the government. Perfectly at home in the world of the thought and feeling of the proletariat, they sympathize with the political actions of the working class and aid them in many ways by counsel and deed. At the very least, they are lukewarm and indifferent to all so-called government measures.

It is in the nature of things that a state whose basis is formed in an increasing degree upon the proletariat itself, can never for any length of time carry out a policy decidedly hostile to labor, in the interests of its own self-preservation. It must, of necessity, sooner or later, bring its governmental institutions into harmony with the most important and pressing political demands of the proletariat.

Not alone the under portion, but also the upper stratum of the state's organism is seized upon by the growing power of the working class.

The authoritative powers of the state see themselves compelled, by the growing industrial and social importance of the working class, to form quite a new opinion of this former Pariah. The dignitaries of the state consider themselves the real, rightful representatives of society, and therefore their behavior towards the various classes of society is so exceedingly characteristic. The excellent and thoughtful essay of Prof. Platter on the spirit of Social Politics, throws a very interesting light on this subject. \*

Is it really believed, that all the industrial and social revolutions cutting bourgeois society to the very quick, are leaving the nature of the state untouched? That would border upon superstition.

Would the Millerand question have occupied the international proletariat so intensely, if the ministry of this man had been only a single ephemeral incident? A wonderful spectacle—a great international labor congress debates the question, "May a Socialist accept a position in a bourgeois ministry, or may he not?" Had the hardy class-fighters nothing more important to exercise their brains than a simple ministerial office? This is a significant symptom! The international proletariat has grown so strong in the last decade, that in all civilized countries it is confronted by the question, "What role shall it play in bourgeois governments?" The Socialist minister and the Socialist privy councillor are no longer characters of romance. As Vollmar has so well said, "Millerand has been the first, but will not be the last Socialist Minister."

But even this entire question of ministers and privy councillors dwindles to a lilliputian insignificance before the fact that the state has gotten a proletarian backbone and that in the most secret depths of its heart it feels the political and economic influence of the proletariat.

Frederick Engels sketches in broad lines a picture of the general nationalization of the means of production. But with every large and

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\* See Platter, *Critical Contributions to the Knowledge of our Social Conditions and Theories*. Basel, 1894.

monopolized industry the capitalist state gives itself proletarian flesh and blood. The red blood streaming in flows into the black blood of the ruling classes of society. Such a state can no longer be called the ideal collective capitalist. Engels holds that the more productive powers the state takes over as its property, the more it becomes the actual collective capitalist—the more citizens will it exploit. But this exploitation would be very difficult for it, with its growing proletariat composition. It is certain that a state whose industrial life is essentially influenced by economic proletarian organizations, whose very foundation is formed by the masses of the workingmen, will throw off one capitalistic shell after another.

And to this completely renewed state, transformed in head and body, we may safely trust the realization of the great social-political proposition embodied in the Erfurt Program.

THE END.

# Shots at Capitalism

By FREDERIC HEATH.

Will Roosevelt go down in history as the jawing president?

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Socialism has taken root in Panama, also. What follows the flag? Socialism!

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Eighty-six thousand dollars have thus far been contributed toward the defense fund of the Western Federation of Miners in the Moyer-Haywood case.

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The press dispatches say that Proctor, the millionaire soap man of Cincinnati, who committed suicide, made his millions by his own labor. Indeed! Well, it couldn't have been at the current rate of wages.

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At the recent general election, eighty-three Socialists were elected to the parliament of Finland, thereby constituting a plurality. Of the Socialists elected seventy-two are men and eleven are women. The conservatives elected forty-seven candidates, the reactionary and Swedish party (combined) elected fifty-four. The granting of woman suffrage was due to the propaganda of the Social-Democratic party, and constitutes the basis for the recent victory.

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"According to the Philadelphia *North American*, thirty-five English peeresses are devoting all their time and great sums of money to further the cause of Socialism. Among the names mentioned are those of the Countess of Warwick, Countess of

Aberdeen, Lady Henry Somerset, Lady Victoria Vielliers, Duchess of Sutherland, Lady Frances Balfour and Miss Lyttleton. They have quit their gay lives, dress in modest attire and address meetings of labor people from the ends of wagons or on boxes in the streets."

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Says a Paris cablegram: The startling growth of Socialism in France is attracting the attention of students of political economy through Europe. Socialism is reaching a development and a strength here that it never has attained in Germany, Belgium or any other of its strongholds.

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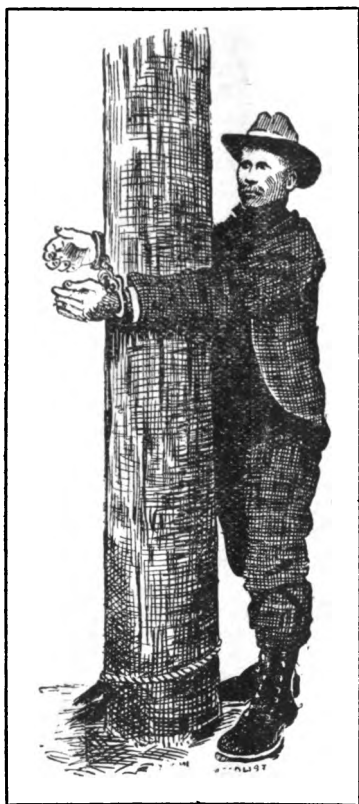
The New York legislature adjourned in confusion to avoid the introduction of resolutions on the Moyer-Haywood case. Of course, there are no classes in society, only the capitalists have a wonderful habit of standing by each other, no matter how many miles of the continent divide them.

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Fourteen thousand people die annually in New York City of tuberculosis. But they are not really killed by tuberculosis. They are killed by capitalism, that depletes their lives, ravishes them of the product of their labor, and consigns them to noisome tenements to fester and die. And, what's worse, many of these wretched victims invited their fate by voting the capitalist tickets.



## An "Undersirable Citizen"



**Colorado Workingman Chained to Telegraph Pole  
for the Crime of Going On Strike**

# THE VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray,  
Yet newer strength we borrow,  
And where the Vanguard camps today,  
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

Vol. 5. No. 8.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., JUNE, 1907.

Whole Number 52

## The Month's Story

### Roosevelt's Desires

Theodore Roosevelt is chiefly remarkable for what an old-fashioned Methodist exhorter once called the "gift of gab." And when Teddy doesn't express an idea, it is pretty safe to say that he has none. Hence, as he has expressed no indignation against the lawless acts of the western mine owners, although he went out of his way to kick their two defenceless prisoners, it is clear that he approves the course of the mine owners, and classes *them* as "desirable citizens."

Roosevelt claims, in his letter to the attorney general, forwarded to the New York Central Federated Union, that he stands for "exact justice." This "exact" sense of justice never incited him to utter one peep of protest against the mob violence of the Colorado mine owners, as reported to him by Carroll D. Wright, which official report Roosevelt read "with the greatest care," according to his own admission.

So it is clear that the character Roosevelt desires in an American citizen is just the opposite of what is considered desirable by every lover of law and freedom.

Roosevelt's notion of a desirable citizen is a man like Gov. Peabody of Colorado, whose troops beat and tied to telegraph poles law-abiding Americans—like the one in our frontispiece—for no other crime than their loyalty to the union.

Roosevelt's notion of a desirable citizen is a man like Bulkeley Wells, *mine owner*, who was one of the leaders of the Citizens' Alliance mob at Telluride, which broke open the workingmen's homes, tore the union men from their families, beat them, and loaded them on a special train with orders never to return; and who himself stood guard over Moyer and Haywood while they were being kidnaped from Colorado.

Roosevelt's notion of desirable citizens would be the *mine owners* who furnished free of charge the special train which carried the kidnaped men into Idaho.

Roosevelt's notion of an undesirable citizen is a *workingman* like William D. Haywood, who did *not*—as Theodore Roosevelt falsely alleges—incite to bloodshed and violence, but who did advise his fellow-unionists to control their righteous indignation and right their wrongs at the ballot-box by overthrowing the capitalist system. And that was just the head and front of his offending.

Angry, are you, Mr. Workingman? Such notions make your blood boil and your fists clench?

Then let us kindly tell you that you are a fool. Theodore Roosevelt is perfectly right from his standpoint as to what citizens are "desirable" and what characters are "undesirable." Who ever told you that his "desires" and your "desires" were the same?

Who ever told you that the desires of capitalists and workingmen ran parallel?

Yes, we know who the liar was. It was the man who wanted you to vote for Roosevelt three years ago. He told you that the "interests of capital and labor were identical."

And you believed him. You easy mark!

But you know better now.

And at the next election, you will not cast your ballot for the Republican party and its "desirable citizens."

You will vote for Socialism, which alone can solve the question by *dissolving* the classes which divide human interests, by merging all in one class of common workers and common owners, and thus giving to all economic equality and economic freedom.

\* \* \*

**The Other Half** The past month has been remarkable for its many strikes—strikes for better wages, better hours, better conditions. But we have not yet heard of any strike called to demand *that other half*. According to statistics, nearly half of all that the American workingmen produce, subtracting the cost of raw material, the expense of wear and tear to machinery, and other necessary expenses, goes to enrich the capitalist class.

This is a mere dry statement of facts. Put in another shape, the idea may be conveyed more vividly.

Suppose, American workingman, that your working day is divided into two parts. During one half of your day you work for yourself, and in the other half you work for your employer. Say that in the morning hours you labor for yourself and your family, and the afternoon is spent to increase the wealth of the capitalist. In the morning hours you pay rent, buy coal, cheap clothing, and plain food for your own household. In the afternoon you buy Worth gowns, diamonds, pearls and opals, paintings and statuary from abroad, Smyrna rugs, beautiful carved furniture, unseasonable dainties, champagne and fragrant Havanas, and build palaces surrounded with gardens, statues and fountains—but all for your employer and his family.

This makes clear why you have to work such long hours. The frugal needs of your plain household could easily be supplied in the morning hours alone. But this other expensive family which you also have on your hands is not so easily satisfied. Not only you, but all your fellow-workingmen must labor to support them.

Nor is this all. If you are employed by some large trust, the labor of your fellows and yourself more than suffice for the wildest extravagance of the most luxurious family. The balance that you create for the trust magnate is again turned into capital, which he uses as



an implement for further exploitation. Thus the working class furnishes the club with which it is robbed.

Now did it ever occur to you, if your employer would be kind enough to get off your back, what you would do with this half day, which you are now donating to him? Suppose at noon, instead of eating a cold lunch out of a dinner pail, you could go home to your family and eat a leisurely dinner, surrounded by your wife and little ones. Suppose that all the remainder of the day was yours. Such a daily half-holiday would be pleasant and useful, would it not? You would have time to get fresh air in the parks, instead of always breathing the bad odors of the factory. You would have time for reading and mental improvement. You would have time to get acquainted with your little ones, who are often asleep when you leave home, and go to bed almost as soon as you return. You would have time to teach and guide your older children, who need a father's daily example, and are almost too much for your tired, over-burdened wife, left with the training of the family entirely on her hands while you are absent at work. You would not be at a loss to spend your leisure time profitably.

Or you might prefer to spend this extra half day in labor, and with the fruits of your toil introduce new comforts and even luxuries into your household. Your home needs a bath room and a bay-window, a garden and a piazza. You have been so busy building palatial stables, green-houses and club-houses for your employer, that you have had no time to do much for your own home. You might profitably employ your spare half day in providing for yourself these and similar improvements.

In a well-regulated society, where the present exploiters have not only ceased to be a burden to others, but themselves have become productive workers, both these advantages might be yours. You might have your half holiday and your increased comforts besides. With all hands at work, production would become easier and cheaper, and the mass of workers would produce more in a shorter time.

All this might happen, as I have said, if your employer would kindly get off your back. But it is not likely that he will ever do this voluntarily. It will be necessary for you to throw him off. And it is becoming clearer every day that you cannot do this with the strike, which is a two-edged weapon, and cuts you more deeply and sharply than it cuts the capitalist.

The Social-Democratic party shows you the means. It proposes a system under which the capitalist can no longer rob you of your half day and the wealth you create during that period. By restoring to you the entire product of your labor, the Social-Democracy will secure to you that other half of which you have been despoiled all your lifetime.

The result can only be attained by the complete abolition of the capitalist system and the introduction of the Socialist Republic.

**Persimmons** Can human beings be made over and improved as Mr. Burbank remakes persimmons and cacti? Burbank says so. He claims that if children were left to run about in the fresh air and sunshine for the first ten years of their life, the human race, in a few generations, would be completely altered for the better.

**Better Than Boys** But then, the schooling of the majority of children would be cut down to a period of only four or five years. The sons and daughters of the working man quit school at the age of fourteen or fifteen. And if we should propose to extend the school age of the working class children, what would the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association have to say? Where would its members find young human flesh to work up into profits?

It was because it loves the little children—as the wolf loves the juicy little lamb—that the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association covertly fought the Social-Democratic bill against child labor in the Wisconsin legislature last month.

It is clear that the human race will have to wait a while before it can be improved on any large scale. Mr. Burbank's scheme will have to be postponed till the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association will kindly consent to step out of the path of progress—or till it is kicked out of the road by a Social-Democratic majority.

For the present, persimmons and cacti have better chances than boys and girls.

\* \* \*

**How We Waste Genius** And yet, the means for the improvement of the race are in its own hands. Science has proved this. For instance, the Anthropometric Society has shown that the factory legislation of England has added *one year of growth* to the stature of English children in the industrial centers.

And there can be no doubt that the mental development of the race is just as possible as to "add a cubit to its stature."

Up to the present time, all the efforts for intellectual improvement have been focused on one small class of society. This, of course, is Mr. Burbank's method with his persimmons. He cultivates a few specimens and gives these all the benefit of his care. But then, he pulls up all the pucky persimmons, and carefully crosses the "puckerless" plants. And you can't pull up the ignorant men and women and throw them on the brush-heap. You must cultivate the whole garden, else the weeds will choke the well-developed plants.

And that is just what will happen to human civilization, unless we can devise some plan for the culture of the uneducated class. And this can only be done by abolishing poverty.

M. Odin, a French sociologist, has shown that 90 per cent of distinguished writers and scientists belong to wealthy or well-to-do families, and are exempt from all material concerns. Moreover, 98 per cent of them receive a liberal education in their youth.

What does this mean? Simply that in the indigent classes the cruel struggle for existence chokes out all tendencies to intellectual improvement. The cactus, left in the desert, will never lose its pricks, nor an uncultured man his ignorance.

For it is absurd to say that the working class produces no potential geniuses, or that every genius will work his way to the top in spite of all material difficulties. Lester F. Ward, in his "Applied Sociology," has well exploded this pet humbug of capitalistic writers.

Of course, it is difficult to prove of any individual poor man that he was a potential genius, but that poverty "froze the genial current of his soul." Ward truly says, "We are confronted by the same condition of things that is described in the story told of Diogenes the Cynic by Diogenes Laertius, that when shown in a temple the votive tablets suspended by such as had escaped the peril of shipwreck, because they had made their vows, as a proof of the power of the gods, he inquired, 'Where are the portraits of those who perished in spite of their vows?' And the fallacy involved in this faith in heredity is precisely the same as that involved in the faith in the gods. As Bacon said, 'Men mark when they hit, but never mark when they miss.' 'Men of mark' are simply 'hits'."

But what of the misses? Can society afford to lose them? Can we afford to do without the great men who might have invented labor-saving machinery, discovered remedies against wide-spread diseases, prolonged human life, devised means for making it worth living, or carried social progress farther forward by a whole generation?

What becomes of these unknown great men? Lost, like rivers which might have fertilized the earth, but which sink into the sands and never reach the sea.

But some do not remain entirely unknown. Their strong natures, turned aside from their right course, force themselves to the surface in terrible explosions, "Criminals," says Ward, "are the geniuses of the slums."

If the human race wants to go on, it must get economic inequality out of its path. That is the stumbling-block which bars our further progress. And it will turn us back to barbarism, if it is not removed in time!

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We hate the capitalist system. No true man can admire it. No conscientious man can applaud its treatment of the people. No honest man can deny its cruelties. We are not unmindful of the historic building-up work the system has accomplished, but its days of *service* are long past. It has now developed production to the point where the private ownership of industry has become a vicious thing, injurious physically and morally to the common people and certainly injurious morally to the conquering few. At the present stage of civilization the capitalist system inevitably produces Thaw trials for the rich and slums for the poor. Dead must be the soul of the man who does not want to lift his eyes above this fearful muck of our present society and to look at the radiant future which Social-Democracy presents to view as man's next step as a society in the march toward economic and moral improvement.

# Municipal "Failures"

By WAYFARER

Every day we read of the failure of some private business or of the swamping of some privately owned public service company, yet the people do not regard it as proof positive that private ownership is a failure. In fact, there are so many such failures of individual management that they have grown to look upon it as a matter of course. But when the organized corporationists can parade in print the account of some alleged municipal ownership failure, people seem to take the thing more seriously. And, as a rule, these alleged failures of municipal undertakings do not bear the light of investigation, for they are generally found to be founded on utter untruth, as in the case of the British cities, or have been deliberately made failures through the rank work of capitalist party officials, who are anxious to give municipal ownership a black eye, as in the case of the Milwaukee garbage plant. But even such cases are few. As a rule the public ownership undertakings prove successful, and their number is on the increase every day. A Michigan paper that has been sent us has a long article under a Chicago date line, setting forth the failure of the Detroit municipal lighting plant—yet the Detroit plant is in reality a success, the only failure about it being that it is not the means of filling private owners' pockets at the expense of the Detroit citizens. And why should the article bear a Chicago instead of a Detroit date line? That, of itself, is suspicious. The fact is, such articles are sent out from a regularly established bureau maintained by the private interests in the hope of frightening other places against going into municipal undertakings and therefore lessening the field for money-making of the private interests.

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By the way, it wasn't municipal ownership that produced those bribes, totaling nearly a million dollars, that were alleged to have been paid to crooked officials for franchises in San Francisco. So long as there are valuable grants to be had by private, profit-hunting companies there will be efforts at bribery. The main peril of the public servant of the present day lies in the fact that he is surrounded by an atmosphere of graft made possible by the bad habit of allowing private capitalists to do the things for the people that the people ought to do for themselves.

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<p>Nor is it forgotten that Roosevelt said that the leaders of the big Chicago railroad strike of 1894 ought to be summarily <i>put to death</i>.</p>	<p>The Nazarene was an agitator, too, in his day, and was looked on as an undesirable citizen, with a result that is well known.</p>
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# Down With the Senate

By VICTOR L. BERGER

**I**N the state of Wisconsin we are about to elect a member of the United States Senate, a successor to John C. Spooner, resigned. It behooves us at this time to look into the matter of the existence of the United States Senate—the American House of Lords—the Millionaires' Club—or the Chamber of Trustocrats—as it is variously called.

We have nothing to say at this time about the candidates. I will only mention that the main candidate—the man who significantly enough is put forward by the reformers, and backed up by Senator Robert M. LaFollette—is Isaac M. Stephenson, a millionaire, and for years one of the main corrupters of Wisconsin politics, therefore very well qualified to take a position in that august body.

For the United States Senate, the “Upper House” of our national legislature, was created for the very purpose of representing the wealth and vested interests of the country, as Alexander Hamilton put it. And right from the beginning it was intended to “form a check upon the will of the people.” Therefore its selection was removed from the people as far as possible, and put into the hands of the respective legislatures.

\* \* \*

It is almost unnecessary to show what the United States Senate was from its beginning, and what it is now.

We all know that it was the stronghold of the slave barons, compelling the solution of the slavery question by force of arms. We all know that it is the bulwark of the railroads and trusts now.

The oil trust, the railway trust, the sugar trust, the steel trust, and every robber concern preying upon the common people have their representatives in the Senate.

It was and is the home, not only of men like Calhoun and Hanna, who were at least statesmen in their way, but also the roost of common thieves like Clark of Montana, Burton of Kansas, Bailey of Texas, Aldrich of Rhode Island, the abiding place of filthy money sharks like Platt and Depew of New York and Guggenheim of Colorado. Seats in the United States Senate are bought and were bought almost openly. There is hardly an honest or decent man in the United States Senate. There is scarcely a man in the United States Senate who would not have the time of his life in a revolution “to show why he should not be hanged”—if I may be permitted to borrow and adapt the phrase of Camille Desmoulins.

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Under these conditions, and in view of the fact that the Social-Democratic program stands for the abolition of the Senate, it is of great interest to see what several world-famed writers have to say on

the origin and the necessity of a second chamber—an “upper house”—in this country and elsewhere.

\* \* \*

We will begin with the American writer, M. D. Conway.

Mr. Conway has made a careful treatise upon the subject of the United States Senate, and I quote the following from his valuable work:

“It was not at all necessary, when it was determined that the states should have a distinct representation in the congress, that they should also have a separate upper house. The separation into two houses was accepted upon the precedent of the British Parliament, and on no real grounds whatever.

“Of the original states, at the time of the adoption of the constitution, two had but one legislative chamber each, and the confederation of 1775 had no more. When the proposition was made to divide the congress into two branches, three states, the great state of New York among them, recorded their votes against it, and the delegation of another, Maryland, was equally divided on the subject.

“There seems, however, to have been very little discussion of the matter, which was quite overshadowed by the incomparable urgency of the only question—the relative power of the states and the general government—which really was discussed in the convention. The debates were in secret, and we have but brief notes of them; but a passage in the minutes, jotted down by one of the members, Chief Justice Yates, of New York, no doubt tells the whole story.—‘May 31, 1787. The third resolve, to wit: “that the national legislature ought to consist of two branches,” was taken into consideration, and without any debate agreed to.’ To this Judge Yates adds, in brackets: ‘N. B.—As a previous resolution had already been agreed to, to have a supreme legislature, I could not see any objection to its being in two branches.’

“So lightly was a step taken, which has proved to be of momentous consequence to America.”

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It is a notable fact that, while the founders of the American constitution were taking up this relic of feudalism and clothing it with formidable power, the English nation was already preparing the forces which were to reduce the House of Lords to the secondary position it now occupies. And as everybody knows, there is a strong tendency in England to abolish it altogether.

\* \* \*

After reading the statement of the American historian, it may assist us to consider the following from one of the ablest of recent writers on the English constitution, Mr. Bagehot.

Mr. Bagehot, who is a defender of the “upper house” to *some extent*, basing his defense upon the vices of the House of Commons, shows that since the reform act of 1832, when the House of Lords for the last time really tried conclusions with the House of Commons, and was compelled to yield, it has not even had a pretension to being an equal branch of the government. “The House of Lords has become a revising and

suspending house. It can alter bills; it can reject bills, on which the House of Commons is not yet thoroughly in earnest, upon which the nation is not yet determined.

"Their veto is a sort of hypothetical veto.

"The Lords say, 'We reject your bill for this once, or these twice, or these thrice; but if you keep on sending it up, at last we won't reject it. The house has ceased to be one of latent direction, and has become one of temporary rejectors and palpable alterers.'"

It is remarkable that it is impossible to find among the political thinkers in England a defender of the two-house principle on *theoretical* and *logical* grounds.

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Having considered the views of the ablest defender of the continued existence of the House of Lords, let us turn to those of one of the many distinguished advocates of the abolition of that house. I quote from Mr. Goldwin Smith, the famous Canadian scholar, formerly Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.

Professor Smith writes: "Not by reason or theory alone, but by overwhelming experience, the House of Lords stands *condemned*."

"Who can point out a single great reform, however urgent, necessary or humanitarian, however signally ratified afterwards by the approbation of posterity, which the House of Lords has not thrown out, or obstructed, and, if it could do nothing more, damaged and mutilated to the utmost of its power?

"To make legislation on any important question possible, it is necessary to get a storm sufficient to terrify the Peers. Thus, all important legislation is made *violent* and *revolutionary*. And this is your *conservative institution*."

\* \* \*

The most profound theoretical statement on the subject comes from Mr. John Stuart Mill, who, in his admirable "Vindication of the French Revolution of 1848," in reply to Lord Brougham and others, expresses the following opinions:

"The great majority of mankind are, as a general rule, tenacious of things existing. Habit and custom predominate with them, in almost all cases, over remote prospects of advantage.

"The difficulty is not to prevent considerable changes, but to accomplish them when most essentially needful.

"Any systematic provision in the constitution to render changes difficult is therefore superfluous—it is injurious.

"It is true that in the times which accompany, or immediately follow, a revolution, this tendency of the human mind may be temporarily reversed—partially, we say, for people are as tenacious of old customs and ways of thinking, in the crisis of a revolution as at any other time,—on all points, *except* those on which they had become strongly excited by a perception of evils or grievances; those, in fact, on which the revolution itself hinges.

"On such points, indeed, there may easily arise, at those periods, an ardor of ill-considered change. And it is at such times, if ever,

that the check afforded by a second or 'upper house' might be beneficial.

"But these are the times when the resistance of such a body is *practically null*. The very arguments used by the supporters of the institution to make it endurable, assume that it cannot prolong its resistance in excited times.

"An 'upper house' which, during a revolutionary period, should resolutely oppose itself to the branch of the legislature more directly representing the excited state of popular feeling, would be infallibly swept away.

"It is the destiny of an 'upper house' to become *inoperative* in the very cases in which its effective operation would have the best chance of producing less harm than good."

\* \* \*

And no doubt John Stuart Mill is right about the conservatism of the great masses. We cannot change by a legislative act or acts the habits and the mode of thinking produced by generations. The greatest force in existence in the cosmic world, as in the history of nations, is the force of inertia. This force which holds the globe in its place also prevents unnecessary revolutions.

If any counter-force is necessary, it should rather be in favor of motion than of a standstill.

All that is necessary to give expression to this terrific counter-revolutionary power of inertia would be to give the masses the widest chance to speak their will. Give the people the full referendum, and God knows progress will be slow enough. The referendum is the most conservative political power in existence, as the example of Switzerland proves, where it has been in use for years. And yet the referendum is infinitely stronger than all senates in the world, because no democratic power is great enough to resist it.

\* \* \*

Why is it then that our plutocracy and our capitalists are afraid of it?

Why?

The answer is simple enough.

Because they feel that the present system has outlived its usefulness and has no more root among the masses of the people.

But we say: *abolish the senate*. And for a good substitute and the best possible check upon any whimsical or hasty legislation, or even crookedness of the legislators, give us the *referendum*.

The best cure for democracy invariably is *more* democracy.

Again we say: *Down with the senate! Up with the referendum!*



## II.

**I**N order to fully understand the origin of the *two* chambers, or two houses of our legislative bodies, it may be interesting to look at the origin of parliament in England—the first constitutional government in Europe—and the one after which our government is largely patterned.

\* \* \*

So far as any clear impression arises from the hazy annals of the earliest parliamentary government in England, it is that the King called upon the leading noblemen of the realm to become his guests for a time, for purposes of consultation. There was very little consultation, but very much drinking, eating and hunting. The king considered it his duty to feast his guests in grand style. This was the first and only parliament.

To this assembly came groups of petitioners, deputations from the people. These, in order that their humble requests should be presented with some kind of regularity, had to organize their assemblies. They appointed some mouthpiece or “speaker,”—and this is how that most silent official of parliament bearing that name originated.

For it is in this group of deputations that we must recognize the embryo of the House of Commons. These petitioners or “commoners,” for a time, sat in the presence of the parliament of peers, until the latter thought it beneath their dignity to sit beside those of the common herd.

\* \* \*

The separation probably occurred at the time when the “commoners” ceased to be a mere crowd of petitioners to their lordships, and showed signs of becoming some little factor in the government.

The House of Peers represented the supremacy of the aristocratic and clerical classes, of which the crown was the head.

The Commons represented the degree to which the people had managed to extort the first point, *recognition of their existence*, and also the recognition of the simplest rights implied in that existence.

\* \* \*

A recognition of their existence—that is all the commons had for a long time.

And the lords?

\* \* \*

For three centuries, dating from the Tudor period, the House of Lords was the most powerful branch of the legislature. For a century, at least, it had, through its nominees and dependents, the virtual control of the other branch. Yet the lords did nothing but—digest.

During the whole of that period, pressing subjects for legislation abounded, not only in the direction of political reform, but in all directions—legal, ecclesiastical, educational, sanitary, and economical. Yet, in all those centuries, who can point out a single great measure of national improvement which really emanated from the House of Lords?

Not one.

\* \* \*

On the other hand, the House of Lords resisted progress of any and all kinds as a matter of course, even in the Nineteenth century.

As a matter of course, the House of Lords upheld the rotten boroughs and resisted the reform bill, till it was overcome by the threat of a swamping creation of peers, having first, in its wisdom, brought the nation to the verge of a civil war.

As a matter of course, it resisted the progress of religious liberty, because the privileged church was an outwork of the privileged class.

As a matter of course, it resisted the extension of habeas corpus and of personal liberty.

As a matter of course, it resisted the removal of restraints on the press.

As a matter of course, it resisted introduction of the ballot.

Yet that was all natural enough because these were measures and movements which threatened political privilege.

\* \* \*

But the House of Lords has also resisted common measures of humanity, such as the abolition of the slave trade and the reform of criminal law. Romilly's petty theft bill, which stopped hanging as a punishment for stealing over six shillings, was thrown out by the lords; and among the thirty-two who voted in the majority on this occasion, were seven bishops. On all subjects about which popular opinion was not strongly excited, including many of the greatest importance to national progress, reformers in England have abstained from moving, because they despaired of overcoming the resistance of the House of Lords. And that will remain so until the Social-Democrats become a powerful factor in English government.

\* \* \*

That is the history of the House of Lords in England.

The history of the United States Senate, if anything, is worse. The hereditary legislator in England is, no doubt, a thoroughly class-conscious exploiter. But *noblesse oblige*—they were not common grafters—at least not as a rule. But the class legislator in our Senate is not only a class exploiter—or the attorney and representative of a robber concern—but, as a rule, a grafter besides. Men like Clark of Montana, Burton of Kansas, Bailey of Texas, Aldrich of Rhode Island, Platt and Depew of New York and Guggenheim of Colorado, are not only the representatives of robber interests, but they are personally grafters themselves, with all the low instincts of thieves. There are a very few honest men in the Senate. And even those are very soon thoroughly spoiled by the make-up, by the history, and by the very atmosphere of that "august body."

If any one doubts this statement, let him read what any thoughtful writer has said about the United States Senate. Let him read the brilliant series of articles on "The Treason of the Senate," by that earnest and apostolic man, David Graham Phillips.

\* \* \*

It is said there must be in a federal government some institution, some authority, somebody possessing a veto, in which the separate states composing the confederation are all equal. I confess this doctrine has to me no self-evidence. The state of Delaware is not equal

in power or influence to the state of New York, and one cannot make it so by giving it an equal veto in the Senate.

The other argument—the necessity of a counterpoise or counterbalance, or of a check against bad legislation—looks a little better. But if one considers it closer, it is even worse. Most good legislation is always opposed in the “upper house”—most of the bad legislation always originated there.

\* \* \*

If there is any correction to be done in a democracy—then let democracy do it. If there is a corrective needed, let democracy provide for it.

Again I say: abolish the Senate. And for a good substitute and the best possible check upon any whimsical or hasty legislation, or even crookedness of the legislators, give us the *referendum*. The referendum in any country is stronger than all the houses of lords and senates in the world.

The best cure for any evils arising from democracy is—more democracy.

# My Objections to Socialism

By A BUSINESS MAN

The alarming growth of Socialism in recent years calls for serious consideration by all who cherish our American institutions.

The Socialists are carrying on what they call a “campaign of education,” and they keep eternally at it.

We should meet this campaign with one of our own.

How are we to do this?

By exposing the fallacies of Socialism, to be sure.

To do this intelligently, we must acquaint ourselves with the answers of the Socialists to the principal objections to their theories.

With this in view, I addressed a short communication to a prominent Socialist some time ago with the request that he answer the following objections to Socialism:

**Socialism would lead to Anarchism.**

**Socialism proposes an equal division of wealth.**

**Socialism would degrade woman and destroy the home.**

**Socialism is opposed to religion.**

\* \* \*

This is the way he answered me:

*Anarchism proposes to let every man do as he pleases, and teaches that there shall be no law nor authority outside of the individual.*

Socialism demands direct government by the people and the ownership by the people of all important industries, to be operated for the sole purpose of supplying the needs of the people.

To do this effectively, the workers must organize. Anarchists oppose organization.

Socialism would extend and perfect government by making it democratic and industrial.

*Anarchism would destroy government.*

**Socialism is opposed to "dividing up."**

Socialism demands that the mines, railroads and trusts be owned by the people, precisely in the same manner as our public schools, streets and public highways are now owned.

You haven't heard of the people "dividing up" the schools, streets, highways and bridges, have you?

Certainly not! They are public conveniences for the use of all, and even strangers are permitted to use the highways and bridges without let or hindrance. They serve the community at cost.

*Aber!* Coal mines, railroads, telegraph and telephone lines are also public utilities.

If you desire to use them, however, *you are obliged to pay tribute to private owners.* They make you "divide up."

These private owners are not in business to look after the needs of the people, but *to make profits*—forcing us to "divide up."

Only the people can operate public utilities at cost.

**Socialism would protect the home.**

Homes cannot be made, nor families properly cared for, by men who receive for their labor only a bare living.

Socialism proposes *better incomes* for working men; *less hours* of labor, *more education*. This would insure *more and better homes*.

Socialism demands *for woman* the right to vote, equal pay with men for equal service, and opportunity for self-support.

Isn't it nonsense to say that woman would be less moral *because* she could vote, had better pay, and was certain of a respectable living?

Both men and women would be relieved from the uncertainties of the struggle for existence, and would then be absolutely *free to marry for love alone*.

**Socialism regards religion as a private matter.**

It would be suicidal for the Socialist party to oppose religion.

Our enemies know this, and that is why they try to stir up religious strife among us.

We all desire good clothes, good homes, good books, good music and all the good things that go toward making happy homes and pleasant associations. These are the things Socialism strives to obtain for all alike, *regardless of race or religion*. All agree on this.

We have people of all shades of belief and unbelief in our ranks, and it would be foolish for us to wrangle about these matters.

We are striving for practical results that will benefit all—for *the true brotherhood of man on earth*.

\* \* \*

After reading these strong answers to my objections to Socialism, I came to the conclusion that I had been *barking up the wrong tree*.

So I wrote to the Social-Democratic Publishing Co., 344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis., and asked them to send me about five dollars' worth of their best books on Socialism, and I got wise.

*Go thou and do likewise.*

# Capitalist Morality

By EASTERN SOCIALIST

In a society founded upon the ideas of liberty and equal rights, such as ours is supposed to be—a society free from invidious distinctions of rank or caste—moral precepts, social virtues, and rules of conduct that function as agencies for the elevation of character and the advancement of individual well-being are of universal application. There can be no rules of conduct that are good to be observed by some members of such society and not by others. In a word, virtues, if they are virtues, are absolute.

We hear much of the virtue of economy, but nearly always in connection with workingmen. Certain Pharisees of the capitalist class are much exercised over the enormous proportions of the annual drink bill, and they seek to inculcate a respect for teetotalism in the minds of workingmen on the score of economy. They count the filthy dollars spent by workingmen for plebeian whisky and beer, and enter upon long disquisitions concerning the economic consequences of such extravagance. But they say little or nothing about the oceans of champagne and burgundy consumed by our rich parasites at their swell dinners. That which is loudly condemned as a vice in poor workingmen is glossed over, or passes entirely unnoticed in these rich tipplers, because, forsooth, the latter have money and can afford to make beasts of themselves!

Economy is not a virtue. Under proper conditions of life, economy is a duty, and there is no particular virtue in the performance of a duty—nothing for which men should be praised and made much of.

In our present capitalist society economy is like a disease, an abnormal diathesis indicating mental morbidity. Like the bubonic plague, it confines its attacks mainly to poor folk and those who are cursed with ill-nourished bodies. But the disease sometimes makes its appearance among the rich and well-nourished, in which event it excites ridicule, contempt or invective, and comes to be classed as parsimony.

Before his death, one could scarcely pick up a paper that did not contain some contemptuous allusion to the economical habits of Russell Sage, and Mrs. Hetty Green is a constant target for the scorn and ridicule of society, simply because she is well versed in the science of economy, and carries its teachings into the practical affairs of her life. She is excoriated as a niggardly, parsimonious old skinflint. Rich and poor unite in denouncing her economical vagaries, and eminent nosologists have not hesitated to classify such symptoms as she frequently exhibits as indications of pronounced mental degeneracy, accompanying reversion to a lower moral type.

And yet those actions which appear as symptoms of degeneration in these rich parasites are held up to workingmen as most worthy of imitation. Society calls Hetty Green a contemptible person because

she strives to be economical, and says to workingmen, "Go and imitate Mrs. Green as far as lies in your power, and we shall bless and admire you."

Such palpable inconsistencies as this do not appear to strike the average individual as at all out of place, which goes to show that our ideas of social morality have somehow been turned topsy-turvy. We spout about the "dignity of labor;" we praise "honest industry;" we tell workingmen to be temperate, frugal, industrious, thrifty—and to what end? That they may gain property for themselves, and thus maintain "dignity" without industry.

Our whole capitalist morality is centered on the one thought of gaining property; "competence" or "independence," it is called. And this means, simply and shortly, gaining the right to be incompetent and dependent! We thus exhibit the spectacle of a society preaching the absolute goodness of certain actions while bending all its energies and adapting its machinery to the end that those actions may be entirely avoided.

One of the principal spokes in the wheel whose turnings, we are taught, will drop the most worthy off at this high capitalist ideal, is economy. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Labor diligently and faithfully; be industrious, temperate and frugal; for these be virtues, indeed, and their practice is good for mankind. Let ye be persistent in the practice of these virtues, and your reward shall be—what? Release from all industry, and the attainment of a station in life where frugality becomes an object of contempt.

Said I not truly that economy is a disease?

Why should economy be worthy of contempt in the rich and of laudation in the poor?

Capitalism robs workingmen of what belongs to them and diminishes their power of consumption below their normal needs, and far below their productive capacity. Economy then falls in to gloss over this robbery and teach its victims to adjust their consumption to the means left in their possession; holding out as a reward a final balance between economic factors and something to lay by besides.

The same principle places much more than belongs to them in the possession of those who have been successful in taking advantage of it, and increases their powers of consumption far beyond their normal needs, while at the same time relieving them entirely from the necessity to produce.

The very first principle of economic science is complete reciprocity between production and consumption. The two factors must balance; the one must support the other. And force which operates to destroy this balance is an illegitimate factor, and a true science of economy will seek to restore equilibrium by removing the disturbing force. Capitalism introduces this disturbing force by creating a condition where great masses have their power of consumption reduced below the normal, while a comparatively small number of individuals are invested with supernormal power.

Positive morality teaches that all consumption should be normal. Let ye be temperate; do nothing in excess. This is good doctrine. There can be no doubt about it.

Suppose now we have a society the components of which are proportioned as to power of consumption, one million below normal, one thousand above normal. The moral object is normal consumption, while the economic necessity is equilibrium between consumption and production. The stale maxims of household economy may answer to delude the million individuals into the belief that they may deliver themselves from their subnormal condition and attain the moral object, but when we come to apply those maxims to the thousand individuals whose power of consumption is already above normal, we run foul of the economic necessity.

Should these persons observe the professed moral object of the society, the disequilibrium of economic factors would be greatly increased. "The security of property," "the well-being of society," "the preservation of order," and a thousand other cant phrases range themselves in opposition to the professed moral object, and impose upon the thousand individuals the duty of employing their supernormal consumptive power to its utmost, in the name of economic necessity.

Thus is developed contempt for the rich individual who carries the maxims of household economy into the conduct of his private affairs. He has a superior duty to perform, which duty is inconsistent with those maxims. *Noblesse oblige* puts on its modern capitalistic dress, and we find at one pole of our classless (?) society our orthodox economists teaching the maxims of frugality and thrift, and at the other pole announcing that the luxurious and extravagant expenditures of the rich are a blessing to the poor and for the benefit of society!

True economy is a normal, healthy attribute of a normal social condition. It is strictly true that it cannot be practiced except under normal conditions of life and income; conditions which relieve the individual from fear of being reduced to a state of material want. That which passes for economy, the disease that afflicts mankind under that name, is merely a species of bestiality. Its utterly inadequate character as a solution of the ills of poverty, its puerility when considered merely as a measure of relief, must become apparent to those who will take the trouble to think. But it has its place in the technique of capitalism, the inexorable lesson of which is "If you can live cheaper you must work cheaper."

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And now the West Point cadets are hearing about it. Col. C. W. Larned, professor of drawing at the United States Military Academy at West Point, delivered a remarkable address in the Academy of Music one Sunday afternoon at the men's massmeeting. He condemned capitalism and concluded his address by saying: "There is but one great political question for the future—the equitable production and distribution of wealth. Socialism is a theory of social evolution. It will result from a gradual succession of changes brought about more or less rapidly by a process of agitation and conversion."

# How They Do Things in Germany

A review of the distribution of literature during the recent German campaign will serve as a measure of its intensity. No previous campaign has ever brought forth such an abundance of leaflets and campaign literature.

The Magdeburg *Volksstimme*, for example, has recently reported that 1,071,000 leaflets and pamphlets, and a total of 2,034,255 pieces of campaign literature, were issued from its press alone. Other printing establishments of the party have furnished literature in similar quantities.

For Teltow-Beeskow were distributed a campaign pamphlet in an edition of 76,000 copies and 8 similar leaflets in 1,180,000 copies, and for Nieder-Barnim two of these leaflets in 821,000 copies, besides, of course, a great number of special leaflets in different places. The same is true of the whole province of Brandenburg, for which, besides 736,000 leaflets especially adapted to the district, the agitation committee of the province of Brandenburg distributed 856,000 copies of one leaflet.

The party headquarters sent out 968,000 illustrated leaflets for the general election, and 2,199,000 for

the secondary election. Besides this, 800,000 leaflets for women were issued and distributed. The *Vorwaerts* press printed 4,867,500 ballots, 98,700 posters, 8,695,400 flyers, election notices and wagon signs, in all 18,528,600 pieces of campaign literature.

To this must be added the Social-Democratic Campaign Handbook, containing twelve sheets, in an edition of 6,000 copies. The *Vorwaerts* also furnished the various electoral districts with 1,866,600 envelopes for the various campaign workers.

A gigantic achievement!

The *Vorwaerts* press in Berlin, for the general election issued 120 leaflets in an edition of 7,467,000 copies, and for the secondary elections 19 leaflets in 2,615,000 copies. Of these there were used in the

First district of Berlin, 4 leaflets, in 127,500 copies.

Second district of Berlin, 5 leaflets, in 457,000 copies.

Third district of Berlin, 6 leaflets, in 280 copies.

Fourth District of Berlin, 4 leaflets, in 880,000 copies.

Fifth district of Berlin, 8 leaflets, in 356,000 copies.

Sixth district of Berlin, 8 leaflets, in 865,000 copies.

Prof. Zueblin of Chicago university has stirred up some of the capitalist editors by suggesting motherhood pensions. The average modern mother is a victim of a vicious system, and she certainly needs con-

sideration. After she has forfeited her best years to bringing up a family while serving as a faded household drudge, she is a forlorn and pitiful wreck. Who better deserves a pension after all?



# Why a Revolution?

By WILLIAM MORRIS

The word revolution, which we Socialists are so often forced to use, has a terrible sound to most people's ears, even when we have explained to them that it does not necessarily mean a change accompanied by riot, and all kinds of violence, and cannot mean a change made mechanically, and in the face of general opposition by a mere group of people, who may have, for the moment, managed to seize on the executive power. Even when we explain that we use the word revolution in its etymological sense, and mean by it a change in the basis of society, people are scared at the idea of such a vast change, and beg that you will speak of reform and not revolution. As, however, we Socialists do not at all mean by our word revolution what these worthy people mean by their word reform, I can't help thinking that it would be a mistake to use it, whatever projects we might conceal under its harmless envelope. So we will stick to our word, which means a change in the basis of society; it may frighten people, but it will at least warn them that there is something to be frightened about, which will be no less dangerous for being ignored, and, also, it may encourage some people, and will mean to them at least not a fear, but a hope. Only a revolution, that is, a change in the fundamental structure of society (peacefully brought about, let us hope), will save civilization. And I want to point out where, in my opinion, we fall short in our present attempts at decent life. I must ask the rich and well-to-do what sort of a position it is

that they are anxious to preserve at any cost? and if, after all, it will be such a terrible loss to them to give it up? and I must point out to the poor that they, with capacities for living a dignified and generous life, are in a position which they cannot endure without continued degradation.

## Competition Is War.

Our present system of society is based on a state of perpetual war. I know you have often been told that competition is a good thing, and stimulates the progress of the race; but the people who tell you this should call competition by its shorter name of war, if they wish to be honest, and you would then be free to consider whether or not war stimulates progress, otherwise than as a mad bull chasing you over your own garden may do. War or competition, whichever you please to call it, means at the best pursuing your own advantage at the cost of someone else's loss, and in the pursuit of it you must not be sparing of destruction even of your own possessions, or you will certainly come by the worse in the struggle.

## The War of Commerce.

You understand that perfectly as to the kind of war in which people go out to kill and be killed; that sort of war in which ships are commissioned, for instance, "to sink, burn and destroy." But it appears that you are not so conscious of this waste of goods when you are only carrying on that form of this sort of war called national rivalry, which in good truth is nowadays

the cause of all gunpowder and bayonet wars which civilized nations wage. That is what commercial war comes to when it has to do with foreign nations. That is how we live now with regard to other nations, prepared to ruin them without war, if possible—that is, without the expense of war—but with it, if necessary; let alone meantime the disgraceful exploiting of savage tribes, on whom we force at once our shoddy wares and our hypocrisy at the cannon's mouth.

### **Socialism Means Internationalism.**

Well, surely, Socialism can offer you something in the place of all that. It can offer you peace and friendship in place of war. We might live utterly without national rivalries, acknowledging that no

community in civilization should feel that it had interests opposed to any other, their economical conditions being at any rate similar; so that any citizen of one community could fall to work and live without disturbance to his life when he was in a foreign country, and would fit into his place quite naturally. And so all civilized nations would form one great community, agreeing together as to the kind and amount of production and distribution needed; working at such and such production where it could be best produced; avoiding all waste by all means. Think of the amount of waste which they would avoid, how much such a revolution would add to the wealth of the world. What creature on earth would be harmed by such a revolution?

Of course, you know, the capitalist newspapers are simply published in the interests of all the people, and would not stoop to conspire against the working class.

AND YET, when the N. Y. legislature suddenly adjourned in a riot in order to prevent the introduction of resolutions in regard to the Moyer-Haywood case, *not a newspaper in New York mentioned the fact.*

AND YET, Roosevelt's gratuitous attacks on the kidnaped officials of the Western Federation of Miners, once calling them murderers and the second time undesirable citizens, met with not the slightest protest from capitalist newspapers, who should deplore the use of the president's prominence to judge men before they have come to trial.

AND YET, the Milwaukee *Sentinel* and other papers printed, at considerable length, the first day's

proceedings of the Adams trial, when the prosecution gave the charges in detail against the accused man, and did not so much as print a line of the rest of the trial, when the defense smashed the prosecution's charge all to pieces, and showed the animus of the mine owners' case against him, so that there was no conviction.

It makes one a little suspicious, don't you think? Almost seems as if there was not only a class prompting, but an underground understanding as well, eh?

When Roosevelt was police commissioner of New York he tried to introduce a new style of policeman's club—a club with iron thorns all around it, for the use of the police in dealing with strikers. And he is still trying to crown the workers with thorns!

# Roosevelt Knew!

By FREDERIC HEATH

"On the night of March 14 (1904) about 100 members of the Citizens' Alliance held a meeting at Red Men's hall (Telluride), after which they armed themselves, searched the town, and took into custody about 60 union men and sympathizers. In some instances the doors of residences were forced open. The men who were captured were brought to a vacant store and about 1:30 o'clock in the morning were marched to the depot and loaded into two coaches. As the special train bearing them departed a fusillade of shots was fired into the air by the mob. **AMONG THE LEADERS OF THE MOB WERE BULKELEY WELLS, manager of the Smugler mine,** and John Herron, manager of the Tom-Boy mine. One of those deported was Stewart B. Forbes, secretary of the Telluride Miners' union. Another was A. H. Floaten, the local leader of the Socialist party and manager of the People's Supply company, the largest store in town. The door of his residence was broken open and he was found partly undressed, his wife having retired. A revolver was presented at him and he was wounded in the head by being struck with the butt of the weapon. He was marched from home without being allowed to put on shoes or hat. Fifteen members of the mob accompanied the train to Ridgeway, where the prisoners were ordered to get off and never to return to Telluride."—Carroll D. Wright's official report to the president on the Colorado labor disturbances of 1904, page 201.

We reprint the above because of a paragraph in Roosevelt's letter to the Chicago labor unions. That paragraph reads as follows:

"Let me repeat my deep regret that any body of men should so far forget their duty to their country as to endeavor by the formulation of societies and in other ways to influence the course of justice in this matter."

Now that Carrol D. Wright report was made to the president, and

along with it in the government publication is a letter of comment by Roosevelt in which he says expressly that he read the report "with the utmost care," to use his very words. Having read it with the utmost care he must have read the above in regard to Bulkeley Wells, rich mine owner and manager and officer in the state militia—as well as page after page of information equally as damaging to the mine owners' side. *Yet it was Gen. Bulkeley Wells who assisted the mine owners of Idaho to kidnap Moyer and Haywood* and who in person guarded the manacled labor leaders in the special train that spirited them out of Colorado and over the Rockies into Idaho. That very fact alone stamps the proceeding as lawless. Bulkeley Wells, the leader of a brutal mob in 1904, is up to his old tricks in the Moyer-Haywood case—for that case is but a sequel to the Colorado labor war of 1904. Is it impossible that the president should not know this? The formation of Moyer-Haywood societies all over the country, the holding of innumerable massmeetings of labor on the subject, has been with the sole object of making public the conspiracy of the mine owners, of breaking the conspiracy of silence maintained by the capitalist press, and to so familiarize the public with the case and all the hellishness connected with the prosecution of the men, that the capitalistic court out in Idaho will not dare to follow up its denial of the constitutional right of *habeas corpus* with a snap trial. The purpose of these organizations is not

to influence the trial, but to force a fair trial, well knowing that the mine owners' association is bent on rushing the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners to the gallows in order to break down that great labor organization. The president's pretention to virtuous in-

nocence is pretty thin, especially when it is remembered that he took a hand in the last Idaho campaign in order to keep the mine owners in control of state and courts, thus to help the prosecution of Moyer and Haywood.

## Bryan's Stolen Thunder

By VICTOR L. BERGER

**A**T a Democratic banquet given in Chattanooga, Tenn., at which Bryan was present, John Temple Graves, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, and Democratic candidate for governor of Georgia, made a speech in which he proposed that Bryan and Roosevelt be nominated as Democratic candidates by the Democratic national convention.

To this Bryan replied in substance that according to his present judgment he would not propose Roosevelt at the convention. "Mind you, I say, according to my present judgment."

The accent, of course, is on "present." Bryan certainly wished to say that this might yet come about. And why not? If ever a man mourned over his stolen thunder, that man is Bryan.

And never did any man steal thunder more successfully than Roosevelt stole it from the tribune from Nebraska.

Upon the ignominious defeat of the conservative Democrats of the Cleveland stripe under their candidate Parker, the Radicals under the leadership of Bryan and Hearst raised a shout of triumph. Twice had the conservatives treacherously permitted the radical candidates to be beaten. But now the radicals had their revenge. Parker was even worse whipped than Bryan. Nothing was left for the Democratic party, as everybody supposed, except to trust its fate again to the radicals. William J. Bryan, twice defeated, was now the recognized "logical candidate" for a third campaign.

\* \* \*

But "man proposes and God disposes." And "the man of destiny," Roosevelt, has drawn a black line right across all calculations.

When Roosevelt entered office he solemnly promised to follow in McKinley's footsteps. If this meant anything at all, it meant that he wished to be the servant of Mark Hanna and the big capitalists.

And yet, within two years, came the most startling change that has ever taken place in any American party. Slowly, at first, and then more and more rapidly, Theodore Roosevelt shook off the McKinley policy. And before his own party fully realized the fact, he stood as Bryan's competitor for the favor of the masses in a campaign against the plutocracy.

And since Bryan could only talk and promise, while Roosevelt could *act*, because he sat at the source of power, Bryan soon was left in the lurch.

Poor Bryan! Such is the irony of fate.

\* \* \*

Thus we can see how easy it is for a president to outstrip his own party if he understands the popular trend and—handles the patronage and offices well.

The average business man in the Republican party—and this party is the business man's party—had looked upon Roosevelt with distrust and suspicion. He was nominated for vice-president at the Philadelphia convention to put him on the shelf and make it impossible for him to become a presidential candidate.

The "gray wolves" in the Senate had no doubt arranged this. But the result turned out differently.

For the unexpected happened. Roosevelt became president. He formed his own policy. He forced from his party, and even from the Senate, laws which are to them an abomination. And now Roosevelt even insists on dictating to the party who shall be his successor, since he himself cannot run again, according to his well-known statement on the eve of election. Roosevelt's candidate, as everybody knows, is Taft of Ohio. But already the leaders of the conservatives in Ohio have their knives out for Taft. They want to slaughter him at the party conventions.

\* \* \*

*In that case*—this is the sense of Bryan's speech—in that case, it is possible that the Democrats may nominate Roosevelt. And why not?

Bryan maintains that Roosevelt is almost as good a Democrat as he is himself. And Bryan admits that he is about as good a reactionary as Roosevelt. Bryan admits that even the government ownership of railroads, which he proposed, and which is supposed to be the only "radical" Bryan plank, besides the referendum and the initiative, is at present out of the question, since the people want first to see how the Roosevelt regulation will turn out.

So it looks as if the conservatives among the Democrats and among the Republicans will get together, while the Roosevelt-Bryan Republicans and Democrats will form another camp. Even men like Watterson predict this. This would be quite logical and correct. But whether the thing will crystalize before the next presidential campaign, that is another question. Bryan has even proposed our Wisconsin senator, Robert M. La Follette, as a suitable candidate for the Republicans.

\* \* \*

Truly, the Democrats are in a sad plight. Since the war of the rebellion, where they found themselves on the wrong side of the fence, they have been going from bad to worse. From Cleveland they swung to Bryan, and from Bryan to Parker—without in any case being able to get a foothold as a party. And now all they can do is to propose candidates for the Republicans, or to propose Republican candidates for themselves.

Of course, there remains William Randolph Hearst. But the Democrats cannot unite upon him. It is possible that Hearst will

be put up as an independent candidate by the municipal ownership leagues in New York, Chicago, and wherever he owns papers. But Hearst's candidacy would not greatly affect the situation, because everybody would **realize** beforehand that he could have no possible show of being **elected**.

President Theodore Roosevelt, in spite of his reactionary tendencies, is popular with all those who like his stand against the big capitalists and who do not know enough to understand the trend of the times and whither it leads. And I am sorry to say that such people still form the great majority of the nation. And those who *do understand* the trend of the times and do know where it leads, will, without doubt, vote the Social-Democratic ticket. So Hearst, at best, could only be the candidate of a small minority and, in case he should run as "an independent," could in no way hurt the chances of our party nationally.

\* \* \*

The stand Roosevelt has taken in the Moyer-Haywood affair will, no doubt, weaken him with the trades unions. His defense—for he was compelled to defend himself in a letter to a trades union committee—is very weak in facts, although arrogant in language. It only shows that Roosevelt already realizes the grave error he made and also the growing meaning of the labor vote. Roosevelt's haughty answer has simply added fuel to the flames of righteous indignation. The whole affair cannot fail to *hurt* him, even with the *conservative* trades union vote.

\* \* \*

So the chances of our party in the next presidential election are not at all bad—provided our membership all over the country, and particularly the men who are shaping the policies of the party, are wise enough to grasp the situation, and take up live issues. Let them find the issues of the day, get before the people with them, and handle them from a Socialist standpoint, without in any way forgetting or even trying to relegate to the background our permanent issue, the abolition of capitalism.

But let us select live issues and discard Socialist "theology" and tautology.

When you come to think of it, there ought to be some historic significance in the fact that it remained for the Socialists to bring about the abolition of the guillotine in France.

"Let us prey," said young Rockefeller at the bible class, and then thanked God for the great opportunities which American civilization presents.

By the way, tubercular consumption is not the only sort that plays havoc with the working class. The consumption of the wealth labor produces, by the capitalist class, also keeps the workers pretty pale.

There are no classes in society, declares just the class that sees to it that working people "stay in their place."

# "For the Syndicate"

By FRANK ROSAMOND

The day was exceedingly hot. The road was parched and dusty. The corn was shriveling in the glaring sunshine.

A cloud cast a shadow on the distant hillside, and crept steadily toward us as a token of promise. The corn rustled as if whispering of the inevitable falling of refreshing raindrops. And so men also whisper among each other of the coming of a something which will make life worth living; which will help them on their way; which will lead them to higher and brighter thoughts of their fellowmen, and of life.

I lingered under the walnut trees to rest; the walnut trees where I played when a child; where I hulled their nuts and stained my fingers green; where I stopped to rest on my way to school.

Ten years had elapsed since I last saw the spot—not that I cared particularly for the spot—for the spot I really wished to see was the old farm and farmhouse. I wished to once more roam through the orchard. I wished to once more drink in the beauty of the garden. I wished to once more draw a cool drink from the well with the old-fashioned windlass.

I was thus meditating when a faint breeze bore to my ears the creaking of a cultivator. I looked around. A man and team were steadily approaching up one of the long corn-rows. The team was wet with sweat; and water could have been wrung from the man's clothing—what little he had on. He turned the team half round where what breath of air there was might cool their heads.

I spoke to the man when he looked in my direction.

His response was inarticulate, owing to his parching thirst.

He stepped to one of the trees and lifted a jug to his lips; it was water.

"Have a smile, stranger?" he asked kindly.

"Don't care if I do," I answered only too gladly.

I lifted the jug to my lips. The water was almost boiling.

And then I thought—thought that the pleasures of life are sometimes drank—the same becoming distasteful, unbearable in their increasing hotness.

"Rather tough working out here in the heat," I said by way of remark.

"Gotter stand it," he answered. "That's what we vote fur."

"Don't you own the farm you're on?" I asked.

"No," he replied, bitterly.

"Who does?" I asked.

"Syndicate."

Who owns the farm adjoining?"

"Syndicate."

"And the next?" I inquired eagerly; for it was my old home.

"Syndicate," he answered promptly.

"Any one working it?" I asked.

"Renter."

"Does he live there?"

"No—lives next place—runs two places."

"Must make a barrel of money?"

"Does—for the syndicate."

There was a brief silence.

"Well, got to keep up mi lick—won't get mi rent paid," he said as he took up the lines. "Hope you'll think over this syndicate business,

stranger." And, with a meaning glance, he bid me good-day.

As I approached my old home—the home where my brothers and sisters were born, and since cast out upon the struggling sea of life; where my father and mother died—I was overtaken by undescrivable wretchedness.

The weather-beaten house stood conscience haunting in its conspicuous barrenness. Tall weeds grew close around as if trying to hide from mortal eye the memories of the old home—the happiness of the long ago.

I dared not enter. I was haunted by an awful misery.

The corn grew close by the house, only leaving room for the teams to turn. Several tall weeds that had grown by the house, were lying prostrate—they who had tried to drown or hide the memory.

The dear old well was covered with boards, whereon were piled stones—a grave of the gift of the immortal.

The orchard was gone, save two old trees that had fallen into one another's arms, their limbs embracing one another in their sorrow.

A portion of the garden fence remained, whereon, and covering it, were matted vines of the morning-glory. I lifted up a portion of the vines. What remained of the fence was decayed and rotten. And then I thought and thought—thought that the old fence was as humanity—a

thing lost amid splendor, covered, refused the light by beauty; a thing lost in the darkness caused by one of the flower-bearing vines of the world's ornaments. They are the vines of materialism.

Looking down over the corn-field I could see where the old stable formerly stood. 'Twas where the corn grew tallest. It seemed to flourish over the spot—the ruins of part of our old home. And so man flourishes over the ruin caused by sad misfortune born of the monster of man's creation.

Oh, how sad it all was. How sad were the thoughts of living in such a world and trying to make the best of it.

Standing there with the thoughts of a lost life, of all that has been and will continue to be, unless people arouse to social and political action, I pitied humanity, I cursed greed and the profit system.

I thought of an enslaved people. I thought of liberty—not the liberty our forefathers fought for, but industrial freedom. I thought of once more making a defense for rights, for a mighty and just cause, though not with life-taking explosives, but with more practical warfare—the ballot-box.

And then I went my way realizing my environment had made me a Socialist—or was it my friend of the plow?—and that, a Socialist, I could help reconstruct environment.

They are still trying to disfranchise the working class under the guise of reforming politics. In Connecticut the "reformers" (in this instance the class-conscious "respectables") are trying to put through a law requiring candidates

to put up a heavy fee in order to be eligible for election. "If yo' haven't any money, yo' needn't come roun'!" Wage workers are merely tolerated, this here country belongs to the fellows that work the workers, y' know!



# Class Struggle at Law

By CLARENCE S. DARROW

The following is taken from the address to the jury by Clarence S. Darrow of Chicago in the trial of Steve Adams, at Wallace, Idaho, a trial that was preliminary to the Moyer-Haywood case. Adams was arrested for the alleged killing of a claim jumper named Tyler, in a contest with residents of a certain district whose land was wanted by a big corporation. In the trial Adams showed that he was miles away at the time, and the jury failed to convict. His trial was pushed by the state so as to discredit him as a witness for Moyer-Haywood. He is expected to testify in the Haywood case that a false confession was extorted from him while in jail, which was intended to be used to bolster up the "confession" of Harry Orchard, on whose testimony Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were arrested and kidnaped. Among other things, Mr. Darrow said:

"Mr. Knight, in opening this case, has told this jury that in many respects it is a remarkable case. It is remarkable. In some ways I never heard, and I never read of a case like this. He has told you that able counsel have come here from other states and other cities to defend this common working man. It is not for me to say, nor for Mr. Richardson to say, whether counsel from other states are able counsel or not. But it is true, and I have no wish to deny it, that I came 2,000 miles to defend this case, and Mr. Richardson 1,500 miles for the sake of making a defense for a man who could not possibly pay either one of us for the services we render, according to the

standard that lawyers ordinarily set for their services. I do not mean to disguise the fact. I do not believe I could if I would. I do not propose to be like that bird who shoves his head into the sand and thinks nobody can see his body; because I know you gentlemen understand it. I am willing to concede the truth of every word that Mr. Knight has stated upon this proposition. Much as I love justice, much as I hate to see punishment of any sort, I have not the time nor the ability, even if I had the inclination, to go up and down this land and defend every poor man charged with crime throughout the length and breadth of the United States; and that is not the reason I am here; gladly would I do it if I could, and if I had the power and the time and the means. That is not the reason I am here, and that is not the reason that Richardson is here. Mr. Knight speaks truly—I have no desire to conceal it—when he says that back of this man are the funds of a great organization, the small contributions of thousands of working men to give him a better defense than the ordinary poor man placed on trial in the courts of this country, with his life in danger from the law, could have.

"There are hundreds of men throughout the length and breadth of the land, men who know no trade but work, men who get their small means by the sweat of their brow, who in some unfortunate moment fall into the clutches of the law, and are tried, condemned and executed almost without defense, because without means. And if it had been that Steve Adams must rely

upon himself alone, if he had had no relatives and no friends to speak for him or help him in his cause, he might have been like the rest.

"It is true, gentlemen, that a great effort has been made to defend him. It is true that I have been willing to leave my other affairs to come 2,000 miles into this little town, in the midst of these mountains, among unfamiliar people, and a jury that I am not accustomed to, for the sake of looking after his case; and Mr. Richardson has done the same. But that is not all; not only have we come here to give such aid, with such ability as we have in his defense, but the state of Idaho never yet prosecuted a man as it is prosecuting this poor, unimportant, almost nameless laborer: and they have shoved aside Shoshone county and its officers. They have employed as much ability as they could get locally, and they have gone to the capital of the state and employed as great a lawyer as there is in the state of Idaho, to ask for his blood. They have done more than that—the state of Colorado has been called upon, and months of the time of the greatest detective of the west have been given to bring him to the gallows. They have gone to the state of Washington and brought another, and used his time without stint for the same purpose, and they have gone to the state of Colorado and brought here the adjutant general of the state and one of the head officers of the Mine Owners' association, and brought his influence and his power and his money into this court to help convict this man.

"It is a remarkable case; it is unprecedented in the annals of criminal prosecution. I do not need to tell this jury that there is not a man in this courtroom who really cares to take Steve Adams' life. It is

not for him, an humble, almost unknown workman, that all the machinery of the state has been set in motion, and all the mines and the mine owners of the west have been called to their aid. Not that. It is because back of all this, and beyond and over it all, there is a great issue of which this is but the beginning. Because, beyond this case, and outside of this courtroom, and out in the great world, is a great fight, a fight between capital and labor, of which this is but a manifestation up here in the woods and the hills. You know it, I know it. They know it. There is not a man so blind, there is not a person so prejudiced or so bigoted as to believe that all this effort is being put forth to punish an unknown man for the murder of an unknown man.

"That is not all, gentlemen. I want to measure every word I say in this case, and although it may seem harsh, it is true. This prosecution, from beginning to end, is a humbug and a fraud. This prosecution, from beginning to end, is a crime, an outrage; there is not one jot of honesty, not one particle of sincerity, not the least bit of integrity in it, not one single moment from the day that this man was taken from his home in Oregon until now. And we say this, gentlemen, without any regard as to whether this man is innocent or guilty of the crime with which you are charging him; he is not being tried today for that. That is not the issue here. That is not the reason that calls these prosecutors from two or three states of the union, that sets this machinery in motion which would crush out his helpless life. Who is this man? What does it mean? If one of you were arrested, would any such power be brought against you?

"If it was, what would happen to

you? Would it make any difference whether you were innocent or guilty if the great machinery of the law were turned loose to crush you? Where is the poor man that could stand up against it? Where is the man who could be taken without process of law, sent to the peniten-

tiary, locked up for months without a charge, prosecuted by the greatest in the land and defend himself if he stood helpless and alone. If there ever was a cause or justification for poor men standing together, this case furnishes that justification."

## Socialist "Slavery"

By A. H. FLOATEN

I heard the Rev. Frank Dixon's stock lecture on Socialism at Fort Collins and am sorry that a man can speak or write on a subject so important and be allowed to make such misstatements as he did. I hold that in justice to the public there are two things that ought to debar any person from addressing the public on any subject. One is ignorance and the other is misrepresentation of facts.

He said Socialism means that all property shall be owned by the government, and all shall be employed by the government. This is not true. Socialism means that all natural resources and the machinery of production, transportation and communication which are socially used, shall be owned and operated by the people, for the benefit of the people, instead of being owned for the profit of a few, by the few. But all wealth produced shall belong to and be the property of the individual that produces it or who gives services in exchange for it. For instance, I want to own my home, horses, carriages, automobiles, books, furniture, etc. I want to travel and see the world. I may be a farmer, so I can't make these things, nor do I own railroads and ships, so I have to do enough work farming, which will be of equal value with the things I want

to own and consume. But I will have the use of the land, free from interest and rent, upon which to work to pay for the things I want to own and use. I work for myself, and the value of the product is mine, and I can spend it as I see fit. The tools or means of production will be collectively owned, but the product will be the property of the individual who produces.

The only difference will be that every worker can always use the land, machinery and transportation without paying some capitalist for the privilege, and the worker cannot be refused a job. The workers will get the full value of their labor and there can never be an overproduction of things as long as there are people willing to work to get things.

Again he said, "Socialism means slavery," and afterward he said, "Socialism means absolute equality. Each would receive exactly the same wages. Socialism would pauperize everybody."

Will the reader please reconcile these statements? I can't. If I am your absolute equal, politically and financially, how can I enslave you? If I can work on a farm or in a factory and get paid for all I do the same as you do, how can I make you a slave? I can work when I want to and so can you. I

can quit when I want to and so can you. If you produce twice as much as I do, you get twice as much pay for it, but you can't keep me from producing what I can. You may have a home worth several thousand dollars and I may be a renter, yet you can't keep my child from attending school and getting what education he is capable of receiving, the same as your child. You may have lots of property and I may not, but I can go to the postoffice and send a letter for two cents the same as you can and use the postal system on the same terms as you. Why? Because the school and postoffice are owned and operated by the people, and we are on an equality as to the use of them. I don't have to pay you for the privilege of using the postoffice, nor do you have to pay me for your child going to school. We both have the use of them at what it costs to use them. If either you or I owned the school or the postoffice we would charge more than the actual cost. We would want profit, and because the people don't want to pay profit on education and communication they have made the

schools and postoffice public property. But because my child has an equal opportunity with your child to attend school it is not true that each will be equally educated. Under Socialism I would have an equal opportunity to use the land and factories, but I might do only half as much work as you, and, consequently, get only half as much pay. Again, can the reader tell me how it would pauperize everybody, as Dixon said, if everyone has an opportunity to produce, and gets the full value for his products? I can't.

Is it true that people are more ignorant and have poorer education since the public ownership established an equal chance for all in the common schools than they were before, when they paid private schools?

Lastly, in regard to exactly the same pay for the same time, as Dixon proclaimed was Socialism, let me say that I defy anybody to show from any scientific writer on the subject, or from any platform of the Socialist party in any nation that such is any part of the program.

Bernstein has written the London *Labor Leader* to correct a misapprehension that has been circulating in the British press to the effect that his failure of re-election to parliament was due to party opposition to his "revisionist" attitude. As an effort has been made along the same line in certain quarters in this country, the following from his letter will be read with interest:

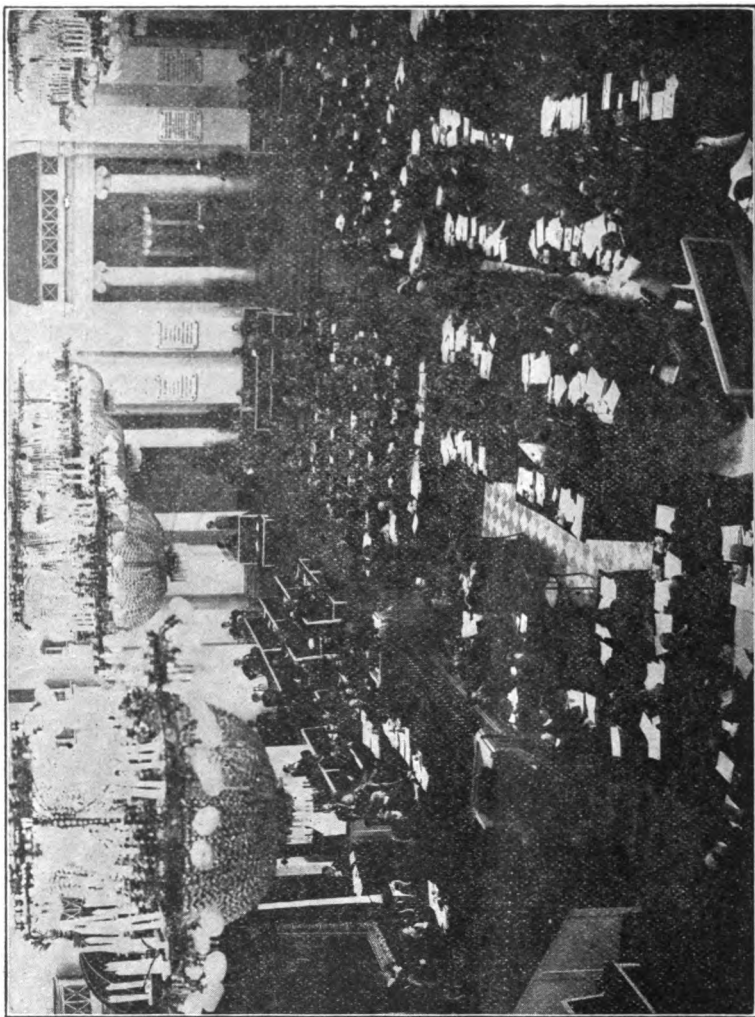
Will you allow me to tell my English friends, through your columns, that this suspicion is absolutely unfounded? At no time since the Socialists of Breslau have honored me by taking me as their candidate for the western division of the town has

there been more unanimity and zeal displayed by them at an election than this time. In not one instance was a dissenting voice to be heard, either in the public meetings or in the inner councils of the party there. Nor has the seat been lost by a decrease of votes received. This is, in round figures, the record of the votes given to Social-Democracy since I was their candidate there:

1902 .....	14,700
1903 .....	17,500
1907 .....	19,600

The increase in 1907 against 1903 was in Breslau West about 12 per cent, whilst all over Germany the party increased its vote by only 8 1-3 per cent on the whole. The comrades of Breslau West have no reason to be ashamed of their record on Jan. 25.





The Russian Duma at work  
FROM CURRENT LITERATURE

# THE VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray,  
Yet newer strength we borrow,  
And where the Vanguard camps today,  
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

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## The Month's Story

### A Record in Evidence

"What will the Socialists do when they get into power?" asks the American voter who has learned by sad experience to distrust platforms. The sceptical American, wise through his sorrows, doubts political pledges and cares only for political records. But until the Socialist party has been given political power, how can it make a political record? Thus our sceptical American is in the position of the Irish lad whose mother forbade him to go near the water until he knew how to swim.

For the American voter who wants to be shown, we point to the record of the Social-Democratic members of the Wisconsin legislature. It is a record of which any Socialist may be proud.

Just six Social-Democrats, pulling together, have made a big wake in the stagnant waters of old party politics. True, their best measures have been turned down. But that does not alter the quality of their measures, nor lessen the honor of their record.

The 70 bills and resolutions introduced by these Social-Democratic legislators were of three classes.

One class included bills for collective ownership and operation, as the bill providing for city coal and wood yards, for municipal works departments, for state insurance and other similar measures.

A second class, comprising a large share of these 70 bills, related to labor legislation. Our men worked for better child labor laws, for an eight-hour day for all public employes, whether of the state, counties or cities, for an eight-hour day for railroad telegraphers, and for better protection to workingmen engaged in dangerous trades, and in short, for all measures for the betterment of labor conditions.

Still a third class of measures aimed at the general welfare—as the bill for free text books—and for establishing genuine democracy, as the bills and amendments to bills offered by the Social-Democrats for the inauguration of the referendum.

On these three lines our Socialist members have worked—for democracy, for collective ownership, for the rights of the working class. And even our sceptical American citizen must admit that here was a noble beginning for a minority party.

Said an old party Assemblyman last spring, "I have been watching the Social-Democrats in the legislature, and I notice that when-

ever there is a measure that is aimed against the poor man or the common people or seeks in any way to do injustice, these Socialists are right there to fight it every time."

And you must at least admit, sceptical American voter, that such a party force as that is entirely a unique thing in American politics!

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### **Government by Spooks**

Ever since the Social-Democratic party became the largest party of Germany, timid bourgeois have shuddered at the thought that a further Social-Democratic gain might usher in the rule of the Red Spectre. But these frightened souls little dreamed that at that very moment the German Empire was actually governed by "real" spooks, of the materializing, alphabet-rapping, table-tipping genus.

Yet so it is. The fact has leaked out that certain foxy noblemen have taken advantage of the Kaiser's love of the occult to play all manner of tricks on his credulity. Through a judicious use of seances and "messages" they have succeeded in getting him well under their thumb. Some queer scandals are the consequence. The German court and the German government have got a black eye.

Under the laws of "lese majeste," it will probably never be known how far Kaiser Wilhelm is mixed up with all these scandals. It would appear, however, that things are being run very strangely behind the curtain of the German government. At any time, planchette might dictate a policy. Or a spirit rapping might beat the tattoo for ordering out the German army. Or a tipping table might tip over the peace of Europe!

"Me und Gott" have been generally supposed to be taking care of the German Empire. It now seems that it was "Me and the ghosts."

Is not this the last stage of capitalist degeneration? When the German bourgeois would intrust their country to such degenerate cranks as William III rather than to a people's movement like the Social-Democratic party, with such leaders as Bebel and Kautsky at its head, truly capitalist society is rotting fast!

\* \* \*

### **In the Russian Duma**

"A military hell turned into a factory hell," that is how Alexinsky, leader of the Russian revolutionists, characterized the change toward which the Russian Liberals in the last Duma were striving. This Duma, one of whose sessions is depicted in our frontispiece, was much more middle-class than its fiery predecessor. This, however, was nothing surprising. The government's intimidation of voters naturally resulted in barring out a good many of the most spirited Social-Democrats.

Even this Duma was too live for the bureaucracy. The living growth has been cut out. The Social-Democrats have been arrested and exiled. The flower of Russia will again perish in Siberian snows. The next Duma will be the submissive tool of the Czar. Yet there is no cause for astonishment in the present course of Russian events. Three



years ago, when Russia seethed with revolt and the Red Flag floated triumphant over the Black Sea for almost one whole week, some Socialists, more ardent than scientific, thought that Russia would prove an exception to all natural laws. They predicted that the oak would spring full-grown from the acorn. Russia, the most backward of European nations, would be the first country to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

But the law of evolution would not have it so. Socialism and democracy are two vast and slow developments. The Socialist Republic cannot be set up in a day.

This is the lesson of the Russian movement. It is a good lesson for American Socialists to lay to heart.

"Block by block, by slow and sharp endeavor," the Socialist revolution must be built up in "free" America or autocratic Russia. This is not the usual conception of a revolution, but it is the only practical method of "revolving" the great wheel of society.

\* \* \*

### The Austrian Victory

The glorious victory in Austria has a more glorious moral. The 82 Social-Democratic representatives who will soon take their seats in the Reichsrath of the Austrian Empire are representatives of the triumphant principle of *International Socialism*. Their presence in the parliament of that curious patchwork of nations is an eloquent declaration of the brotherhood of man.

Austria is a queer empire—a crazy quilt of nations, a Babel of languages. In an area not quite twice the size of Great Britain are dove-tailed together Bohemians, Hungarians, Austrians proper, Slovaks, Slovenians, Poles, Ruthenians, Serbo-Croatians, etc., all speaking different languages, and all unanimously agreed upon only one thing—their sincere hatred for one another. What makes the matter worse is the fact that these people are not only of different nationalities, but also of different races. The Germans of Austria are racially distinct from the broad-headed, brunet Slavs who form a good share of the population. These again are divided, as by an entering wedge, by the Magyars of Hungary. The resemblance of the Magyar language to the Finnish tongue seems to father them on still another race. So it is not altogether strange that these queerly mixed up nationalities should fight each other like cats tied together by the tails.

And now on this stage of national hatred and national jealousies, stepped in a unifier of interests, a harmonizer of nationalities. And wonderful to say, this uniting influence was none other than the terrible Red Spectre!

Yes, strange though it may seem to those who see in Socialism only a "menace to society," the "peril of the age," in the Social-Democratic party was found the one idea which could bind together all these jealous and angry nationalities. Only under the red flag could the workingmen of all these races find a common ground of interests for Germans, Czechs, Magyars, Poles and Jews.

And what is true of the Austrian Empire, is equally true of all the nations of the earth. The "national feeling," carefully fanned by capitalist governments, writers, teachers and editors, has caused more human blood to be shed than the worship of Moloch or Huitzilopochtli, or any other of the more frankly bloodthirsty cults of our less hypocritical forefathers.

The "national feeling" may have been useful in its day, when the nation had to develop from the tribe. Today, however, it has become the breeder of ghastly wars like the Franco-Prussian war in the last century and the Russian-Japanese war in our decade.

The principle of International Socialism, giving to all the human race a higher and better ideal, is the great unifier of men today. It is, in fact, the great force which has prevented all the clashings of European governments in recent years from bursting out into a terrific European war.

And if Andrew Carnegie and William T. Stead were really as much in love with peace as they profess to be, they would throw up their Peace Congresses and build "Peace Palaces" for International Socialist Congresses. For these are the true unifiers of the human race!

\* \* \*

**Worth Only**  
**\$50** Teddy the Talkative is still haranguing on his favorite theme of "Race Suicide." He recently took occasion to express his "hearty contempt" for the woman who does not raise a large family.

But as a political economist, Roosevelt ought to know that the laws of supply and demand regulate the production of all commodities.

For—Oh shame to our modern civilization! Shame to church and state! Shame to America!—children in our land today are commodities.

And they are cheap commodities.

A prominent pastor in Chicago, in his investigation of the social evil, made this appalling discovery—that an innocent young country girl, on the average, costs only \$50.

That is the price which is paid to her enticers.

Think of the pity of it! The pure, happy child, born and bred in the smile of nature, feeding her chickens and petting the lambs, her little pink sunbonnet bobbing gaily through meadow and wildwood, her little brown hands full of daisies and windflowers, her blithe little heart as fresh and stainless as these! What can she know of the snares of a great city, where a little later she goes to work and help father pay off the mortgage? How can she know that, as the same pastor assures us, "A country girl coming to Chicago is pursued for months and sometimes even years"?

Alas, even a few days may suffice to wither our ignorant little spring-beauty, transplanted from the quiet farm to the filth of the great town. And then—

The curtain falls. It is not "nice" to pursue the subject further. Nobody cares for the future sufferings of the little country girl, after that.

She was only worth \$50, any way. Why, a black slave in the days of negro slavery was worth twenty times more!

\* \* \*

**A Cheap Commodity** Still, no matter how hard we may steel our hearts against her and the countless thousands of her guild, we must acknowledge the laws of economics. So long as children are so cheap, race suicide is itself an economic law. So long as the commodity *child labor* can be sold for only 10 to 15 cents per day in southern cotton mills, or only a couple of dollars per week for the little cash girl in northern department stores, we must admit that there is a fearful overproduction of children.

No, Teddy the Talkative, it would be better for you to orate less and think more. If we wish to see the *quantity and quality* of American citizens improved, we must take this commodity out of the market. We must first create a new economic world, in which LABOR OF ALL KINDS—child labor and adult labor—will CEASE TO BE A COMMODITY.

Then race suicide would pass away of itself. Then the thoughtful mother would have no cause for dread in the future of her little sons and daughters.

Then all babies would be welcome. There could not be too many of them—the blessed children!—because they would be BEYOND ALL PRICE.

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## Justice

By ALTRUIST

For thousands of years men have been seeking an exact definition of justice, but they have not yet found it. Philosophers in all ages have written of justice, of the principle of right. Justice is the central star around which human institutions revolve, the sun which vivifies all the conventions of men. No law is enacted, no enactment repealed except in the name of justice; the church, the state, the law, the government, the soldiers, the policeman, the judge, the court, the prison, the scaffold upon which society murders the wretched felon she has condemned to death—all these exist in the name of justice; all these are evidences of men's efforts to conform to a principle of right; and yet, what is justice?

Upon the answer to this question men cannot agree. If we say with the utilitarians that justice consists in giving to every man his own, or what he is entitled to, there is nothing determined, for the meaning is to give to every man what law or custom have declared to

be a man's own, and even on the basis of utilitarianism this may be the height of injustice.

Although we pride ourselves upon our civilization, we have not greatly advanced since the days of Aristotle. The Greek philosopher taught that "nature creates some men for liberty and others for slavery. It is useful and just that the slave should obey. There are in the human race individuals as inferior to others as the body is to the soul, or as the beast is to the man. These are the beings suitable for the labors of the body alone, and incapable of doing anything more perfect. These individuals are destined by nature to slavery because there is nothing better for them than to obey. The science of the master reduces itself to knowing how to make use of his slave. He is the master, not because he is the owner of the man, but because he makes use of his property."

It was upon this Aristotelian idea of justice that the ancient governments were founded. Justice existed only for the masters; the slaves embraced the great mass of those who performed the work of the world. We imagine that justice is a far more comprehensive term than it was in the days of Aristotle, and this is true. The notion of justice has been extended so as to embrace those who were entirely outside the pale of Greek society, but the science of the master has not advanced a step since the days of Aristotle. The science of the master still "reduces itself to knowing how to make use of his ———, Property!!"

With the introduction of Christianity the notion of justice broadened out. Under the influence of the teachings of the lowly Nazarene, men began to entertain new conceptions of the nature of justice. It then began to exist for the slave as well as the master. The slave began to be regarded not merely as a piece of property to be dealt with as a horse or an ox, but as a human being, having an immortal soul worth saving. Religion threw her protecting arm around the slave and demanded justice for him. The justice demanded was only of a qualified sort, it is true, not complete, such as was conceded to the master; but it was still justice. The slave was no longer entirely outside the pale. This bringing the slave within the pale, although ever so little, was a great revolution in ideas. It was a revolution that started the slave upon his long and painful upward march to full emancipation. He then began his toilsome and heart-wearying ascent of the hill on the top of which he has many times since then thought he saw the light shining. He has not fully realized the elusive nature of the substance of his dream, and many times when he has thought to have grasped her, justice has withered in his hand. He has been taught to worship her as a blind goddess, when in reality she is bright-eyed, beautiful, and radiant with light. But the new status which Christianity established for the slave was a grand thing in its day. It was the beginning of the peasants' wars of the Middle Ages and of the French Revolution. Its end will be the emancipation of the race.

Nineteen centuries ago Jesus Christ gave the world a rule of justice (Do unto others that which you would that others should do unto you), and all through these centuries the Christian church has taught that this is a golden rule of conduct, applicable to all men. And yet the

church vies with the philosophers in disputing about justice; finds it impossible to determine its nature; cannot define it. Why? Because the Christian rule simply tells men their duty without giving them the faintest idea of their rights. What has man a right to wish that others should do unto him? How can a man properly perform his duty of doing unto others as he would wish to be done by, unless he knows to a certainty that the thing he would wish others to do is the right thing? Before a man can properly perform his duty, he must know his right. Christ left the rights of man undetermined, and throughout all the centuries of its existence the church has continued to restrict itself to the narrow sphere of duty, while leaving right in the vague and unsettled condition in which she found it at the beginning of the Christian era. She still confines herself to the task of teaching men their duty without teaching them their right. Of what use is it? What is the use of telling a man his duty without giving him a clear and unmistakable definition of his right?

The church has left the rights of man to be determined by secular authority. To understand his rights, man must go to the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, P. J. Proudhon, Lassalle and Karl Marx. The most concrete expression of the rights of man was penned by the immortal Jefferson: "All men are created free and equal. . . . endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This is a sufficient definition of right, the complement of the Christian rule of duty. Man has a right to his life to be free; he has a right to be happy in his own way so long as he obeys Christ's rule of duty and permits all other men a like freedom. In short, he has the right to wish that others should respect his life, his liberty and his happiness, and his duty is to respect the life, liberty and happiness of others. We need no more absolute rule of justice than this. Why do we still dispute about the matter?

Here in America our government is supposed to be founded upon the rights of man as promulgated by Jefferson, but as a matter of fact we have codified a contradiction. We swear by the philosophy of Jefferson but still worship the philosophy of Aristotle. We declared government to be for the protection of life, liberty and happiness, and then we organized a government for the protection of life, liberty and property. We called this a new theory of government. It was nothing of the sort. In the days of Aristotle, governments were instituted for the protection of property, and the essential nature of property is today what it was in the beginning. It has not changed. It is the negation of justice.

Government is instituted for the protection of life, liberty and property; that is, it is instituted for the purpose of performing an impossibility. The last term in the equation cancels the other two. Government cannot protect life, liberty and property at the same time. If it protects life and liberty, it cannot protect property. If it protects property, it cannot protect life and liberty. There is nothing anomalous in our present state of society here in America. Our present situation is the perfectly legitimate result of our original theory. Since our government started out with the idea of protecting property, it

could never have evolved into anything other than it is. The nature of property is to consolidate itself into fewer and fewer hands, proportionately to the whole number of persons in a community. Its nature is to create a proprietary class and a non-proprietary class, the latter bearing a constantly increasing numerical ratio to the former; and since a government of proprietors, it must necessarily evolve into a class government. It must become a government by the few, because a government established for the protection of property is naturally a government where the interests of the few are opposed to the interests of the many, and as long as it holds to its traditions the few will control; government will be administered in the interests of the few. It cannot be otherwise.

The many may say that they are oppressed; that conditions are unjust for them; that government is not affording them adequate protection for their liberty and their lives, and thus fails of its purpose. But government is giving them all the protection for their liberty and their lives it is capable of; it is as just as it can be. Here is where the antagonism exhibits itself, and the irreconcilable conflict between the ideas involved in the equation "life, liberty and property" becomes manifest. The proprietor's notion of justice is intimately associated with the idea of property; that of the non-proprietary with the ideas of life and liberty. The function of government involved in the phrase "protection of property" becomes the essence of justice, the first duty of government in the eye of the proprietor, while the function involved in the phrase "protection of life and liberty" becomes the essence of justice, the first duty of government in the eye of the non-proprietary. And there you have it. Exact justice cannot spring from such a condition. Plums do not grow on thistles.

But the non-proprietary is utterly blind to the cause of his troubles. He submits to the rule of the proprietor, under the delusion that by some hocus pocus which he does not comprehend, all men may be proprietors. He prates about justice and mouths over the formula JUSTICE! by Altruist—Vanguard—II

"life, liberty and property" as though it had a real meaning for him, and without perceiving that it involves a contradiction. He does not understand the nature of property.

"What judgment shall I dread, doing no wrong?

The pound of flesh which I demand of him

Is dearly bought, 'tis mine, and I will have it.

If you deny me, fie upon your law!

There is no force in the decrees of Venice."

That is the relation which property holds to the notion of justice. Justice becomes a mere matter of law, a simple question of legality in the eyes of the proprietor. "If you deny me my right of property there is no justice. Fie upon your law! I stand for judgment; answer—shall I have it?" And what can the law, the government, do but enter judgment, since it is organized to protect the right of property? That is the social bond. That is codified justice.

Give your government whatever name you like, and, if it is organized on the basis of property, as surely as the sun shines it will develop into an oligarchy of proprietors who rule the lives and destin-

ies of a great mass of non-proprietors with an iron hand. A nation so founded, although formally guaranteeing protection to the life and liberty of its humblest citizen, will surely develop into a nation of masters and slaves. It cannot be otherwise. For the right of property is simply the right of the proprietor to live without labor, to enjoy the fruits of the labor of others without the return of an equivalent. If the proprietor returned to the laborer an equivalent for what he receives from him, the right of property would be extinguished; there would be no force in it; the proprietor would then be as much a producer as another, and that is by no means the motive of property. It is to enable men to enjoy without producing that property exists, and so long as government is organized to protect property, it will protect the non-producer at the expense of the producer.

The horrors of our sweat shops, the terrible atrocities of our mining regions and our cotton mills, the heart-breaking and humanity-killing struggle of the common laborer to procure the means of subsistence for himself and loved ones, the millions of willing workers who are seeking employment and finding it not, the tramp, the prison, the insane asylum, the charity organizations with their ubiquitous soup kitchens, are all legitimate results of the reign of property. All the obvious iniquities of our civilization spring from the long continued efforts of men to get something for nothing, to obtain wealth without producing it, and the very essence of the right of property is to permit men to do that; in short, to legalize robbery.

Workingmen are deluded by the idea of property. They imagine it a fine thing to be a proprietor, and the very height of their ambition, their highest conception of justice, centers in a state of society where all shall be proprietors. Such a society is among the impossibilities. The right of property is the right to enjoy without producing. Just to the extent that a man exercises this right, he consumes without laboring; he uses wealth produced by and belonging to somebody else; he obtains wealth without the return of an equivalent. It is utterly impossible for all to exercise such a right. If all men were proprietors, property would cease to exist. The universal exercise of the right would destroy the whole institution. Men could then easily see that there was no advantage in it; that it was simply robbing Peter to pay Paul; and being animated by the desire to render exact justice they would abolish a right the exercise of which has kept the human race groveling in a mire of superstition and slavery since the dawn of history.

Men have a right to live the lives of human beings. It is just that men should labor. It is just that they should enjoy the fruits of their labor. Exact justice consists in giving men the opportunity to labor and leaving them in free and undisturbed possession of its fruits. Any institution that denies this is unjust, and the government that protects and defends such an institution is not administering exact justice.

"You take my house when you do take the prop  
That doth sustain my house; you take my life  
When you do take the means whereby I live."

# Our House of Lords

By WAYFARER

For years the United States Senate has been sarcastically referred to as the "Millionaire's Club House." The resignation of Senator Spooner, giving the reason that he felt forced to step into private business life in order to recoup his private fortune, has again called attention to the situation in Washington, and some remarkable facts are coming to light. It may seem odd that this line of investigation should have gotten its impetus from a man like Spooner, the recognized spokesman and handy-man of plutocratic and high finance interests in the American House of Lords, but it is the fact nevertheless, and, whether Spooner's reason is on the square or not, the inquiry is on the way, and benefit is likely to come out of it. The fact that is standing out in the clearest relief is the undoubted one that the government of the nation is now almost wholly in the hands of the wealthy, with the average citizen shut out from any voice in the actual law making. The people must obey such laws as plutocracy gives them. It is asserted that only a millionaire, as a rule, can stand the demands of the life of a United States senator. If a man tries to live the part at all, he must submit to a most extravagant living. In fact, in the words of Senator Beveridge, "it is becoming every day more difficult for any but a rich man, and a very rich man at that, to live in comparative decency in Washington." The living at the capital, even for the man who economizes, is fearfully high. In even the more modest hotels the price for the cheapest room is from \$3 to \$3.50 a day, without meals, and no reduction for a monthly term. The cost of meals is very high, and, to make matters worse, there is always some constituent dropping in who must be invited to dinner, in common courtesy. Old time simplicity is out of fashion, and it is estimated that the living expenses of the household of an average millionaire senator is something like \$30,000 a year. That comparatively poor men are elected to the lower house is doubtless true in some instances, but the presence of such men in Washington's law-making body is scarcely even the exception to prove the rule. In fact, at the present day, the poor man in Congress is there at the peril of his honesty. Being sent there by the old parties, and being ruled by capitalistic ethics, such a man is very likely to give up the struggle to stay straight after a while, and to tread the path that others tread, succumbing to lobby influences, and settling down to "looking out for number one."

It must be clear to the dullest mind that the present situation should not be allowed to continue, that the government established by the people must be gotten back to the people; that the fount of our national laws must be cleaned, and wrested from the class that simply represents the most predatory instincts of capitalism. It must be democratic again. But how can this be done so long as there is old party dominance? Under the regime of the capitalist parties it is inevitable that the rich men should run the government. So that here



again Social-Democracy appears as the savior of the people. When the Socialists get the upper hand in the government all the wrongs under which a "free" nation now groans will of necessity fall away. The solution of the trouble is very simple. If the people do not want their national capitol to be a capitalistic law factory, let them stop sending capitalist party representatives there. So long as they continue in the old way, they must abide the consequences.

## The Austrian Victory

By VICTOR L. BERGER

FROM present reports it cannot be exactly stated how many Social-Democrats have been elected to the Austrian Reichs-Rath (Congress). It is the *first time* that elections have taken place under the general franchise. It is certain that at least 80 Social-Democrats were elected. In the last Reichs-Rath there were 11. So there can be no doubt that our Austrian comrades have won a tremendous victory.

It was, before all things, a victory over *Clericalism*—a victory over the Roman Catholic church in politics. And it was won by the *best* disciplined proletarian army in the world, by the Austrian Social-Democracy.

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The electoral system in Austria is the same as in Germany, and a *majority*, not a plurality, is necessary for an election. And according to cable dispatches, even for the Stich-Wahl (the second test) the Social-Democratic leaders have given out instructions to vote *against* the clericals by all means and under all conditions. "Der Schwarze ist fuer uns immer der schlimmste Feind"—("The priest is always our worst enemy") said the Socialist election manifesto.

And the working class of Austria voted accordingly.

The result was simply stupendous.

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Fifty-seven Socialists were chosen in the first elections. To this should probably be added three or four who won out on the later election day in Galicia. Furthermore, twenty-two were chosen in the secondary elections last week. Therefore there are eighty Social-Democrats or more, who will take their seats in the Austrian Reichs-Rath, in place of the former eleven Socialist delegates.

And it is now not only the Germans in Austria, but also the Czechs and the Poles, who send Social-Democratic representatives to Vienna. Even Italians and Ruthenians have elected Socialists. In fact, almost all the nationalities of the Austrian Empire prove that international Socialism has taken root in their midst.

We have no figures as to the total number of votes which the Social-Democratic candidates received. In Vienna the Socialists in the first election polled 124,355 votes, to which, of course, were opposed

the 184,762 so-called "Christian Socialists" (Clerical - Antisemites). The total for the entire country is not known here at the present time.

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The political significance of these elections in regard to universal suffrage is highly interesting.

The continual enmities among the different nationalities in Austria and in Hungary, the incessant conflicts between Austria and Hungary, and the eternal fighting between the Germans and Slavs, have brought the Austro-Hungarian Empire to the brink of ruin. Its fall was only a question of time.

The Clericals—represented by the bishops and the high aristocracy—had ruled and exploited the empire for centuries. From 1867 to 1873 a short period of capitalistic liberalism was tried with no better effect. The government slid back into the hands of the feudal-clerical clique. Austria was almost as badly governed as Spain.

The "falling apart" of the empire seemed to every one unavoidable. The Social-Democrats have given it now a new lease of life.

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And this explains the curious phenomenon that just when the German emperor would like to try to abolish universal suffrage, at the same time the Hapsburg emperor—Francis Joseph I., the tyrant of 1848—has come out as a champion of *universal suffrage*.

The Austrian emperor—although probably the most bigoted monarch in Europe and a scion of a ruling house which gave the world a Phillip II. of Spain and the "30 years war," a religious war—yet even this man had learned a little in the sixty years of his rule. He had learned *one* thing: He could see no possible chance for the old feudal-clerical regime. He was also tired of the eternal strife of nationalities, which his predecessors and their clerical advisors had artificially fomented in the past—in order to rule according to the old proverb, Divide et impere, divide and rule!

Francis Joseph this time has shown far more wisdom than could have been hoped from a Hapsburg, the most stupid dynasty in Europe.

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Of course, the remedy was close at hand.

The Social-Democrats *demand*ed the general franchise. Being in absolute control of the trades union movement of the empire, they threatened to declare a *general strike* if the working class was not given the right to vote. So it was easy for the emperor to prevail upon the aristocracy, the bishops and capitalists to grant the franchise to the proletariat.

And the emperor's expectations in the power of Social-Democracy were more than realized. For the elections everywhere have dealt crushing defeats to the national parties.

The bourgeois press in Vienna admits that, after all, *only* the Social-Democratic party was victorious in Austria.

Yet Clericalism is still a tremendous power in Austria.

As a matter of fact the Social-Democracy is the only party capable of holding Austria together. This has been preached by the So-

cial-Democrats there for a long time. The Social-Democrats have no interest in seeing Austria fall to pieces. The German provinces would probably have to go to Germany, the Slavonic parts would be gobbled up by Russia—neither outlook was very much to the taste of the Social-Democracy.

If Social-Democracy is to accomplish anything towards the fulfillment of its ideals, it must do this also within the circle of present conditions.

Socialism is international. It has long ago overcome national prejudices within its own ranks. Social-Democracy alone will be strong enough to prevent capitalists big and small from using the cloak of nationality for the satisfaction of their own special interests. This is not only true for Austria. It will hold good for Hungary when it has also secured universal suffrage.

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For the first effect of Social-Democratic victory will be that the introduction of universal suffrage in Hungary will become inevitable. Our Hungarian comrades understood this at once. They celebrated their Austrian brothers' victory at the polls with tremendous demonstration in Budapest.

The ruling clique in Hungary will indeed make a hard fight for two reasons.

First, the property-holding class of the Magyars and especially the land-owning "gentry," like every other ruling class, abhors the granting of equal rights to the proletariat.

Second, universal suffrage will also menace the political hegemony of the ruling nationality in Hungary, of the Magyars. But this has transformed one-half of that tribe into office holders, big and small, something like the Mandchus in China, and very much like the Mandchus in character.

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It is claimed that the Austrian emperor is well satisfied with the results of the election. He hopes that in the future some way will be found to down Socialism, as the Social-Democrats have been used to end the strife of nationalities.

The advantage accruing to the government was, of course, not the aim of the Socialists, but only a necessarily obtained by-product. The Hapsburgs and their government are clerical to the marrow of their bones, and for that reason alone they will soon be sorry for having given the general franchise to the working people.

Yet the stagnation in the Austrian empire is broken, and the path is smoothed for the Socialist ideas to penetrate the depths of the people. Up till now church and state in Austria have erected a Chinese wall against any movement of modern life.

And the proletarians of the world are proud of the deeds of their well-disciplined comrades in Austria.

# Socialist Women in Finland

The nineteen women members who took their seats in the opening of the Finnish diet on May 22 include eleven Socialists, and while they will work and act in accord with their male colleagues of that party, they promise to force some distinctively feminine and sex issues to the fore.

Radical changes in the marriage and divorce laws; equal recognition of illegitimate children and education for all are among the issues on the women's program, and if their male party associates hesitate to support them, they have a powerful weapon in their hands to bring the men to their senses.

The women of Finland have their own Socialistic party, which has grown with lightning speed, until now the ambition of every peasant girl in the village is to become an enrolled member. It is asserted that more than 70 per cent of all the working women and servants in this land of the midnight sun already are members of the Socialist Women's union. They aim to rule the country—through the men. The nineteen women in the diet and their wishes will be treated with respect, and the deference due to such a powerful and influential constituency as they represent.

School teachers, editors, washerwomen, farmers' wives and members of the old Swedish aristocracy are among the first women members of a national legislature.

The Socialist members are the most interesting just now because their party is the strongest of the four represented in the diet and because the women Socialists are more radical than the men.

Among the Socialist women members are three of marked political ability, Mrs. Milna Sillanpaa, Mrs. Maria Raunio and Miss Mimmi Kannervo.

Mrs. Sillanpaa is the only one who has a husband. She is 40 years old and an indefatigable organizer. She has walked hundreds of miles through the country, making speeches and organizing branches of the Socialist Women's union. She is the editor of a woman's Socialist newspaper in Helsingfors now and presides at the sessions of the central committee. She has written scores of special articles for workingwomen and published hundreds of pamphlets.

Miss Mimmi Kannervo, who comes from Abo, is a beautiful peasant girl, who has educated herself and has the gift of oratory to a marked degree. She is adored by her women comrades, who hang upon her words and are willing to listen for hours while she talks. No more radical Socialist lives in this country. At a meeting of many thousand working women in Abo recently she closed a stirring address with this impassioned address:

"More than the workingmen are we, the women who toil, enslaved by the present capitalistic society. Our first step must be to free ourselves from this slavery by taking an active part in lawmaking and the political struggle for our independence. How difficult has it been for me to educate myself after a hard day's work on a farm or in the factory while the woman of the privileged classes was wasting that

time in theater-going, expensive amusement or the pursuit of fashion. A single dinner of my former employer cost more than would a year's education for me in school. Down with our social oppressors! Long live the Socialist Women's union!"

Niiles Robert of Ursin, the political leader of the officers of the diet, is the son of an old scholar and an orator. He has written much for the foreign Socialist press and published an interesting book, "The Question of the Finnish

Working People."

A striking personality among the Socialists is Yorjo Sirola, editor of the Socialist newspaper, "Tyomies," in Helsingfors and secretary of the party. He is the son of a minister and has been a teacher. His program is a free education for every child, and free land for every farm worker. He said recently:

"I sympathize with the Russian revolutionists, but I do not like to mix our policy with the Russian. I hate the taxes and the army."

## Is Socialism Theft?

By R. F. SUTHERS, in Clarion

One of the favorite, perhaps the favorite argument of certain opponents of Socialism is, "Socialism is robbery." They talk of Socialists as "the predatory party," and "the party of confiscation."

There are two kinds of people who use this argument.

First, those who use it because they are entirely ignorant of the aims of Socialists.

Second, those who, knowing the meaning of Socialism, seek to work on the fears of owners of property, especially workingmen owners, and to enlist their influence against the Socialists.

A leader writer in a Birmingham (Eng.) paper said recently, "Socialism means that every workingman with a hundred dollars in the bank, or a house of his own, will be compelled to hand over his property to the state."

Another writer said the aim of Socialists was "the taking away from the present possessors of certain advantages for the purpose of

conferring them upon others," and that "the temptation to annex the property of others by safe and legal means" was likely to be successful so long as human nature is what it is.

Socialism, according to one view, means the robbery of individuals *by the state*.

According to the other view, it means the robbery by one class of the property and advantages of another class.

The writer mentioned said: "The clearly expressed intention of the leaders of the Socialistic movement is to legislate wholly and solely for the benefit of the physical worker at the cost of those who do not labor with their hands."

I propose to show that (1) Socialism is not robbery of the individual; (2) that Socialism is not robbery by one class of another class.

The object of Socialism, as stated by Socialists, is the ownership and control by the people of all the

means for producing wealth.

At present the bulk of the property is owned and controlled by individuals, companies and trusts.

Does it necessarily follow that in order to obtain possession of this property robbery must take place?

Not at all. There is such a thing as purchase. This property can be bought—just as 1,000 municipalities bought their waterworks, just as 260 municipalities bought their gasworks, just as 300 municipalities bought their electricity works, just as 100 municipalities bought their street railways—just as the governments of Prussia and Belgium and Japan bought their railways and made them the property of all the people.

"But," our opponents retort, "it would be unfair to deprive people of their property compulsorily."

That is another question. No one can say it is robbery for the government to take a man's property if he is compensated.

The question now is, "Is it unjust?"

When the government requires a piece of land for a naval station or an arsenal, when a municipality requires a piece of land or a building in order to make street widenings, when a railway requires land for a railway sanctioned by legislation, how do they obtain these properties?

By compulsion, if the owner will not sell by agreement. Is this unjust?

No one would listen to such an objection. When it is decided that these measures are for the benefit of the whole people, the individual has to give way.

That is to say, it is generally admitted that the opinion of the whole people must be considered before the opinion of the individual. The good of the nation is of more im-

portance than the good of any individual or group of individuals.

Now apply this principle to the ownership of the means for producing a living for the people.

Is it for the benefit of the nation that these properties should be owned and controlled by individuals, or by the whole people?

Socialists believe it is not good for a nation that a few individuals should own and control the means of life.

If the Socialists are right, it would not be unjust for the people to take over the ownership and control of the means of production.

On what grounds, then, can Socialists be termed the predatory party of confiscation?

The late Lord Chief Justice Coleridge said: "The particular rules by which the enjoyment of property is regulated, differing in every country in the world, must rest at last upon one and the same foundation—the general advantage."

Our opponents say that it is the declared object of the Social-Democrats to legislate entirely for the benefit of the manual worker at the expense of those who do not work with their hands.

The only answer to this argument is that it is not true. No Socialist ever made such a foolish statement. It directly contradicts the published principles of the Socialist organizations, wherein it is set forth that the object of Socialism is the *national* ownership of the means of life and government by the people for the people.

That is to say, a Socialist government would govern in the interests of the *whole* people. Socialism stands for justice, and the brain worker would receive equal consideration with the manual worker.

Under our present system, neither muscles nor brains are fairly treat-

ed. It so happens that some manual workers are better organized than some brain workers, and they are beginning to make their claims heard. But that is not a reason for assuming that Socialism means legislation entirely for the benefit of the manual worker at the expense of the brain worker. There is no sense in connecting the two things.

### Is Socialism Robbery?

Millions of people are robbed of life, millions are robbed of most that makes life sweet and worthy, today.

Socialism would not confiscate property, it would confiscate the power of private property. It would confiscate the power of private capitalists to say who should or who should not be employed. It would confiscate the power of individuals to live on interest and dividends they had not earned. It would confiscate all privileges which enable one man to enslave his fellow. If that is robbery, then Socialists are robbers.

But what about that sacred hundred dollars of the working man? He is told that the state is going to take it from him, and he is given to understand that the state is going to take it from him and give him nothing in exchange. That is, to rob him.

Let us first ask what is meant by the state? Who is this state that is going to rob the working man?

When our opponents think of the state, they think of the government of

today. When Socialists talk of the state they mean "the whole nation."

So, when our opponents tell the working man the state is going to rob him of his hundred dollars, he is led to think of a Government like that of today, taking his hundred dollars and giving him nothing for it.

But, as I have explained, any person whose property is taken over by the state is compensated.

And, as the gentlemen who write these lies well know, Socialism does not mean dividing up either, and their lies anyhow kill each other when they are brought face to face. Socialists cannot at the same time rob the working man and fill his pocket with other people's money.

We cannot establish Socialism until the people desire it. Our opponents seem to think that it is possible for a handful of Socialists to "rob" the rest of the nation.

No. Socialism is not robbery. It is a system of society, based on justice, and the taking over of the land and capital would only be the beginning of that system. Our opponents seem to think that it would be the end of our society.

But given Socialism, given cooperation instead of competition and all the strife and waste and friction caused by the disorderly scramble for a living, and our power to produce wealth would be enormously increased. That is what our opponents fail to see. The means of a decent life would be obtainable by every worker—hand or brain.

A tramp was one day strolling through a wood that belonged to the Duke of Norfolk.

The duke happened to meet him, and said:

"Do you know you're walking on my land?"

"Your land?" said the tramp. "Well, I've got no land of my own, so I'm obliged to walk on somebody's. Where, though, did you get this land?"

"I got it from my ancestors," said the duke.

"And where did they get it from?" went on the tramp.

"From their ancestors," said the duke.

"And where did their ancestors get it from?"

"They fought for it."

"Come on, then," said the tramp fiercely, as he pulled off his coat, "I'll fight you for it."

But the duke, retreating hastily, declined to accept this fair offer.—Washington Star.

# State Aid for the Child

By ALD. EMIL SEIDEL

The greatest need of our schools is a staff of teachers who have chosen this vocation for the love of it.

However, let us not forget that the worry over a livelihood exercises a depressing influence upon the activities and aspirations of any person in any walk of life; and just so with a teacher.

In our GREATER MILWAUKEE we pay a teacher as little as \$400 per year, or less than \$7.60 a week. Some one will say it's more. 'Tis true, it's more. SEVEN DOLLARS AND SIXTY ONE AND NINETEEN TWENTY-SIXTHS OF A CENT. This magnanimous sum for the teacher of my boy and girl! We can not hire the most unskilled labor for that price. But the man that protects the copper penny that I carry in my pocket is started with a weekly pay of over \$16 per week—more than twice the amount we pay a teacher. If wages are a standard—then the rights of a boy and girl are only, or less than, half as sacred as the rights of a cent.

Here is the second great need of our schools. Give our schools the same chance that we are giving our police department and I assure you the schools will do better work than the best police department can ever do. Our schools are the only real enemy of crime. **OUR SCHOOLS NEED A SQUARE DEAL.**

Do not be deceived, my fellow citizens. You cannot cheat our youth. Not any more than you can cheat our mother soil. Whatsoever ye sow that also shall ye reap. The

prosecution of a criminal is costlier than the proper education of a child. And what you save in the expense and maintenance of our schools you will pay back with compound interest for penitentiaries.

The playground has never yet come into its right. It is but natural that an age of work and toil deprecates or at least ignores the existence of this important factor. Even to this day the voices are but few that are raised in behalf of more, larger and better equipped playgrounds. Our age is preeminently the age of toil. To that degree it is materialistic. An undertaking that is not paying meets disfavor. This spirit has so permeated our every tissue that one of the latest suggestions brought forward in the world of pedagogy is to put the school on a self-sustaining basis.

Why is the boy from the country stronger and more aggressive and a shrewder observer, and more powerful of voice and muscle and mind, and more successful than the boy bred and reared in our city schools? Answer for yourselves!

So long as the family plays the part in the life of a child that it does, and the state does for the child what it does, both have a claim on the child—the family and the state.

The state draws upon the children of the family for its citizens. And since a poor child, ignorant and ill-trained, can not be a good citizen, the state has recognized its duty to see to its schooling.

But what shall we do? The course of school must not be at an end with the age of fourteen. When



children must work throughout the day we must provide clubs and clubrooms for them, where we can give them a wholesome relaxation, and the so necessary recreation that they crave. Remember the youth of the city are social creatures. You cannot begin to confine them for the few hours that are allotted them.

These boys and girls can be divided into classes and clubs. These clubs must pursue such work as minister to the mental and physical needs of their members. Let the musically inclined have their bands, and their orchestras; their quartets and their choirs. Provide them with directors, this being necessary only for some period of time, as in due time these institutions will supply their own leaders. Some have love and desire for art; let them have their clubs for sculpture and painting, and drawing, and sketch-

ing and designing. Give them teachers.

Dramatic clubs will follow stage work. Athletic clubs will perfect the physique.

Literary clubs will develop those with literary inclinations. Reading rooms must be supplied. Games can be played. The social feature must not be neglected. They must have their amusements. They shall have their entertainments. At these they shall shine. Their exhibitions of skill and ability will fill our hearts with delight and afford them pleasure.

Along with all this must go a course of training and preparation for citizenship that will make them the peers of their parents in understanding of our government and its institutions. This will prepare them to be useful to the country and happy for themselves.

# Socialism not Communism

By FREDERIC HEATH

Socialism has been again proven a failure! This time it is the surprisingly long deferred breaking up of the Equality colony in the state of Washington that furnishes the capitalist editors with their text. The following headlines are from the daily papers: "Free Love Wrecks Colony—Socialists Carry Ideas to Extreme, and Washington 'Equality' Is Bankrupt." So that it "appears" that not only did "Socialism fail to work" in this instance, but the Socialists carried their principles to the "extreme," which is "free love," so that the wreck was also an immoral one. This sounds like old times, this capitalist paper report. For it is not so many years ago that many people were kept from listening to our principles because the capitalist newspapers had a free field in which to miseducate them with regard to us and what we stood for.

Now, in the first place, Communism is *not* Socialism. Communistic experiments have nothing to do with the principles of Socialism, and when a communistic experiment goes to pieces, and there are economic reasons why they are bound to fail, it is not the principle of Socialism that has failed. Equality was not an experiment in Socialism. Socialism has to do with a phase of society, with its

evolution toward a higher civilization. Socialism cannot be tried in little spots and on a small scale, any more than you could successfully color a square yard of the ocean red. Socialism means the collective ownership of the means and forces of production and distribution. How could you change all of this in an experimental way in one small place? It would take the mind of a Muenchausen to even think of such folly. And even the communistic experiments, which *can* be tried in a small locality, are soon engulfed, like the square yard of red color in the ocean, by the surrounding element.

This particular experiment in Washington, the "Equality" colony, is not at all unknown to the Socialists. When the old *Coming Nation* of J. A. Wayland was green in the movement and led a number of its followers to ruin in an ill-starred colony down in Tennessee, called Ruskin, it was also much used by other communists in order to put various utopian dreams into execution. One of these dreams was known as the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and it proposed to colonize a western state and "establish Socialism." So many did it mislead that when the national Socialist organization was formed in Chicago in 1897 it had strength enough to graft upon the organization a colonization department, spite of all the actual Socialists in the convention could do. A year later the thing was thrown off. The Socialists having been overwhelmed in number by Communists and Anarchists, had to start the national party over again. The little, hard-scrabble colony of Equality was all that came of the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth movement and its convention victory, and its subsequent history has fulfilled all the warning predictions the Socialists made for it at the time. It was a failure and an injury to most of those who went into it.

As to that "cause" of the wreck; the "Socialist idea carried to the extreme!"—that the Socialist idea carried to the extreme is the thing bourgeois editors refer to as "free love," is certainly comical. If there was any of that sort of thing in the colony, the best we can say is that the colony was not able to keep capitalistic examples out. Perhaps there were Thaws, and Whites, and imitators of the steel trust and other millionaires there, although we are not very sure. Most of such people, as a rule, have such wide open opportunities outside that they are not apt to want to take to the woods. However, we have before us an answer to a letter to a Socialist official in the state of Washington, in which he says: "So far as the writer knows Equality had few who believed in free love." And he says that the break-up was due to inharmony.

All communist experiments give "reasons" for the inevitable failure, but to the student of social science the cause can always be traced to the one fact: The impossibility of driving people backward to a primitive condition of labor as an escape from capitalism. The remedy for capitalism, the only possible one, lies not in going backward, but forward—not in tearing down the structure evolution has erected, but in completing it—for capitalism has been organizing industry ready for the mass ownership of Socialism.

# The Municipal Program of the Socialists

Realizing that the first victories of the working class must be won in the cities, we accept the gauntlet thrown down to us by the capitalist class, and will fight in the municipality for such principles and methods as will secure for the people who work with hand and brain, security of life, health and means of culture.

Our opponents in the Republican party have finally accepted the principle of collective ownership as applied to the municipality, and this principle is no longer even debatable. For sufficient evidence, we refer to the last message of the governor of Wisconsin to the state legislature.

## MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION.

In principles of management of municipal utilities, however, the following striking difference between the ideals of the capitalists and those of the Social-Democracy, must be recognized:

First—The capitalist administration would operate municipal utilities on the usual principle of commercial transaction, giving rebates to large consumers of water, light, gas, etc.

On the other hand, the representatives of the working class demand that public enterprises be operated:

(a) Either free of cost to the public, and paid for out of the general fund; or,

(b) Services to be furnished at a cost of production; or,

(c) When service is furnished at a profit, the profit shall be applied

in such manner as to benefit the whole people, and not to reduce taxes.

Second—Capitalists maintain the basis for graft in public enterprises,

(a) By creating official positions with high salaries, and insisting that only members of their class are fit for these positions;

(b) By positions involving large responsibility but paying inadequate salaries;

(c) By perpetuating the contract system in public affairs, giving opportunity for rake-off and boodle.

On the other hand, the Social-Democracy demands:

(a) Application of the civil service principle through all ranks of public service, and also the equalization of salaries.

(b) The inauguration of a complete system of public works department in municipal affairs, and abolition of the contract system.

Third—Capitalist administrations aim to control municipal utilities for the capitalist class.

(a) By limiting the financing and bonding power, so as to throw the control in the hands of the bankers and money power;

(b) By giving absolute authority during the term of office to public officials, thus enabling them to sell out the people.

Social-Democracy, on the other hand, demands:

(a) That cities be empowered to issue bonds for productive properties, and that the state shall loan money to cities for these purposes, so as to deliver the people from the

money power and the bankers.

(b) The introduction of the initiative and referendum on all matters pertaining to the public welfare and to the holding of public office.

### TAXATION.

To secure funds for the carrying out of some of these plans, we demand:

First—That all assessments for taxation shall be based upon an accurate statement of the actual value of all properties.

Second—That there be no discrimination in favor of profit-making enterprises and business establishments, in the making of assessments. We do not believe that the homes of working men should be assessed at from two to four times the rate applied to manufacturing establishments, as is now often the case.

Third—We demand that the city be given the right to purchase any piece of property at 10 per cent above its assessed valuation.

We believe that the application of these principles will furnish ample funds for the carrying out of all wholesome measures for the benefit of the people who work, and they will not do any injury to honest industrial or commercial enterprises.

We demand the right of recall from office of any public official by

referendum vote.

We demand that all public servants be given salaries adequate to the position which they are called upon to occupy, and the services which they are expected to perform, so that a working man can afford to accept positions of public service without fear of losing his living.

We demand that organized labor be recognized in all city work, and that the eight-hour day be the rule for city employees.

We demand that the city shall provide work for its unemployed citizens.

We demand that the city shall employ a number of attorneys to conduct just cases for the poor. The fee system for justices of the peace and constables shall be abolished.

We demand that the city shall declare a public holiday on all election days, which shall be compulsory, and that a penalty shall be exacted from all employers of wage labor who shall ignore the order.

We demand principals in public schools shall be required to devote one-half of their time to instruction. The salaries of assistant teachers to be raised first, before those of highly-paid principals. The large hall in each school building shall be available for public meetings of every nature.

That big Socialist victory in Finland shows who is marching all right. By the election of eighty members of parliament the Finland Social-Democracy takes the lead of all national divisions of international Socialism in the number in the national body. And still we have to confess it that of almost all the leading nations of earth the United States of Capitalism is the

only one in which Socialists have not as yet entered the national law-making body. However "not yet—but soon!"

Internationally the workers are "the lower classes." Nationally they are "undesirable citizens." And locally they are "scum of the earth." At least this is the ruling minority's opinion of them.

# An Outworn Garment

By VICTOR L. BERGER

**A**RISTOTLE, the great Greek philosopher, in his famous work on politics, described the constitutions of all the different states known to him. And he said that the state existed longest and prospered most which was readiest to change its constitution and adapt it to changed conditions.

This rule holds good today. It holds good for the United States, and for the state of Wisconsin.

\* \* \*

Our last constitution was adopted in 1848. At that time, Wisconsin was virtually a frontier state. The greatest part of it was covered with one vast primeval forest. The largest city, Milwaukee, had about 30,000 inhabitants. There were only a few towns which had a population of from two to five thousand.

Manufacturing in the United States was then in its childhood, and there was hardly any manufacturing done in a border state like Wisconsin. Corporations in the present sense were not known.

In those days a corporation meant a city or a township. There were no railroads, no telegraphs, no telephones, and of course, no street cars. Public schools were few and far between. A man who could read and "reckon" was looked up to as a wizard in very many country places. Capitalism in its present form and development was not even dreamt of.

The constitution adopted at that time, of course, was made to suit those conditions. It was made to express the needs of a frontier state. It reflected the political, social and economic conditions of the day.

\* \* \*

What a great difference between the Wisconsin of 1907 and the Wisconsin of the Black Hawk war! Today Wisconsin is the seventh state in the Union as far as manufacturing is concerned. The total output of manufactured products was \$360,818,942 in 1900.

In 1848 we had no proletariat in the present sense. Entirely new classes have come into existence since that time. In 1848 any man with a strong pair of arms and moderately good habits could not only make his living comfortably, but also lay the foundation for a prosperous second generation by simply sticking to the land. Today we have not only an economically powerful class of capitalists, but also a very numerous proletariat which to all ends and purposes has become a *fixed class*.

We have tremendous aggregations of capital, big railroad companies, public service corporations, and greedy and grasping corporations of all kinds. Their oppressive power is felt by the last pioneer farmer in the northern part of the state.

In 1848 the only evil influence which the people seemed to fear was the issuing of wild-cat money by the banks. And the people took especial pains to provide against this in their constitution. Today there is no wild-cat money. The bank money is good enough if we can get hold of it. But the banks themselves have become simply the handmaids of the big corporations and trusts.

The economic conditions have changed absolutely.

\* \* \*

Now, if we were influenced only by party motives, we should simply say, "Keep your old constitution. Under the present constitution, our legislature cannot make good laws. All good laws, such as are made to fit changed conditions, are necessarily unconstitutional. And if no laws are made to alleviate the hardships of the people, the people will, of necessity, become revolutionary and Social-Democratic."

So, from a Socialistic party standpoint, the present constitution would be just the very thing we should want.

But this is not the way we reason. We have so much confidence in the righteousness of our cause and the inevitableness of Socialism, that we know that even the strongest constitution cannot stop our progress in the end. On the other hand, a good and timely constitution will do away with a great deal of *avoidable* friction. It will make *sane* and *constructive progress* possible.

\* \* \*

I will just mention a few details of our constitution as they happen to come to my mind.

There is, for instance; the item of compensation for the state school superintendent. That was fixed in 1848 at \$1,200 a year and was sufficient for that time. But the state school superintendent still gets only \$1,200, although the salary of the superintendent of the Milwaukee public schools is \$6,000 annually. In order to get a state school superintendent who is in any way competent for the position, resort is made to a form of graft. The superintendent is given a number of clerkships, which he does *not* fill, but draws the salaries. Now, if this should be done in any other position, it might be considered a criminal offense. Yet that is the only way that the office of state school superintendent can be upheld.

\* \* \*

Another important point is the way the corporations are treated. In our constitution, only the cities and townships are mentioned as corporations. Virtually, the Milwaukee street railway company and the city of Milwaukee are on the same level, as far as the constitution is concerned, although one represents men and the other represents only dollars.

The power of cities is exceedingly limited. Milwaukee, for instance, a city of 350,000 inhabitants, has no home rule whatsoever. Even in small matters, it is absolutely governed by the legislature. Now these legislators may be well-meaning men, but they are men from up state who know little or nothing about the vital needs of a large city like Milwaukee. In 1848, that was all well enough. There

were then no large cities in Wisconsin and the conditions were very much the same in all parts of the state. Today this arrangement is obsolete and dangerous, and is the cause of a great deal of hardship and even of *graft*.

\* \* \*

Another point. The state cannot be a party to any interior improvement under our present constitution. So the great state of Wisconsin has not the power to build a little wagon road two miles long. Its own constitution forbids that.

\* \* \*

Amendments to the constitution are very cumbersome. They have first to pass through two consecutive legislatures, which in itself is very difficult, on account of certain vested interests which like to fish in the muddled waters of our constitution. Then each amendment must be signed by the governor, and afterwards voted upon by the people, before it is adopted.

And, at best, such amendments can be only patch-work. The constitution was made for a state in its childhood. This same state has since come to maturity. The constitution is simply a cloak for our body politic. To compel us to live under our present constitution is very much like compelling a grown person to wear baby clothes.

\* \* \*

But it has been said by some ultra-conservative people who hate everything that looks like a change, that the lawyers and the courts understand this constitution and know how to interpret the laws accordingly. They would first have to learn a new constitution, and this would make trouble.

Now, in the first place, the constitution is not made for the lawyers and for the courts, but ought to be made for the people.

We all know that every law is interpreted in three or four different ways, according to the personal likes and prejudices of the lawyers and the courts. Even the decisions of the Supreme courts have been fearfully inconsistent. A tremendous amount of injustice and barbarism is rampant, on account of our antiquated constitution.

\* \* \*

I repeat that the constitution of Wisconsin was all well enough in 1848 and for its day and its conditions. So were the constitutions of Crete, of Carthage, and of Sparta, in their time. Aristotle mentions them as model constitutions. But would we want to apply them to Wisconsin?

And are we to be tied to an antiquated document for the sole reason that some vested interests worship it as a fetish, because there is no efficient way to curb them under this constitution? Because, when the constitution was framed, their existence was not foreseen?

Are we to live forever under a constitution which makes provision against duelling, but none against trusts?

This is one of the questions that our present legislature has failed to answer.

# Shots at Capitalism

By INDEX

Corey, the steel trust profligate, had four stewards, a maid, a valet and five servants to attend himself and his comic opera bride in their trip across the Atlantic. Thus, again, do we see the beneficent working of the capitalist system, which the reckless Socialists wish to destroy. Mrs. Corey No. 2 was indisposed the first part of the trip and remained in the "green boudoir," attended by her Italian maid. All meals were served in the "white drawing room." The "coming and going up and down the private stairways of the servants during meals" was not noticed by the passengers, the dispatches say. (Of course, you, Mr. Common Worker, with your early trudge to the factory, your cold tin pail dinners, and your dodging of butcher and grocer bills, are too "common" to even dream of taking your wife to Europe on a honeymoon, but if you could, you'd have to go steerage, just one plane removed from the bilgewater, and there'd be no "green boudoirs" or "white drawing rooms" in yours, for you are only a maker, not a receiver, of wealth. Capitalism has sentenced you to hard labor in order that the Coreys and their ilk may live their regal, perfumed lives, and go to their final rest amidst costly flowers and under granite monuments. Instead of disapproving of the Coreys, you should be mighty glad there are such, else who would provide you with work and keep you from starving? You keep **them** going, you say! Tut, tut, that's seditious talk, that only a Socialist would be guilty of. Get over the foolish notion that nature makes one man the same as another and that it is society that dooms a few to gilded indolence and the many to endless drudgery. That's rank, staring Socialism—and a Socialist is an undesirable citizen!

There is a sentence in the reply made by Adj. Gen. Bulkeley Wells, of Colorado, to former Adj. Gen. Sherman Bell's attack on him that is worth a moment's attention. Says Wells:

"When I succeeded him as adjutant

general I found the forces **disorganized**, but that was no fault of his. It was inevitable in the circumstance of the service the men were called upon to perform. **The men were unwilling to re-enlist and the regiment had almost dwindled away.**"

From this it appears that the shocking misuse of the state troops in Colorado in 1904 recoiled on the state administration, and that disorganization resulted. The state militia lost caste with the people and it was hard to get men to enlist. And in the face of this lesson the state has been again prostituting the military in the Moyer-Haywood kidnapping affair. And the Colorado military history also shows how utterly bad is the present system of state military organization, in which only a small part of the people are armed and those who are, must be at the command of any old party politician who happens to become governor. The thing inherently spells despotism and dangerous abuse, and the people should have none of it.

Continued gains for Social-Democracy are reported from England, where the Socialists work hand in hand with the established trade unions. Three Independent Labor Socialist party men were elected to the board of guardians at Shipley, two in Norwich, seven in Rotherham, two in Morpeth, one in Warrington, three in Kettering, three in Swansea, one in Wellington, one in Dublin, and two in Southwark; a net gain of about 10 seats.

With one exception all labor bills were killed ingloriously in the Illinois legislature, leaving some of the old style union men to wonder how the representatives of "their" parties could be so cruel. Same old story. They should send Socialists to make the laws, and Labor has enough votes to do it as soon as it stops giving them to the capitalist politicians.

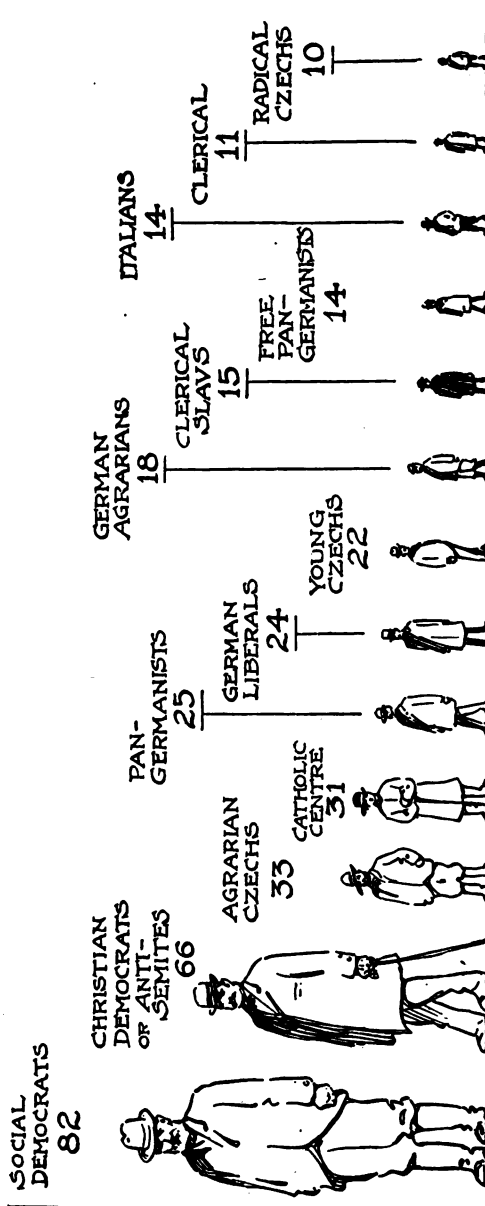
Iceland now has a Social-Democratic paper. More latitude!





# IN THE AUSTRIAN REICHSRATH

[From the Literary Digest]



Since the above was made the full returns show 87 Social-Democrats. In addition to the above represented parties there were 100 members elected by 16 minor parties, each one too small to be shown by a figure as above.

# The New Emancipation

By POLITICUS

Slavery is an ancient institution. It is not, however, the most ancient. Freedom is older.

Researches into primitive history reveal that the eras preceding civilization, so-called, the savage and barbaric, were eras not of slavery, but of freedom. Among families, clans and gentes prevailed a condition of substantial equality. The means of production, the land and the simple tools used in hunting and fishing, were common property. The government was democratic. Substantially equal opportunity to produce the necessities of life and to enjoy them when produced existed among the various members of society. That such conditions existed among our Germanic ancestors, the Germania of Tacitus gives proof. Slaves there were, it is true, and laets or renters; these, however, were but the exceptions that proved the rule. Of the other Aryan peoples—the stream that flowed from the primitive Aryan home beyond the Hindoo-Koosh mountains into India, and the other that flowed westward into Greece and Rome—the same was true. Freedom was the rule; bondage the exception.

Slavery came in time, at the close of the barbaric and the beginning of the civilized era. Its cause was war. Its occasion was expansion among the tribes, necessitating the struggle for territory to sustain the increased number of flocks, herds and human beings. Conquest followed. Captives were made slaves of the victorious tribes.

But war raised up the military leader. With power and authority developed in the field and backed by victorious hosts, he returned to his tribe to establish there like power. Usurpation ensued. The primitive democracy gave way to monarchy. Communal land became the privately owned land of king and chiefs. Women were subjected; communal slaves became royal slaves, and fellow tribesmen followed captive tribesmen into bondage.

Thus arose slavery, the dominant industrial institution of the ancient world. Egypt, Chaldaea, Assyria, Babylonia, Medea, Persia, all rested upon this basis. Greece, with whose annals Freeman begins modern history, was a slave power. Even Athens, in that splendid period, in politics, art, literature, poetry, oratory, philosophy, history so nearly ideal, Athens in the age of Pericles, rested upon a basis of slavery. Plato and Aristotle thought of slavery as an essential feature of human society. Rome, growing from the village by the Tiber into the one world power, was a hideous slave pen. The Roman slave,

often a scholar, poet, philosopher, artist, infinitely the superior of his brutal, corrupt, plutocratic master, had no rights which that master was bound to respect. Life itself hung by a thread which the master might at any moment snap.

#### FORMS OF SLAVERY.

Slavery underwent transformations. In the closing period of Roman rule it began to merge into serfdom. When the waves of barbarian migration overwhelmed the empire, serfdom gradually became the dominant industrial institution. Its basis differed from that of slavery. The slave was the personal property of his master. The serf, instead, was attached irremovably to his master's land. His condition was, in some respects, better than that of the slave. He had a habitation; he could maintain family life. Like the slave, however, his subsistence came in time to depend wholly upon the will of his lord. When, as the modern trust has developed out of competing corporations, the monarchy developed out of competing feudatories, serfdom received a new and harder status. As king ruled lords by absolute power, so, in turn, he permitted his lords to rule their serfs. Serfdom now degenerated into a species of galling and bitter bondage, whose cry yet reaches us from medieval chronicles and from such a spokesman as "The Mad Priest of Kent."

Serfdom in time waned. The hostility of monarchs toward rival and jealous barons, the growth of towns in which burgherism or modern business took its rise, the invention of gunpowder, "which made all men of the same height," and levelled feudal castles like so many mud huts, the printing press, whereby the absurdities and barbarities of feudalism might be exposed by burgherism, and the discovery of America, opening to the Old World a new, with vaster possibilities, made for the decline of the old regime. Serfs no longer needed by their lords and retainers, no longer tolerated by the monarchs as such, flocked to the towns seeking employment. Here arose a condition unknown either under slavery or serfdom: the battle for a chance to earn one's bread. The wages system was born.

The wages system was slavery in a new form. The worker was neither the property of his master, nor yet was he bound to the soil of his lord. He was free to move from place to place and seek employment. No lash revived his drooping energy. No auction block loomed before him. He was free to accumulate property, to own a home, to marry and rear a family, to become himself a business man. All of these things some wage earners did, and the theory obtained that all might do so.

In fact, but few did accumulate or own. Wages were determined by competition. The "Iron Law," as explained by Ricardo and popularized by Lassalle, fixed the worker's share at the subsistence level—"the natural wage," in the parlance of Ricardo; "greatest economist of the nineteenth century."

That European wage service is equivalent to slavery, is virtually conceded by American leaders of opinion; for who has not heard of "the pauper labor of Europe?" That American wage earners are, however, in like state, America has been slow to recognize or con-

cede. National pride accounts for this in part; the feeling that "America is another name for opportunity" is one that dies hard. Further, American wage earners long enjoyed an advantage unknown to their European brothers.

Our civilization skirted the Eastern coast and spread slowly to the westward. But for distances, seemingly illimitable, farther westward stretched the public domain. To this, the worker dissatisfied with his lot was ever legally free to betake himself, establish a home, rear a family, and acquire a competence and independence. For years this outlet was a real relief. Carlyle, ever skeptical of democracy, saw in this the substantial ground of America's comparative social peace and prosperity. Macaulay foresaw that, with its disappearance, would come in our eastern cities the economic pressure so well known in the Old World, and the familiar contest between "the statesman" urging "patience" and "the demagogue" pleading with the servile hordes to burst their bonds. Later, "The Prophet of San Francisco" pointed out the significance of the public lands as a safety valve from economic stress and painted in terrific rhetoric the conditions which must follow the exhaustion of this empire. Further, until settled and "settled right," the only labor question of which the American people could take serious cognizance was the question of black slave labor.

#### GREELEY'S DEFINITION.

But that not all were insensible to the fact that the wages system is a slave system is shown by the following striking letter said to have been sent by Horace Greeley in 1845 in response to an invitation to attend an anti-slavery convention:

"What is Slavery? You will probably answer: 'The legal subjection of one human being to the will of another.' But this definition seems to me inaccurate on both sides—too broad, and at the same time too narrow. It is too broad in that it includes the subjection founded in other necessities, not less stringent than those imposed by statute. We must seek some truer definition.

"I understand by slavery that condition in which one human being exists mainly as a convenience for other human beings—in which the time, the exertions, the faculty of a part of the human family are made to subserve, not their own development, physical, intellectual and moral, but the comfort, advantage, or caprices of others. In short, wherever service is rendered from one human being to another, on a footing of one-sided and not mutual obligation—where the relation between the servant and the served one is not of affection and reciprocal good offices, but of authority, social ascendancy and power over subsistence on the one hand, and of necessity, servility and degradation on the other—there, in my view, is slavery.

"1. Wherever certain human beings devote their time and thoughts mainly to obeying and serving other human beings, and this not because they choose to do so, but because they must, there (I think) is slavery.

"2. Wherever human beings exist in such relations that a part, because of the position they occupy and functions they perform, are

generally considered an inferior class to those who perform other functions or none, there (I think) is slavery.

"3. Wherever the ownership of soil is so engrossed by a small part of the community that the far larger number are compelled to pay whatever the few may see fit to exact for the privilege of occupying and cultivating the earth, there is something very like slavery.

"4. Wherever opportunity to labor is obtained with difficulty and is so deficient that the employing class may virtually prescribe their own terms and pay the laborer only such share as they choose of the product, there is a very strong tendency to slavery.

"5. Wherever it is deemed more reputable to live without labor, so that 'a gentleman' would be rather ashamed of his descent from a blacksmith than from a mere idler or mere pleasure seeker, there is a community not very far from slavery. And

"6. Wherever one human being deems it honorable and right to have other human beings mainly devoted to his or her convenience and comfort, and thus to live, diverting the labor of these persons from all productive or general usefulness to his or her own special use, while he or she is rendering or has rendered no corresponding service to the cause of human well-being, there exists the spirit which originated and still sustains human slavery."

#### THE MASK TORN OFF.

With the destruction of the slave power came the blossoming forth of capitalism in the New World. Factory systems, railway systems, banking systems, mercantile systems, flourished like the green bay tree. A rush, unprecedented, for the public domain followed. Soon came the time of industrial pressure. The Grange movement, the panic of '73, the greenback movement, the labor troubles of '77, the Henry George movement, the Farmers' Alliance, the People's party, the panic of '93, the railway strike of '94 and the never-to-be-forgotten campaign of '96, all followed in their order. And in 1900 the mask was boldly torn off. The pretense that America spelled opportunity for the working man was abandoned. The old notion that, with industry and economy, the worker could climb the golden stair and become a merchant prince or industrial magnate, was thrown to the winds. The bald, brutal fact that the existing system had for the worker no other economic reward than that enjoyed by the slave, a bare subsistence, was acknowledged; and workers were invited to vote for the maintenance of the *status quo* and "prosperity," their reward to be "a full dinner pail."

Then came the opportunity for Socialism. To such a pass had four centuries of New World "progress" come at last. What might be hoped from coming centuries? The time was ripe for American workingmen to seek the mastership of their own destinies, to "protect" themselves, to strike for freedom and opportunity to dwell in houses which they themselves had builded, and sit under vines and fig trees planted by their own hands.

In 1892 the Socialist Labor Party had a national ticket in the field. By 1900 the Social-Democratic party was also at the hustings. In 1901 came the "unity convention," seeking to establish harmony and

union between the come-outers from the first and the members of the second. In 1904 the Socialist party polled nearly a half million votes, and Hanna, then dead, had predicted that the conflict, soon to come, would be between that party and the party which, since the downfall of the slave power in America, had, but for a few brief and inglorious years, been dominant.

For centuries Socialists and their utopian progenitors had theorized. Young men had seen visions and old men had dreamed dreams. Pictures of perfect commonwealths whence all evil had fled and into which all conceivable happiness had entered had been painted, and dreamers and artists had declared them "very good." But now conditions had changed. Socialism had descended from the clouds of fancy. It had emerged from the cloister of the student; it had panoplied itself with the armor and fortified itself with the weapons of a political party. As such, how should it proceed? The question of method had become the paramount, burning issue.

#### FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE.

Engels wrote of the "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science." Some day some one may write of the development of Socialism from theory to practice; from talk to work; from declamation to deeds; from perfervid demands for "Revolution" to actual evolutionary attainments.

Dreaming of Utopias, theorizing as to whether sharing shall be based on the principle of equality or on that of "to each according to his deed," "need," "greed," "breed," or "speed," all may have their place, but alone they fall far short of the goal.

To be a class-conscious, uncompromising, militant, revolutionary, scientific, international, Karl Marx Socialist, is very fine, but it "butters no parsnips."

We are told that economic determinism is a Socialist fundamental; that mankind, like the serpent of Eden, proceeds upon its belly; and that the bread and butter question determines race evolution and dominates all human institutions. If so, should we not take this fact into account in organizing a political party and in choosing the tactics whereby that party is to reorganize human society?

Look at things as they are.

Here are the land and tools for producing the bread and butter. On the one hand are a few people who own them, and pretty much everything else worth owning. On the other hand are the multitude who operate the tools, and, in good times, get a living.

Now appears upon the scene a certain type of Socialist enthusiast. To these workers he says: "Make the land and tools yours, and the product will be yours."

"How simple!" thinks the novice. "How delightfully easy! Such a Gordian knot can be cut any morning before breakfast." And so he invites the workers to get together and take control, and do it quick. To him any step-at-a-time process looks childish—or worse.

But as he proceeds with his propaganda difficulties appear. Not all the workers can see his point, clear as it appears to his mind. Not a majority of them can see it; not even a respectable-sized minority.

And those who do agree with him are so few that to help themselves to the land and tools would seem only less difficult than to repeat the labors of Sisyphus or Hercules.

And that is not all. When the masters of the workers who are willing to help themselves to land and tools hear of the program, they take notice; and the places which knew these "undesirable citizens" shortly know them no more. They are no longer "adapted to their environment"; they are "unfit"; hence they cease to "survive"—in that locality.

Other workers who have heard the new gospel and have thought favorably of it now reconsider. A whole loaf is certainly a good thing but a half loaf is better than no bread. "Economic determinism" proceeds to get in its work, and "revolutionary Socialists" fail to multiply like bacteria or Australian rabbits.

Disturbed a little, but not discouraged, our propagandist may now fall back upon the theory of the "economic break-down." Progress is toward centralization. From the individual capitalist producer we proceed to the partnership; thence to the company, the corporation, the syndicate, and the local trust. This develops into the national, and, in time, into the international trust, controlling one line of industry; and, from this, we may expect to see developed the universal trust controlling all lines. This great aggregation will be unable to sell its goods, to invest its profits or to employ the workers, hence the day of its perfection must be the day of its doom. It will of necessity break down. Then, nobody else knowing what to do, the "scientific Socialist" will tell the proletariat to help themselves to the wreckage; which, the world over, they will immediately do, and live happy ever after.

This view, again, excludes "immediate demands," half-loaf proposals, and all step-at-a-time, "compromise" measures. The fruit cannot possibly be plucked until it is ripe; we cannot get anything until we get everything; furthermore, we don't want to, for if the proletariat once get their stomachs full under capitalism they will want nothing else. So, instead of seeking to improve their condition, or help them improve it, we must preach the gospel of *laissez faire* as vigorously as did, ever Nassau, William Senior, or any other apostle of the Manchester school. We must fight every "immediate demand" proposition made by Socialists, gloat over every blow dealt to labor, and wait for the break-down, hoping that when that happy day arrives, the workers will be sufficiently empty and "revolutionary" to take over the whole industrial plant without further parley.

But, after a decade or two of waiting, even this program begins to pall. The centralizing of industry goes on all right, but the break-down fails to arrive on schedule time. Waiting for it seems like waiting with the Millerites for "the end of the world." The capitalistic system manifests a toughness favorably comparable with that of boarding-house "spring chicken," or steak; in ways wholly unexpected it adapts itself to new conditions, and gives promise of possessing more lives than the proverbial cat.

And during all these years and decades the workers have had to have three meals a day, a roof over their heads, and the hickory shirts, overalls and stogies necessary to protect them from the elements. And



all these things have had to be paid for, in the coin of the realm, day by day, as the workers have gone along. To those of them who have taken the time to listen to its exposition from the street corner soap box, and who chance, also, to be familiar with Sunday school lore, this "economic breakdown" and utopia-all-at-once theory strongly suggests the doctrine of the second coming, when all the kinks are to be suddenly unraveled from mundane things, and peace and plenty are henceforth to reign. Both doctrines may sound well, but they pay no bills; and, so far as the worker can see, both are exactly as valuable to him as any other fairy story.

Sooner or later our erstwhile ardent propagandist either surrenders to the seemingly inevitable, and "quits," or he begins to reconsider the question of "tactics." If he accepts the latter alternative, he has at last reached the stage where practical suggestions offered him may not prove merely good breath blown away. He may at last be prepared to consider the significance of the various risings recorded in history, culminating in the mighty effort of Spartacus, and ending in an Appian way bordered for miles on either side with crosses, each bearing a captive gladiator. And in looking for historic "breakdowns" of civilization, he may be led to ponder the fact that, after the apparent breakdown of the Roman republic under Julius Caesar, an empire succeeded it which ran on for five hundred years and, when it did fall, fell not at, nor into, the hands of outraged Roman proletarians or slaves, but before and into the possession of vigorous, unspoiled barbarians from beyond the Rhine-Danube frontier.

#### EVOLUTION OF THE SOCIALIST.

The Socialist not infrequently passes through two stages in his evolution. First, he becomes convinced that the capitalistic system is wholly bad and must be abolished, root and branch. There must be "no compromise" with it. The tables must be swept clean, and the new order created out of hand. Further, the work can, and must, be done all at once. To suggest anything less than the immediate and absolute reconstruction of the entire social order is nothing less than treason to the working class.

Later, through repeated hard knocks and extended experience with human beings, including Socialists and "proletarians," as they are, our Socialist comes to see that the present system is by no means wholly bad; that, instead, it represents the best that race evolution has been able to produce; that, in a multitude of features, it is good and constantly growing better; that to abolish it wholly would be like throwing the baby out with the bath, or killing the chicken in the egg; that only some features—notably private ownership of the social means of production and the operation of these not for the public good but for individual, private profit—are bad, and that to attack these features and the evil consequences which flow from them in no sense necessitates condemning the whole social fabric, or the whole population which fails to agree with one's own crude notions.

Further, the Socialist learns that, so far from our being able to construct society all at once, our highest, broadest and deepest knowledge, as represented by the evolution philosophy, proves that all funda-

mental social changes take place slowly; that the evolution of society resembles not the upheaval of the volcano, but the slow deposit of geological strata, or, better, the growth of a tree or animal body; and that sudden changes are superficial changes—eddies only on the surface of the great spring tides of human history.

Experience, further, supplementing history, teaches him little by little that the conquest of the capitalistic system by the working class must be like the conquest of Britain by the Saxons; bit by bit. There must be shortened hours here, increased pay there, improved conditions yonder; progressive taking over of industry, enlarged suffrage, the raising of the age limit for the child worker, growing toleration in debate, greater open-mindedness on the part of the public toward labor's cause, progressive insistence by the average man on a fair show for the workers, with a chance on their part to live human lives, and an increasing disposition on the part of the workers themselves to recognize that these things are theirs by right and must be won largely by their own patient, persistent, dogged effort.

To the new convert, pawing and snorting like the biblical war-horse, champing the bit and wild to rush at once into battle with the minions of capitalism, that he may speedily win the Socialist heaven, all this, of course, is gall and wormwood. Experience, however, that hard, prosaic teacher of us all, gradually hammers it into him. This done, as said, he is at last ready to listen to reason, and consider ways and means of crossing the desert which stretches between the Egypt of the present system and the Promised Land of the new social order.

One of the first lessons, now, for the rational Socialist to learn is that of trades unionism. He must see that fraternity on a national or an international scale is impracticable until it can be practiced on a small scale; that if one love not the brother whom he has seen every day, much less can he love the worker a thousand miles away, engaged in a different and unfamiliar calling and whom, thus far, he has not seen at all; that before the working class can win a world they must try, intelligently, patiently, resolutely, co-operatively, and sometimes, at least, successfully, to win a little more of the products of their labor; that before they can shine in the Parliament of Man, or even in the Congress of the United States, they must learn to make motions in the meetings of their unions, observe the elementary principles of parliamentary procedure, and abide by the decisions of the majority, duly registered; and that, before they can control the destinies of the world, they must learn the lessons of self-control and group control which trades unionism inevitably and effectively teaches.

Again, and here we reach the crucial point, he must learn the lesson of political action. How much easier and more exhilarating it is to damn the universe from the street corner, while the gleeful proletariat "throw up their sweaty nightcaps" and howl, than to do the dull, dry, dreary drudgery of the committee room! How much more heroic it is to demand the unconditional surrender of capitalism, and to propose to move immediately upon its works, than to train a body of workingmen to turn out in an off year and vote the Socialist ticket when doing so will mean nothing more than standing up to be counted! How much

more glorious to charge uproariously and redhanded up a mythical and metaphorical San Juan Hill, breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the exploiters of labor, than to master the intricacies of government, acquire a working knowledge of the constitution of the United States, the state in which one lives, the charter of his city, and the methods and practices whereby the will of a majority is written upon the statutes of a commonwealth and enforced in actual daily practice!

#### NO OTHER WAY IN AMERICA.

But there is no other way—certainly not in America. Shouting formulas and rending garments may do elsewhere, but America is hopelessly, irretrievably Anglo-Saxon; and the Anglo-Saxon stubbornly refuses to know any other way of getting ahead socially than the slow, prosaic way of constitutional, political action.

Apparent exceptions there may be, it is true; but exceptions they are only in appearance. Cromwell worked miracles in defiance of the English constitution. He anticipated by two centuries the course of British progress. He did things which the England of today has not yet dared to do, and he made the name of the little British kingdom glorious. But he proved once again the proposition that "one can do almost anything with bayonets except sit on them." Hardly was he cold in his grave until the reaction was on in full tide. Englishmen who, had they obtained them in the regular way, would have gloried in the changed conditions, were heavy at heart and sore of conscience over the fact that, from the constitutional standpoint, they had done evil that good might come. And in less time than it takes to tell it the contemptible refugee, Charles II., was on his way to Whitehall, welcomed by the multitude as their deliverer and savior; the body of the great captain was dug up and hanged in chains at Tyburn, and all the while the Invincible Ironsides, most marvelous of all armies since time began, stood paralyzed and mute, watching their mighty work undone, the wheels of progress reversed, and the hands turned back on the clock of time, for the reason, not that the commonwealth and protectorate had not been vastly better and nobler than the things both before and after, but because they had been irregular, and had defied the Anglo-Saxon sense of orderly constitutional progress.

But granting political action, consider its possibilities. In some city, where conditions are favorable, the Socialist party has developed an effective organization. It goes into politics, not as a matter of form, but seriously. It elects, let us say, a member to the city school board; another to the city council. What now shall these members do? Obviously, they are hopelessly in the minority. Shall they devote their time to obstruction and to mere wholesale condemnation? Not if they are practical Socialists. The school board member seeks to inform himself as thoroughly as possible regarding the condition and needs of the city schools. He consults with teachers, patrons, and pupils. He studies educational reports from other cities, home and foreign. He reads his party program. He ascertains what the European comrades are doing with their schools. Then, without ranting or declamation, he enters the meeting of the local school board like a "safe and sane"

citizen; in company with his fellow members he goes over the questions that arise; he shows himself from the start to be earnestly, enthusiastically and rationally in favor of the best equipped schools that can be had for the money available. He insists that the teachers shall be the best that can be obtained. He is glad to see an occasional Socialist among the teachers, but he does not insist that subscription to the Communist Manifesto or the Erfurt Program is absolutely essential to the teaching of chemistry or mathematics. He does insist that in the teaching of history, economics and politics reasonable regard shall be paid to the truth, and that, at its proper place, the Socialist side shall be fairly presented. He demands this not as a partisan, but as a citizen and as one concerned in truthful, scientific teaching.

Moreover, the Socialist member is solicitous of the material side of the schools. He insists that the sanitation shall be the best; that the light shall be good, the rooms properly ventilated and heated, the buildings clean and in repair. He demands modern, high-grade appliances. He favors gymnastics, manual training, cooking, sewing, and all other lines of instruction that tend to prepare the pupil for the actual work of life. He ascertains what percentage of the pupils in his ward are in school, and compares this percentage with that of other wards in his city and in other cities. If the percentage is low, he inquires the reason, which probably brings him promptly to the question of child labor. Opportunity is here afforded to drive home an important lesson. He proves himself a friend of teachers and pupils. He talks school, in the school and out. He discusses the problems of the city schools in the city papers, not in a rabid, inflammatory way, but in a rational, winning, thought-compelling way. He intensifies the interest of the city in its schools, and gradually raises the level of these fundamental institutions.

#### BEGINNING AT THE BOTTOM.

And "what good," does our revolutionary inquire, "is there in all of this? What has all this to do with the social revolution?" Much, every way. Building the co-operative commonwealth is like building a coral island. We must begin at the bottom; we must work continuously, unceasingly. Here a little, there a little, line upon line, precept upon precept, we must proceed through the months and years till the work is done. That the co-operative commonwealth may be what it should be, we must have sound minds in sound bodies, we must have a healthy, well-rounded, balanced people. The schools are among the greatest constructive forces in creating this coming population.

Again, work of this character, rational, intelligent, practical, makes friends for the movement. It convinces. Fair-minded people are likely to comment: "I do not know much about Socialism, and I cannot say that I care very much, but if the Socialist member of our school board is a sample of the party, I think we have been unduly scared. For my part, the more of such Socialists that are elected to office, at least to places on the school board, the better the results will be."

Then take our member of the city council. Here the field is vast. He is only one in a crowd. He cannot carry measures all by himself. He certainly cannot hope to inaugurate the co-operative commonwealth. What can he do?

Like the school board member, he can be rational and constructive. He can prove that Socialists are not necessarily madmen, or even doctrinaires. Like him, he can promptly and diligently begin the study of the field in which he is to operate. A leaky sewer is spreading contagion. He calls attention to this nuisance, and insists upon proper repairs. Handsome shade trees along the avenue are being butchered by the local light company to make room for wires. He protests against such vandalism. Employees of the street railway company are being shamelessly overworked and underpaid; poor service at high rates is being rendered the public; and the corporation is demanding, "What are you going to do about it?" The Socialist member secures data as to municipally owned and operated street railway systems, home and foreign, and insists upon their being given publicity. Perhaps the street railway company's charter is soon to expire. The Socialist member insists that this charter shall not be renewed, but that the city shall take over the existing system or provide a new one. He proves from his figures the substantial gain from every point of view to be expected from such a policy. He shows that where municipal ownership has been tested it means increased pay, shortened hours and better treatment and conditions for the employees; it means improved service and lower rates for the public; and it means one less corporation to control and debauch municipal affairs.

And so, all along the line, our Socialist members are showing themselves to be not destroyers, but builders, not ignorant fanatics, but the best informed and most highly efficient officers in the city. All this makes for improved conditions at the time; it sets an example, and it makes friends for the party. Where originally it seemed impossible to elect one Socialist, it now becomes easy to elect many, and to re-elect them when their terms of service have expired.

#### A LESSON FROM TAMMANY.

Let us for a moment consider this subject from the standpoint of "practical politics." The preceding, of course, represents politics of a most practical type. This, however, does not end the story.

Reference has been made to "economic determinism." Why has Tammany a grip upon New York City that is rarely loosened, and never permanently broken? Is it because New Yorkers love corruption, or because the working class of that metropolis are totally depraved? Is it because a monarchy has been established there which all the wealth of the capitalists and all the patriotism of the laborers cannot overthrow?

Rest assured that if any institution stands for long, there is good in it. Unless all reports are false, there is good even in Tammany Hall. Tammany professes to "stand by its friends," and its profession seems to be borne out in practice. True, not all New Yorkers are its friends; nevertheless it has enough generally to carry the municipal elections. Grant that some of these friends are law-defying capitalists enjoying immunity through Tammany Hall. Are there enough of these to carry an election? Grant that under Tammany rule, not to mention other types of rule, the city hall is in partnership with gamblers, dive-keepers, and saloonists. Are there enough of these to carry an election?

Tammany has the reputation of standing by such members of the working class as are enrolled in its legions. If a Tammany worker wants work, he sees his local representative of the machine, and the work is provided. If he is sick he is visited. If he is in hard luck he is helped. If he wants promotion he knows where to apply for it. Tammany Hall becomes for him his guardian angel; his practical, everyday, working deity. Its success is his success; its failure is his calamity.

If such practical helpfulness, such substantial goodness, can abide in a notoriously corrupt, thieving political organization, standing not for a new social order but for the perpetuation of the present one, and if such qualities can make this organization practically invincible, what are not the possibilities of a Socialist municipal organization?

Consider them. To carry a city election requires votes. The workmen have votes—votes galore; votes to repletion. In the city they are almost the only class whose votes do mount into large figures.

The Socialist party is *the* party of the working class. It is such not for demagogical purposes, not simply to carry elections, not simply to hold office, not certainly that it may inaugurate a reign of graft; but from principle, as a matter of philosophy. From the beginning the Socialist party has been specifically and avowedly the wage earners' party. Whomever else might be interested and willing to help, the party has been glad to receive; but, in the cities especially, its appeal has been made directly to the wage earning class.

Now what can the Socialist party offer the wage earner in a modern city? How does its offer compare with that of Tammany Hall?

Tammany offers jobs; the Socialist party offers, ultimately, emancipation from job mongers. But for practical politics, "ultimately" is too far off. The wage earner believes emphatically in economic determinism, although he has never heard of it. He wants something now. He has a family to care for. He has rent and grocer's bills and fuel bills and doctor's bills to pay; he must have money. He does not ask this money as a gift; he does not ask to receive it as graft; he asks for the opportunity to earn it by honest toil. What can the Socialist party say to him?

The Socialists can point to the street railway system above referred to. They can say; "Elect the Socialist party to power, and as soon as the franchise expires we will establish municipal street railways. This done, we will raise the pay, shorten the day, and improve the conditions of the employes on the street railway line."

"What evidence," will be asked, "have we that this is possible?" The Socialists point to the records of municipal street railway lines elsewhere. The facts, easily available, are indisputable. The same line of argument is presented with reference to lighting plants, waterworks, telephone systems, and public utilities in general.

Promises, however, without performances prove boomerangs. Performance must keep full pace with promise. And time must elapse before the conditions of the workers in the city, as a class, can be materially improved by the Socialist administration. Improvements, however, can be made. Furthermore, there is much in spirit and disposi-

tion. The Socialist administration can prove itself the workingman's friend. If a strike occurs, it can promptly demonstrate the difference between strikes under capitalist administration and strikes under Socialist administration. To do this it is not necessary to destroy industry. It is only necessary to investigate conditions and insist that so far as the power of the municipality lies, capitalists shall treat their wage earners with reasonable fairness and consideration. All this means much. The wage earners are not demanding Utopia now; they are only demanding fair play; they are demanding opportunity to live like human beings. No administration can compete with the Socialist administration in its power to help them do this. For the Socialist administration understands the labor question as no capitalist administration can understand it. Its sympathies are on the side of the working class rather than on the side of the capitalist class.

I know the objection that will be raised. The powers of the municipality are limited. It operates under a charter. This charter is obtained from the state. The state is under capitalist control; and capitalism, through the state, and even possibly the nation, will use its power to hamper and harass and hedge about Socialist municipal administration, defeating its ends, embarrassing its operations, paralyzing its arms, and rendering it impotent and contemptible. If all this is true, the case is hopeless. If Socialism cannot succeed along the lines indicated it can never succeed at all. It must make a record in the municipality, or surrender and disband.

It need do neither. Socialism is not without experience. Numerous foreign municipalities have been and are still under Socialist control. Foreign comrades are working along the lines indicated. They are scoring. They are making a record; and critics, studying this record, are forced to admit its significance.

As stated, to manifest a rational and helpful spirit means much. The working class will not demand everything of a Socialist administration. They will demand reasonable accomplishments, and will consider limitations and difficulties. For proof, look at two American cities under radical administrations not Socialist: Toledo and Cleveland. Golden Rule Jones convinced the common people that he was their friend; he became invincible, and died in office.

Tom Johnson holds Cleveland in a grip as sure as was that of Croker in New York.

Neither Jones nor Johnson inaugurated the millenium; neither proposed to. Each attacked predatory wealth; each was hated by the corporations; but each held his place by his grasp on the hearts and the confidence of the common people. If Jones and Johnson could do this, a Socialist administration can do the same.

Reasonable success in the city will mean success outside the city. The reputation of the city administration will spread over the state. It will make friends for the Socialist movement. It will convince workingmen and others sympathetic with the workers' side, or disgusted with corporation rule, that the Socialists are not wreckers but builders. Campaigners will have in the successful city administration a convincing object lesson. Nothing talks like deeds. The result will be that

Socialists will be sent to the two branches of the legislature to proceed on lines similar to those indicated for the city. In time they will carry the state. When they do this they will have virtually conquered a kingdom.

#### WHAT CAN THE STATES DO?

Strange, how little the average American, and especially the average "revolutionary Socialist," sees in the American state.

In point of area West Virginia is nearly as large as Greece. Oklahoma is larger than Portugal or Bulgaria, and almost as large as the republic of Iceland. Either Pennsylvania or New York is almost as large as Roumania. Nevada almost equals Italy in size. California is considerably greater than Norway. Kansas is nearly half as large as Spain. And Texas is greater than Austro-Hungary, far greater than France or Germany, and more than twice as large as the British Isles.

Note next the populations of some American states as compared with those of some European states.

The population of New York state exceeds that of Belgium, and almost equals that of Norway and Sweden combined; the population of Pennsylvania is in advance of that of the Netherlands, of Portugal, Sweden or Roumania, and nearly equals that of Belgium; Illinois outranks Scotland or Ireland, while Ohio falls but little behind. The population of either Missouri or Texas nearly equals that of Bulgaria or Switzerland, while the population of Wisconsin is but little less than that of Servia, Finland, Denmark, Norway, or that country of deathless history, Greece.

Under the American constitution, the state is an independent commonwealth. In respect to its own individual affairs it is as independent of other powers as is France, or Germany, or Austria. If it minds its own business, neither other states nor the nation itself has any more right to interfere with its operations than has Mexico, or Canada, or Japan.

True, the nation may usurp the state's powers; it may infringe upon the state's rights and prerogatives. Similarly, a European nation may infringe upon the rights and prerogatives of another nation; or a coalition of European nations, as in 1793, may be formed to crush one nation, as the allies united to crush revolutionary France. Such courses, however, are exceptional. To assume in advance their inevitability is to surrender in advance, to prove our own impotence, incompetence and unworthiness of the confidence and suffrages of the working class. It is the duty, instead, of the Socialist party to assume its right, on carrying a state election, to use all the powers guaranteed to the state administration by the state constitution and not delegated to the national government.

These powers, I repeat, are vast. In respect of its own private concerns the state is an independent sovereignty. It possesses powers legislative, executive, and judicial, as ample and complete as the powers of the national government or of the British empire. By faithfully and intelligently exercising these powers, a Socialist state administration may make a record that will live in history by the side of that of Pericles in Athens or of Savonarola in Florence.



What are some of the things that a Socialist state administration could do if in full control of the state government?

First, what does a Socialist state administration want to do? What does its platform and its program indicate?

The object of the Socialist party, according to its express official declarations, is to transfer from private ownership and administration to public ownership and administration the socially necessary means of production. What are these? Land and such capital as has attained a degree of economic development and concentration that makes it socially necessary and desirable. Now what field has the state with respect to these? Consider the question of land. In the states occupying the western quarter of the Union, the nation, it is true, holds considerable areas of land. In the three quarters of the Union lying east of this area, the nation owns but little land. Practically all the remaining land is subject to the jurisdiction of the states. This includes not simply agricultural lands, but mineral lands—lands underlaid with coal, zinc, lead, iron, copper, salt, gas, oil. Like the nation, the state enjoys the right of eminent domain. Any of this land which it may desire to make public it can take over. True, this may involve condemnation and purchase; but so let it be.

And now what? Do we suggest that the Socialist state administration shall immediately take over all of the lands in the state and make them public property? Not so fast.

A Socialist fundamental is democratic government. This it would realize through the initiative and referendum, the recall, proportional representation, and every means which increases the power of the people over their government. One of the first acts of a Socialist state administration should be the provision of a comprehensive, practical, effective initiative and referendum law. With this in existence and operation, it should be possible for the state administration to keep in close touch with the people; to avoid offending them, outrunning them, or failing to measure up to their desires and aspirations.

Now, to proceed. Assume that there are coal lands in the state. The Socialist administration should promptly proceed to establish a state coal mine. Whether the electorate favor this proposal can be readily tested by a referendum. If not, the administration must wait, and Socialists must agitate and educate still further. If, however, the people are willing, the state mine should be established. Labor should be employed by the state, coal should be mined by the state, and sold by the state, to the people of the state.

And at what price? At such a price as will gradually extinguish the cost of the mine and plant, meet all the expenses of mining, pay the operatives at least union rate of wages, and put the coal on the market.

But, says the objector, there is your crux. How can you put this coal on the market without availing yourself of the railways? The railways will be against you. They will refuse to haul your coal, or they will charge you such rates that you cannot sell in the same market with corporations.

This is the old style line of argument of the constitutional objector, the Socialist to whom all things are impossible. He is the one man in all the world who insists that the part is greater than the whole. He is sure that a Socialist administration, whether municipal or state, must be absolutely impotent; and yet he expects the working class, apparently in the twinkling of an eye to capture the whole United States and transform it into a co-operative commonwealth!

But this objection leads naturally to our next constructive step. Highways are essential to the public well-being. Local highways, village streets and footpaths, city avenues and boulevards, national thoroughfares, all are indispensable. A Socialist state administration must see that the state highways are open and in working condition.

What is the Socialist position as to highways? Are they to be left in private hands? Not if Socialist platforms and programs are worth the paper upon which they are written. The state administration must proceed promptly to provide the people of the state with state-owned and state-operated railways.

But here arises the objector who thinks that under the co-operative commonwealth everything in the United States is to run from Washington. He demands to know what power the state Socialist administration will have over highways in the state.

The reply is, there is no more reason to assume that when Socialists have their way everything will be run from Washington than to assume that everything will be run from London or from the New Jerusalem. Whatever form of administration may prevail Americans, whether capitalists or Socialists, insist that national affairs shall be nationally controlled, that state affairs shall be subject to state control, that municipal affairs shall be municipally controlled, and that local affairs shall be locally controlled.

In America there are unquestionably highways which, by their nature are national; these are the great trunk lines, the transcontinental thoroughfares. Whole systems of lines, interstate in character, also fall under the national system. This fact, however, does not bar state highways. Do not imagine the era of railroad building is ended; it is but begun. The steam railway is far from a finality. Already the electric railway, in states like Ohio and Indiana, is crowding it hard. The electric railway has a magnificent future. Its lines and systems are now multiplying. They are proving their popularity. They are increasing transportation facilities and reducing rates. They are binding country to city. They are hastening the day when farmers and farmers' wives will not through isolation lose their minds. But must these improved transportation facilities first be created by private capital to domineer over the people and necessitate the repetition of the struggle already beginning between the government and the steam railways?

The assumption is absurd. The people should promptly build these lines for themselves, own them, and operate them, as they build and operate schools, water, lighting, and street railway plants, and other public utilities.

One of the early duties of the Socialist state administration should be to consider in all its aspects the question of establishing a state sys-

tem of electric railway lines. A bill inaugurating this policy should be drafted and referred to the people for their acceptance or rejection. If the vote is affirmative, the state should proceed at once to construct the system.

But what bearing has this upon the coal question? It is this. Interference on the part of private railway lines with the marketing of its own coal by the state would thus be ended. Furthermore, the price of coal to the consumer could be reduced by the saving in what otherwise would have gone as profit on account of private transportation charges.

This advantage, of course, is the least which would attend the establishment by the state of a system of transportation within its borders. The increased facility for intercommunication, the improved service, the lower charges for fares, and furthermore, the enormous boon to labor as opportunity for employment at such wages as the state would pay for such short hours as the state would exact, and under such conditions as the state would provide, would render this step a memorable advance in the history of Socialist administration in the world.

Still we have but started. There are in the state iron mines, salt mines, lead and zinc mines, oil wells, gas deposits, and other natural resources. Under capitalistic administration these are left for private exploitation. Even the Roosevelt administration is beginning to revolt at a policy so insane. Should the Socialist administration of the state do less?

Instead, it should boldly proceed on the lines of its program. One by one, or group by group, as fast as its capacity and resources and the affirmative votes of the people will permit, it should resolutely and unhesitatingly take these up, and establish them on a Socialistic basis.

But for the fact that he has repeatedly fought over every inch of this ground with impossibilists, "DeLeonites," and revolutionaries, the writer would assume that all of this would go without saying. As a matter of fact, he knows that every step will be contested by capitalists and bourbons on the one side, and on the other by the type of Socialists to which he has referred. The constructive Socialist must fight them both and do his work besides.

#### HOW ABOUT AGRICULTURE?

Again, there is the problem of socializing agriculture. Here Socialists may hesitate. At the same time the problem is not beyond solution.

Each state now has a state agricultural college and an experiment station. These represent Socialist principles as applied to agriculture. Here a beginning may well be made. Agriculture, both scientific and practical, may here be demonstrated. The experimental field may gradually be enlarged to whatever limit judgment and the public intelligence will sanction.

Here the question promptly arises, what will be done with these agricultural products? Shall they be sold upon the competitive market? If so, a clash will at once be precipitated between the state administration and the farming class.

The answer is twofold. The clash must always come sooner or later between the publicly owned and administrated industry and privately owned and administrated industry. However, the difficulty in the case in hand can long be avoided by disposing of the products, not by throwing them upon the competitive market, but by distributing them among the state institutions. The consumptive power of these institutions in any considerable state is great. One state now operates a coal mine, and disposes of its coal in this way. A socialistically administered state could, in the same way, dispose of a very large volume of agricultural products without incurring serious difficulty.

But we have not yet finished with the city. In fact, when the Socialists have obtained control of the political machinery of the state, the time for real Socialist municipal administration has but begun. The reason is this. Almost every city in America now, as intimated, is hampered by the limitations of its charter. With rare exceptions, American cities do not enjoy home rule. They should. One of the first duties of a Socialist state administration should be to grant to every municipality within the borders of the state the complete and unquestioned right and power to manage all its own affairs. This is but in line with the principles of democratic government and of the American constitution. The principle, as earlier stated, is this: national control of national affairs, state control of state affairs, municipal control of municipal affairs, local control of local affairs, and individual control of individual affairs. This is a proper division of labor; a proper distribution of power and responsibility; the principle that makes for efficient administration, and that conforms with theoretical justice. It is nothing more nor less than the principle of home rule, of self-government. In establishing state autonomy for the control of the party, the Socialist party recognizes this principle.

That American cities do not enjoy home rule is an anomaly. The explanation is in the fact that when towns grew up in the midst of the feudal system they at first had no rights. They were despised by the surrounding lords. Their only hope lay in the king, partly because they could serve him in supplying his wants, partly because they could aid him as makeweight against the rebellious lords. They applied to him for privileges and immunities. These he sold to them, the contract of sale being called a "charter." Many of these may be found in Stubbs's Select Charters, illustrating English constitutional history. Thus the principle became established whereby the city looked to the central government for the right to live, move, and have its being; and only such privileges and immunities as came to it from the central government could it enjoy in peace. This medieval custom has continued to the present time an absurd and mischievous anachronism. The Socialist platform declares against it, and for municipal home rule. The Socialist state administration should promptly establish complete municipal self-government within the borders of the state.

This done, the field for municipal Socialist administration immensely broadens. Everything now which the city ought to do for itself it can promptly begin to do. As state referendums will suffice to keep the state administration and the electors in touch, and avoid clashes and political upheavals, so municipal referendums will serve the same purpose in the

city. Does the city want a library? Let the citizens say so by a referendum, and let the city administration proceed to provide this utility. Is the city tired of the telephone monopoly? In the same way let it put in a municipal telephone, improving the service and cutting the rates to a fraction of those now paid. Does the city want a department store run on a Socialistic basis? Let the citizens say so by a referendum, and let the administration provide the store. Similarly with municipal shops, bake-houses, factories, mines, and the rest of the things recognized by the Socialist platform and the Socialist municipal program. Now, many of these things are impossible. With municipal home rule, and the protection and backing of a Socialist state administration, all, and more, will become possible.

#### WHO WILL PAY THE BILLS?

But now comes the burning question of the budget. Where is the money to come from? As one astute capitalistic editor inquired, "Who is to pay the bills under Socialism?" In our forecast we have not reached complete Socialism. Nevertheless the question is appropriate and essential. Take first the city without home rule and without the state administration behind it. The Socialist city administration still has all the powers of taxation enjoyed by the present city administration. These, of course, are material. From the socialistic standpoint, however, they are quite inadequate. The large things which a Socialist municipal administration can do, and must do, cannot be done until its powers of taxation are materially enlarged. We must be content with the day of comparatively small things in the city until we get control of the state.

But assume that we have obtained as complete control of a state as the Populists obtained in Kansas, when legislative, executive and judicial powers all were in their hands. How shall the state pay **its** bills?

As of the city, so of the state; the Socialist state administration has all the powers which the capitalist state administration enjoys, and these are far from meager. But the Socialist state administration is by no means content with existing powers of taxation. The Socialist party stands for taxation of incomes, inheritances, franchises and land values. Now its time has come.

The impossibilist objection is perfectly understood. Here, as always and everywhere, it thrusts itself into the foreground. We cannot do anything till we can do everything. There are lions innumerable in the way. The Socialist state administration is impotent; the capitalist national administration is omnipotent. The capitalists in power at Washington and in all the great trust offices will environ and beleaguer this one poor Socialist state and overwhelm it, and sink it too deep for resurrection. The thought of using the power of taxation is treason, and so forth and so on to the end of the chapter.

But since, from the impossibilist standpoint, all things are impossible that are worth while, the Socialist who means business will pass the impossibilist by and proceed with his work. As earlier indicated, the powers of **the state now** in purely state affairs are complete, unlimited, and absolute. Only by abdication or shirking on the part of the state, or by usurpation on the part of powers capitalistic and political outside of the state, or by both, can the state Socialist administration be prevented from proceeding with the Socialist program. Usurpation may, indeed, be tried, and may temporarily succeed: as a permanent policy, however, it cannot succeed. The American people have only to understand it, and they will repudiate it and crush it. Witness, for example, the Hughes demand, reluctantly conceded by the New York state legislature for a recount of the contested mayoralty vote. The American people, whether Socialist or non-socialist, are not hopelessly corrupt. Nor will they stand permanently for usurpation and unconstitutional rule by any party or political aggregation. The Populists in Kansas, it is generally understood, had their first governor counted out. Their subsequent governors were not counted out. They engaged in a physical contest with the Republicans to insure control of their first legislature; but afterwards they enjoyed undisputed control of both branches of that body,

the executive office, and the state supreme court. The Republicans themselves had only to be convinced that the Populists were within their rights, and the mass of them were prepared to insist that until voted out they should enjoy those rights. A sane, practical, law-abiding Socialist administration will enjoy equal respect and equal opportunities to exercise its constitutional powers.

And now for taxation. The Socialist state administration must sedulously guard against encroaching upon national territory. Where interstate questions are involved it must be on its guard and keep well within the limit. These precautions taken, it may, and should, proceed boldly on its way. Here are state monopolies, which the state may not yet be ready to socialize. Let it tax them. The state constitution forbids? Perhaps not; examine it. We have a Socialist state supreme court to interpret it. Perhaps it does. What is your referendum for but to change your state constitution? Now tax your monopolies. You have rich men in your state. The Socialists have long declared for a progressive income tax. Do they mean what they say? If so, let them tax these incomes, and let them tax them hard. The people will not stand for it? Are the people standing for what Roosevelt is doing now, little as that may be? Are they standing for what Hughes is doing, for what Hadley is doing, for what Folk is doing, for what Tom Johnson is doing? Did they stand by Pingree? But remember, you have the referendum. The referendum enables you to know in advance whether the people will back you up. If they will not, educate them a while longer. If they will, go ahead.

The Socialist platform stands for taxation of inheritances. You have them in your state. Go after them. And franchises? Who is not aware of their existence? Even half-way and quarter-way Socialists will concede that these should be taxed. Tax them.

And there are the land values. A De Leonite organizer expressed profound astonishment at discovering in the Socialist national platform a proposal to tax land values. Did he ever hear of Henry George? Did he ever hear of Tom Johnson's report on taxation in the District of Columbia? Of the Schilling-Altgeld report on taxation in Illinois? Who so blind as not to see the gold mine existing in land values, especially in the land values of cities? For fifteen years and more English Socialists have persistently, at every opportunity, and in every way, demanded the taxation of English land values. And the present prime minister was elected in part on his demand for the taxation of land values.

#### PLENTY OF MONEY.

In the light of these suggestions, and with wealth surpassing that of Golconda lying at the hands of the Socialist state administration, is this administration to halt, falter and fail for lack of funds? If so, it deserves to fail and to be buried beyond all resurrection. A party which in such circumstances cannot succeed is beneath contempt. The scorn of the historian who records its fiasco should blister the page; and the curses of a betrayed working class should sink it into eternal and undying infamy. With its hands on the lever of taxation, the Socialist party can fill its treasury. With funds, administrative capacity, and the backing of the people, tested constantly by the referendum, it can do the things the Socialist party stands to do. It can buy — If here again the impossibilist shrieks, we have only to let him shriek and pass on — The Socialist party can buy the coal, oil, gas, copper, iron, and other lands, and equip its mines and wells. It can buy the land on which to build electric railways. It can buy the land on which to conduct its agricultural experimentation. It can buy whatever else it may need to carry out the Socialist program. And in buying it keeps itself safely within the constitution of its state and of the nation. Fanatics may prate of "confiscation"—fanatics will not build the co-operative commonwealth. Let a Socialist state or city administration once start on the line of confiscation, and its doom is sealed. It will bring down upon itself all the powers of capitalism, industrial and political. "Private property" must not, according to our national constitution, be "taken for public use" except for "just

compensation." Capitalist courts uniformly stand for this interpretation, and will continue thus to stand. And back of them is the army. A Socialist administration which defies this fact thereby commits suicide.

But every Socialist save those so blinded by fanaticism as to see nothing aright can see that, from the working class standpoint, there is absolutely no difference whether the land and capital are confiscated, or whether they are purchased with the proceeds of taxation laid on monopolies, incomes, franchises and land values. What difference does it make to the proletariat whether the funds be collected with the left hand or the right so long as they are collected from the capitalist class? And such funds are infallibly collected from them.

In the city, again, the enlarged powers of taxation above referred to are now at hand. With municipal home rule, the municipal administration has the same powers within its limits that the state enjoys. The city, too, can tax incomes, inheritances, franchises, and land values. Legislation, of course will be necessary to avoid double taxation. Socialists in the state capitol, Socialists in the city council, and Socialist voters scattered through the state and expressing themselves through the referendum, should be able to adjust details like this.

Now, with the municipal administration enjoying ample and adequate powers of taxation what can it not do for the working class? What excuse longer for slum dwellings? Why longer delay the establishment of homes for the working class, comfortable, sanitary, light and convenient homes, connected by adequate and cheap transportation facilities with working places and shopping districts? Why should schools remain inferior, teachers underpaid, appliances meager? Why should children be excluded from school privileges from scarcity of school buildings? Why should any child grow up untrained from lack of training schools? Why should capitalistic medical practitioners exploit the necessities of the sick and helpless? Why should opportunities for art, music, and entertainment of all right kinds be lacking to the producers of the city's wealth? Why should municipal monopolies continue to rob within the city limits? Why should long hours and soul-destroying toil deprive the worker of opportunity and capacity to enjoy something of the largeness and fullness of life?

And now talk of "political machines"! With a Socialist administration, sane, rational, practical, competent, and working on the lines of the Socialist platform and municipal program, actually in power and doing business, where in comparison are your Tweeds, your Crokers, or your Quays? What capitalistic political machine could for one moment rival in popularity or strength such a Socialist administration? Tweed's machine was a pyramid poised on its apex. It fell. Such a Socialist administration as described would be a pyramid resting on its base. With a state government behind it and a constituency informed and enthused as its constituency would, in time, become, no power on earth could overthrow it, without at the same time creating a reaction which would miserably destroy itself. Talk of "practical politics!" No politics since time began, not even the magnificent politics of Pericles, can equal the politics possible by a Socialist administration proceeding on Socialist lines. Graft exposures? Scandalous revelations? There is no occasion for these. Monopolistic wealth need not be obtained by a Socialist administration by corrupt methods; constitutional methods abundantly suffice. Socialist officials would have no occasion to plunder and rob the municipality; a grateful and enthusiastic constituency would vote them salaries far beyond the needs of want or anxiety.

#### NATIONAL SOCIALISM.

Thus far we have discussed only municipal and state Socialist politics. The magnificent empire of national politics has been left untouched. Suffice it here to say that such work in city and state makes national success inevitable. Once let one city set such a pace, and other cities will insist on following in its wake. Let such a state administration once become established and demonstrate the possibilities of practical, working So-

cialism within its borders, and other state populations will shortly be off the reservation. Capitalist politicians will find their old-time leading strings snapped like the cords which bound the mighty Samson. Were the people of neighboring states unable to follow the example of the Socialistically administered state, they would desert their states and flock in such numbers to the Socialist state as to force a political revolution at home.

With the states going Socialist, one by one, and bunch by bunch, the national problem would fade away like a dissolving view. Socialist representatives would first go to the lower house of Congress and repeat, on a larger stage, before a vaster audience, the work already done in city and state. The Socialist state legislatures would send Socialists to the United States Senate. In time a national election would place in the lower house a majority of Socialist representatives and in the White House a Socialist president.

Here is where revolutionaries who attempt to think along political lines begin. We have already begun far back. We have laid the foundation. We have blazed the way. We have prepared the ground; now the time is almost at hand for national results. The Socialist president and house, assisted by a handful of Socialists in the Senate, can do substantial things. They can push through the Senate, capitalistic though it still remains, many important laws. The capitalist supreme court may at first turn these down; but the murmurs of disapproval from sea to sea and from lakes to gulf will warn this surviving bulwark of capitalism to have a care. As Mr. Dooley wisely said, "Whither or not the consticthewsion follows the flag, the supreme court follows the election retoorns." Public opinion will influence judicial decisions, for even now in the United States the majority can rule if it will.

Soon other states go Socialist, and send their senators to the upper house. In time the Socialists will control this body also. Vacancies will occur on the supreme court bench. Further, that body can be enlarged. Precedents exist. The Socialist president can appoint Socialist judges, and the Socialist Senate will confirm them. With the circle narrowing about this lingering representative of a vanishing regime, it may not be necessary to wait until a majority of the supreme court are Socialists.

Who can estimate the enthusiasm which will accompany a general Socialist administration, municipal, state, and national, which through the referendum constantly keeps its fingers upon the pulse of public sentiment? Before it the capitalist system will melt away like snowdrifts in a balmy springtime, and, in America, the new order in all its beauty will blossom forth.

What bearing will this experience have upon the progress of Socialism in other lands? For the sake of argument assume the Socialists in these lands thus far to have done nothing. Even then Socialism in America would force the issue throughout the civilized world. America now would be indeed another name for opportunity. It would at last begin to fulfill its natal promise. It would become, as earlier styled, the best poor man's country on earth. The statue and torch on Bedloe's island would be big with meaning. Liberty on Columbia's soil would indeed enlighten the world; and the oppressed and crushed, the bruised and broken, from Orient to Occident, would seek our shores, fill the channels of our industries, and enhance our national wealth and prestige.

For, immigration to a Socialist republic would be widely different from immigration to a capitalist empire. Under a Socialist administration overproduction, glut, and unemployment would be needless, and hence non-existent. So vast is our national domain, so unlimited our national resources, and so admirably effective would be a real Socialist administration, local, municipal, state, and national, that labor would be fully employed, the toiler would be brought into contact with mother earth, machinery, the most effective the mind of man has devised, would be at our command, and wealth would be poured forth as from the stream of Pactolus.



Overproduction could not be until every material want was satisfied, every hungry mouth was filled, every naked back was clothed, every homeless head was sheltered, and every human need to which material wealth could minister had been satisfied.

What effect would such an example produce upon other nations? Cast the mind's eye again upon revolutionary France in 1793. By the side of what has here been indicated, France had done nothing for the toiling multitudes, and had promised them but little more. Yet so tremendous was the enthusiasm over the mere shell of freedom gained and the hope of more, and so great was the dread excited in the breasts of despots of results which might ensue within their own domains, that united war was declared upon the devoted republic, that the frightful specter of a free, republican Europe might be dispelled.

But against the United States, especially against such a United States, what coalition would be conceivable? The bare suggestion would be insane. Other courses must needs be sought out. To hold their fleeing populations, old world governments, even assuming that there no Socialist party had yet been born, would be forced to grant reforms so far-reaching, so fundamental, so substantial, that but the ghost of political despotism and capitalism would remain.

In fact, however, in all foreign countries the same movement would have been in progress. Every forward step on our part in city, state or nation would have been heralded in the Socialist press abroad. With every victory on this side, Socialist courage would have risen on that, until by the time we had won, some foreign countries would doubtless have also won, the international character of the Socialist movement and the solidarity of the brotherhood of toilers would have been proved, and victory in America would be accompanied or swiftly followed by victories in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea.

As faintly foreshadowed in 1848, that year of revolutions, world-wide revolutions, but bloodless, enthusiastic, and joyous, will, under such a policy, take place. Gradually the dark and dreary night of capitalism will draw to its close, and the rising sun of that glorious, coming day will begin to glint the horizon. Wars and strife will have ended, swords will have been beaten into plowshares, and spears into pruning hooks. Nation will not lift up its hand against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. Labor will have been transformed from a curse into a blessing, brotherhood will at last have become possible, and life a worthy and noble thing.



# A "Dissolved" Trust

By Víctor L. Berger

THE meat trust is smashed, annihilated by a court injunction. It exists no longer.

This was official. So we were told three years ago.

As everybody knows, President Roosevelt selected the meat trust as a scape-goat in his anti-trust campaign and accomplished all that he desired.

\* \* \*

Judge Grosscup, before whom the case was brought in Chicago at the time, ordered the meat trust to disband in the name of the law. "And Messrs. Armour, Cudahy, Swift, Morris, the Hammond Co., Schwartzschild & Sulzberger declared that as good and law-abiding citizens they would, of course, comply with the command of the court." They declared, through the public press, that they had given orders to their agents, of whom there are over 4,000 in this country, "to uphold the combination no longer."

We said then and there that the dissolution of this bad trust was a humbug. That the meat magnates were lying. That they were cheating the courts and the government as they cheated the consumers and the cattle dealers. That the meat trust still flourished. That the combination would continue secretly in the future as in the past. And that by outward appearance of compliance they simply wished to soothe the public opinion, which was strongly inclined to demand *very radical measures* against this trust.

\* \* \*

Everything developed as we predicted. In fact, everything is still going on in the old way.

If the retail meat-seller—falsely called a "butcher", for he never butchers—wishes to change from one wholesale dealer to another, he must sooner or later have a "clean bill" from the first. And even then it is doubtful whether the other packing house will sell to him. He gets a definite answer as to this only some days after he has made application. Thus the fate of this "free" business man is decided in the office of the trust.

Besides, the *prices* of all wholesale meat-dealers *are the same*. They handle their customers with the insolent assurance of men who know that their customers cannot escape them.

Choose what they want? Not much!

They *must* take what is offered them or go without.

\* \* \*

And the result? Meat is all the time going higher.

Especially within the last few weeks it has gone up with a jerk. Whoever wants to feast on the tough muscles of a Texas steer, must now pay a good big sum.

Of course there is also a natural cause for this rise in meat, and for its poor quality.

In consequence of the belated spring there is a scarcity of fodder. The cattle, therefore, cannot be fattened. What is brought to market is the lean stock, with more sinews and gristle than flesh. The farmers, who are not obliged to sell their cattle, are still keeping them in the hope that they may yet get fat in this wet, uncertain and god-forsaken year.

\* \* \*

But this is not all.

The "dissolved" meat trust is now at *war* with the cattle-raisers. The question is whether the cattle-men shall be paid for cattle condemned by the officials after slaughter. The slaughter-house barons maintain, since so many cattle are condemned under the present "strict" inspection, that *they* cannot stand the loss.

This may or may not be true.

But it proves that the "dissolved" trust still exists on the quiet. The great butchers put their rules into force *on the same day* in Chicago, Omaha, Kansas City, St. Joseph, etc., thus clearly proving a combination. If they do this on one thing, they can surely do so on others, in regard to regulation of purchase and sale, prices, etc.

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In short, the meat business stands exactly on its old basis. The gigantic capitalistic organization of the meat trade is just as it was before.

This capitalistic organization has not yielded to the anarchy which Roosevelt wanted to introduce. The concentration in this field has already *gone too far* and could no longer be turned aside. The proof of the failure of Roosevelt's campaign is most evident and striking. His campaign was directed against the exorbitant price of meat and the extortion practiced on the public. And now, after the trust's "dissolution," meat is considerably higher than before and is getting higher and higher. That is the outcome.

\* \* \*

We predicted this.

We have all along shown the absurdity of Roosevelt's trust smashing.

The trusts (and in this instance the meat trust) are only doing what every business man does, not excepting even the smallest.

The trusts are in business to make money, and they naturally try to receive just as much as possible for their goods.

Every small merchant does the same.

The *principle* is the same.

The *motive*—the desire to make as much profit as possible—is also the same.

The difference is only that the trust does on a larger scale what the small business men do on a *petty scale*. The rate of profit for the trust is as a rule not even as large as for the small business man.

\* \* \*

And the principle of the trusts—concentration instead of division, co-operation instead of competition—is also a *perfectly correct* prin-

ciple. It gives great advantage to those who avail themselves thereof, in other words, to those "who are in it."

\* \* \*

And yet the alarm about the trusts is quite comprehensible.

Under the present industrial system a small number of capitalists have it in their power to decide how much meat and how much bread we shall eat, how much we shall spend for coal and how much for oil, how nicely or how poorly we shall be clothed and housed—in brief, how well or how ill, how long or how short a time we shall live.

\* \* \*

The question is only, what can be done?

Shall we enact laws to regulate the *prices* which the trusts demand for their wares? That would be meddling with the rights of the private individual. It would really be partial *confiscation*.

To ruin the trusts by special legislation is also very difficult. Every increase of taxes is followed by an *increase* in the *price* of the products controlled by the trusts.

Laws treating them as conspiracies are equally valueless. It is easy enough for them to prove that they are carrying on their business in exactly the same manner as other business men.

Besides, there is no law, and under the present economic system none can be enacted, effectually forbidding them to unite into *one great single firm*.

In short, a government which stands on the basis of the present economic system is powerless against the trusts.

\* \* \*

But the question is, do we wish to leave the products of this country in the control of a small number of irresponsible men, whose only interest is to exploit us up to the last limit of our endurance?

The trusts are a benefit to those who own the trusts.

Yet the trusts are large enough for the *whole people* to feel this benefit if the whole people should own the trusts.

Therefore we contend that the whole people collectively—as a *nation*—should take the place of the trust magnates and become the owner of the trusts.

Until that is done the trust will continue to do business at the old stand.

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The Washington *Herald* quotes Prof. Ernest Schnabel, of Berlin, as saying: "The most finished and effective speaker in Germany is Herr Bebel, the leader of the Socialist party. This man had no advantage of early training, no university education, and; indeed, gained his knowledge of literature through his unaided efforts. He worked at the trade of a wheelwright in his younger days, but even while struggling for a living he was a close student, particularly of governmental affairs and political economy. His views are obnoxious to a great majority of his fellow members of the Reichstag, and yet he commands the closest attention of the legislators. He is a man of austere life and is said to be without even the smaller vices of mankind."





THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF THE LAST RUSSIAN DUMA

(From the New York Daily Forward)

# THE VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray,  
Yet newer strength we borrow,  
And where the Vanguard camps today,  
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

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## The Month's Story

### A Socialist Milestone

The International Socialist Congress, held last month in Stuttgart, marks another golden milestone on the road to Socialism. It also furnishes a good occasion for taking stock of our progress.

Since the last International Socialist Congress, two years ago, the movement has made giant strides in many lands. Austria now holds the cup, with 87 Social-Democratic members of the Reichstag, against 11 at the date of the Antwerp Socialist Congress. A grand gain in two years! Moreover, it is most distinctly a "reward of merit." Austrian Socialists have won, because, while the Austrian Empire is torn with internal strife and almost pulled to pieces by national and race hatred, they alone have stood by each other like brothers, irrespective of creed or nationality. Perhaps nowhere in Europe or out of it are the Socialists so well disciplined as in Austria. Their leaders are admirably seconded and are admirably worthy of confidence.

Another most encouraging forward step has been made by England, which now has 31 Socialists in the House of Commons. This is all the more cheering, as even up to the time of the last Congress, England was most unaccountably backward in the Socialist movement. In spite of her splendid trades union organization, spite of her centuries of political training, spite of her love of liberty, England remained almost aloof from the European Socialist movement. Now she is no longer isolated and insular. The very conservatism of the English, their slowness and steadiness, will hold them in line when once they join the Socialist ranks. There will be no straw-fire there. And their excellent organized and drilled trades unions will make glorious recruiting grounds for a class-conscious Social-Democratic party.

Progress of quite a different type has been achieved in Finland. You perhaps, some spring morning, may have happened to turn over a big stone, and if so you have been surprised to find under it any number of dwarfed and blanched grass blades, all struggling towards the light. And after the stone was removed, how these white blades shot up and grew green and expanded into stalk and leaf. Something like this has happened in Finland. Under the oppression of Russia, Finnish Socialism has grown underground. Now, with their new constitution, they have suddenly elected 80 Social-Democrats to their



Chamber, of whom a goodly number are women! Verily, the last shall be first!

And martyred Russia, which has slid back into the clutch of the butcher, still has a proud record to show, The VANGUARD, in its frontispiece this month, shows the group of Social-Democratic members of the last Duma. These men, now mostly in prison, have a special interest to us whose duty leads through smoother paths. Not the least pride of the movement is its band of martyrs!

Other countries have also splendid records. France has 50 Socialist deputies, and a weighty influence in French politics. Germany has 43 Social-Democratic members of the Reichstag and 3,258,000 Social-Democratic voters in the German Empire. Belgium has 30 Social-Democrats in its House, Italy 25 in its Chamber, Sweden 15, Norway 10 in its Storthing, Denmark 24 in the Folketing and 4 in the Landsting.

And America? Every Yankee Socialist should blush and hang his head. Not one Socialist in the American Congress! And only one state in the Union where there are Socialist members of legislature!

Comrades, let us change all that before the next International Socialist Congress.

England ahead of us? Finland ahead of us? *Russia* ahead of us? Oh, shame!

\* \* \*

**Why  
Crime  
Waves?**

Horror hangs over New York. A "wave of crime," like some mysterious tidal wave, is there doing its deadly work. Young children are assaulted and murdered. Parents are panic-stricken and will not trust their little ones out of their sight. The same increase of monstrous crimes is reported in other large cities besides New York.

The New York police strive to reassure the people with the grewsome consolation that nothing unusual is happening. Just about the same percentage of criminality, they say, is due just about so often. The average number of assaults and murders does not vary much from year to year, in all our great cities. With this cold-blooded comfort they dismiss the horrible subject.

But what a ghastly admission! What an arraignment of our dislocated social "system!"

Every year these crimes are committed. Every year they are punished. Every year they are re-committed. Every year they are re-punished. A vicious circle, in every sense of the word!

Even now society is paying a number of its sharpest-scented detectives to track out these criminals in New York. Then it will pay a number of skillful lawyers to convict them when caught, learned judges to sentence them, jailers to keep them till the hour of punishment arrives, sheriffs to conduct them to the electric chair, and experts to turn on the current. And then society will be all ready to begin again with next year's batch of assaulters and murderers.

Bentham has wisely said, "Every time that punishment is inflicted, it proves its inefficiency, for it did not prevent the committal of the crime."



Were society wise, instead of vindictive, it would seek out the cause of these waves of crime which return year after year with such significant regularity. How are these criminals manufactured? What are the moral ingredients of which these crimes are composed?

In New York city, the Rev. Dr. Behrends, investigating slum tenements, made some hideous discoveries. "In a room twelve feet by eight, and five and a half feet high, it was found that nine persons slept and prepared their food. In another room, located in a dark cellar, without screens or partitions, were together two men with their wives and a boy of seventeen, two women and four boys, nine, ten, eleven and fifteen years old—fourteen persons in all!"

Does not this tell the tale? In such environments, what becomes of the "sanctity of family life?" What of the innocence of childhood?

Human beings reared in such surroundings will be brutes. Such conditions below the level of "good society" will produce crime waves just as surely as the uneasy stirrings beneath the earth's crust will produce tidal waves.

Says Enrico Ferri, the great Italian criminologist, "Want is the strongest poison for the body and soul."

And just as long as we have slums, where children are reared, we shall have criminals, we shall have jails, prisons, handcuffs, electric chairs and gibbets. Such is our "system."

Is it a *system*? Is it not rather a gigantic hotch-potch of crimes and blunders? The brute crimes at one end of the social scale, and at the other the refined crimes of the ruling class who *make the slums*—the crimes of oppression, extortion, and the "grinding of the faces of the poor!"

\* \* \*

**John  
D.'s  
Cart**

The American public smiled a broad smile—from Maine to California—when John D. Rockefeller recently boasted of his services to the public. "I am harnessed in a cart in which the people ride," said the oily king. "Whether I like it or not, I must work for the rest. I cannot evade the responsibility." Probably the wily John laughed at this himself, in his sleeve. And the people and the press raised a loud howl of derision.

The Socialists laughed too, for a different reason. We laughed because John D., all unknown to himself and his audience, has uttered a golden truth.

For it is actually true that the king of monopolies, whether he "likes it or not," and whether he knows it or not, "cannot evade" the task which evolution has laid upon him. The laws of evolution are often worked out through ignorant creatures who little know that they are links in the long chain of the earth's progress.

The little eohippus who "scampered on five toes o'er the Tertiary rocks" never dreamed that his chief function was to serve as an ancestor of the horse. And the first anthropoidal ape, as he grabbed the cocoanuts from his weaker brethren, little guessed that the survival of the fittest would finally develop him into a captain of industry.

Neither does Rockefeller know that the "cart" to which he is

"harnessed" is travelling straight towards Socialism—that the "responsibility" which he could not "evade" was the vast task of organizing the industries of the country for collective ownership, some day.

And it is well that he does not know it. If he really thought that he was "working for the rest," the chances are that he never would have worked himself into dyspepsia. He would never have organized the trusts, if he could have foreseen that one day they will be owned by the people.

But it is a thousand pities that the people do not know. If they only knew that evolution is at work here, and at work for them, they would not foolishly try to retard it. They would not block the wheels of the metaphorical "cart" with all sorts of foolish experiments in "regulation," which *never can regulate*.

\* \* \*

### Jump Into

### That Cart!

Yes, it is a thousand pities that the wisdom of each generation cannot begin just where the last generation left off. Then we should never have to try over again the experiments which our fathers made and found to be miserable failures.

If Teddy and La Follette and all the other great "statesmen" who now prescribe regulation as the cure for all the ills of our political and economic system—if they only knew history!

If they only knew that regulation was thoroughly tried by our ancestors even to regulating the width of cloth manufactured, and the market price of all the staples of trade. If they only knew that this thorough regulation completely broke down under the growing weight of capitalism. And it broke down so completely that for centuries economists preached nothing but a "laissez faire," let-alone policy, knowing that the policy of regulation had proved a failure.

And what absurdity to suppose that capitalism, which, in its infancy broke the fetters of regulation like a wisp of straw, will be held by them now when it has grown into the giant of Trustification!

But probably the American public will have to burn their fingers on this regulation experiment before they will learn. And they will not "dissolve" the trusts. The trusts will stay right there—till the American people at last discover what to do with them.

Why not, Oh ingenious Yankees! Just take John D. at his word? Why not jump right into that "cart?"

In other words, why not take over the oil trust and every other trust? Why not make them trusts of the people, owned and operated by the people, for the benefit of the people?

\* \* \*

### "Fanatical"

### Morocco

The remedy of old-fashioned medicine for every pain was a blister. The sting of the blister made the sufferer forget his other pain. The remedy of modern capitalism for the distress of the working class is a war of annexation. It distracts the attention of the working people from their discontent, makes new political issues and above all gives a chance for newspapers and politicians to preach that jingo "patriotism"

which is capitalism's trump card. Whenever a class-conscious movement is generating, and especially where the Socialist movement is growing, there you may expect to see some luckless savage or semi-savage people suddenly arraigned for their "cruelty," "perfidy," "fanaticism," and other sins (which nobody had ever noticed before), shot and bayoneted to teach them true religion and gentle manners, and finally annexed in the interests of civilization and the gospel.

Thus, when anti-plutocratic feeling first began in this country, at the time of the Populist agitation, our political quack doctors applied the Spanish and Philippine blisters. Thus Kaiser Wilhelm uses his jingo South-African policy as a counter-irritant to the German Social-Democrats.

And thus, it appears, the bourgeois politicians of France want to apply a foreign blister to the working class at home. The French people, cleverest of all European nations, at present are the farthest ahead in the race toward Socialism. In no other country are the Socialists so strong a political factor in national affairs. At the present pace, it would appear that France may be in first at the Socialist goal. And well she deserves the honor, after her century of struggles, revolutions, sacrifice and martyrdom.

Therefore we are not surprised to be now informed that the Moroccans are terribly "fanatical," and therefore should be annexed to agnostic France without delay. The Moroccans are not a whit more fanatical than they have been for the last seven hundred years, but Frenchmen are more Socialistic than ever before—there is the rub! That is the real "casus belli," if the bourgeois politicians would be frank, just for once.

There is no doubt that a French war in and for Morocco would be a temporary set-back to the French Socialist movement. The French are intensely patriotic and absurdly fond of martial glory. The bourgeois politician thus takes them on their weak side.

Yet there is another face to this question. Of all European peoples, the French alone have shown themselves capable of colonizing tropical countries, partly because of their temperate habits of eating and drinking, partly because their African possessions lie so near the mother country. While England, Germany and America have remained mere conquerors and masters in the tropics, France has colonized them with genuine settlers, whose birth rate exceeds their death rate. And Morocco, under French rule, may become a New France, with a class struggle and a Socialist movement.

Thus the French bourgeois politician, in trying to cure the "Socialist germ," may only spread it into another quarter of the globe. Ideas are like thistle-seeds—they fly!

# Michigan Czars

By INDEX

Up in Hancock, Mich., some local capitalist "statesmen" have just passed an ordinance to the effect that no person or assemblage of persons "shall carry or exhibit . . any flag or symbol . . teaching against or toward the destruction of the organized government of the United States . . or any foreign government, king, prince, potentate or officer thereof," under penalty. This amusing legislative enactment becomes all the more funny when placed by the side of a certain paragraph of the immortal Declaration of Independence, which reads as follows: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and are endowed with certain inalienable rights, that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, AND WHEN ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT BECOMES DESTRUCTIVE OF THESE ENDS IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO ALTER OR ABOLISH IT, AND TO SUBSTITUTE SUCH FORMS AS SHALL IN THEIR OPINION BEST SECURE THESE ENDS."

And it becomes funnier still when the last words of the Hancock law are fully digested. Think of some liberty-loving American citizen dropping into Hancock and displaying a paper in which appeared in black type something disrespectful about the good Czar, for instance—think what would happen

to him! And on American soil, too! Of course, that part of the state of Michigan belongs to the steel barons, but still it was politically under American jurisdiction at last accounts.

The people of Hancock have something to blush for, and the local lawmakers who put such a piece of legislation on the local book of ordinances will doubtless be the butt of ridicule for many a day to come.

The occasion for the passage of this funny ordinance was the carrying of a red flag by Finnish Socialists in one of their parades. Now the red flag has been christened the "age-long flag of labor." Its history extends into the days of the ancients and it was always the flag of hope to the oppressed of earth. These Finnish Socialists, like all other members of our party, are not enemies of the republic at all, and certainly not when compared with the class that is seeking to legally scourge them. Socialism is revolutionary, not in the sense of being violently "agin the government"—indeed, we propose to capture and be the government before we get through—but it is revolutionary in the sense that it stands for the next higher phase of society, the Socialist republic, and intends to make it as easy as possible for that higher state to develop out of the present one. And the efforts of puny politicians to make it appear otherwise will avail them nothing in Hancock, or anywhere else.

# Give Them Hope!

By VICTOR L. BERGER

THE most formidable obstacle in the way of further progress—and especially in the propaganda of Socialism—is not that men are insufficiently versed in political economy or lacking in intelligence. It is that *people* are without *hope*.

Popular effort has so often been thwarted by selfish cunning—great moral enthusiasm has so often been dissipated by the suspicious organization of the ruling classes that men have *lost heart*.

Despair is the chief opponent of progress.

*Our greatest need is hope.*

\* \* \*

The majority of our fellow workers know of public measures that would be beneficent—if an upward step were possible. But they claim it is impossible under the present system. Some of them wait for some great “revolution” that is to come “some day.” Others do not wait for anything. They do not expect anything. They have lost hope. Why?

Both the so-called “revolutionists” and the “let-it-go-as-it-is-men” are overwhelmed by a multitude of incidental obstacles which are in themselves of small account.

Petty disappointments cloud the small horizons of these people. Thus they are shut off from the sight of the great universal and historic forces that are working for progress—for Socialism—and *even for progress beyond Socialism*.

Only these forces work slowly. Slowly and surely.

\* \* \*

Revolutions—and special evolutions—are brought about in human affairs not so much by the dissemination of a multitude of ideas, as by the concentration of a multitude of minds upon a *single idea*.

And this idea must be near enough and be of importance enough and comprehensive enough to stir the very souls of the masses.

Mere theoretical or dogmatic phrases—no matter how “clear cut”—are not capable of producing the universal enthusiasm required to institute any fundamental innovations.

Besides, doctrinarism and dogmatism lead to split and to the formation of political sects. But when people are constantly absorbed in *doing things*, and in preparing for still greater things, the petty jealousies and small causes for strife and dissension disappear.

\* \* \*

Furthermore, I say, we ought to have “uniformity” in *general principles* and *general tactics only*. We ought to leave minor details to the different state organizations. Especially where the movement is old and well rooted, where there are plenty of tried leaders and where the membership is experienced, they are fully capable of the righteous settlement of all incidental questions without interference from the outside.

Instead of more uniformity we ought to have *more unity*.

And we can gain this only when we leave details to the various subdivisions—and concentrate the efforts of our propaganda to the simple realities, self-evident and capable of being understood by all.

The first such central truth, to be proclaimed tirelessly by every Social-Democrat, is that the earth is large enough and wide enough to supply all the good things of life to every human being born on it.

Add to this that the triumphs of modern science make it possible for men to satisfy every natural craving, every healthy desire, every reasonable hope and dream, without any man being compelled to sacrifice another being for his purpose.

This means that this world, now made a *hell* by human greed, abetted by ignorance and prejudice, might as well be a *heaven*.

It means that the misery caused by capitalism on one hand and poverty on the other, can be displaced by happiness and plenty for all.

\* \* \*

Following this, one can demonstrate from history that this capitalist system did not always exist, but succeeded the feudal system, which had followed a system of slavery—each of these succeeding systems being better and more humane than its predecessor.

And we can also easily show then that the trusts are the natural outcome of capitalism and competition and cannot be legislated out of existence as long as capitalism exists.

\* \* \*

The immediate effect of the practical acceptance of these self-evident truths is always wonderful.

Convince men that our country is large enough and rich enough to give them all an opportunity to work and earn enough to support their families in comfort, to educate their children properly and to be absolutely secure in sickness and old age.

Convince men that their present poverty is unnecessary.

Proclaim that Capitalism is simply a phase of civilization as Feudalism was and Socialism will be—that nothing that is, lasts forever.

Convince them of this and you have them “for good.”

Only take care not to have them tie their hopes for the future to any catastrophe that is to bring the millenium “at one stroke.” Take care not to have them hope for any Messiah.

It invariably leads to fatalism of one kind or the other and destroys the incentive for continuous and hard work at the present time.

Fatalism is always fatal to real progress.

\* \* \*

Therefore, Social-Democratic propagandists, do not weary your hearers with statistics or the definitions of “surplus value.” Do not confuse them by trying to explain all the intricacies of the capitalist system and by describing the beauties of the co-operative commonwealth.

Teach them that in order to get a better world we shall have to work for it and fight for it.

Work and fight are the “Messiahs” of proletarians.

Teach the proletariat that the highest patriotism consists in work-

ing and fighting for the new world. And that to work and to fight for it is the sublime mission of *this generation* and possibly also of the *next*.

Nothing else in this world can compare with this work in importance.

## Jaures On the Land Problem

Translated by HELEN MINTBURN SCOTT

The economic movement does not take the same form in the country that it does in the city. In the first place, the rural population is decreasing, while the urban population is increasing. In the second place, and this is very important, it is especially the proletariat in the country that is diminishing in numbers. Clearly those who are drawn to the towns are the non-owners, the day laborers, the sons of *metayers*.\* The owners of small farms are firmly tied to the soil.

Lastly, the introduction of machinery has had exactly opposite results in the country and in the town. In manufacture, the machine does sometimes do away with hand labor, but only momentarily. It makes new forms of activity possible, and thus it is that the number of the working population increases proportionately with the development of machinery. And since the small artisans are transformed into proletarians, the effect of the machine is to add directly to the industrial proletariat. In agriculture, on the other hand, the machine (sower, reaper, harvester, binder, thrasher), simply does away with hand-labor entirely. And it eliminates the proletarians. The small

farmers, on the other hand, are not thrust down into the proletariat by the machine as the artisans are. The agricultural machine, on the contrary, adapts itself more and more to the system of small farms, and far from destroying the small farmer, it dispenses him from the necessity of hiring extra labor, a burden he had to bear during the harvest, for instance.

Since the rural proletariat is becoming scarcer and scarcer, the great farms naturally do not grow. And this is the explanation of the nearly stagnant condition of agricultural property in France.

In the extraordinary study he made of agricultural property, Gabriel Deville concluded that there was a movement toward concentration, but that it was slow and not well-defined. There are many causes that seem to make for concentration in large farms. It is natural, for instance, that city capitalists should wish to invest a small part of their growing fortune in land. However, there are branches of agricultural production that are becoming more and more industrialized, like beet-root culture, for instance, and these it would seem ought to come under the same law that brings about the centralization of industry.

\*The metayer is a tenant farmer who pays rent in kind, receiving part of his stock and supplies from the owner.

But in many places the thinning out of the laboring population, the reduction of the rural proletariat, neutralizes all these forces that would tend to develop great estates. It is, of course, essential for these to have a supply of labor always at their command. Well, there are just enough families of *metayers* to farm the capitalist estates already existing, and where the small farmers who have only one child never work outside their own little property.

This is literally true of the plateau of the Albigeois. And in the vineyards round Caillac, the great estates tend to diminish. The number of small wine growers who own a large enough vineyard to occupy all their working time is on the increase. About one-third of the population is non-owning; that is, they own nothing, or they own a tiny scrap of land not large enough to occupy all their labor or support them. But this class has rather a tendency to diminish. And since, owing to their small and almost decreasing numbers, these country workmen are in a better position so far as wages are concerned (having even raised the rate in the last few years), the great estates cannot increase their activities for fear of having to deal with labor that is too scarce and consequently too powerful.

Observe that I do not assume that these facts are true of all the agricultural districts in France. They are, however, to be observed over a fairly large area.

Now, here are the social results of these economic conditions.

In the first place, it would seem very difficult to start a strong proletarian movement in places where the very substance of the movement, that is the proletariat itself, has a tendency to decrease. I

know very well that there are still many *metayers* in the south. And they are certainly beginning to have a class feeling. They are beginning to understand that it would be possible to have society organized in such a way that they would not be induced to accept one-half only of the fruits of the soil they had tilled. But this class-instinct is often uncertain and confused. They are not pure proletarians; they own a part of the agricultural capital, live stock, machines, manure and fodder—they often have a good deal of liberty in the management of the work. Lastly, since they take to market that part of their product that they do not consume, they have on this point, the same interest as the landed proprietors, that the prices should be kept up. Thus, their *immediate* interests do not clash with those of the land owning class, and many *metayers* have been easily dragged into the protectionist movement. At all events, a district where there are hardly any day-laborers, farm-hands properly so-called, and where almost all the country population is made up of either *metayers* or small farmers, is hardly favorable to a proletarian movement pure and simple. The same thing is true of districts like Gaillac, where two-thirds of the inhabitants own some land to one-third that owns nothing, and where this third is principally preoccupied with the idea that it may become an owner in its turn and where, moreover, this hope is not wholly chimerical.

But if a strong proletarian movement is harder to start here than in other places, it would be, on the other hand, extraordinarily effective when started. Just because labor is scarce it could easily become sovereign. There is no reserve army upon which capitalist



landowners can draw. In certain wine-growing areas they are at the mercy of a coalition of a small number of workmen. And if a few families of well-known and respected *metayers*, whom it would be impossible to replace all at once, would get together in this or that community it would be hard for the capitalists not to accept a labor contract more favorable to the *metayers*.

It is true that some capitalists would rather give up cultivating the land and allow it to be fallow for a year than give up part of their income from their estates, often small enough as it is. But that would mean a sharp economic and social crisis, which would cause far reaching disturbances.

So that the diminution of the country proletariat constitutes a menace to landed capitalist property, just as the increase and concentration of the industrial proletariat constitutes a menace to industrial capitalist property. The only possible outcome of both tendencies is in the direction of a new form of property and of society.

Marx said that the cheapest way to bring about the social revolution would be to pay an indemnity to the present owners of capital. He meant by that that it would be in the interest of revolutionary Socialism to escape the extreme exasperation of the expropriated older society and the long convulsions which are so destructive of riches. There is still time to have recourse to friendly methods for the transformation of the land system. The state, the local governments, the co-operative societies, could begin to transform the great landed estates into socially owned property with a triple character, national,

local, and trades union. They could do this either by short time bonds or by mortgages on the agricultural products, which would be stored in warehouses belonging to the township or the co-operative society.

The small farmers would not be at all alarmed by this gradual transformation, which would not be a menace to them and which would have a legal character. And they would soon come in of their own accord to the great centre of activity which would be formed by the village or co-operative property. At this moment a slow and almost imperceptible change is taking place in their attitude, but one that will ultimately have most important results. In the first place, they have a great deal more faith in science than they used to have. They have begun to make use of agricultural chemistry and machinery. They feel convinced that they will not change this course of action. They have been able to reconcile their ancient passion for the land and for private property and interest in technical progress, because it is possible to apply this technique to even small farms. But once this policy has been adopted, there is no stopping half way. And if, in the future, the perfect application of machinery required them to give up in some degree the narrowest interpretation of private property rights, the separate cultivation of small bits of land, for instance, they would be carried out beyond their narrow individualism by the very force of the scientific movement to which they now belong.

The peasant proprietor is becoming a collectivist for the sale of his products almost without knowing it. He has to put up with more and more terrible crises. For years these have affected wheat. And

now the happy and wonderful resurrection of the vine has had the terrible and paradoxical effect of ruining the vine growers, and obviously the fecundity of the American graft and the excellence of two successive vintages necessitated a great fall in prices. This fall, if it had been kept within due limits, would have been of benefit to everyone. But our economic and social system is so disorderly that the fall, which was suddenly and unbelievably acute, has overwhelmed the producers, who are ruined by the very abundance of the product.

Moreover, the peasants hope to be delivered from this ruinous anarchy of the market. And if wheat and wine were acquired by federations of co-operative societies and federations of townships, and if the price were fixed according to the abundance of the harvest, the cost of scientific production and the normal wage of the laborer employed, the peasant proprietors freed from the evils of speculation, of the parasitic middleman and the anarchy of the market, would work with the cheerful certainty of a just remuneration. This collectivism in exchange has no terrors for them.

So we see that the present land system is undermined by profound causes making for revolution. The

Socialists ought to develop the co-operative stores. They should urge upon them, as one of their most important aims, the acquisition of great country estates, from which they could supply their provisions, at least in part. The Socialists ought to organize trades unions of the country laborers. They ought to spread through the country the idea of a public supply service, which, through the agency of the co-operative societies and townships should be a substitute for speculation, for the great flour mills, and the great wine merchants. They should give the peasant, the wage-earners, the *metayers* and small farmers a more exact idea of the immense role that the townships ought to play in the economic life, thus carrying forward into the needs of modern times the still vivid memory of the primitive and rudimentary communal property of other times. They should little by little impregnate the country townships (community) with the spirit of Socialist communism. If they do this, rural France will evolve a powerful movement toward a free and living communism where labor will be sovereign and where all individual energies will be able to expand without conflicts and without impediments in the harmony of justice.

It is only a question of time until the government of Great Britain adopts a system of old-age pensions. Labor is united in its demands for such a scheme, and it has the support of many other influential interests which believe that something should be done to give

the aged poor assurance that their last days shall not be spent in the darkness of absolute distress.

It is certainly an odd system of society that depends on the work of the workers, yet looks down on the workers that do the work.

# Truth Puts On His Boots

By E. H. THOMAS

"A lie," says the old proverb, "can go around the world while Truth is putting on his boots."

When, some weeks ago, the elections in London, England, resulted in the overthrow of the "Progressives," the capitalistic editors of America fairly howled with glee.

"Great Socialist Defeat!" proclaimed the scareheads of the American dailies on their front pages. And inside, their editorials explained that the "Socialists" had been guilty of the most frightful extravagance, had loaded the cities of Great Britain with a gigantic municipal debt and had heaped up the municipal taxes sky high. Hence, the taxpayers had risen in their wrath and hurled the "Socialists" out of the London County Council.

Thus the American capitalistic press. What are the facts?

Why, in the first place, the "Progressives," who were defeated in the London elections, are no more Socialists than W. R. Hearst or ex-Mayor Dunne of Chicago. Out of a total of 118 members of the London County Council, only three or four were actual Socialists. The Progressives of London stand for municipal street cars and electric lighting, and municipal steamboats on the Thames. That is as far as they care to go. Their program, if carried out, would only carry London as far as Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham and other British cities have already traveled with success along the road of municipal ownership. London is far more conservative than many

British cities of smaller size. The overthrow of the Progressives on the London County Council was no more of a "Great Socialist Defeat!" than the turndown of Mayor Dunne in the Windy City.

"Never mind," says the capitalist editor. "Progressives or Socialists, it is all the same. Municipal ownership costs too much. It has been shown that it creates a colossal debt and lays an awful burden on the taxpayer. Besides, it is inefficient and unprogressive. Private enterprise in the United States is doing the same things better than they are done by the municipalities of Great Britain. And all this without increasing taxes or building up a vast municipal debt."

Very well. We will show that not one of these charges against municipal ownership is true.

But first we protest against the term "municipal Socialism" as applied to the very small degree of municipal ownership thus far introduced in the cities of Great Britain. Only two and one-half per cent of the whole wealth of the English nation is municipalized. Socialism means the collective ownership of *all* the means of production and distribution. Please, Mr. Capitalist Editor, do call a spade a spade! And do not charge Socialism with failure when it has had only two and one-half per cent of a trial.

Yet, even on its financial side, municipal ownership has been no failure. The turndown in London was the result of a systematic cam-

paign for the benefit of a private electricity monopoly that wanted a franchise from London. They and their friends, the so-called "Municipal Reformers," therefore raised the scare against high taxes and a growing municipal debt. They terrified the tax-payers with these two bogies; they succeeded so well, that the London taxpayers turned down the Progressives. The electricity monopoly will get its franchise, and squeeze out of the citizens of London far more than they would have paid for taxes if London had borrowed money to establish an electric plant of her own.

But what are the facts about London taxes?

In the last ten years, the municipal taxes of London have increased one shilling four pence on the pound, that is, 32 cents on \$4.84. Of these 33 cents of increase, 13 cents went to education. This increased sum for education was mainly due to the appropriation of taxes to the church schools, brought about by the conservatives. For 10 cents of the increase the borough councils and guardians were responsible, and for 5 cents the Metropolitan Asylums Board was responsible. These bodies are mostly under control of the "Moderates," who do not stand for municipal ownership. Only 4 cents of the increase can be charged to the County Council, controlled by the Progressives. So much for municipal ownership increasing the taxes.

Four cents is not an enormous increase in taxes in a city like London. And for this the County Council at any rate had something to show. It increased the area of the parks and breathing places of London from 2,500 to 5,000 acres. It placed municipal boats in these parks, which, by the way, are not

only self-supporting, but have paid about \$12,500 toward lessening the taxes. It put steamboats on the Thames, which have been an immense boon to the cooped-up citizens of London—80,000 people availed themselves of this pleasure on the August Bank holiday alone. The boats, as a first experiment, were a financial loss, but a loss that was gradually diminishing, and the advantage was for the people of London. Throughout the summer these boats carried a million passengers a month. The County Council pulled down the worst slums of London. It put in an improved sewerage system. It reduced the death rate in one of the most unsanitary districts from 40 deaths per 1,000 inhabitants before the County Council took it in hand, to only 14 per 1,000 inhabitants. It has also done a great deal toward lessening the overcrowding of congested districts by providing one-cent fares on the municipal street cars. It doubled the fire brigade, thus making life and property doubly secure. And it educated 600,000 children in its schools.

All these things, providing for the life, health and enjoyment of all the people of London, are surely worth an increase of 4 cents per pound on the taxes.

But, taking the financial side of all this, the Londoners have lost nothing by the so-called "Socialist" measures of the County Council. By its method of inspecting the weights and measures of meat, groceries, bread and coal sold to the consumers, it has saved the people of London millions of dollars. In coal bills alone the London County Council saved London householders over \$2,400,000 a year. And the Londoners saved in fares on the municipal street cars about half

what they had to pay on the privately owned lines.

But the foes of municipal ownership, in England or America, always play the same trick to prove municipal ownership a failure. Against the profits of municipal street railways, gas, electric lighting, and other works of production or transportation, they reckon up the cost of parks, street improvements, sewerage, libraries, hospitals, asylums, poorhouses, and schools—things which are necessary to the people, but which from their very nature cannot yield profits.

To judge merely of the financial success of municipal ownership, we must set its enterprises over against the enterprises of private ownership. Take, for instance, the London municipal street railways.

These lines have been a tremendous financial success. They have paid \$2,150,000 to the sinking funds, \$3,000,000 toward redeeming their debt, \$515,000 to the renewals account, and besides this they have paid \$1,500,000 toward reducing the taxes.

While the privately owned street railways of London earned a profit of 4.4 per cent and 4.1 per cent, the municipally owned lines earned a profit of 7.6 per cent. These accounts of the municipal lines can be relied on. They were examined and approved by a committee of Parliament.

Remember, too, that these profits remain over and above the reduction in fares to the passengers, and a shortening of hours to the employes, as well as an advance of wages amounting to nearly \$150,000 a year. Remember also that the service has been greatly improved, the old horse cars having been displaced by electric cars.

Does municipal ownership pay?

But London, as I have said, is conservative compared with many cities of Great Britain. For the best results we must look elsewhere.

In Leeds, the profits on "municipal trading," as it is called in England, were \$250,000 in the year 1903-04, thus reducing the taxes 14 cents on every \$4.84 of taxable property. In Manchester, the profits were \$250,000, reduction of taxes 7 cents. In Liverpool, profits were \$135,000, reduction of taxes about 3 cents. In Glasgow the profits were \$125,000, decrease of taxes 2 cents. In Nottingham, the profits were \$65,000, decrease of taxes 7 cents.

The electric lighting plant of Liverpool, after paying interest and sinking fund and reducing prices 50 per cent, turns over \$50,000 to lessen the city taxes.

Since Manchester took over the gasworks they have paid nearly \$12,500,000 of profits for the reduction of taxes.

This is what municipal ownership administrations have done in Great Britain. I cite these figures to show that, as a matter of administration, municipal ownership is a success. We, as Socialists, are not concerned for the reduction of taxes. If we had control of these municipal enterprises, profits would go to the public in better and cheaper service, and to the employes in higher wages and shorter hours. But we are simply answering the capitalist editor "according to his folly," after the advice of Solomon.

We could also show that municipal ownership in Great Britain has considerably benefited even the city employes. In Liverpool, the employes of the privately owned street cars worked fourteen hours a day.

On the municipal lines they now work only ten hours a day, and have a raise of 50 per cent in hourly wages, besides receiving free uniforms. In Sheffield, the private company paid \$500 for work for which the city now pays \$625. In other cities about the same proportion of increase prevails. When Manchester took over its street railways, it paid increased wages amounting to \$300,000 a year.

But the capitalist editor cares for none of these things. So let us get back again to the financial end of the question.

The tax increase boggy is thus pretty well laid. How about the debt increase?

Really, this is such a transparent trick that I wonder if any one was really scared by it. Every business man knows that the amount of his debt is not the only factor to be considered. It is the amount of debt in relation to the amount of assets that tells the story.

The national debt of England and Wales is 629 million pounds (more than \$3,000,000,000). What is there to show for this? Nothing. It has been used to blow men into eternity.

The municipal debt of England and Wales is 293 million pounds (about \$1,400,000,000). What is there to show for this? Water works and gasworks, street railways, electric lighting plants, improved streets, public buildings, baths, hospitals, asylums, work-houses, schools, bridges, cemeteries, docks, harbors, piers, police stations, sewerage works, markets, dwelling houses, libraries and parks.

Are not these valuable assets?

The city of Manchester is in debt for its municipal gasworks. This debt amounts to four pounds

(nearly \$20) to each inhabitant of Manchester. But the gasworks have paid five pounds (nearly \$25) per inhabitant to lessen the taxes. Query: Is this debt a burden to the citizens of Manchester? Is it as great a burden as is the capital of the privately owned Liverpool Gas Company to the citizen of Liverpool?

The Liverpool citizen has received no profits from the private company. He pays a higher price for his gas than the Manchester citizen. And he owns no municipal plant.

The towns with the biggest debts have lower taxes than the towns with smaller debts. A writer in the *Contemporary Review* shows that forty-two towns with big debts incurred for municipal ownership plants had on an average lower taxes than thirty-two towns with small municipal ownership debts.

Darlington owns gas, waterworks and electric works, markets and tramways. Darlington has decreased its taxes 38 cents on the pound. But the enemies of municipal ownership never say anything about Darlington.

So much for the efficiency of municipal administration. Add to this the real improvement in public service. The capitalist editor loves to compare the British municipal enterprises with American private enterprises. This is clearly unfair. England is proverbially slow. The only just comparison is between British private enterprise and British municipal enterprise. The contrast should be made "before and after taking" over. For instance, Glasgow, on taking over its street cars, immediately placed new cars on its lines, and the London county council has replaced the old horse cars with electric cars.

The capitalist editor will have to change his cry. The municipalities of Great Britain have not made a fizzle of municipal ownership and administration. They have not loaded their citizens with gigantic taxes. They have incurred debts, but to the benefit of the people.

The English people are not going to change their policy of municipal ownership, as far as adopted. The people of London have indeed been scared out of the small beginnings which they had already made and have foolishly listened to the electric monopoly which is now pre-

paring to exploit them. And they will be very sorry for their mistake in a few years.

It is a very small wedge which the municipalities of Great Britain have driven into the gigantic trunk of capitalism. It is not worth all the fuss that the capitalist press is making against it. It certainly is not municipal Socialism in any sense of the word. But, as far as it goes, it does show that cities can manage their own affairs with efficiency and profit. It is one little moral in the teaching of collective ownership and administration.

## A Peaceful Revolution

By VICTOR L. BERGER

THE fact is being recognized more and more by scientists that our civilization is in a constant flow, like a river, the current of which is ever changing. Yet one of the greatest obstacles with which Socialists have to contend is the notion that whatever is must be the immutable order of nature. Because the wage system has prevailed as far back as any one can remember, people fancy that this system constitutes the necessary condition for civilized society. Social-Democrats say this is a fundamental error, and history proves it.

The present state of things grew out of feudalism and serfdom, which followed a system of master and slave.

In the ancient states there was no wage system, there was slavery. The master was the absolute lord of the persons of his slaves, of the soil, and of the instruments of labor, which then were crude and simple.

Serfdom constitutes the next great stage. The lords of the soil were the dominant class, but the workers of the soil were personally free, although attached to the soil where they were born. Now, this second stage, although far below our civilization, was, at any rate, much above chattel slavery.

But the progress of mankind demanded another step, and that was capitalism. This was unknown during the former periods of the world—which had wealth, but not capital. This third stage of the development of our race has given occasion for the rise of a class of exploit-

ers unknown to any of the former civilizations. Our plutocracy, our industrial, commercial and moneyed aristocracy are now the masters of all production in all civilized countries, on whose good will, or rather upon whose profits, the laboring people of the world depend for a living.

And all these evils are heightened by cut-throat competition, which not only forces wage-workers into a struggle to see who shall live and who shall starve, but which also compels the employers to pay as little for their labor as possible.

But the laborers are by no means the only sufferers. The small employers and the small merchants are just as much victims of that cruel kind of competition as the wage-workers. The fierce competition lessens the profit on each article, and that must be compensated for by greater numbers of them being produced and sold; that is, the cheaper the goods, the more capital is required.

Precisely then, for the same reason that the mechanic, with his own shop and working on his own account, has disappeared in the struggle between hand-work and machine-work, for the same reason the small employers, with their little machinery, their small capital and their little stock of goods, are being driven from the fields by the trusts.

Our social order, or rather social disorder, may fitly be compared to a ladder of which the middle rounds are being torn away one by one. And this absorption of the smaller fortunes by the large ones is much hastened by the industrial crises, called "panics," which make their appearance every fifteen or twenty years.

The principle involved in "trusts" is the principle of co-operation instead of competition—but it is the co-operation of capitalists only, not the co-operation of the people. The object of a "trust" is greater regularity of production, steadiness of price and a uniform system of credit. It is the shadow of Socialism and it is used for the benefit of a few capitalists, instead of the nation.

And if this goes on, and according to all natural consequences it must go on, for all the great capital wants to be invested, then in a very short time we shall find most of our industries conducted by "trusts" from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

But these phenomena have also another meaning. They bring before the public mind the question whether we are to have organized capital or organized production? For it is perfectly evident that we must in the future have organized business action of some sort. Shall we have it for the capitalists only, or for the whole people?

In other words, the "trusts" prepare the public mind for Socialism.

If our "statesmen" were less blind to the logic of events which are pushing us with railroad speed toward a total and abrupt revolution, they might bring about a state of Socialism gradually and peaceably by a series of measures, each consistently developing itself out of the previous ones. They might begin from two poles of society.



Thus, it is now proposed, even by very conservative people, to take the telegraph system and the railroads of our country under government control and own them like our postoffice department.

Suppose this measure is realized, as it is sure to be in the near future.

Then do likewise with our express business, our steam and sailing vessels, and our mines, and thus onward.

Absorb the Standard Oil company, the steel trust and every other trust, and one great enterprise after another as quickly as possible.

And so from the other pole.

Why should not cities begin by taking under their control and operating their gas works, and electric light, railway and telephone plants? And why should they not operate their bakeries and drug stores? Let cities furnish to their citizens fuel in winter and ice in summer.

For are these things not just as essential to public health as water?

And, furthermore, let the city furnish all the school books and at least one meal a day, free of charge, to all the children, not only the poor, and clothes to such as are needy.

I do not say, nor even think, that the social question will be solved in this manner; our people are neither wise nor peaceable enough to do it. And some of our Socialists are just about as insane in that respect as are some capitalists. But it seems to me that would be the most practical way to solve the social question for a practical people.

Says the editor of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*:

"Here's richness. The Socialist candidate for governor of Rhode Island thus opens his letter of acceptance: 'While the chances of success are seemingly remote, there is much for which we must be thankful; everywhere there prevails a widespread discontent.' Apparently widespread ruin is all that is needed to fill that eminently frank Socialist's cup of gratitude to overflowing."

Since when were *discontent* and *ruin* one and the same thing? Discontent makes for progress, but ruin does not. When the workers of the wage class hug their chains it means ruin for the working class.

When they become discontented with economic oppression they force up the average of good citizenship, and bring nearer the day of their emancipation. If that Rhode Island candidate had said he was thankful for the discontent of the patriots of '76, the *Sentinel* would have smiled approvingly.

Talk of race suicide, what is the working class doing but committing suicide when it allows the capitalist state to put arms in its hands and uniforms on its backs and then on sundry occasions causes it to shoot down members of the working class who are struggling for better citizenship!

# Anti-Social Citizens

By WAYFARER

How often have we had the old stuff dinned into our ears that Socialism is a menace to the tax-payers, that it will *benefit* the people by raising the rates and *impoverishing* the people. Funny enough, this cry has been generally set up by men who do not pay taxes, or who escape paying their share, in other words tax-dodgers. As a rule the small owner pays his taxes without much grumbling, but the big fellows both grumble and dodge the greater part of their rightful share of the burden of keeping the community running. There probably is not a city in the United States where the big manufacturers, for instance, do not notoriously get off with under-assessments. If the assessors try to treat them like other citizens, these "great patriots" respond with threats about moving to some other city where their part in giving work and "building up the town" will be better appreciated. With real estate it is not so easy to dodge the taxes, but on the other forms of personal wealth, your average capitalist gets practically scot free.

Milwaukee has just had the spectacle of the unmasking of a master tax-dodger. Circumstances so shaped themselves that he was driven into a corner out of which he could not squirm. He had to, in effect, admit his "moral turpitude," and hope the thing would blow over as soon as possible. This man was John I. Beggs, president of the Milwaukee street railway system, a leading figure in the North American Company; and also active in the management of the traction system in St. Louis.

## A TAX-DODGER'S LIE!

Let the newspapers tell the story:

On July 17, the board of review sat around a long table on the fifth floor of the city hall and having nothing else to do bethought themselves that John I. Beggs ought to pay taxes, which he hadn't ever done in Milwaukee. None of them were familiar enough with the magnate to give anywhere near an exact estimate of his worth. Some thought he was worth a hundred million and others thought that twenty-five million was a conservative estimate of his wealth.

Finally, they decided to assess him \$100,000 personal property, money, mortgages, bonds, stocks, notes and so forth, what they call in scientific works on taxation—intangible property.

Monday afternoon John I. Beggs called on the Tax commissioner and said, "See here, Bill, I don't live in Milwaukee. I live in New York. Yes, sure I do. See, here is notice from the tax commissioner that I have been assessed \$25,000. I have never been a resident of Milwaukee, never considered this my home. I never voted here and I don't live here."

The tax commissioner looked at the notice the magnate showed and didn't say a word. It wasn't a receipt for taxes paid, it was simply a notice that he had been assessed—just like the notice the Milwaukee board of review had sent him on July 17.

"I trust you will not give out anything to the newspapers on this," said Mr. Beggs to the board of review, not noticing a newspaper man sitting six feet from him.

## THE TAX DODGER LOSES COURAGE!

Then comes Chapter 2:

Friday afternoon, through his attorney, Clarke M. Rosenkrans, the tax commissioner was notified that Mr. Beggs intended to appear before the board at 9 o'clock and formally declare that he did not live in Milwaukee. At the appointed hour there was a delegation of newspapermen and artists and interested citizens awaiting the car chief, anxious to hear his declaration. But they were disappointed.

This forenoon the traction company head changed his mind as to making an appearance in this matter, and word was received by the tax commissioner from the attorney that no appearance would be made. This means that he submits to the assessment and will not take the matter into court for review.

### THE EXPOSURE OF THE LIE.

The fact was that the board of review had made an investigation and had received the following telegram from New York:

New York, N. Y., Aug. 1.—Beggs assessed as non-resident for capital invested in New York. Has paid nothing in three years.

LAWSON PURDY.

This tell-tale evidence of his tax-dodging was printed in the papers, and the imperious Mr. Beggs weakened. He was in a corner where the less said the better.

This Beggs incident shows how endless and insatiable is capitalist greed, and it shows up the philosophy of life of our "leading citizens." They are predatory to the last fibre, and absolutely anti-social. Their motto is: Plunder all you can, but don't get caught. Only this time one of them was caught red-handed.

The working class provides the wherewithal. Its demand that the modern city shall be a place that is healthy to live in and that ministers to the wants and aspirations of the people is of itself a small demand, when considered in relation to the wealth it is constantly exploited out of under the capitalist system. If this flagrant exposure of a tax-dodger will silence to some extent the spurious claims of the tax-dodgers that the city must not make improvements because of the taxes it will mean a good deal to the city, and the Socialists say in their platforms that the measures they propose may be readily provided for the benefit of the people by making the capitalist class pay its rightful share of the burdens of city maintenance.

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In Milwaukee every third man is a voter of the Social-Democratic ticket. Bebel says that the last elections showed every third man in Germany a Social-Democrat. So that the Milwaukee part of the Socialist movement in the United States is in line with the foremost Social-Democratic movement in the world. When the other parts of the United States swing into line

a Social-Democratic president will begin to be a thing to talk about.

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City election in Muenchen, Germany, on the first ballot showed: Socialists, 25,603; Liberals, 20,463; Clericals, 13,939; Anti-Semites, 1,229. On the second ballot the capitalistic controlled parties combined against the Social-Democrats.

# Schmitz No Socialist

By R. A. DAGUE

Some of the capitalist papers continue to print the falsehood to the effect that Eugene Schmitz, the convicted mayor of San Francisco, is a Socialist. With this lie for a text, they preach to their readers, telling them that Socialism leads to dishonesty, is opposed to the church, and would break up families, etc. Now as a former resident of San Francisco, I am qualified to state the facts. Eugene Schmitz is a Republican in politics and a Roman Catholic in religion. Abraham Reuf, his long time legal adviser and alleged "boss," is a Republican in politics and a Jew in religion. There is a large Catholic and Jewish population in San Francisco. There was surprise manifested in all parts of the country that Schmitz was elected mayor three times. Residents of that city know how this was accomplished. A political alliance was formed between Schmitz and Reuf. The Rev. Peter C. Yorke, an eloquent Catholic priest, had great influence with many thousand voters. He was an ardent advocate of

Schmitz's candidacy. Abraham Reuf exerted great influence with Hebrew voters. Reuf is a very shrewd political manipulator. Schmitz had long been a musical director—is an accomplished violinist. He was a member of a musicians' union. Reuf "discovered him" and manipulated the labor unions so effectively that they nominated the "fiddler" for mayor. Reuf swung the Hebrew vote to him, also many hundred Republican votes. Father Yorke's eloquence brought to his aid many hundred votes from both the old parties. Three terms he was thus elected as a "Labor Union candidate." At every election the Socialists had a full ticket in the field and did all they could to defeat the "Reuf-Schmitz combination." Prior to his going into politics Schmitz had a good reputation. He should have stuck to his fiddle. He was a cat-paw in the hands of Reuf. He was too weak to withstand temptation.

Let the Republican lie about the San Francisco Socialists be exposed.

"Yes," said a talkative old lady, "I used to be very active in the D. A. R., but I have rather dropped out of it lately. It isn't the distinction it used to be. When we formed the society, it was our idea to get together ladies whose ancestors were men of eminence in the Revolution, like General — and General —, from whom I am descended; but now a lot of people have come in, descended maybe

from lieutenants, or even privates."

So these disappointed ladies had thought to serve an aristocratic motive by celebrating a democratic revolution! Well, their disappointment is the gratification of a much larger number. This business of being daughters of the old revolution is a rather paltry kind of activity, after all; how much better to be mothers of the next revolution! —Rufus W. Weeks.

# Shots at Capitalism

By FREDERIC HEATH

There is plenty of coal in the earth, there are plenty of men to do the mining, and they live miserably in order that they may work for low wages; there are plenty of railroads and plenty of cars to haul the coal after it is mined—and yet we are informed that there may be another coal famine this coming winter! This is the inevitable state of things so long as humanity permits the few to control the resources of the many. You have voted capitalist party tickets in the past, and every time you did you voted to sanction this sort of thing. As soon as enough of you get sense enough to desert the capitalist party camps and withhold the sanction of your votes for capitalistic outrages just so soon will the miserable conditions begin to disappear. You used to call us dreamers when we told you this in the past, but you have gotten so many hard knocks since then that you must be about ready by this time to see that we are practical, hard-headed people who have the courage to look facts in the face. We are doing our part, but we cannot do so very much until enough of you come to our support to give us a majority. It is up to you!

A particularly rabid and reckless magazine is the *Open Shop*. The publishers are trying to coin a living out of the fight on labor organization by the predatory capitalists, and the effort, of course, is far-fetched and grotesque. In the current issue there is an article on the "Ten Commandments of Socialism," which is one of the most

shameful appeals to prejudice we have ever laid our eyes on. Each "commandment" is made up of an offensive proposition and is then followed with alleged quotations, forgeries probably all of them, from well-known and unknown Socialists, tending to bear out the "command." To show the silliness of the thing we may state that one of the alleged commandments is to "curse the name of God." Another commandment is to "murder without scruple." And one of the alleged quotations, from a "Socialist writer" we never heard of, is to this effect: "It will be a joy for us to be able to assist at the death-throes of priests, of citizens, of capitalists. Shut up in the cellars of their own houses, they will die slowly, tasting death before our very eyes. This will be our victory." Comment is superfluous.

"The diary of an amateur waitress," by Maud Younger, in one of the magazines, contains a rather pertinent restaurant anecdote: "One of the girls told me about a restaurant where the customers paid the funeral expenses of a waitress who had no relatives. 'She got muscular rheumatism from standing,' said Number 3, 'and she died in the hospital. The firm sent her a grand floral piece with a star and a heart and crescent.' 'Well, that was good of them,' said Number 25. 'They'd better have paid her decent wages while she was alive,' said Number 12. 'She worked steadily at that house for five years and she worked thirteen hours a day every day in the week, Sundays, too. And all

she got was \$6 a week. I used to work there myself." At the restaurant with which the diary is concerned the wages were \$4 a week, and among the texts on the wall was, "I am the Lord which exercises loving kindness, judgment and righteousness in the earth." To say the word "union" was to be fined.

The New York *Evening Mail* sadly calls attention to the fact that the establishment of manhood suffrage in Austria has made the Socialists the strongest party in the parliament; that in the Finnish parliament they have almost half the members; that they are not much weaker in the Russian parliament, despite the indirect and juggled elections; that "their setback at the last election in Germany was more apparent than real," since their popular vote was increased; and that in France they compete for power with Radicals whom the *Mail* regards as little short of being themselves Socialists; and it concludes: "It is the worst of folly for defenders of conservatism and individualism throughout the world to blind themselves to the steady advance and ever increasing strength of the Socialistic movement in every country. The Austrian election is merely the latest warning of a peril common to the nations."

"Employers, more than any other class of citizens, receive the largest percentage of protection through the national guard," says the *Milwaukee Sentinel*. Correct, that's what the state soldiery, as at present organized, is for: To intimidate workingmen struggling to raise their status of citizenship. And that new law passed by the Wis-

consin legislature making it a misdemeanor for labor unions to put restrictions in their by-laws against members serving the capitalist owned state as guardsmen will avail little to repress a righteous opposition to the present military system. You may drag the trade union nag to the water but you cannot make them drink, gentlemen. Give us a real citizen soldiery, with every able-bodied man a member and on a basis where the soldiers represent the people and their liberty and are not the tools of the interests of a marauding class thereof, and you will not be forced to the pitiful extremity of passing any more such tell-tale laws.

State Sec'y Nash of our party in Minnesota writes in regard to the "outbreaks" the newspapers have had so much to say about on the Mesaba range, that "the miners are as quiet as church mice, except in the papers, where the indications are made to look as if everything was on the ragged edge and liable to go up in smoke at any minute. All the comrades are trying their best to preserve order and keep things quiet, while the mine owners are calling loudly for troops, and when unable to get them employ detectives and thugs they have armed with rifles and keep them patrolling the roads between Hibbing and Chisholm, bent on the usual mischief these cut-throats enjoy making." When you read the news now-a-days you cannot always mostly tell how much is straight and how much invention.

A Milwaukeean traveling in the West writes: "On the front of a big traction engine hauling a train of logs in the state of Washington I found a big cloth placard which

read: 'Under Socialism the workers will get as much for five hours' work as under the present system for ten hours.' Socialism is sweeping the country from Denver to the coast. Am simply amazed at the progress Socialism is making all over the Western country."

The *Miners' Magazine* of Denver points out that the capitalist government of Colorado has enacted a law by which divorces may be had within its borders for 30 cents. The descent from the 30 pieces of silver of old to the 30 pieces of copper of the present is simply an indication of the fact that the more modern commercialism has to provide bargain-counter inducements. In fact, the modern theory of capitalism is to make small profits but plenty of them—and there are plenty of homes to be sacrificed under the present system.

One of the oddest newspapers in the world is one named the *Wochenblatt*, which is published in Gruningen, a small town of some 1,200 inhabitants in the canton of Zurich, in Switzerland. It is the only newspaper in the place and is at one and the same time the organ of the Liberal Conservatives and the Social-Democrats. Pages one and two belong to the Liberals, and pages three and four to the Socialists, and the two parties abuse one another heartily in its pages.

There is a big difference between a labor union trust and a carnivorous capitalist trust, if you please, Messrs. Special Pleaders for Capitalism. The capitalist trust is bent on getting a good thing for a restricted few and to the divvel with the rest. The labor union "trust" has for its prime object the taking

in of every laborer possible. See the point?

The government by commission reformer is a wolf in sheep's clothing. To the unwary he looks good, but the result of his work will be a blow to true democracy. If he has his way he will undo the work of years' in trying to make this government a government of the people. Look his schemes and "reforms" over carefully, and see where they point to. Eternal vigilance is just as much the price of liberty now as it was in 1776.

A well known writer, who applied and secured a job as strike breaker on a street car line in order to write intelligently on the subject, says that he had no difficulty in getting work and having a car entrusted to him, although he was utterly ignorant of the work. The company did not care how many lives were thus put in jeopardy so long as it could beat the strikers and prevent their bettering their living. Private ownership never does truly serve the people.

How inadequately the German Socialists are represented in parliament has been shown by a statement made by Bebel in the assembly itself. Bebel declared that if there were a proper distribution of seats the Socialists would be in possession, not of 43 seats but of 117. He affirms also that the last election had proved that every third man in Germany over the age of 25 was a Socialist.

If you have been voting a capitalist party ticket you have been sharing in the responsibility for the capitalist system. And every groan of distress, every despairing

cry of your fellow human, ground to death and degradation under capitalism's remorseless wheels, ought to penetrate to your conscience and turn you from a Saul into a Paul.

Have you ever stopped to contemplate the fact that under the capitalist system prosperity and poverty go hand in hand and that there is usually more poverty than prosperity! This fact alone ought to show that the system has outlived the period of its usefulness. It will soon go to the scrap heap to make way for a brighter era and greater happiness among the people.

The people seem to be doing a little reflecting. They are daring today to think about the fact that it is the industrious class in society that is the poor class, and that fact doesn't seem to jibe with the old notion that wealth and contentment came from being industrious.

Where will you find today the same spirit, the same self-sacrifice, that dominated the patriots of Revolutionary days and the heroes of the fight to abolish black slavery, except in the Social-Democratic movement for economic freedom and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man?

The bishop of London says English homes are so overcrowded that "they are not homes at all." Then why do not the people of England get homes large enough, for there is plenty of material and plenty of labor to do the building! Why, indeed!

"Death by pneumonia, accelerated by poverty," was the verdict

given in the case of a child's death in London. That's giving away the capitalist system with a vengeance.

There is enough and to spare of the necessities and good things of life all about us to give every human being a complete life. But a bad system holds these things away from the mass of the people and deals out rewards to shirkers instead of to workers.

Just before adjourning for the summer the parliament of France enacted a bill limiting the hours of labor in the mines of that country to eight hours per day. This is a great victory for the Socialists in parliament, who made a hard fight to force the government to show its hand.

Under capitalism labor saving machinery takes the job of the worker. Under Socialism it would come as his best friend, for he would share in its ownership and consequently its product.

It is said that the soldiers in Italy are so strongly in sympathy with the working class that the government would not dream of ordering them against strikers.

Under the capitalist system it is usually more profitable to work others than to work yourself. Can such a system of society be called moral?

The Socialist party of France now has over 50,000 dues-paying members.

Don't despise the power of the ballot simply because you have misused it so long.







**VICTOR L. BERGER**

# THE VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray,  
Yet newer strength we borrow,  
And where the Vanguard camps today,  
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

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## The Month's Story

### Class Hygiene

One of our brightest exchanges, "A Stuffed Club," published in Denver, Colo., quotes some of the VANGUARD'S statements with approval, but insists that "the worst slavery today is that of gluttony and its accompaniment, disease." It is troubled about the amount of money "wasted on unnecessary food." The editor seems to see with his mind's eye a mountain of pies, puddings, savory joints of meat, hot-house grapes, jellies, oyster patties, quail on toast and other expensive luxuries which, "unnecessarily" gobbled down by the average working-man, cost "enough money to make those who are poor competent."

Now, there is no better proof of the existence of classes in this country than this curious fact—that there is even a *class hygiene*.

It is true that a certain class is actually suffering from a large amount of "unnecessary food." The "upper" classes are martyrs to dyspepsia and "nerves." They are constantly reminded by their outraged stomachs and muscles that they should eat less and exercise more.

The poor man, meanwhile, is not worrying about his digestion, but about his dinner. His only "stomach trouble" is emptiness. The only question of exercise that ever bothers him is how to get work and keep it.

So, queerly enough, it comes about that there are two sorts of hygiene, one required by the "upper" and one by the "lower" class.

The books and articles on the art of preserving the health are mostly written for the bourgeois, and so they present the bourgeois hygiene. They give elaborate directions for the exercise of every part of the body, to counteract the effects of idleness in the class that lives by other men's labors. And the doctors and druggists largely make their living by prescribing and selling costly drugs to wash down the indigestible dainties devoured by those who take the bread from the mouths of the hungry.

If any one should truthfully discuss the sort of hygiene suited to workingmen and their families, he would not tell them to take more exercise, but less. The first rule of hygiene for workingmen would be to strike for shorter hours, so that they may not be worn-out, bent and useless old men at forty-five. A good physiologist would not warn them against overfeeding their little ones, but against underfeeding them on thin milk and poor food. He would not have much to say

about the workingmen's nerves, but he would tell them that their lack of "nerve" and their passive submission to oppression are destroying them, soul and body, and their children after them.

But nobody has yet taken the trouble to write a hygiene for the working class.

Only the Socialists are now beginning to write it out in wise labor laws and in legislation that will finally abolish the system which divides mankind into the class that stuffs and the class that starves.

\* \* \*

**Class** Just as curious as the class hygiene of our times, is the present class religion. Its chief object is the invention of salves for the capitalist conscience and a moral code which commands the under dog to stay under. One of the queerest specimens of this sort of class religion we recently stumbled across in another exchange. The editor of this paper declares that the theory of "reincarnation" had settled for him a question which had long puzzled him. This question was, how could a just God place some infants in palaces, and others in the terrible tenements of our slums, to pine and wail away their short and wretched lives?

The answer to this hard question, according to our reincarnationist, is a delightfully soothing one to the capitalist, and especially to real estate owners who make fortunes out of tenement house rents. These miserable babies are rightly served, since in some former existence they committed acts which drew down upon them all this suffering as a just retribution.

The owner of one of the human bee-hives of New York or Chicago, where the little white-faced, moaning babies die like flies through the summer months, need not feel one twinge of conscience. He is only justly punishing them for crimes which they committed in some previous life.

The capitalist who herds the little child workers into his factory can have the consoling consciousness that every little sufferer carried off by consumption or dropsy, in consequence of long hours and bad air, certainly deserved its fate before it was born. Every little hand mangled in the machines, every little spine crooked by unnatural labor, belongs to some pre-natal criminal, whose punishment justice requires.

Truly, a comfortable bourgeois doctrine!

And it is not a whit more absurd than all the other doctrines invented by the capitalist class to prop their claim to the "divine right" of oppressing their fellowmen.

Only, the uprise of so many freak religions at the present day is a symptom of the decay of our present system of society.

Just so all sorts of queer and crazy sects sprang up in the Roman Empire just before its overthrow when the social fabric was tottering to its ruin.

Every one of the fantastic new sects of our own day, from the reincarnationist to the Holy Jumpers and High Rollers, is a sure sign that our own society is crumbling and decaying and getting ready to fall.

All the attempts of the bourgeois class to prop it up with false religion, false philosophy, cruel laws and rotten politics, is like shutting in a falling avalanche with a picket fence.

\* \* \*

### Issues, not Men

The autumn preceding the presidential year brings again the busy old-party slate-maker. As the Republican and Democratic parties have no distinctive programs, the all-important question for them is the personal question—the question of candidates. Who is to head the ticket? is the one problem, and, that settled, they fit the platform to the man.

The Socialists, of course, go about it just the other way. They fit the man to the platform.

The old parties cannot begin their campaign work until the presidential candidates are named, because up to that time they have nothing to talk about. But the Socialists, who campaign for principles, not men, have their issues always ready. This is the reason that "the Socialists begin their next campaign as soon as the polls close at the end of election day."

And this also is the reason, sympathizer with Socialism, why you should get into line for the fight right now. Do not postpone your activity until 1908. Above all, do not think it enough that you vote the Socialist ticket. That is a very small part of a Socialist's duties. We need you in our ranks. You will give us help and encouragement. And you will get far more than you give. You will find the inspiration of your life. Fall in line, brother! Join the Socialist army of organization!

\* \* \*

### Hearst at Sea

One of the most significant events of the last month was the flop of William Randolph Hearst. The man whom his enemies accuse of "arraying class against class" now insists that in this country "we have no aristocracy save that of intellect and industry," and therefore he has "no patience with the prejudice which exists between alleged classes, when the classes themselves do not really exist." This sounds somewhat like D. M. Parry. It is queer doctrine for a radical of Mr. Hearst's record. But 1908 is a presidential year. And Mr. Hearst, having baked his presidential cake to a turn on the Radical side, now flops it over to "do it brown" on the Conservative side. It is a splendid specimen of old-party cookery.

All this must be highly disappointing to those Radicals and semi-Socialists who looked upon Hearst as the future savior of his country from the plutocracy. But the experienced Socialist sees no cause for surprise in the zigzag path of a *man without a program*.

Up to this time, the work of Mr. Hearst and men of his type has been to shake the foundations of our present evil system. Their work has been destructive, not constructive. They have suggested nothing

to take the place of our present government by wealth. Their disintegrating work is now accomplished. The "muck-rakers" have sown "divine discontent" among the American people. It was a useful and necessary work. But now that it is done, the people ask, What next? And neither Hearst nor any of his kind can answer.

For it is no answer to say, "Go back to the system of our fathers." The chicken cannot be forced back into the egg. The wheel of evolution *never runs backward*.

So, having accomplished their mission, we must expect Mr. Hearst and his fellows to step back and be lost in the ranks of the Conservatives.

It is not enough to expose the graft and oppression of our rotten economic system. We must be able to show, on general lines, *what* system we intend to establish as a substitute, and, on general lines, *how* we intend to establish it.

Only the Socialists can show this.

A rower on a rough and stormy sea may battle heroically with the waves. He may ply his oars vigorously, and struggle hard against the tide. But unless he keeps his eye fixed upon some landmark on the shore toward which he steadily heads his boat, he will only zigzag about in a crooked course and never reach the land.

## Through New Eyes

By HENRY T. JONES

Socialism! Life means more to me now that I have found this great truth. It means that I now know that there is hope for this world; that I have found a comradeship which enables me to know the way to end the crawling over the bodies of humans in this awful social pit we now have. It means to me that I have discovered that I am class-conscious and revolutionary and that the glorious chance has come to me to be a trusty follower in the most wonderful adventure the world has ever witnessed. I do not say leader in this crisis, for there are no leaders. It leads us on to that new light. I have been ground up in this great mass of plutocratic disorder. I have had to resort to free lunches in order to sustain life, and this, too, after a childhood and young manhood of luxury. I have remained in bed when I could not be seeking work, in order to keep back the hunger my body would endure if subjected to increased exertion, and in those days I was without hope. I could not see the way out for humanity. The terrible spectre of apprehension was always staring me and the rest of us in the face, and I saw no way to escape. But now I can see the glorious way to joy for the world, and that way is the Socialist way.

When this revelation came to me I saw that everything I looked at had a different aspect to my mind. I saw the fine equipages passing up and down Fifth avenue, Michigan boulevard or Pennsylvania avenue, containing handsomely gowned women and well-groomed men, and I realized then for the

first time that the scented garments and the other belongings of the "upper" class were stained with the tears of the women of the hard working poor; were the evidences of destroyed lives of children forced to toil in the factory, mine and mill; were the flagrant evidence of the murderous thievery the world's best manhood has been influenced so long to patiently bear.

I, too, read books, editorials and speeches with a different understanding and marveled at the ignorance, stupidity and lack of logic of the authors. The rotten life, the tortured bodies, the monstrous poverty, the debauchery, the arrogant selfishness, the stupidity of the educated and the sickening mockery of it all was so repugnant to me that it wrung my very soul. Realizing all this, I was compelled to go onward and upward toward this wonderful paradise for mankind. My only regret is that I haven't another life, in the flesh, to contribute to this cause so sweet and wonderful.

And when the dormant conscience of the world is aroused, as it will be aroused, all the standing armies, police, courts, churches and the rest of the tinsel power of the capitalist brutality will not have strength enough to attempt to erect a barrier!

Before this truth penetrated my being I read the works of Dickens, Ruskin, Balzac and others with no object further than the interest I found in the narratives. In "hard times" I can now see that all of our cities are Coketowns; that honest old Stephen Blackpool is the kind of manhood our captains of industry have murdered and enslaved; that old Bounderby represents our God Almighty Baers and Carnegies, and that this civilization creates such despicable charac-

ters as the father of Balzac's Eugenie Grandet.

When I now see innocent school girls of tender years I often wonder how many of this innocent childhood will in after years be cast into lives of prostitution or to equally degrading places in the shops and mills to grind out profit for the monster class! Comparatively few, I know, are to be blessed with happy motherhood, and to live the joyous lives they would crave.

Don't say to me that many of the inmates of the brothels are there through choice! I know it cannot be true. Such a claim is an insult to our wives, mothers, sisters or sweethearts.

America is fast learning that the Socialists no longer are a band of insignificant dreamers and outcasts. We are both hopeful and defiant. And why? Because Socialists are absolutely sure they are right. They don't think and believe they are right. They know it. No wonder the present rulers of the world fear them. The revolutionists are stirred by a lofty enthusiasm that insures freedom. The future, we are absolutely sure, belongs to us!

So life means more to me now than it did in those dreary, uncertain days. And I am in the fight to stay, because I know that the battle is for right and that victory is sure. I am not a captain in this great fight, though. I am a follower with the rest, for there are no captains. And when you have taken the time to look down into this social pit and to realize that the lot of its victims is not to be endured by men, then, and not until then, will you learn that your time to be a follower and to take part in the great endeavor, that means so much to each and every one of us on this glorious earth, has come.

# A Song for Russia

By ERNEST JONES

People! Ye that toil and suffer!  
 People! Ye that bleed and die!  
 Now your standard is exalted,  
 Now your day is drawing nigh!  
 Let the trumpets sound your coming  
 To the reverberating sky!  
 Like the patriot-bands that made  
 Tyrant-hearted Kings afraid;  
 Like the storm-wind sweeping  
 shore-ward—  
 Pikes and sabres! Forward! Forward!  
 To the throbbing drums of Freedom  
 and the thund'rous  
 cannonade!

All the darkness is behind you,  
 And the midnight of your woe;  
 All the bonds wherewith they bind  
 you  
 In their hell of Want below!  
 Now, O, people, see the sword-shine!

See the dawnshine come and go!  
 As your eager ranks go by  
 Lo! before each burning eye  
 Floats the phantom of your pity,  
 Tombed in many a blazing city,  
 Where your sisters writhed in torment,  
 where your butchered  
 kinsfolk lie!

*Like the patriot-bands that made  
 Tyrant-hearted Kings afraid;  
 Like the storm-wind sweeping  
 shoreward—  
 Pikes and sabres! Forward! Forward!*

*To the throbbing drums of Freedom  
 and the thund'rous  
 cannonade!*

Crowned is he that stands against  
 you,

With a crown of crime and  
 flame;  
 Foe to justice, foe to freedom,  
 Every letter of his name  
 Burns like fire from hell to  
 blacken  
 Love, and light, and truth, and  
 fame!  
 Brothers, scorn his bought array!  
 Ye that braved without dismay  
 Hireling hordes together banded,  
 Black of heart and bloody-handed,  
 When the face of day was dark-  
 ened, and the weak be-  
 came a prey!

*Like the patriot-bands that made  
 Tyrant-hearted Kings afraid;  
 Like the storm-wind sweeping  
 shoreward—  
 Pikes and sabres! Forward! Forward!  
 To the throbbing drums of Freedom  
 and the thund'rous  
 cannonade!*

Heard ye not a cry of anguish?  
 Yea, his very dungeons weep!  
 Where the friends of Freedom lan-  
 guish,  
 Where her murdered children  
 sleep!  
 They were sowers in the seed-time,  
 Ye are sickles, strong to reap!  
 "Through our triumphs and our  
 tears  
 Ye were with us, pioneers!  
 Now the fires of Dawn are leaping  
 Ye are with us at the reaping,  
 Hero-hearted sons and daughters  
 of the long, unlighted  
 years!"

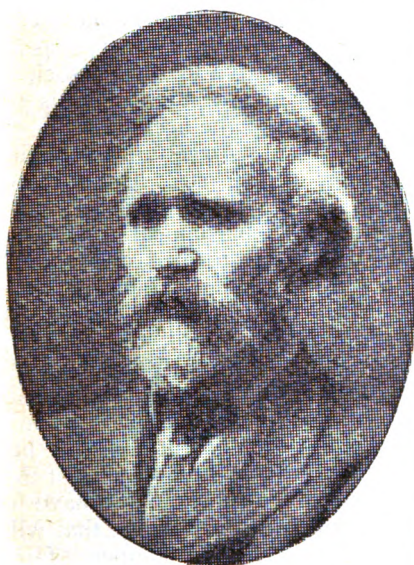


*Like the patriot-bands that made  
Tyrant-hearted Kings afraid;  
Like the storm-wind sweeping  
shoreward—*

*Pikes and sabres! Forward! Forward!  
To the throbbing drums of Free-  
dom and the thund'rous  
cannonade!*

## When Labor Rules

By J. KEIR HARDIE, M. P.



*J. Keir Hardie.*

**T**HAT the rule of the work-  
er is on its way there can  
be no manner of doubt.  
Of its coming we have  
many indications. \* \* \*

That which at present tells most  
against the rapid spread of the So-  
cialist movement in the United  
States is the opposition of some of  
the leaders of the trades union  
movement. Five years ago a like  
remark would have applied to the  
leaders of British trades unionism.  
The growth of Socialist opinion, the  
pressure of economic circumstances,

and the open hostility of the law  
courts to trade unions have all com-  
bined in producing a marked change  
in their attitude to labor politics,  
until now almost every trade union  
and trade union leader of any note  
in England, Scotland, Ireland and  
Wales is cordially cooperating with  
the British Socialist organization—  
in building up a party separate and  
distinct from existing parties. So  
great has been the progress already  
made that nearly one hundred can-  
didates sought election last year,  
most of them pledged to political  
independence.

To the Socialist this means leg-  
islation which aims at the reorgani-  
zation of society on the basis of the  
public ownership of capital and the  
co-operative production of such  
commodities as the community re-  
quires for its sustenance, comfort,  
and convenience. Clearly this is a  
phase of the work of the labor  
movement in which all who accept  
the Socialist conception of society  
may take part, whatever their social  
position in life may be. Many of  
the best known leaders of Socialist  
thought and opinion in every coun-  
try are drawn from the ranks of the  
educated classes.

Socialists do not in these days  
dogmatize on the form which the  
state of the future will assume.  
They are content to leave that to  
the future as a matter which does

not concern them. They point to the indisputable fact that the private ownership of capital and the competitive method of wealth production of every country tends to degrade the worker to a condition of industrial servitude and economic bondage in which their reward **CAN NEVER RISE MUCH ABOVE THE LEVEL OF A BARE SUBSISTENCE.** The ideas of the non-Socialist trade unionist are not so clearly developed. He is mainly concerned with the fact that his masters have been making the laws, and that as a consequence the law usually works out to his disadvantage.

It is inherent in the nature of things that the ruling class should use its authority to benefit itself, and labor will be no exception to this universal law. But under the rule of labor there will be this fundamental difference from the present or the past: that in the past the rulers have been only a small section of a nation who in legislating in their own interests have done so to the hurt and detriment of the welfare of the many, whereas under the rule of labor, and inasmuch as work is the lot of all, save the small parasite class, in legislating for itself labor will be legislating for all. From this definition of labor politics it will be evident to the reader that the term labor is not here used in any narrow or restricted sense, but includes all who are engaged in any useful service, whether it be manual or mental. Only those need fear the advent and success of the party who are anxious to shirk their share of the world's work. There are hoboës at both ends of the social scale, and the idler who inhabits a palace and fares sumptuously every day is a far more dangerous creation than the poor "Weary Willie" who

mouches by day and dozes where he may by night. They are both the products of our industrial system, and both will disappear under Socialism.

When labor reigns and property has become a public trust and work a social service, poverty will disappear. One of the most mysterious of the many mysteries of modern life is the persistence of poverty. Back in the misnamed Dark Ages in Europe, ere machinery had been dreamt of and when industry was in its most primitive form, and society was based on the military basis of feudalism, and the accumulation of wealth had scarcely begun, the common people still managed to exist. Now, when steam and electricity and mechanical invention and the great store of capital and the organization of industry have increased the productive powers of labor a thousandfold, the mass of those who toil for a living can still do no more than manage to exist. Millions of them in every land are condemned to a condition of life little, if any, removed from that of the Roman galley-slave. They have to toil laboriously for a wage that will not purchase them paupers' fare, with no hope of escape till death brings them a welcome relief. Millions more are just one degree removed from this condition, and are liable at any moment to be plunged into the pit by accident, sickness, bad trade or middle age. And all these, from the most highly skilled mechanic to the most lowly graded laborer, are parts of an organization which is turning out wealth enough to satisfy a Midas. This is the modern mystery of mysteries—that though wealth accumulates, poverty shows no sign of decay—nay, in Great Britain and the United States of America, is actually a growing

quantity. Riches and poverty growing side by side is surely a strange anomaly; strange—yet a fact.

The Socialist has no difficulty in accounting for this puzzling phenomenon. He finds that land and capital are owned, whilst labor is hired, the wages of the hireling being fixed by competition tend always to fall to the point of subsistence; the lower the grade of the worker the keener naturally is the competition for jobs, and the wages of the unskilled therefore are always nearest to the starvation limit. Thus it works out that the common people are always kept poor, whilst the wealth that their toil creates is being filched from them in ever increasing amounts by those who own capital, without the use of which labor, as things are, is helpless.

When labor reigns militarism will disappear. It is part and parcel of the capitalist system, and will die with it.

When we reflect that in the twenty-eight principal nations of the world there are 33,000,000 men trained as soldiers, of whom 8,000,000 are actually under arms in times of peace, and that the yearly cost of maintaining this huge engine of destruction and oppression in a

condition of efficiency, more or less and apart from the actual cost of war, is \$1,850,000,000, it is unthinkable that labor, which has to bear the cost of war in life and money, will not find a more reasonable and human method of settling such international disputes.

Wars are either the outcome of the ambitions of rulers or of the necessities of certain vested interests. The Russo-Japanese war belonged to the former category, the American-Spanish and the British-Boer wars to the latter. Had there been no American sugar interests in Cuba, and no British gold mining interests in the Transvaal, neither of these wars ever would have taken place.

When labor rules the world not only will class be freed from bondage to class, but nations from subjection to nations. The race is one and indivisible, and freedom can only dwell in the race, and not in selected portions thereof.

Finally, when labor rules the world, kings, emperors, czars and nobles, and all such mischievous relics of the childhood of the race will be swept into oblivion. Already they have outlived their usefulness.

"The perpetuation of the war spirit by the glorification of battle and bloodshed is blamed by many peace advocates for the lightheartedness with which people who have never experienced war seem ready to plunge their nations into its horrors," says the *Literary Digest*. May we suggest that preliminary to the next peace congress there be a getting together of the librarians of the nations and an agreement by them to remove from the shelves of

their respective institutions the many books written especially to glorify murder in gross, especially in books written for children, with which nearly every public library especially is overloaded. The feeding of children's minds with this sort of bloody stuff is simply incitement to bloodshed, which is none the less abominable because the murderous inclination does not manifest itself until some quarrel of rulers fans it into flame.

# Let It Work Both Ways!

By VICTOR L. BERGER

**F**ROM time immemorial there have been in all civilized countries laws of a restraining nature. They were always based upon the principle that individuals must curb their powers, their passions, their desires whenever, by gratifying these, the interests of *society as a whole* might be injured.

Robbery, forgery, rape and arson are forbidden, because the committal of these crimes, if permitted, would prove injurious to the welfare of the people in general, though they might advance the interests of those committing them.

\* \* \*

Let us suppose the case of a needy man who sees within easy reach the wherewithal to satisfy his wants. All he would need to do is to stretch out his hands to get it.

Yet he is not permitted to do so. The law stands before him with a solemn threat. It tells him that it is wiser and better for the welfare of the community that he should suffer—or even that he should perish—rather than that he should take things which do not belong to him.

At least this is the contention of the state in enforcing this regulation. It is for the welfare of the many, as opposed to that of the individual, that this particular subject must restrain his desires, sometimes even his hunger.

In other words, *the first law of nature*—that of personal self-preservation—is made subordinate to the code of laws which has been adopted for the preservation of society as it is. A man who is starv-

ing cannot even steal a loaf of bread to preserve his life, because stealing is supposed to be destructive to society.

The principle is clearly established and recognized that individual interests—no matter how pressing—should not in any case supersede general interests.

\* \* \*

And yet how limited is the application of this excellent principle of restriction.

The law which prohibits the gratification of the poor man's hunger at the expense of his neighbor, to be logical, should prohibit the gratification of the *rich man's greed* at the expense of his neighbors.

If it is just and politic that individuals should be restrained whenever their actions tend to affect adversely the morals and welfare of the community or of the nation—then certainly a check should also be imposed on those who, by accumulation of wealth far beyond their needs, are instrumental in producing poverty and the crimes and vices which are the results of poverty.

If *personal* self-gratification and even *personal self-preservation* must make way for *social* preservation, then it should be required that the opulent surrender their riches in order to save the social organization.

If the principle of subjection to restriction for the general good is one whose application is essential to the welfare of the commonwealth, then even the *power* of indulging the passion of greed for immoderate

wealth, which might inflict injury on others, should be absolutely curbed.

\* \* \*

There is a strange power whereby gold is drawn toward gold. The greater the accumulation, the greater the attraction.

There are a number of men in our country who annually add millions to their possessions. If the same process of accumulation were applied to land—and there is no law to forbid it—it is evident that a man acquiring a title to several million acres every year need only live long enough to become possessed of the earth. Considering the vast holdings of certain Americans now—and their strenuous efforts to add to these and the power thus obtained—there is no reason why a few men in our generation should not combine and form a powerful trust of trusts—compared with which the power of the Kaiser of Germany would sink to insignificance.

As it is now, our trust magnates—in spite of all the efforts of Roosevelt and Bryan and Bonaparte and Taft—constitute a power in our public and private and social life which renders ridiculous all the pretensions of a republic of citizens “free and equal.”

While we have a Democracy in name, we live in a plutocracy *in fact*.

But how long will it last?

\* \* \*

For let it not be thought that the lessons of the past are completely forgotten.

The overthrow of mighty kings in the past, the breakdown of hierarchies and the reduction of popes, are not mere romances without historical meaning.

On the contrary. The history of

the future can to no small extent be read in the pages of the past.

The princes and popes of the past claimed their power and their authority from God. If these princes, nobles and priests had their prerogatives curtailed in spite of their claim that these prerogatives were of divine origin, can our plutocrats expect that their power, that their prerogatives will last forever?

Or do they mean to say that the forward march of Democracy, which did not halt before the crown and the tiara—that the Democracy, which rebelled against the “holiness” of the crosier and the cassock—will forever bow down before the *unholiness* of the money bag?

\* \* \*

And what did it profit to restrict the prerogatives of rulers and the privileges of nobles and of the clergy, as long as the privileges of wealth remain intact?

Distributing votes and concentrating wealth did not fulfill the promises of Democracy.

A score of men in our great country enjoy privileges, and have a power for weal and for woe—political, financial and social—greater than the privileges and powers of the millions of masses combined.

Call this state of things whatever you will, but you cannot call it Democracy. Claim for it what advantage you please, but you cannot claim that it is advantageous to the masses of the nation.

The principle which should guide our government—the principle which should guide every honest government—of subordinating the *individual* to the *general welfare*—requires a *broad* application than it receives at present.

If a man is not allowed to steal

a loaf of bread from others to satisfy his hunger, then a man ought not to be allowed to steal a million loaves from others and steal them every day to satisfy his greed.

We have solved the problem of production, we must solve the problem of distribution—or our civilization will break down.

In short, our present Democracy cannot defend its very name against the encroachment of plutocracy. And what is worse, it cannot defend its very existence on the ground of equity, of morality, or even of expediency—unless it becomes *Social-Democracy*.

Very disquieting are matters industrially just now. On every hand, the fact that "we've turned the corner" is indeed obvious to all with eyes to see and ears to hear. Having now turned the corner and fairly on the other road, we find it leading down to the abyss of poverty, and each step narrows the gloom. Painfully obvious is this to a number of working-class people who, when they returned to their former employment after a few weeks vacation, found that their commodity, labor power, was a drug in the market, the owner of the workshop and factory having no further use for them. A large number of men find themselves so placed, while hundreds of others are, unconsciously, perhaps, at this moment trembling on the balance, a false step, an over-wrought mind, a dimming of the eye, a loss of power to the arm, a few gray hairs, threatens to find them a place in the army of the workless. Socialists are accused of always presenting the gloomy side of conditions—perhaps so, but looking at things as they now exist, from base to pyramid of our economic, political and social system, wherein lies the bright side to the thoughtful working-class man? With the sword of insecurity ever dangling over his economic neck, and hanging only by the most fragile of economic

threads, where is the bright side of the workers' lot? Merely to eat, drink, work and sleep! Is that the bright side? Here is a pathetic illustration of a working man's position under this system of production for profit:

"At a recent inquest held in connection with the death of C—— D——, who was found hanging in Firzroy (Mel.), the deceased's widow said she found the following farewell note: 'Dear Wife and Children—I cannot stand this pain and poverty any longer. I am going to bid you a loving farewell. I cannot accept charity. I am in your way. Some one will assist you, but no one will assist me to live. For the kiddies' sake, be kind to each other.—Your Poor Dad.'"

Says the Evansville *Labor Journal*: "We can march in labor parades until Hades boils down to a poultice, but unless we vote as we march we'll never purify the bench, get the legislation we deserve, secure the recognition that must be ours, or alter conditions that now so heavily oppress us. The political game is the game that capital plays to offset the work of organization among workingmen. Labor Day parades are all right, but wouldn't a solid election day parade look well?"



# A True Word of Cheer

By ROSE PASTOR STOKES



Courte

Forward N. Y.

*Rose Pastor Stokes.*

**A** WORD of cheer to the comrades." That is the demand. It reminds me of the word of cheer a bourgeois friend once gave:

"Why all this looking down? Why all this pointing at the sad, the sorrowful, the miserable, the wretched, the unjust in life? Is this all that you see, then? Why look

down, why not look up? Come, cheer up, friend! The birds are singing, hear them? The sun shines, and things are green; the waters sparkle and the trees whisper glad secrets; and there is, oh, so much, gladness in life everywhere! *Be optimistic!*"

My answer to such words of cheer is this:

When an innocent, harmless peo-

ple is oppressed, you rush into war—you throw yourself into the fire of battle to do and dare for others that others may be free. You are ready to give, with your nation, the last drop of life blood if need be, because you feel a sister nation's wrong. Spain? Spain shall not dare! We shall rush to the fray, and we shall not yield till Cuba is free! We shall hear nothing, feel nothing, see nothing but Cuba's misery, distress and bondage! (At least, so you, the people, felt; no matter what economic forces brought on that war and seemed to make it necessary.) True, somewhere the birds are singing and the sun is shining, the waves are kissing pleasant shores, and all nature is glad, and hundreds of thousands of human beings are glad also, aye, millions even. But who is the traitor that will dare, in a time like this, to call attention to these things away from the miseries of an oppressed people? Who the heartless ones who will dare breathe a word of these eternally glad things until an enslaved people is made free? Until the hands of the oppressors are made to drop the lash, the sword, the instrument of torture? Who?—Nay, Cuba must be free before any man who draws breath in our America will have heart to listen to the song of birds or glory in nature's gladness. Banish joy till Cuba is free! Joy lies dead till Cuba is free!

And you tell me there is joy, and you tell me there are many happy men and women and children in our land; and you tell me that the birds sing, and the fields are green, and the sun shines, and you enjoin me to look up and not down, that then I shall smile and not be sorrowful; but I tell you that there are ten million human beings in

our America who are living on the edge of starvation; and I tell you that our people are being worked to the limit of their endurance, and enjoy not the fruits of their labor, and receive in return a wage to starve, suffer and die on. And I tell you there are armies of men and women past fifty cast out of the field of labor without man or state to care whether they live or die; that there are over two million little children in our land crushed beneath the burden of toil, day and night, in our mills and mines and factories, knowing of neither God nor man, except of God's silence, and of man's cruelty. And I tell you that there is a mighty class of workers in our land kept in darkness, and ignorance, and poverty, and wretchedness, and disease, and vice, and crime by another class of men who live in idleness and luxury upon the excessive toil of these workers. And I tell you these idlers commit a thousand crying crimes against the toilers; oppress them, and mete out to them gross injustice day by day, and heap upon them, consciously and unconsciously, misery upon misery and woe upon woe. And I tell you that the hearts of men are breaking with this woe! And that, though there may be things joyous in the world and in nature, yet men must strive until social and economic injustice is wiped off the face of our fair land; until our prosperous land shall prosper all men instead of the few; until our prosperous land shall prosper in particular the toilers, the creators of its prosperity. And I tell you, until industrial, economic and social despotism is wiped out in a bloodless war and freedom from wage slavery is established, there shall be constant striving till the birds sing, and the sun shines,



and the waters ripple, and nature is glad for *all*.

We have been diverted by these things long enough, and poverty has grown apace; and injustice, and greed, and inequality have grown apace. We have been turning our backs on the real issues in human affairs; pointing with pride to our country's wealth, and losing sight of our people's poverty. If you have the love of men in your hearts, if you have the love of justice and truth in your hearts, I appeal to you to cease dallying with pleasures that are trifles as compared with this great issue, and to take up the cause of justice, the cause of Socialism, the cause of humanity. And I tell you you must consecrate your life to it. And I tell you you must think of the millions who may not enjoy the birds and flowers, the light on sea and land, and all the myriad glad things. For the greatest joy in a world like our world of today is to suffer with the millions and strive with them upward and onward, even though slow the progress.

This is my word of cheer—my word of optimism. Not the optimism, this, of the wilfully blind, who believe that if they keep gazing at the sky the earth will cease to be, and that if they keep listening to birds the cry of the oppressed will be silent. No, this is the optimism of a divine discontent, the optimism of them that look "down," nor shut their eyes to the sight, but face the problems as they find them and vow that while the breath holds them they shall know nothing but unrest until real relief comes. Up with you, my pessimistic friends! There is work to be done. Help to do it.

That was my word of cheer then; and the same word I bring to you this Labor Day. Let not the blind

rich brothers discourage us. Indeed, they can not. Do the spenders dance and frivol half the night away? Then do we strive and strain till away on the morning side of midnight, till for every age that they drag humanity downward we shall lift humanity two ages upward.

Do they spend lavishly on baubles that shall not last a day? We shall deny ourselves much that we may the more lavishly spend in the movement against the unjust order of things that will not last a generation.

Do they believe that the power of money arrayed against the power of men in the right shall always win? Ours the privilege of proving that the power of men in the right arrayed against any evil will win in the end.

Theirs the universities, yes. But ours the street corners and the public halls. Do they poison the minds of the classes against progress in their institutions of learnings? Ours to sweeten the minds of the masses with a new, sweet hope of progress in our institutions of learning.

A false political economy in the college is no match for a true political economy on the street corner. And darkness in professorial chairs shall be pierced by the light of truth from a soapbox.

Are the purblind ones charitable and philanthropically engaged in bringing thimblefuls of water to the hell they have created? To work, then, with renewed strength, with whatever strength there is! The hell must be removed.

Do they gather in the golden million, despoil men of freedom and mold them into slaves? We will gather in the human millions, make men conscious of their slavery and point the way to freedom.

Ours to cry with the new poet of democracy:

"O, before God. I nail my heart to the agonies of the poor.

I shun excess, I seek the real; so long as these endure

In hell, I suffer with the millions, not waste joy with the few."

This is the word of cheer from

an optimistic comrade. Workers of the world, unite, and let the bread-bond that unites us in the shop unite us also at the ballot. The one hope-inspiring word is "Work!"—work and strive from one Labor Day to the next and on and on—till the world that works is free to enjoy the fruit of its labor.

The warden of Racine (Wis.) college preached a sermon last Sunday on "The Poor in Spirit," and showed how the first six words of the Sermon on the Mount were wholly inapplicable to the present civilization, built up as it is on the struggle for money. In other words, the teachings of Christ had to be taken with several grains of salt by the people ruled by modern capitalism. Taking up the words: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth," he said:

"Treasure! It occupies the center of the stage today. Men write books about it, tell how it may be acquired and how it may be retained. Every day new forms of commercialism arise, new ways of gaining treasures. We wonder at the fertility of the brains that devise them. Over the mountains and under the seas pass swift messages that shall enable men to seek, to gain, and to store up! Modern civilization, with its enormous store of applied arts and sciences, is almost wholly due to the desire for treasure. The desire for the accumulation of wealth is in the air. It is the backbone of our national philosophy. Men are not considered successful until they attain it."

Continuing, Dr. Robinson declared: "So prevalent is the desire for money that it has come to be a national vulgarity. We are too young for ancestry, too commercial for learning, too practical for piety, but youth and commerce and practical common sense make a splendid trinity in the equipment of the money-getter."

This is certainly looking the actual conditions in the face. And in the midst of all this soulless commercialism, which the Racine warden describes, we have the anomaly of the church reckoning its success in dollars and cents and in real estate holdings, besides large memberships. Many churchmen are coming to realize that all this is a questionable success. It is no wonder that that old and empty cry about Socialism being the enemy of religion is dying out. The feeling is strong that religious success is a doubtful success when it must get its numbers from among a people ruled by the base, unfeeling impulses of commercialism and engaged in the cannibalistic struggle to see who shall survive and who shall be eaten up.

# Will It Come in 1913?

By E. H. THOMAS

1913 is the year which Comrade Sinclair has set for the Socialist revolution. In 1912 Mr. Hearst, or some other radical Democrat will be elected. A great industrial crisis will be raging, with "strikes of a violence never known before," there may be a "great deal of burning and dynamiting" and probably some assassinations. In the week following the election of Mr. Hearst the "business of the country will have fallen into heaps." And then, all of a sudden, just as soon as Mr. Hearst is inaugurated—or perhaps even before his inauguration—the government will step in, take over the railways and the trusts, and—"such will be the revolution. \* \* \* \* \* It is a charmingly simple process," says Comrade Sinclair, naively, "I could do it all myself."

Let's see—where did we hear this before? Oh yes—it was at the Unity convention at Indianapolis, in 1901. Five years was the space of time given by Gaylord Wilshire for the final break-down of the capitalist system. It is now six years since the Unity convention was held. The capitalist system has not broken down yet.

Also, only last week Mrs. Lott, the millennial prophetess, solemnly announced that the "Millennial Dawn" when "capital will throw its money into the streets" will come in 1915. Mrs. Lott has the advantage over Comrade Sinclair by two years, during which she can still pose as a prophetess.

Now, of course, all prophets who

set dates to their prophecies may be dismissed with a smile. Time so surely proves them false prophets. But Upton Sinclair has told us not only why, but how the revolution will come. And since too many Socialists may think that he is all right about the method, and only off on the date, it may be worth while to consider his reasoning.

Comrade Sinclair starts with a parallel between the conditions which brought on the American Civil War and the abolition of negro slavery. He believes "that our country is now only a few years away from a similar great transformation." And then he falls into the strange error of supposing that the capitalist system can be overthrown all at once just as negro slavery was abolished all at once.

There could be no greater blunder. There is not the slightest real parallel between the chattel slave system in 1860 and the wage system in 1907. Chattel slavery was an anachronism in 1860—a thing wholly out of date. For centuries it had been replaced in Europe by another social phase—by wage labor. The wage system in 1860 flourished in the larger, stronger and richer part of the United States. That is the reason that the North won out over the South. Its industrial resources were immensely superior. It was the triumph of a system already well developed and appropriate to its age over a system which had not flourished in civilized countries since the days of ancient Greece and Rome, a system which was not even

a relic of the Dark Ages when serfdom had already succeeded chattel slavery.

Nothing of this sort is presented in the present industrial struggle. No mature and well developed system is ready to step in and take the place of capitalism, if it should "collapse" in this country. And just at present it shows little signs of "collapsing."

No such simple problem is confronting us as confronted our fathers in the war of the rebellion.

They had but to say "Let slavery be abolished!" and capitalism, already full grown and organized, came crowding in to fill the vacant space left by the old regime.

We cannot merely say "Let capitalism be abolished!" We must furnish a system to take its place. We must build up at the same time that we tear down. We must hold the trowel in one hand, and the sword in the other, like the Jews in the days of Nehemiah, who rebuilt Jerusalem in the face of the enemy.

"The Socialist party," says Comrade Sinclair, "is a party of agitation rather than administration." This is the reason why the revolution is to be accomplished, not by the Socialist party, but by the programless Democratic party, with the vague and sphynx-like Mr. Hearst at its head!

Is the Socialist party merely a party of agitation? Wherever it has been given any administrative control, as for instance in some French municipalities, has it not shown wonderful administrative abilities? The workingmen of France and some other European countries, where some cities have been carried by the Socialist party, have found the Socialist officials just as competent to carry out measures for the benefit of the

working class as to agitate for such measures.

The Socialist party of America also will have to become a party of administration if it is to grow or even to live. Under the American form of government it will be impossible for us to shirk responsibility. In America all branches of the government, legislative, judicial and executive, are close to the people. It will occasionally result that some of our men will be elected to one or another of these branches. If the Socialist official knows how to carry his Socialism into practical application in the school board, the council chamber, the city treasury, the county clerk's office or the mayor's chair, the Socialist party will be entrusted with higher duties by the people. If the Socialist official can only talk about surplus value and the collapse of the capitalist system, he will never be re-elected. The American people are too common sense to vote for a party of mere shouters.

The near future will see whether we can stand this hard test. I have faith to believe that we shall pass triumphantly through this great and growing ordeal, in spite of Comrade Sinclair's low estimate of our destiny.

Our readers must not suppose that these errors make up the whole of Comrade Sinclair's most interesting and valuable book. There are many chapters in Sinclair's forceful style which deserve to be written in letters of gold. This makes it all the more to be regretted that this fine work, which Kaiser Wilhelm has advertised so well by prohibiting it in the German Empire, should be marred by these crude notions. When Comrade Sinclair becomes an older Socialist, he will grow away from them. And

we trust that the Socialist movement in America will also grow away from them with a few more years of practical experience. If not, some other party will arise to elbow us out.

# Women, Come In!

By GERTRUDE BRESLAU HUNT



*Gertrude Breslau Hunt.*

**T**HE prevailing capitalist code of "womanly" behavior for women is violated by the woman who demands the ballot and who studies and talks on political and industrial questions; but, because capitalism has so organized our social and industrial institutions that women are in its poverty, its disease infected tenements, its factories and sweatshops, its brothels and jails, its army of unemployed, its disfranchised, disinherited, exploited workers, they are demanding the right to order their lives and re-

lieve themselves and their children of such needless oppression.

Anything that concerns the welfare of our great human family concerns its women most of all; we are half the race, we are mothers of the race.

The degree of intelligence that enables us to spin and weave, bake and sew, design and create myriad forms of use and beauty, is *too* great for us to continue long as inferior, contented wage slaves. The more intelligent the slave, the more discontented is he with slavery.

Every problem that confronts her brother worker confronts woman as well; every evil of capitalism from which he suffers she suffers, and others besides.

Every class has its own ethics and thus capitalist ethics condemn every effort of man or woman that tends to overthrow capitalism.

It is the discontented woman who is asking the suffrage, and any justice to the people is a menace to capitalist profits and dividends, therefore to be resisted by that class.

There are five million women toiling in our industries in this country, four millions more than own homes of their own. Do you wonder some of us begin to notice?

This, to say nothing of the millions of patient victims who are working as housewives at what would be about fifteen separate, specialized occupations, with crude

tools and methods of four generations ago, instead of having at command all the wonderful forces of steam, electricity and mechanical device to make productive and effective their labors.

These are harder to educate to political (collective) action. Their efforts are expended *individually*; they work alone in isolated kitchens, they do not come in *direct* contact with the wage system; then, too, they are affected by the many agencies capitalism employs to control their brains and keep them from acting in their own behalf, as school book trust books, editors, lecturers and preachers, wrongly educated in privately endowed institutions of "learning," where the student's trust is betrayed and he is kept ignorant or is misinformed about the methods of capitalistic confiscation of wealth through the ownership of the tools of production.

Women are learning rapidly now that the ethical forces are conditioned in their actual sphere of operation by the economic relations; that they cannot, by individual effort, protect and rear their children well—it requires *collective* effort to get proper hygienic conditions, education, wholesome food, pure water and many other things. These matters of life and death are decided at the ballot box. As soon as women *learn* the truth, you will not find them supporting a legal institution that forces them to sell \$2,500 labor power for \$447; we

have been hunting bargains too long for that.

A few sanction giving the ballot to *women with property*—sacred property—more sacred now than life. If a woman with property needs the ballot, how much *more* does it mean to the one with absolutely nothing but her labor power to depend upon, and how easy to move on from such a precedent to disfranchising men without property.

Socialism offers to women every opportunity, political and industrial. Come, join the party, help fight the battles and achieve the victories of the social revolution.

We must learn how to act collectively to remove wrong, outgrown institutions and establish right ones.

Covet the honor of being the *first* woman to join the local, or the latest one if you have been timid.

It is not enough to have good motives; we must learn to act wisely and efficiently; two people of equally good motives might visit a sick patient and one would administer carbolic acid instead of olive oil—the result would be as deadly as if the motive were vicious.

The Socialist party trains and educates its members to be efficient builders of the commonwealth; it offers you a priceless privilege; it needs you; we need you and you need us. Let us use and develop every power and faculty in defense of ourselves and the race we bring into the world.

Some of these preachers better sharpen up a bit. Labor is advancing faster than they are. The Labor

Day sermons that used to be preached are only laughed at by labor now.

# Lest We Forget

By ROBERT BLATCHFORD

**L**OOKING over a Sunday paper, I came upon reports of two cases of starvation. George Wright, a music copyist, age 49, was found dying on a doorstep, was taken to the Whit Chapel Infirmary, and there died. He had been very ill for months, and had been "lying about the streets."

In the course of an inquest held at Hackney upon a newly-born baby, found dead in bed, the coroner asked the father of the deceased "How is it you are so poor?" To which the father gave answer as follows: "I have only done about six weeks' work since Christmas. The boot trade is very bad in London. I went on the road to try and get work."

Dr. Brown said "the place" (the "home") of these poor people was very clean, but almost empty, the poor woman having only a counterpane on the bed. The people seemed absolutely destitute. The coroner kindly granted a sovereign out of the poor box.

These are facts; common, horrible facts.

Not until "the slave ceases, and the master of slaves ceases," not while there is a single case of poverty in this nation will the genuine Socialist be content.

The Socialist ideal implies a great deal more than old-age pensions, doles for the unemployed, and the municipal ownership of trams.

The Socialist ideal means the nation for the people. It means more

even than that. It means freedom of thought and speech for the people. It means education, and health, and justice, and self-respect for the people. For all the people. It means revolution; the greatest revolution the world has seen. It means political, social and economic revolution. It is mere weakness and unworthy subterfuge to pretend that Socialism means less than this. Not a jot, not a tittle less than this does it mean.

For, if there are to be no slaves, how shall there be any masters? If the land is to belong to the people, how shall it remain the property of the landlords? If no worker is to remain poor, how shall any idler remain rich? If every man is to have self-respect, how can he submit to be the hireling of a lord or of a class?

The Socialist ideal is not a compromise. Between liberty and serfdom there can be no compromise. The Socialist ideal is not a party expedient. It is a religion. It is the religion of the emancipation of mankind from tyranny and exploitation in all their forms.

This religion means that the human race shall own the earth, the whole of it. It means that every woman and man on the earth shall be master of her or his own body and soul. It means that no class privilege, no pride of caste, no old law nor convention shall be allowed to stand against the freedom and the welfare of the race.

To pretend otherwise is cowardice, or treachery. It is this we Socialists mean, and nothing else.

We dare not prevaricate nor pretend. We dare not attempt to make our religion palatable to the most benevolent and amiable peer, or priest, or soap boiler, or pawnbroker, or plutocrat, or self-made man amongst the crowd of superior persons who will do anything for the poor man except get off his back.

Socialism means that intellectual and legalized brigandage shall follow physical and illegal brigandage into the limbo of the past. The slaves shall cease.

And what shall the superior person get for his superiority? He shall get—his superiority. He shall have the superior right to do superior work. He shall prove himself superior by living up to the motto of all true princes, "I serve." But as a slave-owner, a money-raker, an idler, or a *poseur*, he shall find no demand for his services. Of such superiority Socialism will have none.

We want the world for the people; we want freedom, and plenty, and honor, and knowledge of *all*. We are Socialists, and we want Socialism. We decline to be respectable, and politic, and conciliatory,

while men are dying on doorsteps and women have no clothing to keep their babies alive.

O why and for what are we waiting?  
While our brothers droop and die,  
And in every wind of the heavens  
A wasted life goes by.

How long shall they reproach us  
Where crowd on crowd they dwell,  
Poor ghosts of the wicked city,  
The gold-crushed hell?

Through squalid life they labored,  
In sordid grief they died,  
Those sons of a mighty mother,  
Those props of England's pride.

They are gone; there is none can  
undo it,

Nor save our souls from the curse;  
But many a million cometh,  
And shall they be better—or worse?

William Morris puts to us straight questions. What answer can we make? Something is being done for labor; in driblets.

What are we doing for Social-Democracy? What have we done with our Socialist ideal?

This is what Socialism means. This is what we stand for when we call ourselves Socialists. It is well in these times to make our purpose and our meaning clear, "lest we forget."

The collapse of the cantilever bridge at Quebec, by which ninety workmen lost their lives, was a good exemplification of the utter disregard of human life felt by capitalism. The bridge was known to be unsafe, but the contractors continued the construction in the hope that it might stand the strain long enough to get the two spans together. Human labor is cheap, and there is always plenty more of it to be had. In this bridge horror we see the actual advantage, in one

sense, of the chattel slavery system over the present system of free labor. If those ninety men had been chattels, the slaves of the contractors, not one of their lives would have been risked on the wobbling structure, for every slave lost would have meant the loss, more or less, of a thousand dollars. The difference between the care of the slave laborer in the old days and the care taken of the free laborer in the present day is as wide as the antipodes.



# Knowledge For The Worker

By ALD. EMIL SEIDEL

You just maturing youth! You male or female!

Remember the organic compact of these states,

Remember the pledge of the old thirteen thenceforward to the rights, life, liberty, equality of man.....

Remember government is to subserve individuals,

Not any, not the president, is to have one jot more than you and me,

Not any habitant of America is to have one jot less than you and me.

**T**HUS sings Walt Whitman. Young man, young woman, have you received what is yours? What do you know of the world in which you live? Your heart is full of hope; but "Hope without action is a barren undoer," says Feltham.

As a Socialist you hope to see the day that you shall receive the product of your toil. Ambitious as you are you expect to receive your reward.

What are you doing to bring about the realization of your pet dreams? Ptolemy, it is said, wished to learn geometry. He inquired of Euclid if there is an easier way of learning geometry than by studying the elements. Euclid replied: "There is no royal road to geometry." If you are doing nothing to realize your hopes, you hope in vain, for understand: "THERE IS NO ROAD THAT LEADS AN INDOLENT IGNORAMUS TO LIBERTY."

Do you know that this fair city of ours pays for the education of the children the sum of \$22.95 per capita per annum. This only up to 14 years of age. After that nothing more is spent by the city for the

workingman's child unless the public library is figured in.

For the education of a high school pupil however the sum of \$48.60 per annum per pupil has been spent. What share had you in this? None excepting that you worked ten hours per day to help to pay the taxes that go to support the high schools.

It is no fault of yours that this has been so in the past. But the blame would rest upon you if you permit this to continue in the future.

Young man, young woman, the future belongs to you; but you must prepare yourself for it. If the tyranny of capitalism shall not be succeeded by a new tyranny, i. e., that of the intellectuals, you and your class must insist that education and knowledge become more and more democratic.

Possession alone cannot suffice. With possession must go the understanding, or, as the genial Goethe puts it: "What is not fully understood is not possessed." If today the working class was given possession of all the means of production and distribution, and were not properly prepared to direct the forces, what would it avail?

It is folly to presume that a better education degrades its possessor to the level of a more willing subject of exploitation. An intelligent working class can not be pressed into submission.

Many of the faults prevalent in and connected with municipal or national ownership spring from the fact that the working class, most vitally interested, has not been able to get control of the managements.

"Knowledge is power," says Bacon. The working class with its legions supported by the power that comes only from knowledge—where is the force that could resist it?

Knowledge broadens the view. Acquiring it is as climbing a mountain peak. From its lofty heights we observe not only the immediate surroundings but also that which lies beyond.

Knowledge aids us to master adverse conditions. A savage is a Hercules if he can handle a stone of two hundredweight. A modern worker handles with greater ease castings of that many tons and thinks nothing of it.

The gods of old had voices like thunder. Our whisper is heard a thousand miles. Knowledge makes us master.

Knowledge gives pleasure. A man without knowledge is as an ornamental vase. It may be beautifully decorated, but there is nothing in it. Knowledge gives contents to life.

In speaking of knowledge Curtis says: "The sure foundation of the state is laid in knowledge, not in ignorance, and every sneer at culture, at book learning, which is recorded wisdom of the experience of mankind, is the demagogue's sneer at intelligent liberty, inviting national degeneracy and ruin." If this is true in a bourgeois capitalist society how much more with a co-operative commonwealth? Every worker that becomes more proficient in some one of the many branches of arts or technics, and applies his knowledge as a lever to elevate the standard of the working class is a true benefactor of mankind. Such leave the imprints of their work long after they have passed.

We need not learn everything, nor could we, but what we learn we should learn well.

Let it be understood that the ghost of the ossified guilds which ever and anon stalks through the land and can-

not come to rest, has nothing in common with the education that is needed by the modern workingman or woman.

In the days of the guild the shoemaker was a shoemaker. His life's efforts were required to become proficient at the craft. Governing was left to the rulers.

Quite different today. The machine does that work. No years of hard training necessary to learn these trades today. In principle, if not in fact, the worker today shares in the governing. Rulers, at their best, are pernicious to the welfare of a people, and therefore always UNDESIRABLE.

The working class has, or should have, time to learn something more than to make footstools for others. The arts are to the average workingman and woman an impenthrable mystery. They have not even a suspicion of the treasures there hidden to them. We come into life doomed to toil, pass through and away, and do not even realize that we have lived.

The education that a worker should aim at must be of the kind that will enable him to make life worth living for him and his kin.

If ever, now is the time to democratize the sciences and the arts.

Talents die, barely born, and geniuses starve, while imbecility and degeneracy dote upon the treasures gathered by masters of the past ages.

Pseudo-science has become a mop for a corrupted class, ditto scientists have become lickspittles.

Science, the true Goddess, is seeking refuge—she knows not where.

Young men and women! Open your eyes and ears and hearts and minds! Bid her welcome! She will liberate you.

THEN ONCE MORE SHALL WE HAVE A RENAISSANCE, A REAL DEMOCRATIC RENAISSANCE.

Are you willing?

The telegraphers demand a 15 per cent increase, an eight-hour day, abolition of the blacklist, and a legal assurance of immunity from such treatment as the companies

have accorded them in the past. They are forced to work exhausting hours, and their pay is not at all commensurate with the skill of their work. While they have a

powerful corporation to fight, their fight thus far has showed wonderful staying powers and the fact

of an undoubted and long standing list of grievances. It is a case of the worm turning.

## The Miner's Tale

By MAY BEALS



*May Beals.*

**T**HE lord of us, he lay in  
his bed,  
Good right had he—good  
right;  
But we were up before night had  
fled,  
Out to the mines in the dawning  
red,  
Slaves were we all, by hunger led  
Into the land of night.  
The master knew of our danger  
well,  
We also knew, we knew.  
His greed for profits had served  
him well,  
But he o'er-reached himself as  
fate befell,  
And I alone am left to tell

• A True Story.

Death's horrors I lived  
through.

The master dreamed, mayhap, of  
his gold,

But we were awake—awake,  
Buried alive in the black earth's  
mold;

And some who could yet a pencil  
hold

Wrote, till their hands in death  
grew cold,

For wife or sweetheart's sake.

Letters they wrote of farewell—  
farewell

To mother, sweetheart, wife.  
What words of comfort could  
they tell,

Comfort for those who loved  
them well—

Up from the jaws of the earth's  
black hell

That was crushing out their  
life?

The master cursed, as masters do.  
Good right had he—good  
right!

But the fear of our vengeance  
stirred him, too;

He sailed with some of his lordly  
crew

To Europe—and reveled a year  
or two.

Great might has he—great  
might!

# Shots at Capitalism

By FREDERIC HEATH

Taft is Roosevelt's walking delegate.

Private monopoly is simply co-operation badly owned.

When you see an editorial in a capitalist paper headed Labor day, you can tell beforehand just what it is going to say. Capitalist Labor day dope is always capitalist Labor Day dope.

And now Senator Borah is on trial for stealing government land. But he has not yet been declared an "undesirable citizen" in advance. As he is a capitalist party politician he is safe, however.

The millionaire may be a workingman according to your way of looking at it, Mr. Hearst, but we notice that he does not ask for a place in the Labor Day parades. Marching would be too much like work, and he doesn't hanker after work.

Roosevelt is quite free in imputing demagogism to the spokesmen of the working class. As a believer in capitalism he would naturally prefer a working class without spokesmen and without ideals. The capitalist system could then pluck the workers to the bone without their showing resistance.

Madrid Socialists have bought for themselves for 300,000 pesetas (\$60,000) the palace of the Duke of Bejar, for the purpose of a

People's House. The plan is to provide a home for the General Federation of Trades Unions (Union Generale de Trabajadores) and affiliated trades unions, for the Socialist Co-operative society. There will be also a theater to hold 4,000 people.


Roosevelt used to call the Socialists rabid agitators because they said that plutocracy should not rule. Political exigency has forced him to try to save the capitalist bacon by denouncing the ultra rich, but he still calls us rabid agitators just the same. It probably makes him rabid to think that the Socialist agitation has at least forced him to take at least a partial stand against the fleecers.

Tammany hall must be uneasy over the Socialist agitation, for its police have been unusually active lately in breaking up Socialist street meetings. Our comrades have faced the music like martyrs, and, after a lot of them had been arrested and it was plain that others would step into their places as fast as required, the joke began to be on the officials. The Socialists are now fighting the matter in the courts, with some prospect of securing their rights under the constitutional guaranty of free speech. Some idea of the magnitude of the persecution may be had from the fact that on one evening alone thirty-one Socialists were locked up.


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BY HENRY LAURENS CALL

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