

## PLAYS

**On The Eve.** A drama in three acts.  
KAMPF, LEOPOLD. Paper, 25 cents.

A most timely work giving a vivid picture of modern Russia in the throes of revolution. A tale of love and woe; of sublime self sacrifice; and a keen psychological study of the heroes and martyrs who gladly gave up their lives, not for glory or gain, but simply for the progress and happiness of mankind.

**Under the Lash.** Paper, 25 cents.  
JUIRON, C. F.

A drama in five acts.

**Now and Then.** Paper, 10 cents.  
KRAFFT, FREDERICK.

**Man and Superman, and  
The Revolutionists' Handbook.**  
SHAW, G. B. Cloth, \$1.25.

No one has contributed as much as G. B. Shaw to expose the ethical fallacies on which capitalism rests. We have two sets of ethics: or, as Shaw expresses it: "When a man wants to murder a tiger he calls it sport; when a tiger wants to murder him, he calls it ferocity."

A play of modern life. The Socialist dialogue is witty but pitiless.

*The Revolutionists' Handbook* is a collection of maxims to the title.

**Plays, Pleasant and Unpleasant.**  
SHAW, G. B. Cloth, two volumes, \$2.50.

*Widowers' Houses:* One of the plays that has caused capitalist minded critics to call Shaw names. A biting social satire.

*The Philanderers:* Caricatures the self-styled advanced woman who rebels violently when her sentimental partner seeks to apply her views to his own conduct.

*Mrs. Warren's Profession:* The story of a successful prostitute and procuress who has brought her daughter up in complete ignorance of her past. Then things happen. There is a strong social message in the play. It gave the prurient moralists a severe jolt. And the "village constables," as Shaw terms the police, prohibited the performance in several cities—New York among them!

*Arms and the Man:* The most biting satire of military glory, heroic glamor and gallery courage.

*Candida.*

*The Man of Destiny.*

*You Never Can Tell.*

These are infinitely clever comicals.

**Major Barbara, and John Bull's Other  
Island.** Cloth, \$1.50.

SHAW, G. B.

These two plays are powerful studies of the alliance between capitalism and churchianity.

**The Irrational Knot.** Cloth, \$1.25.  
SHAW, G. B.

Shaw's preface to each volume is paradoxical, witty, but withal an expression of a serious philosophy of life.

**Not Guilty.** A play in three acts. Paper, 10c.  
SPARGO, JOHN.

**The Upper and the Lower Class.** A two-act play.

WAKEFIELD, AGNES, Paper, 15 cents.

**The Curate's Dream.** A one-act play.  
GRANVILLE, ROBERT.

The first is a satire of snobbery. The other vividly portrays the horrors of wage slavery. Very good for amateurs.

---

**WEAR THE INTERNATIONAL EMBLEM.**

*Have you seen one of our new Marx Flag Pins? Exact duplicate of that worn by the Master.*

See Page 128.

**POEMS**

**The Voice of Equality.** Cloth, \$1.00.  
BREHOLTZ, EDWIN ARNOLD.

An allegorical poem in the free rhythm used by Walt Whitman and Edward Carpenter. It is an eloquent appeal from the emotional side in behalf of the revolutionary movement.

**Towards Democracy.** Cloth, \$2.50.  
CARPENTER, EDWARD.

Edward Carpenter has thus far been known to American readers through "Love's Coming of Age." His fame as a writer rests, however, mainly upon his poems which are collected in the volume entitled "Towards Democracy." Carpenter adopts the form first brought into notice by Walt Whitman. There is, however, little of the roughness which characterizes Whitman's diction; Carpenter's poems sparkle with an exquisite beauty of form.

**Swords and Ploughshares.** Cloth, \$1.00.  
CROSBY, ERNEST.

A book of poems written in the metreless verse dear to Walt Whitman, and striking boldly at militarism, one of the fundamental props of capitalism.

**We-ism.** Cover illustrated; paper, 10 cents.  
FRENCH, W. E. P.

A collection of communistic verse and prose poems; in its way, a masterpiece. The

spirit of them is sublime, and the style simple and clear. There is a new note struck in The Communist Commandments; especially great and beautiful is the attitude toward Motherhood.

Every thinking woman and man should read these poems.

**The God of Gold.** 50 cents per 100.  
FRENCH, W. E. P.

This poem should be widely circulated; its biting sarcasm is unequalled by anything in our literature.

**Walt Whitman, Poet of the Wider Selfhood.** Cloth, \$1.00.  
MAYNARD, MILA TUPPER.

For the man or woman who desires to understand the beauties of Whitman's poetry this reverently critical work will serve as an introduction.

**The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley.**

No poet has been quoted by Socialist speakers and writers as often as Shelley, except, perhaps, William Morris.

Shelley was the bard of universal brotherhood and love; many of his visions, which men of his time called "idle dreams," have since been realized.

A book for dreamers and for men of action.

**Leaves of Grass.** Cloth, 75 cents.  
WHITMAN, WALT.

Contains an introduction by John Burroughs. Those who want to feel and realize that Socialism is more than a political theory should read Whitman's poems, for he runs the gamut of sensation and emotion. He applies new truths emotionally; in fact, offers a broad system of life and thought.

**The Ballad of Reading Gaol.** Cloth, 50 cents.  
WILDE, OSCAR.

Wilde's incomparable poem, freighted with a wonderful philosophy. There is nothing in all our literature so strong and magnificent.

**The Ballad of Reading Gaol,**  
WILDE, OSCAR, and  
**The Vampire.**

KIPLING, RUDYARD. Paper, 15 cents.  
These two great poems, bound together in handsome paper cover, splendid type; a fine opportunity for the lover of poetry.

---

**ENTERTAIN YOUR FRIENDS**  
with the New Socialist Playing Cards—a barrel  
of fun.

## SONGS

**Socialist Songs, Dialogues, and Recitations.** Paper, 25 cents.

COLE, JOSEPHINE R.

Valuable where a meeting is designed to combine entertainment with propaganda. Also, for the children's "Pieces."

**Socialist Songs With Music.**

KERR, CHAS. H. Paper, 20 cents.

Contains thirty-six songs. Excellent for meetings, socials, and for the home. They are real songs, breathing the spirit of Socialism.

**Factory to the Potters' Field.** Paper, 25c.

LEAVITT, B. E. and N. W.

A Socialist song, with music.

**Songs of Protest.** Vol. I. Paper, 25 cents.

LEAVITT, B. E. and N. W.

A collection of socialist, humorous, and satirical songs on social and economic subjects, with the music for each. A book every musical socialist should have.

**Songs of Socialism.** Paper, 25 cents.

MOYER, H. P.

A collection of new, beautiful and inspiring songs. They are the one thing usually lacking to make meetings enjoyable as well as educational.

## IN EVERY SOCIALIST HOME

there should be one of our Portfolios of PROMINENT REVOLUTIONISTS. A set of eight handsomely printed portraits, uniform in size, and especially designed for framing. Put up in a strong and artistic portfolio. *Mailed flat.*

Size, 9x11 inches, printed in doubletone ink, on heavy plate paper.

Haywood, Bebel, Liebknecht, Lassalle, Wilshire, Debs, Hyndman, and Marx.

**Only 10c. each, or 50c. per set, post paid.**

**SPECIAL**—A few sets of a *de luxe* edition made for the S. P. National Convention, printed in rich brown, on art paper, mounted on dark brown mats, 11x14, in handsome heavy red portfolio. By far the best Socialist portraits ever yet printed. *Only a few sets.* While they last, 15c. each; 75c. per set.

**Oil Paintings of Karl Marx, 20x28 in., \$3.50.**

These are fine portraits in real oil colors on canvas and are of highest quality.

**Robert's Rules of Order . . . . . Only 75c. prepaid**

A compendium of parliamentary law, and an explanation of the methods of organizing and conducting the business of societies, conventions, and other deliberative assemblies.

**ESPERANTO—THE UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE.**

Socialists all over the world are taking up the study of Esperanto. It is gaining ground tremendously. No Socialist should be unfamiliar with it.

The American Esperanto Book, by Baker, cloth \$1.00  
The American Esperantist, a monthly magazine \$1.00

*Both, only \$1.50*

**SPECIAL**—The American Esperantist and the American Esperanto Book, paper covers, only \$1.00.

**HAS YOUR LOCAL A SOCIALIST FLAG?  
It Should Have!**

Write for prices, stating size desired. Our flags are made by the best flag manufacturers in New York, are the *very best* in quality and prices.

**Marx Red Flag Pins.** 1202... post paid, 35c.

A very substantial pin of gold-plate and red enamel—an exact duplicate of the Socialist pin worn by KARL MARX and now owned by Captain French. The most substantial and unique Socialist pin made.

**Flag Stick Pins** ..... 10c.

National emblem in gold or red, on gold pin.

**National Party Buttons.**

Plated—white, green, red and gold..... 25c.

Gold plated..... 75c.

**SOCIALIST POSTAL CARDS.**

(Wilshire's cartoons on postal-cards.)

Are Unsurpassed for Propaganda.

**"Send 'em to your Capitalist Friends."**

Pick out some fellow that needs waking up and send him one every day for a week.

Sample Set of 12.....

**SOCIALIST PILLOW-COVERS.**

Have one of our beautiful Socialist Pillows in your home!

Two mottoes, each with appropriate and highly artistic design by Will Jenkins:

"Let the Nation Own the Trusts."

"Socialism the Hope of the World."

We strongly recommend these pillow tops, as we are sure they will give satisfaction. Either one, pre-paid for only 40c.

**SHALL WE SEND YOU**

any of these catalogues?—All are free.

"The Question of the Hour"—book on Socialism.

"Book-Lovers' Bargains"—some standard workks and classics at half price.

"Fiction for Socialists."

Liberal and Scientific Books.

"Music Worth While." A catalog of Columbia

Graphophone and Socialist Records.

Picture Machines and Socialist Lantern Slides.

**A POSTAL WILL BRING IT!**

**PLEASURE!**

*Socialists are people of taste.*

*Very many of them love music.*

*We want every reader of this catalogue who does, to let us send a copy of*

**"MUSIC WORTH WHILE."**

*The chances are that you do not believe real music can be produced on a graphophone. It can now; and so can*

**FAMOUS SOCIALIST SPEECHES**

*by Debs, Mills, Wanhope, Wilshire, and others to be added to the list.*

*Do you know our Unnoticeable Payment Plan?*

*Let us tell you about it.*

*A postal—your address—that's all.*

.20 stud.      2.20 wood.  
.10 seeds.      .25 me.  
.20 vinegar.      40 bu.

.50

.50  
.50  
.35



*blanc Press Brandenburg Tex*

*1910.*

# IMPRUDENT MARRIAGES

By ROBERT BLATCHFORD



Price 5 Cents  
Sixty Copies or Sixty Assorted  
Booklets for \$1.00



CHICAGO  
CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY  
CO-OPERATIVE

## *Imprudent Marriages.*



Now, here is a letter which I am going to answer. It could be answered in a few lines, but then it would crop up again in another form; I shall, therefore, give it all the space it needs if it takes me a year, and I shall keep on digging until I have dug up every shred of root, no matter how far the roots may spread:

"SIR: Being interested in your letters to workmen, I should like to ask you why, in 'Merrie England' and your other writings, you say nothing about imprudent marriages, the evils of which you must be fully aware of."

Now, it is not quite clear what the writer means by that question. But I take it that he means to imply that a great deal of the poverty and misery of the poor is caused by "imprudent marriages."

At any rate, there are many who think that if all the workers were to give up drink, to work hard, to live sparsely, to save their earnings, and to avoid early marriages and large families, they would all be happy and prosperous without Socialism.

And, of course, these same persons believe that the bulk of the suffering and poverty of the poor is due to drink, to thriftlessness and to imprudent marriages.

I know that many, very many, do believe these

things, because I used to meet such persons when I went out lecturing.

Now, I know that belief to be wrong. I know that if every working man and woman in England turned teetotaler to-morrow, if they all remained single, if they all worked like niggers, if they all worked for twelve hours a day, if they lived on oatmeal and water, and if they saved every farthing they could spare, they would, at the end of twenty years, be a great deal worse off than they are to-day.

Sobriety, thrift, industry, skill, self-denial, holiness, are all good things; but they would, if adopted by *all* the workers, simply enrich the idle and wicked and reduce the industrious and righteous to slavery.

Teetotalism will not do, saving will not do, increased skill will not do, keeping single will not do. Nothing *will* do but *Socialism*.

I mean to make these things plain to you if it takes me till Christmas.

I will begin by answering a statement made by Sir J. W. Maclure, M. P. As reported in the press Sir John said: "There is nothing to prevent the son of a crossing sweeper from rising to be Lord Chancellor of England."

At first sight this would seem to have nothing to do with our friend's letter about "imprudent marriages." But we shall find that it is just part of the same great error. For this error has two faces. On one face it says that any man may do well if he will try, and on the other face it says that those who do not do well have no one but themselves to blame.

The error rises from a slight confusion of thought. Men know that a man may rise from the lowest place in life to almost the highest, and they suppose that because one man can do it *all* men can do it; they know that if one man works hard, saves, keeps sober and remains single, he will get more money than other men who drink and spend and take life easily; and they suppose because thrift, single life, industry and temperance spell success to one man they would spell success to *all*.

I will show you that this is a mistake, and I will show you why it is a mistake. Let us begin with Sir John's crossing sweeper.

Sir John tells us that "*there is nothing to prevent* the son of a crossing sweeper from becoming Lord Chancellor of England." But Sir John does not mean that there is nothing to prevent the son of some one particular crossing sweeper from becoming Chancellor; he means that there is nothing to prevent *any* son of *any* crossing sweeper, or the son of *any* very poor man, from becoming rich and famous.

Now, let me show you what nonsense this is.

There are in all England, let us say, some two millions of poor and friendless and untaught boys.

And there is *one* Lord Chancellor. Now, it is just possible for *one* boy out of the two millions to become Lord Chancellor; but it is quite impossible for *all* the boys, or even for one boy in a thousand, or for one boy in ten thousand, to become Lord Chancellor.

Sir John means that if a boy is clever and industrious he may become Lord Chancellor.

But suppose *all* the boys are as clever and as industrious as he is; they cannot *all* become chancellors.

The one boy can only succeed because he is stronger, cleverer, more pushing, more persistent, or more *lucky* than any other boy.

In my story, "Bob's Fairy," this very point is raised. I will quote it for you here. Bob, who is a boy, is much troubled about the poor; his father, who is a self-made man and mayor of his native town, tells Bob that the poor are suffering because of their own faults. The parson then tries to make Bob understand:

"Come, come, come," said the reverend gentleman, "you are too young for such questions. Ah—let me try to—ah—explain it to you. Here is your father. He is wealthy. He is honored. He is mayor of his native town. Now, how did he make his way?"

Mr. Toppinroyd smiled and poured himself out another glass of wine. His wife nodded her head approvingly at the minister.

"Your father," continued the minister, "made himself what he is by industry, thrift and talent."

"If another man was as clever and as industrious and thrifty as father," said Bob, "could he get on as well?"

"Of course he could," replied Mr. Toppinroyd.

"Then the poor are not like that?" asked Bob.

"I regret to say," said the parson, "that—they are not."

"But if they were like father, they could do what he has done?" Bob said.

"Of course, you silly," exclaimed his mother.

Ned chuckled behind his paper. Kate turned to the piano.

Bob nodded and smiled. "How droll!" he said.

"What's droll?" his father asked sharply.

"Why," said Bob, "how funny it would be if all the people were industrious, and clever, and steady!"

"Funny?" ejaculated the parson.

"Funny?" repeated Mr. Toppinroyd.

"What do you mean, dear?" inquired Mrs. Toppinroyd, mildly.

"If all the men in Loomborough were as clever and as good as father," said Bob, simply, "there would be fifty thousand rich mill-owners, and they would all be mayor of the same town."

Mr. Toppinroyd gave a sharp glance at his son, then leaned forward, boxed his ears and said:

"Get to bed, you young monkey. Go!"

Do you see the idea? The poor cannot all be mayors and chancellors and millionaires, because there are too many of them and not enough high places.

But they can all be asses, and they will be asses if they listen to such perky and stupid men as Sir J. W. Maclure.

You have twenty men starting for a race. You may say, "There is nothing to prevent any man from winning the race," but you mean any one man who is luckier or swifter than the rest. You would never be foolish enough to believe that *all* the men could win. You know that nineteen of the men *must lose*.

So we know that in a race for the chancellorship *only one* boy can win, and the other one million nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine *must lose*.

It is the same thing with temperance, industry and cleverness. Of ten thousand mechanics one is steadier, more industrious and more skillful

than the others. Therefore he will get work where the others cannot. But *why?* Because he is worth more as a workman. But don't you see that if all the others were as good as he, he would *not* be worth more?

Then you see that to tell a million men that they will get more work or more wages if they are cleverer, or soberer, or more industrious, is as foolish as to tell the twenty men starting for a race that they can all win if they will all try.

If all the men were just as fast as the winner, the race would end in a dead heat.

There is a fire panic in a big hall. The hall is full of people and there is only one door. A rush is made for that door. Some of the crowd get out, some are trampled to death, some are injured, some are burned.

Now, of that crowd of people, who are most likely to escape?

Those nearest to the door have a better chance than those farthest, have they not?

Then the strong have a better chance than the weak, have they not?

And the men have a better chance than the women, and the children the worst chance of all; is it not so?

Then, again, which is more likely to be saved—the selfish man who fights and drags others down, who stands upon the fallen bodies of women and children, and wins his way by force; or the brave and gentle man who tries to help the women and the children and will not trample upon the wounded?

Don't you know that the noble and brave man stands a poor chance of escape, and that the selfish, brutal man stands a good chance of escape?

Well, now, suppose a man to have got out; perhaps because he was near the door, or perhaps because he was very strong, or perhaps because he was very lucky, or perhaps because he did not stop to help the women and children, and suppose him to stand outside the door and cry out to the struggling and dying creatures in the burning hall: "Serves you jolly well right if you *do* suffer. Why don't you get out? *I* got out. You can get out if you try. *There is nothing to prevent any one of you from getting out.*"

Suppose a man talked like that; what would you say of him? Would you call him a sensible man; would you call him a Christian; would you call him a gentleman? No; you would say, and you would say truly, that he was as stupid, as conceited and as unfeeling as Sir J. W. Maclure, M. P.

You will say I am severe upon Sir John. I am. I intend to be. Every time a successful man talks as Sir John talks he inflicts a brutal insult upon the unsuccessful, many thousands of whom, both men and women, are worthier and better than himself.

But let us go back to our subject. That fire panic in the big hall is a picture of *life* as it is to-day.

It is a scramble of a big crowd to get through a small door. Those who get through are

cheered and rewarded, and few questions are asked as to *how* they got through.

Now, Socialists say that there should be more doors, and no scramble.

But let me use this example of the hall and the panic more fully.

Suppose the hall to be divided into three parts. First the stalls, then the pit stalls, then the pit. Suppose the only door is the door in the stalls. Suppose the people in the pit stall have to climb a high barrier to get to the stalls. Suppose those in the pit have to climb a high barrier to get to the pit stalls, and then the high barrier that parts the pit stalls from the stalls. Suppose there is, right at the back of the pit, a small, weak boy. Now, I ask you, as sensible men, is there "nothing to prevent" that boy from getting through that door? You know the boy has only the smallest of chances of getting out of that hall. But he has a thousand times a better chance of getting safely out of that door than the son of a crossing sweeper has of becoming Lord Chancellor of England.

In our hall the upper classes would sit in the stalls, the middle classes in the pit stalls, and the workers in the pit. *Whose son would have the best chance for the door?*

I compared the race for the chancellorship just now to a footrace of twenty men; and I showed you that if all the runners were as fleet as greyhounds only one could win, and nineteen *must* lose.

But Sir John's crossing sweeper's son has to

enter a race where there are millions of starters, and where the race is a *handicap* in which he is on scratch, with thousands of men more than half the course in front of him.

For don't you see that this race which the Sir John Maclures tell us we can *all* win is not a fair race? The son of the crossing sweeper has terrible odds against him. The son of the gentleman has a long start, and carries less weight.

What are the qualities needed in a race for the chancellorship? The boy who means to win must be marvelously strong, clever, brave and persevering.

Now, will he be likely to be strong? He *may* be, but the odds are against him. His father may not be strong, nor his mother, for they may have worked hard, and they may not have been well fed, nor well nursed, nor well doctored. They probably live in a slum, and they cannot train, nor teach, nor feed their son in a healthy and proper way, because they are ignorant and poor. And the boy gets a few years at a board school, and then goes to work.

But the gentleman's son is well bred, well fed, well nursed, well trained, and lives in a healthy place. He goes to good schools, and from school to college.

And when he leaves college he has money to pay fees, and he has a name, and he has education; and, I ask you, what are the odds against the son of a crossing sweeper in a race like that?

Well, there is not a single case where men are striving for wealth or for place where the sons

of the workers are not handicapped in the same way. Now and again a worker's son wins. He may win because he is a genius like Stephenson or Sir William Herschel; or he may win because he is cruel and unscrupulous, like Jay Gould, or he may win because he is lucky.

But it is folly to say that there is "nothing to prevent him" from winning. There is almost everything to prevent him. To begin with, his chances of dying before he's five years old are ten times as numerous as the chances of a rich man's son.

Look at Lord Salisbury. He is Prime Minister of England. Had he been born the son of a crossing sweeper do you think he would have been Prime Minister?

I would undertake to find a hundred better minds than Lord Salisbury's in any English town of 10,000 inhabitants. But will any one of the boys I should select become Prime Minister of England? You know they will not. But yet they ought to, if "there is nothing to prevent them."

But there is something to prevent them. There is poverty to prevent them, there is privilege to prevent them, there is snobbery to prevent them, there is class feeling to prevent them, there are hundreds of other things to prevent them, and amongst those hundreds of other things to prevent them from becoming prime ministers I hope that their own honesty and goodness and wisdom may be counted; for honesty and goodness and true wisdom are things which will certainly prevent any poor boy who is lucky enough to possess

them from ever becoming what the dirty world of politics and commerce considers a "successful man."

I told you at the beginning that if all the workers were sober and thrifty they would be worse off, and not better. This, at first sight, seems strange, because we know that the sober and thrifty workman is generally better off than the workman who drinks or wastes his money.

But why is he better off? He is better off because, being a steady man, he can often get work when an unsteady man cannot. He is better off because he buys things that add to his comfort, or he saves money, and so grows more independent. And he is able to save money and to make his home more cosy because, while he is more regularly employed than the unsteady men, his wages remain the same, or, perhaps, are something higher than theirs.

That is to say, he benefits by his own steadiness and thrift because his steadiness makes him a more reliable, and therefore a more valuable, workman than one who is not steady.

But, you see, he is only more valuable because other men are less steady. If all the other workmen were as steady as he is he would be no more valuable than they are. Not being more valuable than they are, he would not be more certain of getting work.

That is to say, if all the workers were sober and thrifty, they would all be of equal value to the employer.

But you may say they would still be better off

than if they drank and wasted their wages. They would have better health, and they would have happier lives, and more comfortable homes.

Yes, so long as their wages were as high as before. But their wages would not be as high as before.

You must know that as things now are, where all the work is in the gift of private employers, and where wages and prices are ruled by competition and where new inventions of machinery are continually throwing men out of work, and where farm laborers are always drifting to the towns, there are more men in need of work than work can be found for.

Therefore, there is always a large number of workers out of work.

Now under competition, where two men offer themselves for one place you know that the place will be given to the man who will take the lower wage.

And you know that the thrifty and the sober man can live on less than the thriftless man.

And you know that where two or more employers are offering their goods against each other for sale in the open market, the one who sells his goods the cheapest will get the trade. And you know that in order to sell their goods at a cheaper rate than other dealers, the employers will try to get their goods at the cheapest rate possible.

And you know that with most goods the chief cost is the cost of the labor used in the making—that is to say, the wages of the workers.

Very well, you have more workers than are

needed, so that there is competition amongst those workers as to who shall be employed.

And those will be employed who are the cheapest.

And those who can live upon least can afford to work for least.

And all the workers being sober and thrifty, they can all live on less than when many of them were wasteful and fond of drink.

Then, on the other hand, all the employers are competing for the trade, and so are all wanting cheap labor; and so are eager to lower wages.

Therefore, wages will come down, and the general thrift and steadiness of the workers will make them poorer. Do you doubt this? What is that tale the masters so often tell you? Do they not tell you that England depends upon her foreign trade for her food? And do they not tell you that foreign traders are stealing the trade from the English traders? And do they not tell you that the foreign traders can undersell us in the world's markets because their labor is cheaper? And do they not say that if the British workers wish to keep the foreign trade they will have to be as thrifty and as industrious and as sober as the foreign workers?

Well, what does that mean? It means that if the British workers were as thrifty and sober and industrious as the foreign workers, they could live on less than they now need. It means that if you were all teetotalers and all thrifty, you could work for less wages than they now pay, and so they would be able to sell their goods at

a lower price than they can now; and thus they would keep the foreign trade.

Is not that all quite clear and plain? And is it not true that in France, in Germany, and all other countries where the workers live more sparsely, and are more temperate, than the workers are in England, the wages are lower and the hours of work longer?

And is it not true that the Chinese and the Hindoos, who are the most temperate and the most thrifty people in the world, are always the worst paid?

And do you not know very well that the "Greeners"—the foreign Jews who come to England for work and shelter—are very sober and very thrifty and very industrious men, and that they are about the worst-paid workers in this country?

Take now as an example the case of the cotton trade. The masters tell you that they find it hard to compete against the Indian factories, and they say if Lancashire wants to keep the trade the Lancashire workers must accept the conditions of the Indian workers.

The Indian workers live chiefly on rice and water, and work far longer hours than do the English workers.

And don't you see that if the Lancashire workers would live upon rice and water, the masters would soon have their wages down to the rice and water point?

And then the Indians would have to live on

less, or work still longer hours, and so the game would go on.

And who would reap the benefit? The English masters, and the Indian masters (who are often one and the same) would still take a large share, but the chief benefit of the fall in price would go to the buyers—or users, or "consumers"—of the goods.

That is to say, that the workers of India and of England would be starved and sweated, so that the natives of other countries could have cheap clothing.

If you doubt what I say, look at the employers' speeches, read the newspapers which are in the employers' pay, add two and two together, and you will find it all out for yourselves.

To return to the question of temperance and thrift. You see, I hope, that if all the people were sober and thrifty they would be really worse off than they now are. This is because the workers must have work, must ask the employers to give them work, and must ask employers who, being in competition with each other, are always trying to get the work done at the lowest price.

And the lowest price is always the price which the bulk of the workers are content to live upon.

In my second letter to the Bishop of Manchester I explained this to his lordship. I have also dealt with the same question in "Merrie England," and I think if you read the two chapters xx and xxi on "Industry" and "Environment" in "Merrie England" you will find this question grow still clearer. In the Bishop's letter I took

the shirtmakers as an example. I will quote from the pamphlet here:—

“The folly of preaching unselfishness to the patient and unselfish poor, my lord, arises from your lordship’s ignorance of the economic fact that wages are regulated by the standard of subsistence; so that the more abstemious the poor become, the smaller the share of the wealth they produce will be left to them by the rapacity of the rich.

“‘A Certain Agitator,’ my lord, one Frank Fairman, reminds us that whereas the Hindoos are the most thrifty and abstemious race on earth, their wages are lower than those of any other people; and your lordship may observe that the immigrant Jews, whose industry, thrift, and sobriety are frequently pointed out as models to our workers, are paid miserable wages for long hours of labor.

“In all foreign nations where the standard of living is lower than in England, your lordship will find that the wages are lower also.

“Has not your lordship often heard our manufacturers tell the English workers that if they would emulate the thrift and sobriety of the foreigner they might successfully compete against foreign competition in the foreign market? My lord, what does that mean but that thrift would enable our people to live on less, and so to accept less wages?

“Your lordship knows that our shirtmakers here in Manchester are miserably paid.

“This is because capitalism always keeps the

wages down to the lowest standard of subsistence which the people will accept.

“So long as our English women will consent to work long hours, and live on tea and bread, the ‘law of supply and demand’ will maintain the present condition of sweating in the shirt trade.

“If all our women became firmly convinced that they could not exist without chops and bottled stout, the wages must go up to a price to pay for those things.

“Because there would be no women offering to live on tea and bread, and shirts must be had.

“But what, my lord, is the result of the abstinence of these poor sisters of ours? Low wages for themselves, and, for other—

“A young merchant wants a dozen shirts. He pays 10s each for them. He meets a friend who only gave 8s for his. He goes to the 8s shop and saves 24s. This is clear profit, and he spends it in cigars, or champagne, or in some other luxury; and the poor seamstress lives on toast and tea.”

But although I say that sobriety and thrift if adopted by all the workers would result in lower wages, you are not to suppose that I advise you all to be drunkards and spendthrifts.

No. The proper thing is to do away with competition. At present the employers, in the scramble to undersell each other, actually fine you for your virtue and self-denial by lowering your wages, just as the landlords fine a tenant for improving his land or enlarging his house or

extending his business—fine him by raising his rent.

And now we may, I think, come to the question of imprudent marriages.

The idea seems to be that a man should not marry until he is "in a position to keep a wife." And it is a very common thing for employers and parsons, and other well-to-do persons, to tell working men that they "have no right to bring children into the world until they are able to provide for them."

Now, let us clear the ground a little before we begin to deal with this question on its economic side—that is as it affects wages.

It is bad for men and women to marry too young. It is bad for two reasons. Firstly, because the body is not mature, and, secondly, because the mind is not settled. That is to say, an overearly marriage has a bad effect on the health, and since young people must, in the nature of things, change very much as they grow older, an overearly marriage is often unhappy.

I think a woman would be wise not to marry before she is about four-and-twenty; and I think it is better that the husband should be from five to ten years older than the wife.

Then it is very bad for a woman to have many children, and not only is it bad for her health, but it destroys nearly all the pleasure of her life, so that she is an enfeebled and weary drudge through her best years, and is old before her time.

These points being done with, we come to face

the main question. It is very like the question of sobriety and thrift. Of two poor workers, the one who is single is better off than the one who is married and has a large family. That is to say, the married man with many children is poorer and has more anxiety and trouble than the single man. Again, the man with the wife and children is in a more dependent state than the single man. He is less able to change homes or to seek work. He is in greater dread of losing his work. He is less able to save against bad times, and he often bears things and puts up with things which the single man would not endure.

So the single man is really better off than the married man, just as the steady and thrifty man is better off than the thriftless and unsteady man.

And again, if you think it out, you will see that if all our men and women workers kept single the result would be that wages would fall, just as they would if all our workers were thrifty and sober, and for the same reason; because the workers could live on less.

And now I have answered that question so far as it concerns your wages, let me say a few words about it as it concerns your happiness and your manhood.

It seems that a very large number of our working men and women in this rich, enlightened, and prosperous country cannot afford to have a wife or child. And it seems that many of them accept this state of things as natural and as un-

changeable, and tamely give up all hope of love in order to be able to make a living.

Now, I ask you who are keeping single in order to make a living, to think seriously what that means. Do you call it manly? I don't. Do you call that a living which is so spare that it denies you the love of a woman, and the joy of children? I don't.

I speak in all calmness and in all seriousness when I say that if I loved a woman, and if I had to own that I could not marry her because I could not keep her, I would kill myself as a coward and a failure.

But, mind you, it would be very hard to convince me that I could not keep her. I should try very hard first, and I should most likely begin by marrying her, and then proceed to try the issue afterward. That, as a matter of fact, is what I did.

But I cannot understand the men who tamely give up their right to a woman's love and to the blessing of children in order to "make a living."

It is not a living. It is worse than the state of a savage, or an animal, or a slave. I am a man of peace, and love quietness and retirement; but if I loved a woman, and if she loved me I would go out cheerfully and fight the whole British army for her. It would amuse me to do it. I should die happy.

I am afraid some of you prudent bachelors don't love very warmly; or that you are wonderfully feared of death.

I cannot really understand a man selling his

love, and his manhood, and talking like a coward or a slave about "Imprudent Marriages," and all for permission to drudge at an unwelcome task and to eat and sleep for a few lonely and dishonorable years in a loveless and childless world.

I would work my fingers off, craze my brains, break my heart, tramp the whole face of the globe, and die like a man before I would repeat that coward's lesson that I could not afford to marry the woman I loved.

You don't think that is going to save you, men, do you? You don't think you are going to make the best of life by selling for the sake of drudgery and bread and butter your proud man's right to work for, fight for, and die for the woman you love?

Old Socrates was right when he said that virtue consisted in a contempt for death.

When you workingmen have grown wise enough to fear neither death nor devil, you will be well able to marry the woman you love and to keep and defend them. While you fear death, or fear failure, or fear employers, or fear anything, you will not deserve to be prosperous and free.

For, having sold your love for permission to work, how long will it be before you sell your honor? Nay, is it not true that many of you have sold it already?

For every man who works at jerry work, or takes a part in any kind of adulteration, scampery, or trade rascality is selling his honor for wages, and is just as big a scamp and a good deal

more of a coward than a burglar or a highway-man.

And the commercial travelers and the canvassers and agents who get their living by telling lies—as some of them do—do you call them men?

And the gentlemen of the Press who write against their convictions for a salary, and for the sake of a suburban villa, a silk hat, and some cheap claret, devote their energies and talents to the perpetuation of falsehood and wrong, do you call them men?

They seem to me less honorable, less reputable, more base, than the poor painted women who sell their honor for gin and cheap finery.

No, it is better to die honest than to live a rogue. It is far better to spill your blood on the road, or to starve in a desert, free and manly, than to sit tamely down to the bench or to the loom to drudge for dirty bread under a task-master's eye, and to feel that you have sold a woman's love and got her scorn in exchange.

Is he a man who will leave his love to face a lonely life and fight a cruel world alone? Or is he a man who will for paltry wages go into the den of a money-lender, or a jerry-builder, or a whiskey hocusser, or a calico sizer, and do the rascal's dirty work for him?

No, men, there are times when it is better to die than to live. If you have to choose between love and life, it is better to give up life; if you are to choose between honor and life, it is better to give up life.

Do you doubt this? Go and ask any good

woman you know, and see what she will say to you.

If the state of things in England today make it impossible for men and women to love and marry, then the state of things in England today will not do.

If we cannot keep our foreign trade without giving up our love and our manhood and our honor, it is time the foreign trade went to the devil and took the British employers with it.

For my part, I would cheerfully sacrifice all the trade, and all the fame, and all the wealth, culture and art, and every bulwark and institution of this great empire, with my own life thrown into the bargain, before I would sacrifice that oldest, noblest and dearest institution of manhood—the right to love the woman that pleases me, and to marry the woman I love.

Indeed, if I could listen to such a proposition as that of giving up woman's love and the pride and delight of children for the sake of "a situation," if I could listen to such a proposition without feeling it as an insult, I should despise myself as a coward and would never look a woman in the face again.

No, my friends, let us be men. If we cannot live as men we can always die. And who is afraid of dear old Death; the refuge, the rest, the peace-giver?

Well, I hope I have made quite plain my feelings about the question of imprudent marriages.

# DEBS

## His Life, Writings and Speeches.

Socialists are not hero-worshippers. We do not put our faith in leaders. Methods of class warfare do not come from the brains of the isolated scholar, but from the brains and experience of fighters.

That is why we publish the life, writings and speeches of Eugene V. Debs. He has never set himself up as a leader of the labor movement. But by choice of it, joy in it, love of it, he has remained a part of the movement itself. Separate him from the revolutionary working class movement and you lose Eugene V. Debs. He is bone of its bone, flesh of its flesh. His very life, his hopes and aims are interwoven into the very mesh of the labor movement.

All his writings that he thinks worth preserving are included in this book, which also tells the story of his life and work.

Two large editions have been sold at \$2.00 a copy. But Debs does not wish to make money from the book; he wishes to carry the message of socialism to an ever growing circle of readers. He has therefore authorized our co-operative publishing house to bring out a new, neat, compact library edition, illustrated, and containing over 500 pages, at a dollar a copy, postpaid, with special prices to comrades who buy in quantities and put their energy into finding new readers. We will send five copies by express prepaid for \$3.00 or twenty copies by express prepaid for \$10.00. Address

**Charles H. Kerr & Company**  
118 West Kinzie St., Chicago

## Socialist Partners Wanted

Twenty-two hundred of us have each put in ten dollars or more, most of us exactly ten dollars, to pay the first cost of printing the books that the socialist movement needs, and of establishing the **International Socialist Review**.

Altogether we have subscribed thirty-five thousand dollars. It was all spent long ago, but to show for it we have a stock of books that at retail prices would sell for sixty thousand dollars, we have the plates and copyrights of over a hundred valuable books, and we have built up the **Review** to a point where it pays its own way.

Our work has just begun. The wage-workers of the United States are only beginning to find out that there is such a thing as Socialism, and that it means freedom and happiness for them. They are buying our literature eagerly when it is put within their reach. The problem is to raise the money needed to print more of it and advertise it more widely.

If we sold this literature at a profit, the money for enlarging our work would come from the sales. But to sell at a profit would keep the literature out of the reach of the very ones who need it most. Where, then, is the money to come from?

Capitalists will not subscribe it, and that

the purchase of a share of stock at ten dollars. Thus, if your purchases of books at list prices within a year amount to \$25.00, you will have credit slips to the amount of \$10.00, which can be exchanged for a fully-paid stock certificate.

**If You Want Your Money Back**, after paying for your share, we can help you. We can not give you cash for it, but in exchange for your certificate we will give you ten subscription cards each good for a new yearly subscription to the International Socialist Review. With a little effort you can sell these cards for one dollar each.

---

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY,  
118 W. Kinzie Street, Chicago.

Enclosed find postal order \$15.00, in return for which please issue to me one share of stock, fully paid and non-assessable, and ship to me by express prepaid one copy each of the following books:

Capital, Karl Marx, 3 volumes.....	\$ 6.00
Great American Fortunes, Myers, 3 volumes.....	4.50
Ancient Society, Morgan.....	1.50
The Poverty of Philosophy, Marx.....	1.00
Landmarks of Scientific Socialism, Engels..	1.00
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels..	.50
Socialism for Students, Joseph E. Cohen..	.50

Total . . . . . \$15.00

Name .....

Address .....

Postoffice .....

State .....



## SOCIALIST PERIODICALS

The International Socialist Review is the greatest Socialist monthly in the world, and is the only illustrated magazine that is of, by and for the working class. Every month it publishes articles telling of the recent events that most vitally affect wage-workers, together with photographs from the scene of action. Circulation doubled twice within two years. Ten cents a copy; \$1.00 a year To Canada, \$1.20 a year; to other countries, \$1.36.

The Chicago Daily Socialist gives six times a week the real news that the capitalist dailies suppress. \$3.00 a year, \$1.00 for four months. For sample copy address Workers' Publishing Society, 180 Washington street, Chicago.

The Appeal to Reason is the greatest Socialist weekly in the world. It has half a million circulation and is steadily climbing toward a million. For sample copy address J. A. Wayland, Girard, Kansas.

**Three for the Price of One.** For \$3.00 we will mail to any address in the United States the Review a year, the Daily a year, and the Appeal forty weeks. We do not receive subscriptions for the Daily or Appeal to foreign countries.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY  
118 West Kinzie Street, Chicago.

SOCIALIST PERIODICALS

## The International Socialist Review

is now the largest and best socialist magazine in any language or country. It is the only illustrated magazine that is of, by and for the working class. Each month it gives the latest news of the Class Struggle from all over the world, with vivid photographs from each new scene of action. Not a dull page in the whole magazine. The ablest writers in the organized socialist movement are among its contributors. Editorially it stands for a clear, uncompromising working-class movement, both at the polls and in the shops. Monthly, \$1.00 a year, 10 cents a copy. Some news dealers sell it, but the safe and sure way to get each issue promptly is to use the blank below.

**Charles H. Kerr & Company**  
118 West Kinzie St., Chicago

Enclosed find one dollar, for which please mail the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW one year.

Name.....

Address.....

Postoffice.....

State.....

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY  
118 West Kinzie Street, Chicago

*Clara Brew Logsdon 26x*

Price 5 Cents

1910.

# Why I Am a Socialist

Address at a Mass Meeting of the Social Democratic Party  
at Central Music Hall, Chicago, Sept. 29, 1906.

BY

**Prof. George D. Herron.**

---

POCKET LIBRARY OF SOCIALISM—No. 29.



Published by

**CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY**  
(CO-OPERATIVE)

118 West Kinzie Street, Chicago, Ill.

## SOCIALIST PERIODICALS

The **International Socialist Review** is the greatest Socialist monthly in the world, and is the only illustrated magazine that is of, by and for the working class. Every month it publishes articles telling of the recent events that most vitally affect wage-workers, together with photographs from the scene of action. Circulation doubled twice within two years. Ten cents a copy; \$1.00 a year. To Canada, \$1.20 a year; to other countries, \$1.36.

The **Chicago Daily Socialist** gives six times a week the real news that the capitalist dailies suppress. \$3.00 a year, \$1.00 for four months. For sample copy address Workers' Publishing Society, 180 Washington street, Chicago.

The **Appeal to Reason** is the greatest Socialist weekly in the world. It has half a million circulation and is steadily climbing toward a million. For sample copy address J. A. Wayland, Girard, Kansas.

**Three for the Price of One.** For \$3.00 we will mail to any address in the United States the **Review** a year, the **Daily** a year, and the **Appeal** forty weeks. We do not receive subscriptions for the **Daily** or **Appeal** to foreign countries.

**CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY**  
118 West Kinzie Street, Chicago.

## Why I Am a Socialist

In speaking for socialism, tonight, I shall be as frank with this audience as I am with myself. I must give my own reasons for standing upon this platform. I cannot give the reasons of any other man, or of any sect or party, for supporting the socialist movement, though I respect all the men and motives that here converge. The best service which I can render the cause is to bear witness to the light that I actually see, and not to the light I know only by report. I am a socialist; and all my voting, for the last eight years, has been with the Socialist-Labor party. But before I am a socialist, I am a free man; I am a socialist because I am free. I have paid too great a price for my freedom, and have left too many blood stains upon the capitalistic order, to make any compromise with what I have won and intend to keep. I will never limit the liberty of another man's soul, nor permit any man or party to limit the liberty of my own. I will not tell lies to support the truth, or conceal one truth for the sake of helping another truth. I will not evade bearing witness to exactly what I

seem to see this year, in order to be consistent with something I may have said last year. I will not tell anything less or more than just the truth I see, at the moment I am speaking, to support any party, or even to support the throne of the universe itself. If economic socialism means anything, it means just this liberty of every man to take a free look at life and all its problems, and to be gladly heard by his comrades while he tells what he sees.

When I left Chicago, last January, for Egypt and eastern lands, I had the intention of staying across the seas until a later time than the present. For many weeks I was living tent-life in Syria, out of the reach of letter and newspaper communication with America. Only recently, on coming into Europe, have I understood something of the beginning and meaning of the American socialist movement. I could have gone on with my plans of travel and have committed myself to the cause of political socialism at a later period. The socialist movement does not seem to me to have yet taken its coherent and conquering form in the politics of America. But when I saw that American socialism was actually in the political melting-pot, being tried by fire, in order that it might come forth as a national effort for that freedom and fullness of life which were promised by our fathers, then I also saw that my place was in the melting-pot. I could not wait until socialism should be exactly pleasing to me in all of its aspects, or

until I should be altogether pleasing to socialists in some of my views of life; my place was with my comrades, sharing with them in the troubles that are always involved in the first creative steps of an organized movement. So I gave up my plans of travel, and am here to publicly commit myself to the socialist movement. And I am here to stay until the co-operative commonwealth be established, or until the possibilities of my life be exhausted in helping American labor to consciously and nobly express itself in a coherent effort towards that collective order of society that shall change work from a curse into a song.

It may be that the American socialist party is yet to be formed. If that be true, all of us who call ourselves socialists are ready to form in any party that shall truly stand for the cause and philosophy of socialism. It is to socialism itself we are committing ourselves, tonight, and not to any particular party as a final expression of socialism. Socialism is larger than any sect or party, any definition or creed. It has no bible except the living human facts as they unfold. The particular name or party under which socialism shall finally come is not here important. The thing of importance is this, that we now have an opportunity to politically express ourselves in a movement which is at least the germ of the American socialism that is to fulfill what was good and true in the democracy of our fathers.

Three great lines are converging in the American socialist outcome. We must name first the Socialist Labor people, who brought from Europe to America what is sometimes called dogmatic socialism. These men have seemed to some of us to be sectarian and harsh, and to have carried class-consciousness into class-hatred. But is it to be wondered at that they have been bitter and dogmatic in their advocacy of socialism, and in their attack upon the capitalistic order? Our early socialists were men who had themselves experienced the bitterness and devastation of life that comes to labor in the service of capitalism; they were men who spelled out their Marx in the hideous misery of sweat-shops; men who pawned their threadbare coats to print their tracts. They were socialists when it took a fanatic and a hero to be a socialist; socialists, when to be known as a socialist meant hunger or starvation for themselves and their families. They were men who made brave and pitiful sacrifices for one another as comrades; men who, however fierce, practiced towards each other some of the ethics which we teachers are not even heroic enough to teach. These men do not make a bible of their Marx, and they understand as well as any of us that the economic philosophy of fifty years ago will have to be recast in the mold of present American facts and ideals. What they now justly ask is, that socialism, under whatever name it appears, or by whatever party

it is brought before the people, shall base itself directly upon the fundamental fact that those who live by selling their labor-power to capital must become class-conscious of the fact that they are the rightful owners and real producers of the earth; and that this producing class must intelligently and coherently set to work to achieve its own liberty from the capitalistic system of industry. I do not see how any socialist, or any nobly thoughtful man, can dispute this fundamental proposition, however fiercely it may have been advocated. Nor do I see how American socialism can be established until American labor comes to such a consciousness of its manhood and worth as shall lift it into mighty response to this mightiest task to which mankind has ever summoned itself—the task of organizing out of the materials of nature and history a harmonious and free society, in which every man shall equally inherit with every other man the resources and opportunities that open wholeness and gladness of life to human hope.

Another converging line is that individualism which was the genius of our American political origins, and which was the meaning of eighteenth century political and social philosophy. The end which that individualism sought was right. Rousseau and Jefferson, and the French revolutionists, have a claim which must be justly and fully acquitted in the court of American socialism. Socialism does not come to destroy

but to fulfill the ideals of liberty, fraternity and equality, which made our century so big with promises in its beginnings, and so sad and skeptic with failure in its endings. The liberty which early American aspiration sought can be fulfilled only in the association which socialism offers. Individualism can be fulfilled only in collectivism. Liberty is a social achievement, and must be achieved by men together; not in competition with each other. American democracy, which originally meant voluntary co-operation as the order of the state, will soon be lost, even as an ideal, unless it realize itself in democratic or co-operative production.

The third converging line is a new religious sense, developing a much keener and more comprehensive spiritual attitude in the common life. It is a movement so wide and deep that it is scarcely yet recognized, and has nothing to do with the conventional religious experiences. It is so altogether outside of historic religious institutions, and has come upon the world so unawares, that it does not even know itself as religious or spiritual. But it is upon the tides of this new spiritual movement that some of us have been borne into socialism, and we must be true to our inspiration, while fully recognizing the worth of other inspirations than our own.

Let me explain the point of view and advance from which this unobserved spiritual movement becomes one with the economic movement. We began our working life with the conviction

that the individual soul is all that has any worth. The individual man, his wholeness and liberty, are the unrivaled concern of the universe, and all that gives it any worth or meaning. Nature and economic things have a value just to the extent that they are the materials by which the human soul may freely express itself. All material things are intrinsically spiritual values; they are the coin of the spiritual realm. The goal of history, if the universe is sincere and has a meaning, is the liberty of each soul to at last become a law unto itself; the liberty of each man to individualize nature and truth for himself, and to live an original life of his own. If you examine closely enough just what it is that has made the centuries red with human struggle, you will find it to be just this struggle of the soul of man for emancipation from every form of coercion; this struggle of the individual life to freely and unfearingly choose for itself what it should be, to richly and fully be what it should choose, and to actually lay up its treasures beside its heart. It was upon the tides of a spiritual passion for this liberty that some of us were beaten against the hard fact that there is no liberty for the individual so long as some people own that upon which all people depend. We have discovered that no spiritual freedom can achieve or maintain itself except it be realized in economic freedom. Private property in the natural resources upon which all men depend, private

property in that capital which all men create, is nothing less than private property and traffic in human souls; yea, it is the foundation of the ecclesiastical claim of private property in God and the truth, which is no less vicious than the claim of the monopolist to private ownership of the earth. The liberty of the soul can be achieved only through the passing away of the capitalistic form of society, and the coming in of the free and co-operative state.

The soul cannot find its freedom in "a free field and a fair fight"; for the soul is not free so long as it is compelled to fight for anything; the individual is free only when he is liberated from fighting, that he may live for the common good, in company with his brothers.

But there is still another factor in this spiritual movement towards socialism; and that is, the ethical strain that has come to some of us who have faced the whole truth about our economic selves. We who are at once the receivers and victims of special privileges know that we are on the backs of our brothers. We know that our books, our clothes, our privileges are ours because our hands are in our brothers' blood. I am able to stand here tonight, and make my plea for socialism, because I have consumed the labor-product which pays for all that I am able to be, and all that I am able to give. I cannot believe that I can serve my comrades best by withdrawing from the problem, with the Tolstoian, and setting up a private

kingdom of heaven of my own; it would be an unspeakable relief to me to pay my world-debt so cheaply. My place is in the thick of the social pain and travail, in the depth of the resolving chaos, even if I have to bear this ethical strain and shame to the end. The least that I can do to pay my debt to my brothers, the least that I can do to be decent, is to contribute the whole of my life to the emancipation of labor from that capitalistic order which makes the product of the millions the profit and luxury of the few.

I said, when I began, that the American socialist movement had not yet been fully and coherently organized, and that these three ethical factors which I have named are converging in that movement. But whether you agree with me or not as to these converging lines, let me ask you to face clearly the fact that socialism in some form is coming, without any regard to what you or I want. Closely speaking, socialism can have but one meaning and issue. Loosely speaking, there might be many kinds of socialism. There can be a thoroughly democratic and spiritual socialism, and there might be an imperialistic or Bismarckian socialism, in which the state would own the people rather than the people be the state. If I might prophesy, I would say that in twenty years there will be, as now, two great political parties in America; but both of them will be socialistic: one the party of tory socialism

and the other the party of social democracy. But whatever the form under which collectivism comes, the next stage of the world will be a collective stage of production and distribution. We might just as well appoint a committee to sit down on the sun, to keep it from going on its way, as to attempt to obstruct the socialistic issue of the capitalist mode of production. Competition and private industry no longer work, and they ought not to work. The present industrial system is approaching an economic world-crisis, which is also the world's spiritual crisis.

What is the attitude of the two great national parties toward this evident world-crisis? The republican is frankly the party of the capitalistic order. Under the priesthood of Mr. Hanna, it is has been indissolubly wedded to capitalism as its weaker and obedient half. Let us credit Mr. Hanna and his party with all sincerity in their belief that capitalism is the best and only safe order of industry. I am not here to question the sincerity of any man or party; but only to state their attitude towards social reconstruction. The republican party is so openly the capitalistic party that its principles need no discussion before an audience anywise in sympathy with socialism.

But the democratic party gives somewhat intangible hints of social reform. Let us examine those hints.

So far as I can see, I am not able to find in

any of Mr. Bryan's utterances nor in the various platforms of his party, a syllable that indicates the slightest knowledge of the real human problem that now confronts us. The democratic propositions for economic and social reforms are negative and meaningless. Their talk of anti-trust legislation is childish, as well as unhistoric. You might just as well legislate against the tides of the sea, or the movements of the solar system, as to imagine that anti-trust legislation can for a moment hinder the present industrial development from going on to its consummation. If Mr. Bryan does not know, I am sure that Mr. Altgeld knows, that anti-trust declarations and legislations are sheer hypocrisy; that they have about as much relation to the real economic problem as Mr. Roosevelt has to modesty and gentle instincts. It is sometimes mysteriously hinted that Mr. Bryan has up his sleeve some very telling card, which he intends to play in the economic game if he is elected; that he is playing politics just as Lincoln did. I do not believe that Mr. Lincoln played politics in any such sense as some of Mr. Bryan's supporters credit their candidate with doing. It is true that Mr. Lincoln shrewdly adopted every available means to achieve his end; but he knew exactly what he wanted from the beginning, and made clear his goal from the opening of his political career as a member of the Illinois legislature. He wanted the progressive abolition of slavery, and a nation com-

posed of entirely free men; and he said so. Furthermore, even if Lincoln did play politics in the sense in which Mr. Bryan's friends would indicate, we have nothing to do with that. It is time that we quit asking what Lincoln would do, or what Jefferson would do, or what Moses would do, or what Marx would do, and decide for ourselves, and by our own original inspiration, what we are to do in the face of the world-problem that confronts us. No age or its leaders can live by the inspiration and leadership of a past age. There is always more truth and resource in the present than have ever been available in the past. Besides, this method of playing politics as a game will no longer work with the awakening social sense of the common life. The people do not want to know what card a man has up his sleeve, but what coherent and frankly spoken principles a man may have wherewith to meet the problems that are meeting him. There is no game that could be so wisely played just now as the hitherto untried game of honesty. Leaders whom the people will trust in the future must be leaders who believe in principles so strongly that they are not afraid to tell them to the world. They must be leaders who will trust the people and the truth so fully that they will shake out before the face of the people all the truth they have in their heads and hearts.

If we further examine the policy of the democratic party, we will find that it is haltingly

against the evils that are, but that it has not a single constructive proposition to make as to future good. It is idle to protest that we are against one order of things, if we have no better order to propose. Whatever it may disclose in the future, the democratic party has not disclosed any constructive ability in the past. The best that its most ardent reformers propose is the abolition of special privileges, and the restoration of an imaginary free competition. Now twentieth century problems cannot be solved by eighteenth century phrases. So-called special privileges can be abolished only by making the highest privileges of the few the common privileges of all. The special privileges at which the individualist reformer would aim, are the direct results of the very competition which he proposes as a remedy. Special privileges, class legislation and industrial monopoly are merely the triumph of the strongest competitor; they are the big fish that have swallowed the little fish. Even if the abstract "free field and fair fight," which has never existed outside of the economist's brain, could really exist, the result would again be special privileges and monopoly. In the freest economic field and fairest competition, somebody would get whipped; and the result would be the triumph of sheer brute strength expressing itself in economic might; not the triumph of those men and qualities socially fitted to survive. Besides, a rational civilization has for its end, not the so-called

survival of the fittest, but the fitting of all to worthily survive. Furthermore, we are not seeking remedies for the existing social order; for it is an order of things that we do not want, well or ill. It is not a remedy for a capitalistic order that the present human situation demands, but a manhood with the spiritual nerve and might to create a co-operative order, which shall realize all the best ideals of all democracies and political philosophies of the past.

I know that there are many that will vote for Mr. Bryan in the hope that the imperialism, which reveals the degradation of our nation, and which has made our government the betrayer and the assassin of the liberties of a helpless people, may be rebuked and corrected. But these good people ought to see that imperialism is merely the result of capitalism. Capitalism increases itself out of the produce of the people until they are too poor to buy what they produce. India, starving in the presence of walled-up and plentiful food supplies, is a monument to the capitalistic order. As Thomas Carlyle said, England was seeking new markets, while the million and a half of men and women and children of London who made the clothes went with bare backs because they had nothing wherewith to buy the clothes they made. Strange as it may seem, they were not making clothes to wear, but clothes for the increase of capital. The capitalistic order of America has debauched the conscience of the

nation, and used its government to betray and conquer weaker peoples, in order to find markets for the produce of the struggling and blighted lives of the laborers, who cannot buy what they produce. Capitalism, after absorbing the purchasing power of the real producers, destroys the liberties of weaker peoples, in order to compel them to furnish a market, and besides coerces them into paying interest upon bonds. Suppose a man should come into your room tonight with a revolver, and forcibly take your money, watch, clothes and available possessions; and then suppose that, tomorrow, he should send an armed officer with a bill for services rendered in keeping you in order while he robbed you; suppose, further, that in lieu of your having nothing left wherewith to pay the bill, he should compel you to sign a note for an amount of money so large that you could never pay it, but not too large to consume the produce of each year's toil in paying the interest thereupon; suppose all this, and you have an epitome of imperialism, which is nothing less than capitalism preserving and extending itself through diplomatic and military force. Imperialism has always been the immediate result of centralization of wealth in the hands of a few, and can be dealt with only by changing the order of things from which it naturally springs.

Socialism comes not as a remedy for the evils of existing society, but as a program of prin-

ciples for a new society; or rather, let us say, as the first proposition for social order that has ever been presented to the world. Mankind has not yet had anything that can properly be called social order. Society has not yet been created. The materials for the building of a human world are here, but the creation remains to be undertaken. The task of creating a coherent and free society is the mightiest to which man has summoned himself; and it is a task which now presses urgently upon us. Socialism does not recognize as society anything that has hitherto come, but it sees in every preceding human stage a preparation for society. The socialist is an evolutionist, but with this difference between himself and much that is called scientific evolution: namely, that the social will is henceforth to be the supreme factor in evolution. Hitherto, what we call society has been the evolution of blind forces, which man did not understand and could not control. But we are reaching that moment when man will become the evolver as well as the evolved; when man will become conscious of himself as the decreeing and creative force in evolution. Man will henceforth take evolution into his own hands, and fashion creation according to his own will, and make out of society what he wants it to be. Henceforth the social will is to become the creator and master, which the winds and waves shall at last obey, and at whose word the strifes and storms of history shall be stilled

and give back their responsive peace to the masterful social will of love.

Socialism starts with the brotherhood and unity of the race as a fact. It does not proclaim it as a sentiment, but recognizes it as a scientific fact. Each for all and all for each is the only rational mode of procedure, in view of this fact. That where one suffers all suffer is not a sentiment to meditate about, but the hardest unescapable fact with which we have to deal. The grippe breaks out in a wretched hamlet of two or three hundred peasants on the Siberian frontier; and every home in America is endangered or broken. A little girl is shot down by the constituted authorities at a Pennsylvania coal mine; and every thoughtful American recognizes that capitalistic government is not law, but brutal and lawless authority founded on economic might, and that his little girl in Chicago or California may be the next victim of the brute lawlessness of capitalistic government. For good or ill, whether we will or no, we are bound up together in this world, and can only achieve our well being together. We might like to have separate interests, and be able to extricate ourselves as individuals from the compulsions of this unity; but we cannot do so, any more than we can individually extricate ourselves from the law of gravity. We all in common depend upon the same common resources of nature and history. None of us is rightly or nobly born until every child is born into the

world as the immediate inheritor of all the resources of nature and history, of industry and society, of inspiration and culture; of all that tempts to goodness and greatness, and makes for fullness, freedom and gladness of life. If the whole world were full and glad with life, and should yet consent that one child should be born with less, the world would be economically and spiritually damned. Until all of us together see to it that every man is equal with every other man in resource, opportunity and liberty we shall none of us see the kingdom of fullness and freedom upon the earth. In this sense brother-interest and self-interest are one and the same; for no man has a true and noble interest in himself who does not regard the whole life of man as his calling and interest; and no man has a true regard for his brothers who does not seek to make himself a whole and free man in their service.

Now socialism comes as the scientific and economic recognition of this unity. Since all people in common depend upon the sources and tools of production, there can be no individual liberty save these sources and tools belong to the people in common. There can be no social peace and sanity, no full liberty of the human soul, so long as some people own that upon which all people depend. All that can be said against slavery can also be said against the private ownership of economic sources and tools; for the private ownership of the common

sources and machinery of life is nothing less than a substantial ownership of human beings. No man is free so long as he is dependent upon some other man for the chance to earn his livelihood. If a man owns my bread, or owns that which I must have in order to get my bread, he owns my moral being, unless I choose to revolt and starve. Private ownership of the earth, of its productive machinery, means private ownership of the people who live on the earth. He who sells his labor-power for wages sells himself; for his labor-power is his life. The wages system is merely an advance in the slave-system, but it is no fit system for free men; and there can be no true freedom for all men until there is not another hireling left under the sun. The labor of the world is essentially slave-labor. There is not a wage-earner on the earth, tonight, who is not in some degree debauched in soul, even in spite of himself, by his dependence upon the private buyer of his labor. So long as some men own that upon which all men depend, the owners and the dependents are alike corrupted, enslaved and robbed.

Yet our industrial system rests upon this power of private capital to legally appropriate the fruits of the labor of society. And behind the economics of capitalism rests the question of elemental right and wrong. If nature and history have a meaning and goal, if the universe be sincere, then it is elementally

wrong that some people should own that upon which all people depend; and the only elemental right is that the people in common should own that upon which the people in common depend; and the only just reward of labor is the whole produce of labor.

This elemental right cannot be amended or evaded, as history well witnesses. The centralization of the wealth of the people in the hands of the few has been the poison of history. It has brought the decline or destruction of every nation, every civilization, every religion that has come to its end or decline. The pages of history are red with the retribution that comes to the whole people through the centralization of wealth in the hands of a few; for centralized wealth is not prosperity but disease, congestion, and destruction. No man or civilization can escape this retribution.

It lies not in the power of man, of governments or armies, to make practicable what is elementally wrong. No religion can go deep enough to bring forth universal individual nobleness out of a political or economic system that enslaves souls and bodies by enslaving labor. No law or custom is mighty or sacred enough to bring forth peace and order out of injustice and elemental disorder. It is beyond the power of kings or parliaments, priests or politicians, to bring forth good effects from bad causes. There is no God in the universe almighty enough to make right out of sheer economic

might; and there is no civilization strong enough to prevent that which is elementally right from becoming the ultimate and universal might. A house built upon the sands cannot be made safer by priestly steeples, political declarations and police protection; the longer and stronger the building, the more appalling and complete the ruin. A civilization built upon fraud and force, gambling and lying, stealing and political debauchery, capitalism and slave-labor, simply builds for its own retribution. Unless the universe itself be a lie, such civilization cannot stand. We build on a sure foundation only when we build a system that has for its end the commonwealth, the common wholeness, the common freedom, the common abundance and gladness, of all men and women. Nature convicts our impoverishing civilization to its face; for profusion of life is nature's eternal message. Nature offers resources enough for abundance of life for countless billions of human beings, and will never consent that these resources should be appropriated by the few for the exploitation of the many.

I know that some of you are indulging in the popular saying that socialism might answer for a society of angels, but not for a society of human beings such as we are; that we must wait till we have a better brand of human beings before we can have socialism. All of which is very much like saying that it is not safe to cure a man of his disease until he gets

well; or like saying that we will not come in out of the rain until we first get dry; or like refusing to abolish the devil in order that we may preserve the job of saving the people from him. It is a strange superstition that makes men regard what they know to be elementally good as dangerous in practice, and what they know to be elementally wrong as practically safe. Socialism strikes at the root of the chief cause of our unangelic conduct, and proposes to abolish that slavery and competition and capitalism which sends all its forces in the direction of making men brutal and dishonest. The whole influence of competition and capitalism is to war against love and liberty, and to make all that is noble and lovely in human life impossible. Socialism comes to remove the causes that prevent men from being lovers and brothers one with another, and to bring in that equality of opportunity without which there can be no true fellowship, no abiding social love.

Many of you, too, are raising the question of whether people are yet prepared for the economic administration and liberty involved in what we call public ownership. The question is often raised with reference to a public utility, such as the railway system. First of all, there is the principle that nothing prepares people for responsibility save experience in responsibility. It is only in liberty that man learns to be free; only in the possession of his rights does a man learn to practice the highest right.

Then underneath the question of advisability, lies the foundation fact that it is elementally wrong for public functions to be privately owned and administered for private profit. No principle of expediency can make this elemental wrong result in the good of either individuals or society. That I may think some other man shiftless with his money does not excuse me in taking it away from him, and spending most of it for myself.

The lesson of association in freedom must be learned, and it can only be learned by practicing it. We shall have to go the whole length of liberty, or finally have no liberty at all. You doubt whether liberty can be trusted. I am very sure that tyranny cannot be trusted, and I am furthermore sure that the care of liberty cannot be delegated to any representatives. Liberty cannot be put under bonds to keep the peace without liberty being lost and peace unattained. All the so-called evils of liberty have been the evils of the lack of liberty. We shall have to accept the full logic of liberty at last, for there is nothing under the sun that can be trusted in its place. The lesson of co-operation has got to be learned, and learned in liberty; and the lesson of liberty has got to be learned, and learned in co-operation. We had as well begin.

Again, some of you are offended at the class-conscious appeal of socialism. I think it is because you do not rightly understand its

meaning. Socialists have no thought of arraying one class against another class as individuals; class-consciousness does not mean class-hatred. Let us admit that socialists sometimes give utterances that have the class-hatred ring about them. Class-hatred is none the less alien to the spirit and genius of socialism. Even so bitter a controversialist as Karl Marx says that, of all men, socialists can afford to be tolerant and kindly toward the capitalist class, knowing that class to be victims of a system as truly as the laborer. What the socialist does mean by class-consciousness is this: that nothing can obviate the hideous fact that one class of human beings is living off another class; that a capitalistic class is heaping up the produce of the producing class. And he appeals to labor to become class-conscious, because he knows perfectly well that the laborer cannot achieve his freedom, nor have the produce of his labor, until he becomes conscious that he is the real producer and the owner of the earth. Capital lords and landlords will exist, and despoil the earth with economic and military wars, until the disinherited labor of the world rises to nobly take possession of its inheritance. So long as the laborer is willing to be a mere wage-earner, so long as he is led about by politician and agitator, so long as his weariness and poverty, his dependence and hopelessness, so eat out his nerve of soul and body that he will not act, just so long will his condition

wax worse and worse. Labor must achieve its own liberty, if it is ever to be achieved. Liberty cannot be handed down by a superior class to an inferior class; it has never been so achieved, and ought not to be so achieved. If liberty were something that could be imposed upon one class by another, or could be presented as a gift from superiors to inferiors, it would vanish in the night. Men are not free until they have won and established their freedom in experience, and in the power of their own manhood.

The class-conscious appeal is not for strife or hostility or antagonism, but for manhood; for constructive purpose, and spiritual nerve and genius. The end of socialism is the abolition of all classes and parties, and the coming in of but one class, the people, with opportunity for every man to produce his own living, and at the same time to become, as Charles Kingsley said, "a scholar, a saint, and a gentleman." Unless American laborers as a class are so spiritually awakened that they become noble and courageous enough to adopt the co-operative commonwealth as a working ideal, and adopt it in the spirit of good-will toward all men, no one can achieve their liberty for them, or ought to achieve it for them. All history demonstrates how the people have had to achieve for themselves each inch and gain of liberty, and how they have been again and again betrayed when their liberties have been committed to those

above them in worldly condition. Even the best and truest of men hesitate, when the moment comes for them to get down into the thick of the blood and dust of the human struggle.

I know that some of these are waiting until socialism shall present a more pleasing aspect. But we cannot wait until the socialist movement is just to our liking before we take creative part in it. Our place is in the blood and the dust, the struggles and the disgraces, that always inhere in the beginnings of every great movement. Our place is at the heart of the chaos in order that we may work with the developing purpose. How can we truly respect ourselves, or help to make the socialist movement what it ought to be, if we fail it in its moment of sorest need? Socialists are not appealing to you for support on the ground that socialists are better than other men, but on the ground that socialism is better than capitalism. Socialism proposes to bring forth and educate the best that is in man; capitalism and competition are bringing forth and educating the worst.

We do not deny that socialism has its risks; that its advocates have the common share of human passions and imperfections; but we insist that the risks of adventuring upon socialism are as nothing compared to the risks of continuing in capitalism. Besides, if we only knew it, the dangers to human life all lie on the side of staying where we are, while safety lies only

in going on. As Louis Kossuth pointed out, conservatism has been the cause of every violent revolution. We cannot avert disaster by sitting on the throttle valve of the forces that are making for universal change; we cannot prevent the change; we only cause explosion and disaster.

In the truest sense, socialism is essentially conservative. It comes not to destroy, but to fulfill—to fulfill all the true ideals of order and liberty and property. It offers that equality which must be the foundation of brotherhood; that liberty which must be the vital breath of the love which the great teachers taught. It offers the economic basis for the realization of that fraternity which has been the dream of the ages. It comes with no attack upon any man, but with the message of good-will among all men. It comes with no attack upon property, but rather to save property from the attacks and ravages of a system that is the destruction of all that makes property sacred; for property is sacred only as it serves the highest uses of all men in common. It comes not to destroy private property; for capitalism has already destroyed the possibility of the bulk of mankind ever becoming property owners; but it comes to place within the reach of every man that private property upon which he must stand, in order to live, a free and original life of his own, and express his noblest ideals in being. It comes to make the strong bear the infirmities of the

weak, until the weak, too, become strong; knowing well that if we do not actually become our brother's keepers, we shall be destroyed in our brother's destruction, as we ought to be. It comes to put all the temptations of life on the side of service and freedom and goodness, and to abolish the temptation to avarice and meanness and oppression.

I know that there is needed a vast spiritual preparation to prepare the way of political socialism; but that preparation will come. In its essence, socialism is a religion; it stands for the harmonious relating of the whole life of man; it stands for a vast and collective fulfilling of the law of love. As the socialist movement grows, its religious forces will come forth from the furnace of experience. No matter how materialistic its origin, when socialism brings men together in a great purpose, it soon begins to develop fidelity and tolerance, patience and good-will, and the noblest of human graces. As American Socialism goes on its way, it will become a spiritual passion; not a cry for rights, but a call to elemental righteousness. It will make its appeal to the instinct of man for a beautiful public life, for communal heroism, and will show how the individual life can fulfill itself only by relating itself to the whole life of mankind. It will create a conscience that shall at last become cosmic and titanic, and able to grapple with all the problems the universe can bring forth. In place of the individual hero

of the past, it will submit to you the ideal of a heroic common life; the ideal of a common citizenship that shall truly have its consciousness in heavenly things.

It seems to me that America stands in order to be the birthplace of just such an appeal, and the social ground for just such a realization. Emerson once said that America seemed like the last stand of Providence in behalf of the human race. If the sorrows and the struggles that have made the centuries red with effort are to have their fruition, it must be upon our American soil. Back there in the shadows, the oppressed peoples of history are waiting for some great word to be here spoken that shall call them into resurrection and liberty. Egypt and Persia, Greece and Italy, and peoples that we have forgotten, are waiting for the word from us that shall call them out into the sunlight. Peoples and nations unborn are stretching forth entreating hands to us from out of the future. If we should fail here in America, then six thousand years of history will have failed; for history has come to its limit on the shores of the Pacific; it has come back to its starting point. If we fail, the heart of the world will break again, and another cycle of history, with its weary procession of bleeding centuries, will have to begin. But we cannot fail, we dare not fail. Liberty, fraternity and equality are not tantalisms to hopeless human suffering; they are ideals to be realized by human worth and effort.

We must prove our worth and power to match these ideals. Potential within this meeting, is a power which we may use for the freeing and the healing of the nations. Within this audience, are the resources and weapons for conquering the world for love and liberty. The saving sword which the peoples now need is not the sword of Joshua or Cromwell, but the sword of an awakened and inspired and ennobled common life. And as the hand of destiny reaches out in the dark of our social chaos, it is our privilege to put within that hand the sword of comrade-love, that shall liberate the world, and make every child indeed the heir of all the good of all the ages. I plead that the highest and most unselfish that lies in you and in me may respond to the highest and most unselfish inspirations of history, as we go forth to support this cause of socialism, and to support, in our presidential candidate, one who has proved his fidelity to American labor, and who is in his rightful place as the leader of this first national campaign for social democracy.

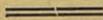
TWO PAPERS  
on  
PUBLIC SANITATION  
and the  
SINGLE TAX

by

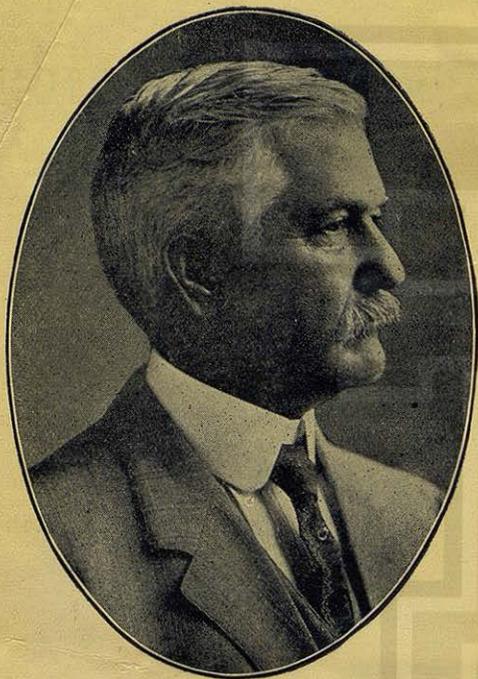
SURGEON GENERAL WM. C. GORGAS  
United States Army

and

PROFESSOR LEWIS J. JOHNSON  
Harvard University



Published by the  
Single Tax Information Bureau  
90 West Street, New York City.



*W. C. Gorgas.*

**TWO PAPERS**

on

**PUBLIC SANITATION**

and the

**SINGLE TAX**

by

**SURGEON GENERAL WM. C. GORGAS**

United States Army

and

**PROFESSOR LEWIS J. JOHNSON**

Harvard University

---

Published by the

**Single Tax Information Bureau**  
90 West Street, New York City.

TWO PAPERS  
HITAT

## FOREWORD

"Where there is no vision, the people perish."  
—SOLOMON.

*To Physicians, Engineers, and all professional  
men interested in social hygiene:*

The last twenty-five years have witnessed an enormous interest in all kinds of welfare work. The physician, the engineer, the pathologist, the bacteriologist, the sociologist, the economist, the social worker have each in turn attacked the problems of social hygiene. The result has been the accumulation of a mass of facts invaluable for the comfort and safety of mankind. But, however varied the fields of the workers may be, at one point they all converge at last. Every one of these workers, who looks beyond and beneath his own particular field, every one who ponders on the primary causes of disease, of vice, of alcoholism, of feeble-mindedness, every one, who, in other words, brings his scientific imagination as well as his scientific knowledge to bear upon this problem, is finally forced into the conviction that underneath all obvious and immediate causes there lies one great, general and determining social cause—Poverty.

"Of what use," says the tuberculosis expert, "to send a patient to a sanatorium and perhaps cure him, only to return him to the slums?" "Of what use," says the temperance advocate,

"to preach temperance, when overworked and underpaid labor must needs seek surcease of sorrow in the saloon?" How telling and how biting the reply of the London city missionary when found fault with for not saving more souls: "If you will fill their stomachs with food, I will fill their hearts with the love of God."

Until recently, poverty was looked upon as a divine dispensation—a natural phenomenon, as unavoidable as the tides or the precession of the equinoxes. Malthus, it is true, offered for it, about a century ago, a pseudo-scientific explanation which exercises its comfortably benumbing influence even upon scientific minds to-day. Malthus tells us that poverty is due to the niggardliness of nature; that not enough wealth is produced, or can be produced, to give every worker his reasonable share of comfort; that population inevitably outruns subsistence and hence that wars, pestilences and famines are blessings in disguise, and by the same token public sanitation a menace to society! But the marvelously increased industrial efficiency of the last fifty years, with a consequent production of wealth such as the world never saw before, and which is the wonder of mankind, this, coupled *with the persistence of poverty* in the face of boundless resources of the planet still undeveloped, shows the inadequacy of the Malthusian doctrine as a reason for regarding wholesale poverty as incapable of remedy. The world is now slowly turning more and more to the conviction that the persistence of poverty amid abounding wealth is due neither to the insufficiency of nature nor to the incompetence of man, but that it is due to some subtle and hitherto little recognized force operating within our social system, by whose power some men are enabled to obtain more wealth than they produce by taking a share of the wealth produced by others; the fault being not individual but social.

What this subtle force is and how it operates to distribute unjustly the great mass of wealth produced, we believe, has been clearly indicated in the writings of Henry George, and it is with the object of bringing before a body of scientifically trained men the more modern view of the cause of poverty—this “riddle which the Sphinx of Fate puts to our civilization and which not to answer is to be destroyed”—that we, the undersigned, commend to the thoughtful consideration of our professional brethren two papers by two men eminent in their respective professions.

We feel that if men of the stamp of Surgeon General Gorgas and of Professor Johnson see in the adoption of the ideas of Henry George, the hope for solving one, at least, of the world's great problems, other workers and other thinkers may be stimulated to inquire along the same line. We feel that many, who have perhaps until now been prone to look upon “single taxers” as a group of well-meaning but impractical idealists, may be led to see that the basic thoughts of Henry George, as reflected in the utterances of these two men, may merit, after all, respectful, serious, and thorough consideration.

In this spirit of candid inquiry we, the undersigned, commend this pamphlet to your attention.

VICTOR C. VAUGHAN, M.D., Ph.D., LL.D.,  
*Dean of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.; President of the American Medical Association.*

JACQUES LOEB, M.D., Ph.D.,  
*Head of the Department of Experimental Biology, Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, New York.*

ARISTIDES AGRAMONTE, M.D.,  
*Professor of Bacteriology and Experimental Pathology, University of Havana; Member National Board of Health of the Republic of Cuba.*

WILLIAM T. COUNCILMAN, M.D., LL.D.,  
*Shattuck Professor of Pathological Anatomy, Harvard University.*

JOHN ROGERS, M.D.,  
*Clinical Professor of Surgery, Medical Department of Cornell University, New York.*

FREDERICK PETERSON, M.D., Ph.D.,  
*Formerly Professor of Psychiatry, Medical Department of Columbia University, New York.*

ALBERT P. BRUBAKER, M.D.,  
*Professor of Physiology, Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia.*

S. SOLIS COHEN, M.D.,  
*Professor of Clinical Medicine, Jefferson Medical College; Physician to Philadelphia General and Jefferson Hospitals.*

S. ADOLPHUS KNOPF, M.D.,  
*Professor of Phthisiotherapy, Post Graduate Medical School, New York.*

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, M.D., LL.D.,  
*Formerly Medical Superintendent Randall's Island Hospital, New York.*

WALTER MENDELSON, M.D.,  
*President Alumni Association, College of  
Physicians and Surgeons (Medical De-  
partment, Columbia University); Alumni  
Trustee of Columbia University, New  
York.*

FREDERICK C. HOWE, Ph.D.,  
*Commissioner of Immigration, Port of  
New York; Director People's Institute,  
New York.*

THOMAS MOTT OSBORNE,  
*Warden of Sing Sing Prison; formerly  
Mayor of Auburn, New York.*

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY, LL.D.,  
*Director Federal Reserve Bank, New York  
City; Chairman State Reservation Com-  
mission of Saratoga Springs, New York.*

LOUIS F. POST,  
*Assistant Secretary of Labor, Washington,  
D. C.*

JOHN J. MURPHY,  
*Commissioner, Tenement House Depart-  
ment, New York City.*

CHARLES A. DOWNER, Ph.D.,  
*Professor of Romance Languages and Lit-  
erature, College of the City of New York.*

GEORGE H. PARKER, S.B.,  
*Professor of Zoology, Harvard University.*

CHARLES W. KILLAM, A.I.A.,  
*Associate Professor Architectural Con-  
struction, Harvard University.*

COMFORT A. ADAMS, S.B., E.E.,  
*Lawrence Professor Electrical Engineer-  
ing, Harvard University.*

H. E. CLIFFORD, S.B.,  
*Gordon Mackay Professor Electrical En-  
gineering, Harvard University.*

ARTHUR T. SAFFORD,  
*Hydraulic Engineer, Lowell, Mass.; Past  
Chairman, Sanitary Section, Boston So-  
ciety Civil Engineers; Lecturer on Hydraul-  
ic Engineering, Harvard University.*

LIONEL S. MARKS, M.M.E.,  
*Professor Mechanical Engineering, Har-  
vard University.*

## ECONOMIC CAUSES OF DISEASE

*Address of Surgeon General Wm. C. Gorgas  
at a Dinner at the Business Men's Club,  
Cincinnati, Ohio, Sept. 28, 1914.*

I was invited by friends in Cincinnati to meet this evening a small body of single taxers, have a little dinner and talk upon the subject dear to us all. I am surprised at the gathering. I had no idea that single taxers were so numerous here. I presume that my friends consider this numerous body the few referred to, and that of the many thousands of single taxers in Cincinnati, only these could be accommodated by the size of the hall.

I have friends here this evening with whom I have been associated more or less for twenty years, and yet never heard them say a word concerning single tax. It is a great pleasure, at least, to know that they are single taxers. I have met many to-night, the knowledge of whose views on this economic subject had come very nearly escaping me. It will give me very great pleasure in the future to broach this subject when I meet them.

Part of the promise for the evening has been fulfilled by my having a very pleasant time.

Sanitation in my mind has been very closely

associated with single tax. I am a single taxer, I think, because my life work has been that of sanitation. Sanitation is most needed by the class of people who would be most benefited by the single tax. That poverty is the greatest single cause of bad sanitary conditions was very early impressed upon me. If I should again go into a community, such as Cuba, or Panama, and were allowed to select only one sanitary measure, but were at the same time given power to choose from all sanitary measures, I would select that of doubling wages. This, in my case, is not altogether theory. In our tropical possessions, in Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, Panama, the result has always come about that we have largely increased wages; the result has also come about that in all these cases we have greatly improved sanitation. At Panama, the Commission found that in order to attract labor, and keep it on the Zone, they had to increase and, within a very few months, double the wages of the manual laborer. It does not take more than a moment of thought to show to you how such a measure acts and reacts. Results take place in many directions, but particularly with regard to increasing the ability of the people to live well and get better food and better clothing. While dwelling upon thoughts such as these, I came across "Progress and Poverty." I was greatly impressed by the theory and was soon convinced that the single tax would be the means of bringing about the sanitary conditions I so much desired, and was striving for. It was impressed upon me in a concrete form everywhere, in the United States, in the tropics, and particularly in Panama; the great benefit that some such scheme of taxation would confer upon sanitation.

In a city, such as Panama or Havana, the vacant lots and unimproved neighborhoods were the localities which always gave us most sanitary trouble. I was soon convinced that

if any scheme were brought about whereby it would be disadvantageous for speculators to hold vacant places out of use, this scheme would be of the greatest value for sanitation. It was not possible to effect this change in method of taxation in the cities referred to. I discussed this method of taxation a good deal with the officials of Panama, urging upon them the desirability of a tax levy of this kind to cover expenditures brought about by the sanitary work. I finally got the Panama authorities around to the point of seeing the justice and advisability of such methods, but the organic law would have to be changed and this always takes time. I hope that something of the kind may yet come about in Panama.

The real scope of tropical sanitation which has been almost entirely developed within the last fifteen or twenty years, I believe, will extend far beyond our work at Panama. Everywhere in the tropics, to which the United States has gone in the past fifteen years, it has been shown that the white man can live and exist in good health. This has occurred in the Philippines, in Cuba and in Panama, but the demonstration has been most prominent and spectacular at Panama, and therefore has attracted there the greatest world-wide attention. Here among our large force of laborers we had for ten years some ten thousand Americans, men, women and children. Most of these American men did hard manual labor, exposed to the sun, rain and weather conditions day in and day out, yet during that time their health remained perfectly good, just as good as if they were working at home. The same remark as to health would apply to the four thousand women and children who lived at Panama with their husbands and fathers. Both the women and children remained in as good condition as they would have been had they lived in the United States. This condition at Panama, I think, will be generally re-

ceived as a demonstration that the white man can live and thrive in the tropics. The amount of wealth which can be produced in the tropics for a given amount of labor is so much larger than that which can be produced in the temperate zone by the same amount of labor that the attraction for the white man to emigrate to the tropics will be very great, when it is appreciated that he can be made safe as to his health conditions at a small expense. When the great valleys of the Amazon and of the Congo are occupied by a white population more food will be produced in these regions than is now produced in all the rest of the inhabited world.

But unless we can so change our economic laws, that this wealth will be more fairly distributed than it is now by the races occupying the temperate zone, mankind will not be greatly benefited. I hope and believe that ere this change in population comes about the single tax will have caused such changes in our economic condition that wealth will be fairly distributed. I mean by fair distribution that conditions in which each man gets exactly what he produces—no more, no less. This is all we single taxers ask. We do not wish any man to have a dollar more wealth than he himself has produced, or to take from any other man a dollar of the wealth that this other man has produced. We look forward to this time as not being so very far off, and when such time arrives, we believe that poverty will be abolished from this world, except in so far as there will always be some lazy individuals who will not work and who do not care to produce. But this number will not be so large as to affect the general principles just enunciated.

I have been invited this evening to meet a body of single tax friends. My thoughts have naturally run on single tax lines. I have spent the afternoon in going through your new municipal hospital. I have been greatly impressed

and think I have seen about the best arranged hospital that I have ever before been shown. I was also told that the city of Cincinnati was to have control of and was to finance the medical school in connection with the hospital. This seemed to me most desirable and advantageous for all parties concerned. Thinking in single tax lines, it occurred to me that when revenues were generally raised under single-tax principles, every municipality could afford to have just such a beautiful hospital as the one I was seeing. I could foresee something of the kind for Panama; even now Panama could afford such a hospital, if its revenues were raised by single tax methods.

## THE SINGLE TAX IN RELATION TO PUBLIC HEALTH

LEWIS JEROME JOHNSON,

*Professor of Civil Engineering, Harvard University;  
President Massachusetts Single Tax League*

An address before the Massachusetts Association of Boards of Health, Boston, April 30, 1914.\*

**T**HE Single Tax should affect the public health in at least two important ways, *viz.*:

1. By diminishing poverty and thus removing a fruitful source of disease; and
2. By rationalizing the tax system and thus making it easier to get adequate funds for the support of public health activities.

Taking up these points in their order:—I hardly need enlarge, in this presence, on the destructive effect of poverty upon the public health. Undernutrition, overwork, overanxiety, overcrowding, bad air, filth, alcoholism and other destructive vices, ignorance of laws of health and hygiene, inability to pay for proper medical attendance and care are all characteristic of our teeming slums, and, to a greater or less degree, are fostered by poverty everywhere. These are all agencies incompatible with normal human life. The result is, accordingly, widespread disease and premature death with all their terrible consequences to society as a whole—to rich as well as poor. Not long since, I heard one of the most honored leaders in the splendid field of preventive medicine declare: "The employer who raises the pay of his help

\*Reprinted, with slight revisions, from *American Journal of Public Health*, 755 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass., Vol. 4, No. 6.

does more to stop tuberculosis than all we doctors can do." Clear as was his testimony as to the bearing of poverty on public health, almost equally impressive to me was the possible implication that, master as he was and is of the more obvious branches of his specialty, he had not yet given vital economics enough study to realize that wages are not to any publicly important degree in the control of an individual employer. Many another leader of public thought has drifted into so narrow a view of his specialty that he has failed to behold, and perhaps has even failed to look for the vision of bright hope which vital economics holds out to those who have eyes to see. By vital economics I do not mean the conventional political science of the schools, frequently dubbed the "dismal" science. I mean the science of the production and distribution of wealth as an applied science man would face it, study it and develop it, with the intention of finding in it some light, with the intention of using its teachings to solve human problems, to *bring something to pass*,—even, it may be, to eliminate the poverty which is proverbially the destruction of the poor and, what may be almost as disastrous a public evil, the never-haunting dread of poverty which oppresses and fetters the fairly well-to-do and even the rich. Let economics be studied with the care and constructive purpose with which sanitarians, bacteriologists and engineers study their other problems (for economics is a problem of every profession), not merely as part of the fascinating search for truth for truth's sake, but also for the establishment of truth for suffering humanity's sake. Let economics be discussed as you and I discuss our other professional problems, in the spirit in which I am glad to have the honor and privilege of accepting your invitation to address you today. I believe that the result of such study will be the development of an inspiring science, not a dismal science, and one which has much to suggest toward the lightening of your task, and toward the enhanced safety and happiness of civilized man. Its

relation to political economy as the term is now used may be expected to be much like that of modern engineering to pure mathematics. Tangible results from our discussion of today may not be immediate, but I believe it is the natural function and destiny of men like you, men of applied science training or bent of mind, regardless of profession, to lead in securing such results—for whatever may be said for the more literary or bookish mind, nurtured on precedent, steeped in the past, it can be hardly said to be signally constructive in its effect on great public problems.

Momentously beneficent as has been the contribution of applied science in the last century and a quarter—in your field and in my field—I firmly believe the same spirit entering the field of the great social and political problems is destined to render a parallel and perhaps still greater service. It cannot be *natural* that so many of the most industrious should spend their lives in misery and want in these days when the command of steam and electricity has brought to man the power to produce necessities and comforts of life in quantities simply undreamed of a few years back. And if it is not *natural* that poverty should persist, it needs only the removal of its artificial causes to have it disappear. It is appropriate for applied science men, men who expect and are expected to make things of importance happen—and to do it even in the face of serious obstacles—to be attracted to this problem.

I will now attempt to state some of the basic axioms, as I see them, of vital economics.

All wealth, all the material things of life produced by human agency and for which we give our money come from the use of land. Land is essential for their production, a right of way over land is essential for having them brought to us; land is essential for factories, wharves, warehouses, banks, markets, and every other step in the processes of production and distribution of goods. The use of land by labor is

essential to the production and distribution of all the wealth produced each year on this planet. The use of land is essential for maintaining a home, a church, a school. Including as does the word "land" (in the economic sense) all the gifts of nature, it is not hard to see that *land is the basic necessity of human life.* No man produced it. It is the common heritage, as well as the common necessity of all men. The conditions of its ownership and use demand, accordingly, our first and closest attention.

Equally patent is the fact that some land is vastly better suited for getting a living and enjoying life than other land, *i. e.*, some land is vastly more valuable than other land. To what is this value due, and who gets it, and in return for what? The main factor in the value of the most important land, we may say practically the only factor in Massachusetts, is the assemblage of people into communities. Each resident of such a locality secures an increased labor efficiency and comfort due to the division of labor possible only in centers of population. He enjoys also a comparative economic security due to nearness to a large number of jobs, or a large market or a large labor supply. There are various other causes for the drift of people to cities. Much of this drift is natural, but no small part of it is due to needless burdens laid by our tax laws upon farm and village life. Urban land offering to its occupants such attractions is consequently in sharp demand and its market value goes up accordingly. Land in centers of population, such is the competition for it, commands a price of millions of dollars per acre. For example, as a minor but nearby illustration of the value of urban land, the present assessed value of the land of Boston, Cambridge and Somerville alone is greater than that of all the rest of the state of Massachusetts put together, greater than all the other city land and all the country land from Barnstable to Berkshire and from Essex to Dukes. Again—a farm worth fifty dollars per acre half a mile wide and girdling the earth ten times would not quite equal in

value the assessed value of the bare land of New York City.

The income from these enormous community-made values now flows, in the main, into the pockets of individuals in return for practically nothing.

Such a situation at once challenges attention.

It would seem natural, moreover, to inquire, in the face of our poverty and disease problem, whether such a vitally important resource as valuable land is used to its capacity, and if not, why not; and whether and how evil conditions in this quarter may be remedied.

It can be readily shown that there is room in our little Massachusetts, a mere speck on the map of this country, to house the whole population of the United States in detached one-family houses, five to six persons in a house, with a quarter of an acre of ground per house. Even then the density of population of the state would be no greater than that of Boston—and more than one half of Boston land area is vacant—and only one eighth as dense as that of Manhattan. We have obviously only scratched the resources of this country. Germany with her 65,000,000 people is prosperous in a space one fifth smaller than Texas, and one of her leading economists, a lecturer at the University of Berlin, told me the other day that Germany has arable land enough to support in comfort double her present agricultural population. Our poverty is plainly not due to *lack* of good land, but to the fact that it is not in use.

The poverty question, and to a large extent, the health question, is thus shown to be the land question. We see that there is something radically wrong when valuable land is not in use, while labor and capital are alike eager to use it, if it could be had on fair terms, and humanity stands in the midst of increasing cost of living in serious need of the food, clothing and shelter which the normal use of land would permit them to enjoy. Unthinkable as it may seem, something is evidently making it advantageous to its

owners to keep this great source of wealth out of use or only partly used.

Where is some of this unused or underused land? Is it where it would at once affect the health problem?

A glance at any of our cities at once reveals vast tracts of vacant or ridiculously under-improved land within rifle shot of swarming, filthy slums.

A recent Parliamentary return reports that two thirds of the area of 1,076 British urban districts—containing more than three fifths the population of England and less than one ninth its acreage—is rated as agricultural land. A quarter of the area of the swarming city of Manchester is rated as agricultural land. In the little Welsh city of Rhondda, notorious for bad housing, with a total area of 23,885 acres, 19,888 acres are rated as agricultural land.

To come nearer home, in the twenty-six wards which constituted municipal Boston in 1912, there was, according to the report of the Assessing Department of that year—the latest issued—vacant taxable land (including marsh and flats, but not including ordinary hack yards and door-yards\*) aggregating fifty-four per cent of the taxable land area of the city. This land is so valuable that it is assessed for more than all the land of Franklin, Hampshire and Worcester Counties (outside of the city of Worcester) put together.† The vacant marsh and flats, amounting to 11 per cent of the taxable land area of the city and 2 per cent of its land valuation, are assessed at more than all the land of Hampshire County, including the city of Northampton.

Why is all this valuable land out of use?

Is it not, perhaps, because we overtax the use

\*Of course, it does not include parks, streets, cemeteries, nor the many acres of exempt lands belonging to city, county, state and federal governments, and to charitable, educational, and religious organizations.

†These three counties include more than one-third the area of the state and probably fully half of the best agricultural land of the state.

of land and undertax the holding of land? Is it not because we have failed to recognize that the great values which attach to land are people values, are logically the people's property, and are the natural automatic revenue for meeting the common expenses which develop *pari passu* with the land values as the people gather in communities? We spend public money for improving the port, extending streets and parks. What at once rises in value? Water front land, land near the improvements. Do we take this value for paying the bill as Frankfort does? Only to a slight extent, and then we lay a heavy tax on people's houses, machinery, stocks and bonds, or their incomes and their hard-earned wages to make up the deficit, a crushing burden on property the value of which is not advanced one cent by the outlay.

The result of this undertaxing of land holding, and the consequent taxing of land using and taxing of capital, personal property and all sorts of improvements in and on land, is simply to foster non-use and under-use of valuable land to the extent we see all about us. The one thing a city land owner can be certain of, as he contemplates erecting a modern building on his lot, is that there will be an annual inexorable tax penalty hanging over him if he makes the improvement and in proportion as he makes it a good, well-built, substantial and fireproof structure. He may well conclude that probably the safest and most profitable thing for him to do, under the circumstances, is to let an old shack stand or leave his lot vacant and content himself with the bounty which a growing community stands ready to bestow on him for merely holding the title to the land.

As population increases and concentrates, and land is held at fancy prices beyond what legitimate business can afford to pay, a shortage of houses develops, the proportion of available jobs to seekers for work drops, wages drop, the scale of living drops, people become hardened, I should say benumbed, to the endurance of

obsolete dismal tenements, and the result is the city slum and its distressing problems.

We must stop taxing—gradually to be sure, but as rapidly as the public can be induced to see the vital importance of doing so—personal property, buildings, machinery, and all other products of labor essential to the advantageous use of land, including the value of clearing and draining. We can make up the difference by a larger levy on the location-value of land. We can thus collect the public's own earnings, and cease to let them fritter away into the pockets of the small fraction of the people who merely hold titles to land. Of all speculation in the necessities of life, speculation in land is doubtless the worst, for it chokes off the production of wealth at its source. It corners that necessity of life from which all other necessities must come. In proportion as land is held idle, the size of the earth is for practical purposes by so much reduced, and that, too, in its most valuable portions. The result is harmful to everyone. We need not waste any breath scolding the land speculator. He is only managing his property in the manner which our laws make most profitable for him. But we can change these laws and make industry more profitable than land speculation.

The Single Tax, by taking for public revenue only the public's own natural earnings—the value that comes to land as the community grows, and dwindles as the community dwindles—would at one stroke make the use of land so much more profitable than the mere holding of land out of use that the beneficial effect on industry, housing and human life generally would be hard to over-estimate. The operation would be radical and simple. It would replace an unnatural condition with a natural and wholesome one.

And yet some people say it cannot be done. The answer is, it must be done. Moreover, it is being done. The largest body of organized support for the Single Tax is, as might be expected, among farmers. The farmers of the

Canadian Northwest are for it by the thousands. They know that the site value of their farms is slight. They know that farmers are among those least benefited by public expenditures, and hence *should* pay the least taxes. Cities, in proportion as they collect, as taxes, the site value of land and exempt personal property, houses, and capital, experience the benefits predicted. The rapidly growing cities of Vancouver and Houston, in the former of which buildings are not taxed at all, while in the latter they are taxed at only about a third the rate on land values, are among the cities which have felt these benefits, including marked reductions in house rents. Pittsburgh and Scranton are well started toward a similar taxing system. New York seems to be getting ready to follow suit.

It must be observed that the increased use of land must mean increased demand for labor, increased wages, and that greater independence for the worker which would enable him to refuse to live in noisome tenements or to accept work in unsanitary factories. He would no longer need or tolerate paternal watch-care by the state, nor have to form unions for self-protection. Buildings would multiply so that capitalists owning houses would have to compete for tenants just as capitalists building automobiles now compete for purchasers. The owner of slum land, then having to give up in taxes at least the bulk of the income from his mere location (to which the community, not he, gives the money value) would have to build better, would have to put in more capital on which to get his former return; moreover, he could the more readily afford to do so, as there would be no tax risk awaiting him for so doing.

Rural and farm life, relieved of its abnormal and well-nigh crushing tax burdens, should assume its natural attractiveness to human beings and the abnormal flow to the cities should diminish or cease. We now simply tax people into cities; no wonder they go.

Increasing the economic independence of all workers in the only way it can be done, by open-

ing to industry the natural opportunities which nature provides at our doors, should gradually drain the slums of their congestion, though it may take some time wholly to wean slum dwellers from the glitter and horrors of the life to which so many seem perversely devoted. As the dire necessity to endure slum conditions gradually disappears, we may fairly hope and believe that the slums, the breeding place of squalor, disease, alcoholism and vice, the baffling menace to health and stability of society, will also disappear.

The second point I mentioned—the rationalized tax system and more fruitful source of public revenue to be expected under the Single Tax—remains to be given a word.

Space does not permit going fully into the merits of the Single Tax as the solution of the taxation problem. The Single Tax can be collected more fairly, more certainly, more cheaply than any other; it would not repress, but would foster industry; its most striking immediate effect should be to bring advantageous land-ownership and use within the reach of all; it would put land ownership on an impregnable basis (by divesting it of the unnatural privilege of absorbing community values) and tend to make us a nation of land owners, while now we are tending to become a nation of tenants—but all this can only be hinted at here.

With the public taking as taxes only its own rightful earnings—earnings which by the way are enhanced by the wise and economical expenditure of the taxes—every citizen contributing, and contributing in proportion to the benefits received and not in disproportion to his ability to pay, with a fair and proper division of expenditure between local and state treasuries, with greatly increased industrial activity and wealth, with taxes no longer choking off their own source, we could hope to induce the public to spend enough of its own to provide as we have never done yet for really adequate hospitals and dispensaries; for the suppression of dust and

other public nuisances; for better water and sewerage systems; for better housing inspection; for better milk and provision inspection, and many other things we have to do so inadequately, because we simply cannot now find the money with which to prevent disease and to preserve health and save life.

We should have the community's natural source of revenue at our disposal. If it did not suffice, with fair division of the proceeds between central and local government, it would be because we wasted it or were simply living beyond our means, and our means are limited only by the then normally available resources of nature under the transforming influence of labor and its natural friend and ally, capital.

Let me point out in closing this brief paper that the Single Tax contemplates not an extension of the functions of the state, but rather a reduction of them; not less individual liberty, but greater individual liberty. It offers freer scope than ever for individual initiative—in all but schemes for private pocketing of public property. It involves not an increased tendency to public ownership of land and all capital, but a reduction of the temptation to such a venture. Moreover, it is a program well suited to be entered upon tentatively. If a beginning of increased taxes on locations, with exemption of all other property—something which may be tested at first in restricted localities—did not improve conditions, the way would always be open to turn back, just as it would be to go further. Such tests are being made with promising results. The tendency is to go further. People once out of the old rut do not tend to resume the primitive custom of levying upon private earnings in order that location owners may enjoy undisturbed their expected chance to absorb, without return, the public's own earnings.

Could anything be clearer than that steps in the direction of the Single Tax are worth considering? Could any program be more inviting

and hopeful to a body of men who have grasped the great fact that compliance with natural law and justice is essential to human and social health and peace? I believe that study of the economic aspect of the health problem will convince you, as it has me, that until we have land brought reasonably into use, efforts for public health are at lamentably and intolerably low efficiency. With the natural resources of the country in normal use, I believe we can hope for economic health and its attendant mental comfort and physical health, to a degree that sounds Utopian only because our conceptions are distorted by long contemplation of nothing but economic maladjustment. With such a hope once clearly seen to be reasonable, effective steps toward its realization cannot long be delayed. The difficulties will dwindle as we approach them; the benefits will grow increasingly impressive.



Additional copies of this pamphlet can be obtained gratis on application to the publishers.



*Lewis Jerome Johnson*

For a full and complete understanding of the Single Tax philosophy, we recommend the following books:

Progress and Poverty. By Henry George.  
Paper, 25 cents; cloth, \$1.00, postpaid.

Social Problems. By Henry George.  
Paper, 25 cents; cloth, \$1.00, postpaid.

Protection or Free Trade. By Henry George.  
Paper, 25 cents; cloth, \$1.00, postpaid.

Natural Taxation. By Thos. G. Shearman.  
Paper, 25 cents; cloth, \$1.00, postpaid.

The above can be obtained from the publishers of this pamphlet.

---

Every student of progressive democracy should read "The Public," published weekly at 537 So. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ills. It treats of current political and economic events from the standpoint of the Single Taxer. As a fearless exponent of fundamental democracy it stands in a class by itself. Subscription price \$1.00 per annum.

---

The official organ of the Single Tax movement in the United States is "The Single Tax Review," published every other month at 150 Nassau St., New York City. Subscription price \$1.00 per annum. This magazine should be read by all those who desire to keep in touch with the movement.

# National Workers Drilling & Production Company

Capital \$1,000,000.00  
Shares \$1.00 Par Value

Non-assessable

Holdings 4,335 Acres with tools  
and royalties in Desdemona, Sipe  
Springs, Lampasas and other places.

## DEPOSITORIES:

DESDEMONA STATE BANK  
& TRUST COMPANY

## TRUSTEES:

L. L. STEELE, President.  
W. H. FLOWERS, 1st vice-Pres.  
T. A. HICKEY, vice-President.  
H. W. ELLIOTT, Sec'y-Treas.

## EXECUTIVE OFFICE

DESDEMONA OIL NEWS  
BUILDING  
DESDEMONA, TEXAS

Hickey & Flowers, Fiscal Agents  
Desdemona News Building  
Desdemona, Texas

**NATIONAL WORKERS  
DRILLING AND PRODUCTION  
COMPANY**

This company is precisely what the name implies.

It is NATIONAL in scope having shareholders in every state in the Union, its officers are men of national standing and character; its holdings are of the best quality in the biggest portion of our national domain.

Its officers are WORKERS both mental and manual in the best sense of the word.

We are a DRILLING COMPANY with five strings of tools at our command now, with wonderful possibilities detailed below.

We are PRODUCING in the greatest oil field in the world.

**WONDERFUL HOLDINGS**

The men behind this company are positively convinced that we will be able to pay back to our stockholders within a year the equivalent of from 5 to 10 times the amount of money that they invest with us and this is the reason why:

We own 5 acres in the T. O. Friday tract 2½ miles north of Desdemona. As we write these lines (November 10th, 1919) a 4,000 barrel gusher just came in within 400 yards of our lease. Just as fast as we can get a rig on the ground we will offset this gusher and will place four other wells on this property and that, mark you, is just one of our holdings.

We have 12 acres on the famous J. M. Ellison tract and are under contract to spud in on December 1st. This tract is surrounded by such gushers as the Magnolia Carruth (4,200

barrels) the Meirs (2,000) and the Lewis wells.

As well as the 5 acres in the Friday tract mentioned above, we have 1-16 royalty in the 5-acre block No. 2 of the T. O. Friday tract adjoining.

We have royalty in eight flowing wells in the Desdemona field.

We have royalty in six more wells that are drilling.

We have five acres in Sipe Springs which is now regarded as a continuation of the Desdemona fields and is thoroughly proven.

We have ten acres between Desdemona and Sipe Springs.

All together we have nine proven tracts in Eastland, Comanche and Erath counties.

We have twelve acres in the proven fields of Harris County.

We have fifteen acres in the proven fields near Gorman, known as the Richardson tract.

We have 1,000 acres in Lampasas in the center of which we are drilling a deep test well that is now down 1,600 feet, and we are going down on it 24 hours a day.

We have besides this 1,500 more acres in Lampasas around which four deep test wells are going down.

We will have five strings of tools.

We have acreage in Limestone, Jones, Live Oak, Hood, Somerville, Yoakum and Mills Counties, our total acreage being 4,335 acres and our entire holdings are 47 in number. Here they are:

**47 HOLDINGS—ONE HALF  
THOROUGHLY PROVEN**

12 Acre lease Ellison tract in the Desdemona field.

15 Acre lease Henderson tract between Desdemona and Gorman

10 Acre lease in Comanche County near Perry well between Desdemona and Sipe Springs.

1,000 Acre lease in Lampasas County, well drilling. Known as Groves No. 2.

1500 Acres in Smith ranch in Lampasas County near four test wells now drilling.

12 Acres in Harris County in fee in shallow well field.

25 Acres in Hill County near test well now drilling.

5 Acres in Live Oak County in fee shallow district.

5 Acre commercial lease on W. C. Pittman tract, Sipe Springs, Comanche County, Texas.

5 Acre lease T. O. Friday tract Desdemona.

60 Acre lease on A. Gayeton tract, Erath County.

35 Acre lease David Shown tract, Erath County.

60 Acre lease Henry Fields survey, Hood and Somerville Counties.

600 Acre lease Section 13, block P, Cochran and Yoakum Counties.

5 Acre lease W. T. Fulfer tract Erath County.

91 Acre lease Richard Eaton survey, Limestone County.

30 Acre lease Richard Eaton survey, Limestone County.

80 Acre lease Willis M. Williams survey, Limestone County.

95 Acre lease J. B. Fisk survey, Limestone County.

50 Acre lease H. L. Thompson survey, Limestone County.

50 Acre lease H. L. Thompson survey, Limestone County.

100 Acre lease H. L. Thompson survey, Limestone County.

250 Acre lease Will M. Williams survey, Limestone County.

75 Acre lease Jacob Hodges survey, Limestone County.

100 Acre lease Willis M. Williams survey, Limestone County.

17½ Acre lease Henry Woodley survey, Erath County.

1-64 Total production 1 acre Harper tract, W. H. Funderburg survey, Eastland County, reported flush production 1250 barrels. Came in nearly three months ago.

1-48 Total production 1 acre Matthews tract, Funderburg survey, Eastland County, reported flush production 800 barrels. Came in three months ago.

¼ Of the royalty 1 2-10 acres O. A. Smith lot Eastland County, drilling at 2,600 feet.

3-64 Total production J. T. Henry town lot, Funderburg survey, Eastland County, drilling at 900 feet.

1-80 Total production Desdemona lot, Desdemona, drilling at 800 to 900 feet.

1-16 Total production 5 acres block 2, T. O. Friday farm, Eastland County, drilling contract.

Full royalty in an undivided interest of 58 acres in 198 acres out of the Wm. DeMoss and Nelson surveys, Comanche County.

1-32 Total production Tidwell tract, 5 acres, Eastland County.

1-32 Total production in Beaver Valley well No. 2, Eastland County.

1-32 Total production Consolidated Producers and Refiners Company, Eastland County.

1-16 Total production Ball & Head well, Eastland County.

1-64 Total production Keys &

Netherly well No. 1, Eastland County.

1-96 Total production in 10 acres Goodwin tract, Eastland County, drilling at 2,000 feet.

1-64 Total production in 2 acres Schellenberger tract well now drilling by Effel Oil Company, in Eastland County.

1-21 undivided interest in fee of "Community Lot" in Desdemona.

10 Acre lease in Mills County, T. & N. O. Ry. survey.

40 Acre lease in section 51, block 18, T. & P. Ry. Co. Jones County.

15 Acre lease in section 41, block 18, T. & P. Ry. Co., Jones County.

#### **WHY WE CAN'T LOSE REMEMBER**

We are a drilling as well as a producing company. If we achieved the impossible and brought in a duster or a dry hole in all our proven tracts; if we did not receive one cent for all our valuable acreage that grows richer from day to day as the drills go down; if our flowing wells should cease flowing and not a dollar should be received from any of these sources, still we can pay handsome dividends!

#### **WHY?**

Because we are a drilling as well as a producing company and with our five strings of tools, that we have unlimited work for, we can, by keeping them steadily in operation, produce at least 25 per cent per annum on our capitalization. Hence we can not lose and our drilling on our proven acreage is velvet that may turn into a com-

#### **THEREFORE**

pany like our neighbor, the Hog Creek, that paid \$10,000.00 for each \$100.00.

#### **THEREFORE**

Take a sure shot for your money and watch it grow by leaps and bounds as our drills go pounding down for the liquid gold.

#### **ENORMOUS DIVIDENDS SURE**

The careful reader of the above will notice that this is not a verbose or wordy document. It is a plain statement of facts. We have the acreage and the absolutely proven fields. The gushers are coming in all around us. We have but to drill to get results that will repay us tenfold and maybe 100 fold for our investment.

\$100.00 invested in Thrift No. 2 paid \$1,800.00.

\$100.00 invested with the Burk Waggoner Oil Company, paid \$3,333.00.

\$100.00 invested with Fowler Farm, BurkBurnett, paid \$13,750.00.

\$100.00 invested with Hog Creek Oil Company, paid \$23,000.00.

The last mentioned was a Desdemona concern, our holdings now are far stronger and better proved than was the Hog Creek when it was organized. Consequently we are in a position to assure you that there is not a better investment in the oil fields today than that which we are offering you now.

#### **NO SECRET DEALINGS**

We wish to emphasize the fact that on the first week of January and every thirty days thereafter we shall give every stock-

holder a copy of a sworn affidavit as to how every dollar was expended and as to what work has been done the preceding thirty days. Our officers shall draw no salaries as officers. It is our intention to produce an honest to God oil company that will safeguard our investors and place their money with as much skill and intelligence as is humanly possible to the end that they will reap a golden harvest. So well is our company looked upon that one man in Dallas is negotiating for the purchase of \$80,000.00 worth of our stock, when we have his consent his name shall be sent to our stockholders. We mention this to illustrate what one keen, hard headed business man thinks of our company.

#### **CHARACTER ABOVE MONEY**

In conclusion we wish to say that each one of us have been up against the rough edges of life and far more than any money that we might make in the oil industry is the preservation of our good name. If we can produce a company that will richly reward our stockholders and ourselves, we will regard the success of our stockholders even more than the profits that will approve to ourselves. Do not be afraid to go the limit on the NATIONAL WORKERS DRILLING & PRODUCTION COMPANY and you will never have cause to regret the step you have taken.

**HICKEY and FLOWERS**

Fiscal Agents,

Oil News Building,

Desdemona, Texas

This Certifies, That the owner of this card has paid dues for the months covered by due stamps, and is in good financial standing to and including last month stamped.

JAN.  
TO  
JULY

FIN. SEC'Y.

Address

JULY  
TO  
DEC.

FIN. SEC'Y.

Address

JAN.  
TO  
JULY

FIN. SEC'Y.

Address

JULY  
TO  
DEC.

FIN. SEC'Y.

Address

## Socialist Party of America

State

Local

Branch

### MEMBERSHIP CARD.

Name

Address

Admitted

No.

Page

Recording Sec'y.

Address

ISSUED BY AUTHORITY OF THE  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST PARTY.



Year 190

Jan.

Feb.

Mar.

April

May

June

ISSUED BY THE  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE

SPECIAL STAMPS.


Year 190

ISSUED BY THE  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE

SPECIAL STAMPS.


**THE  
PEOPLE'S COLLEGE  
VEST-POCKET  
EDITION**

of the report of the

**INDUSTRIAL  
RELATIONS  
COMMISSION**

Being the gist of Three  
Volumes in Exact Words of  
the Reports

Compiled by  
**FRED D. WARREN**

With an Introduction by  
**FRANK P. WALSH**  
Chairman of the Commission



# The People's College

FORT SCOTT, KANSAS.

A College of the Working Class  
with Two Aims.

1. To bring education within the reach of every man, woman and child.
2. To teach from the viewpoint of the working-class.

## The People's College Is Built and Maintained by The People's College Union.

Every person believing in the two aims stated above is eligible to membership in The People's College Union and becomes thereby a director of The People's College.

The Life Membership fee is \$5.00, payable \$1.00 per year for a period of five years, which pays the subscription price to The People's College News.

THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE IS THE SCHOOL OF THE WORKING CLASS MAINTAINED, CONTROLLED AND DIRECTED BY THEM. BY ITS CHARTER, NOT A DOLLAR OF PROFIT CAN EVER BE MADE BY ANY PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL.

EUGENE V. DEBS.....Chancellor

### BOARD OF ADMINISTRATION.

ARTHUR LE SUEUR.....President  
Dean Law Department  
ALVA A. GEORGE.....Vice-President  
Director English Department.  
C. C. BRANNAN  
Director Commercial Department  
F. A. McCLAREN.....Treasurer  
LAURA L. REEDS.....Secretary

### ADVISORY BOARD

EUGENE V. DEBS.  
CHAS. EDWARD RUSSELL  
JOHN M. WORK.  
CHAS. P. STEINMETZ.  
GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK.  
FRED D. WARREN.  
GEORGE ALLAN ENGLAND.  
FRANK P. WALSH.  
KATE RICHARDS O'HARE.  
MARIAN WHARTON.

## FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE WORKERS BY THE WORKERS.

The People's College is a Workers' University, operated, maintained and controlled by the workers themselves. It is incorporated under the laws of the State of Kansas, not for profit. Its purpose is to disseminate, among the working class, knowledge free from the control of special privilege.

Since the findings of the Commission on Industrial Relations have taken so many of the points, heretofore in dispute between organized labor and capital, out of the realm of controversy into the realm of acknowledged fact, The People's College felt that it was most important that a summary of this Report should be compiled, so that every worker might, at all times, have within reach these fundamental facts of such mighty import to Labor, to assist in the campaign for industrial organization and solidarity. Fred D. Warren—a member of the Advisory Board of the College—compiled this digest of the Report, covering all of the important findings, given in the exact words of the Report. Frank P. Walsh—Chairman of the Commission, and also a member of the Advisory Board—has given this digest his commendation by writing the introduction.

We believe that this will be of real service, and are glad to dedicate it to the WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE  
Fort Scott, Kansas

Political freedom can exist only where there is industrial freedom; political democracy only where there is industrial democracy.—Final Manly report, page 2.

All unused land should be forced into use by making the tax on non-productive land the same as on productive land of the same kind, and exempting all improvements.—Manly report, page 38.

The unemployed have aptly been termed the "shifting sands beneath the State." There is no condition which more demands the immediate attention of Congress than that of unemployment.—Manly report, page 38.

Means should be devised for employing the idle during periods of depression on such public work as road building, reforestation, construction of public buildings, irrigation and drainage of swamps. — Manly report, page 182.

Copyright, 1915

By THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE

## PERSONNEL OF COMMISSION

FRANK P. WALSH, Missouri, Chairman.

JOHN R. COMMONS, Wisconsin.

FLORENCE J. HARRIMAN, New York.  
Representing the Public.

RICHARD H. AISHTON, Illinois.

HARRIS WEINSTOCK, California.

H. THURSTON BALLARD, Kentucky.

Representing the Employers.

JOHN B. LENNON, Illinois.

JAMES O'CONNELL, District of Columbia.

AUSTIN B. GARRETSON, Iowa.

Representing Labor.

BASIL M. MANLY,

Director of Research and Investigation.

The act of Congress resulting in the appointment of the above named commission recites in part as follows: "That a commission is hereby created to be called the Commission on Industrial Relations. Said commission shall be composed of nine persons, to be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, not less than three of whom shall be employers of labor, and not less than three of whom shall be representatives of organized labor." \* \* \* \* \* That the commission shall inquire into the general condition of labor in the principal industries of the United States including agriculture, and especially in those which are carried on in corporate forms: \* \* \* The commission shall seek to discover the underlying causes of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation and report its conclusions thereon."

## WITNESSES AND PUBLIC HEARINGS.

Carrying out the purpose of the act from which we quote, there were 230 witnesses examined before the commission at its public hearings, consisting of Capitalists, Bankers, Lawyers, Efficiency Engineers, Employment Agents and others representing the Employers. There were 245 witnesses affiliated with Labor. There were 265 affiliated with neither workers nor employers. Total witnesses, 740. "These hearings have occupied in all 154 days, or rather more than the equivalent of six months of the commission's time."

In the letter of transmissal of the report made by the commission to the Sixty-fourth Congress, the Chairman, Mr. Frank P. Walsh, says, "The plan of submitting none but undisputed facts in the final report of the commission has been faithfully adhered to. No statement or conclusion of fact adverse to the attitude or interest of any person or group of persons is submitted, except as declared or assented to by the person or by the individuals comprising the group affected. Thus, for perhaps the first time in the history of our Government, the facts in relation to the conditions in the industries examined and the relations inquired into, are placed beyond the realm of controversy, and established upon the solid and scientific basis of ascertained and indisputable fact."

## SOME RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION.

Government ownership of telegraphs, page 105, Manly report.

Government ownership of telephones, page 107, Manly report.

Prohibition of courts from declaring laws unconstitutional, page 79, Manly report.

Constitutional amendment prohibiting Federal courts from making encroachment on personal rights of all citizens, page 78, Manly report.

Prosecution to regain land, water power and mineral rights secured from the government by fraud, page 37, Manly report.

Making tax on unproductive land the same as on land in use and exempting all improvements from taxation, page 38, Manly report.

That private ownership of public utilities be abolished and that states and municipalities take over the same under just terms and conditions, so that they may be operated by the states or municipalities.—Recommended by Walsh, Lennon, O'Connell, Garretson and Weinstock; page 254, Manly report.

That woman suffrage be adopted.—Approved by Walsh, Lennon, O'Connell and Garretson; page 254, Manly report.

That private ownership of coal mines be abolished.—Same as above.

Sickness insurance by Federal Government.—Manly report, page 152.

## INTRODUCTION.

By **FRANK P. WALSH**  
Chairman of the Commission.

Believing with Tolstoi, that "the rich will do everything for the poor except to get off their backs," I believe that the workers of America (who, in an unconscionable economic anomaly, include the poor of America) should shake the rich off their backs. I hold Labor responsible for its exploitation by the rich and powerful. I hold that only through the collective action of the toilers and producers in field and factory can the United States attain that right social and industrial condition wherein those who earn shall have. To hasten the coming of that right condition is the pressing duty of civilization; and Labor will have to perform that great duty.

—Frank P. Walsh.

## Industrial Commission's Report.

The following pages are in the exact words of the Final Report of the Industrial Relations Commission. The number following each quotation refers to the page in the Report from which the quotation is taken. The letter "M" refers to Manly Report; the letter "W" to West Report on the Colorado war; "G" to Grant Report on the National Erector's Association and The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

### CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

From Final Report of  
**BASIL M. MANLY.**

**Unjust Distribution of Wealth.**—The wealth of the country and the income which is produced through the toil of the workers is distributed without regard to any standard of justice. The day laborer has less than enough to feed his family, while others who have done nothing live at ease.—24, M.

**Unemployment and Denial of Opportunity to Earn a Living.**—In our basic industries the workers are unemployed for an average of at least one-fifth of the year, and at all times during any normal year there is an army of men, who can be numbered only by hundreds of thousands, who are unable to find work, or have so far degenerated that they cannot or will not work.—33, 34, M.

**Denial of Justice.**—Laws necessary for the protection of the workers against the most grievous wrongs cannot be passed except after long and exhausting struggles; such benevolent measures as become laws are largely nullified by the unwarranted decisions of the courts; the laws which stand upon the statute

books are not equally administered and the whole machinery of government has frequently been placed at the disposal of the employers for the oppression of the workers. The constitution itself has been ignored in the interest of the employers; and the constitutional guarantees erected for the protection of the workers have been denied to them and used as a cloak for the misdeeds of corporations.—38, 39, M.

**Denial of the Right of Organization.**—The Commission has held public hearings and made thorough investigations in such industrial communities as Paterson, N. J., Los Angeles, Calif., Lead, S. Dak., and Colorado, where the right of collective bargaining on the part of the employees is denied. These investigations have shown that under the best possible conditions, and granting the most excellent motives on the part of the employers, freedom does not exist either politically, industrially or socially, and that the fiber of manhood will inevitably be destroyed by the continuance of the existing conditions.

Investigations have proved that although the physical and material conditions may be unusually good, as, for example, in Lead, S. Dak., they are the price paid for the absolute submission of the employees to the will of the employing corporation. Such conditions are, moreover, shown by the hearings of the Commission and by the investigations of its staff to be unusual. Los Angeles, for example, although exceptionally endowed in location, climate and natural resources, was sharply criticised for labor conditions which had developed during its "open shop" regime, even by Mr. Walter Drew, representing several of the largest associations which contend for the "open shop."

It is significant that the only claim ordinarily made for the conditions in such establishments or localities is that "they are as good as are secured by the union." As a matter of fact, there are few establishments which make this boast, and in the majority the conditions were found to be far below any acceptable standard.—87, M.

**CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH AND INFLUENCE.**—A careful and conservative study shows that the corporations controlled by six financial groups and affiliated interests employ 2,651,684 wage earners and have a total capitalization of \$19,875,200,000. These six financial groups control 23 per cent of the total number of wage earners engaged in the industries covered by the report of our investigations. The Morgan First National Bank group alone controls corporations employing 785,499 wage earners.—117, M.

## DEPLORABLE CONDITION OF WORKERS.

### From Final Manly Report.

**THE POSSIBILITY.**—With the inexhaustible natural resources of the United States, her tremendous mechanical achievements, and the genius of her people for organization and industry, there can be no natural reason to prevent every able bodied man of our present population from being well fed, well housed, comfortably clothed, and from rearing a family of moderate size in comfort, health and security.—Page 9, M.

**Actual Conditions.**—It was found that the incomes of two-thirds of the families (64 per cent) were less than \$750 per year, and of almost one-third (31 per cent) were less than \$500, the average for all being \$721. The average size of these families was 5.6 members. Elaborate studies of the cost of living made in all parts of the country at the same time have shown that the very least that a family of five persons can live upon in anything approaching decency is \$700.—Page 10, M.

**The Bread Winner Myth.**—Seventy-nine per cent of the fathers earned less than \$700 per year. In brief, only one-fourth of these fathers could have supported their families on

the barest subsistence level without the earnings of other members of the family or income from outside sources.—Page 11, M.

**American Workers Not Living Decently.**—Furthermore, in 77 per cent of the families two or more persons occupied each sleeping room, in 37 per cent three or more persons, and in 15 per cent four or more persons.—11, M.

**Children Are Underfed.**—In six of our largest cities from 12 to 20 per cent of the children are noticeably underfed and illnourished.—12, M.

**Children of the Poor Not Educated.**—Only one-third of the children in our public schools complete the grammar school course, and less than ten per cent finish high school. Those who leave are almost entirely the children of the workers, who, as soon as they reach working age, are thrown, immature, ill-trained and with no practical knowledge, into the complexities of industrial life. In each of the four industrial towns studied by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, more than 75 per cent of the children quit school before reaching the seventh grade.—12, M.

**Children of the Workers Denied Home Attention.**—In the families of the workers 37 per cent of the mothers are at work, and consequently unable to give their children more than scant attention.—13, M.

**Poverty Produces Crime.**—Unsanitary housing and working conditions, unemployment, wages inadequate to maintain a human standard of living, inevitably produce the crushed or distorted bodies and minds from which the army of crime is recruited.—13, M.

**Earnings of the Toilers.**—Between one-fourth and one-third of the workers 18 years of age and over, in factories and mines, earn less than \$10 per week; from two-thirds to three-fourths earn less than \$15, and only about one-tenth earn more than \$20 a week. This does not take into consideration lost working time for any cause. From two-thirds to three-

fourths of the women workers in factories, stores and laundries, and in industrial occupations generally, work at wages of less than \$8 per week. Approximately one-fifth earn less than \$4, and nearly one-half earn less than \$6 per week.—Page 25, M.

**The Family Wage.**—All experience has shown that at the end the father's wages are reduced by about the amount that the children earn. This is the so-called "family wage."—26, M.

**Contrast Between the Exploited and the Exploiter.**—We have, according to income tax returns, forty-four families with incomes of \$1,000,000 or more, whose members perform little or no useful service, but whose aggregate incomes, totalling at the least fifty millions per year, are equivalent to the earnings of 100,000 wage earners at the average rate of \$500. The ownership of wealth in the United States has become concentrated to a degree which is difficult to grasp. The "Rich," two per cent of the people, own sixty per cent of the wealth. The "Middle Class," 33 per cent of the people own 35 per cent of the wealth. The "Poor," 65 per cent of the people, own five per cent of the wealth. This means that a little less than two million people, who would make up a smaller city than Chicago, own 20 per cent more of the Nation's wealth than all the other ninety millions.—28, M.

**Inherited Power of Wealth.**—The great fortunes of those who have profited by the enormous expansion of American industry have already passed, or will pass in a few years, by the right of inheritance, to the control of heirs or trustees who act as their "vice regents." They are frequently styled by our newspapers, "monarchs of industry," and indeed occupy within our republic a position almost analogous to feudal lords. These heirs, owners only by virtue of the accident of birth,

control the livelihood and have the power to dictate the happiness of more human beings than populated England in the Middle Ages. "The king can do no wrong," not only because he is above the law, but because every function is performed or responsibility assumed by his ministers or agents. Similarly our Rockefellers, Morgans, Fricks, Vanderbilts and Astors can do no industrial wrong, because all effective action and direct responsibility is shifted from them to the executive officials who manage American industry.—30, 31, M.

## STARTLING CONDITIONS IN AGRICULTURE.

### From Final Manly Report.

**Rapid Growth of Tenancy.**—The most alarming fact in America is the rapid growth of tenancy. In 1910 there were 37 tenant-operated farms in each 100 farms in the United States, as compared with 28 in 1890, an increase of 32 per cent in 20 years. No nationwide investigation of the condition of tenant farmers has ever been made, but in Texas, where the investigations of this Commission were thorough and conclusive, it was found not only that the economic condition of the tenant was extremely bad, but that he was far from being free, while his future was regarded as hopeless.

Badly housed, ill-nourished, uneducated and hopeless, these tenants continue year after year to eke out a bare living, moving frequently from one farm to another in the hope that something will turn up. Without a large family the tenant cannot hope to succeed or break even, so in each tenant family numerous children are being reared to a future which under present conditions will be no better than that of their parents, if as good.—14, M.

**Tenancy in Texas.**—In 1880 Texas had 65,468 tenant families, comprising 37.6 per cent of all the farms in the state. In 1910, tenant farmers had increased to 219,571, and operated 53 per cent of all the farms of the state. Reckoning on the same ratio of increase that was maintained between 1900 and 1910, there should be in Texas in the present year (1915) at least 236,000 tenant farmers. A more intensive study of the field, however, shows that in the eighty-two counties of the state where tenancy is the highest, the average percentage of tenants will approximate sixty.—127, M.

**Tenancy in Oklahoma.**—The percentage of farm tenancy in the state is 54.8 and for the 47 counties where the tenancy is the highest the percentage of tenancy is 68.13.—128, M.

**What Tenancy Means.**—The prevailing system of tenancy in the Southwest is share tenancy, under which the tenant furnishes his own seed, tools and teams, and pays to the landlord one-third of the grain and one-fourth of the cotton. There is, however, a constant tendency to increase the landlord's share, through the payment either of cash bonuses or of a higher percentage of the product.

Under this system tenants as a class earn only a bare living through the work of themselves and their entire families. Few of the tenants ever succeed in laying by a surplus. On the contrary, their experiences are so discouraging that they seldom remain on the same farm for more than one year, and they move from one farm to the next in hope of being able to better their condition. Without the labor of the entire family the tenant farmer is hopeless.

As a result, not only is his wife prematurely broken down, but the children remain uneducated and without the hope of any condition better than that of their parents. The tenants, having no interest in the results beyond the crops of a single year, the soil is being rapidly exhausted, and the conditions, therefore, tend to become steadily worse. Even at present a very large proportion of the tenants' families

are insufficiently clothed, badly housed and underfed. Practically all the white tenants are native born. As a result of these conditions, however, they are deteriorating rapidly, each generation being less efficient and more hopeless than the one preceding.—128-129, M.

**Exorbitant Interest Charges.**—A very large proportion of the tenants are hopelessly in debt and are charged exorbitant rates of interest. Over ninety per cent of the tenants borrow from some source, and about seventy-five per cent borrow regularly year after year. The average interest rate on all farm loans is 10 per cent, while small tenants in Texas pay 15 per cent or more. In Oklahoma the conditions are even worse, in spite of the enactment of laws against usury. Furthermore, over eighty per cent of the tenants are regularly in debt to the stores from which they secure their supplies, and pay exorbitantly for this credit. The average rate of interest on store credit is conservatively put at 20 per cent, and in many cases ranges as high as 60 per cent.—129, M.

**Oppression by Landlords.**—The tenants are in some instances victims of oppression on the part of landlords. This oppression takes the form of dictation of character and amount of crops, eviction without due notice, and discrimination because of personal and political convictions. The existing law provides no recourse against such abuses.—129-130, M.

**Feudal Factory Farming.**—The condition of agricultural laborers cannot be dismissed without referring to the development of huge estates which are operated by managers with hired labor on what may properly be called a "factory system." The conditions upon such estates are deplorable, not only because of the extremely low wages paid, (80 cents per day in the case of one which was most carefully investigated), but even more because these estates, embracing within their boundaries entire counties and towns, are a law unto themselves and the absolute dictators of the lives, liberties and happiness of their employees. It

is industrial feudalism in its extreme form. Such estates are, as a rule, the property of absentee landlords, who are for the most part millionaires, resident in the eastern states or in Europe.—15-16, M.

## HORROR OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

### From Final Manly Report.

**Extent of Unemployment.**—Wage earners in the principal manufacturing and mining industries in the United States lose on the average from one-fifth to one-fourth of the working time during the normal year. The number of unemployed persons, even in normal times, is appallingly great. Even in times of greatest industrial activity there is a considerable percentage, ranging from seven to fifteen per cent, of all the members of unions in different trades and industries, of workers who are unemployed during the year. In any year the unemployed who congregate in the large cities alone during the winter months number several hundred thousand, while in years of industrial depression the number of unemployed in the entire country is at least three millions.—161, M.

**Classes of Unemployment.**—The loss in working time is of two principal classes: Lack of work and sickness. Lack of work accounts for approximately two-thirds of the average worker's loss of time at work; ill health for approximately one-fourth of the loss in working time. Strikes appear to be the cause of less than two per cent of the loss in working time, and accidents are the cause in about the same proportion.—163, M.

**Causes of Unemployment.**—In addition to the two basic causes of unemployment—unjust distribution of income and land monopolization—which were analyzed in detail in an earlier section of the report, the following causes demand attention: Evolutionary changes in in-

dustry. \* \* \* The introduction of machinery and new processes, \* \* \* immigration and by the entrance into industry of women workers, both of which factors have caused an increase in the supply of cheap and unskilled labor."—163, M.

**Industrial Fluctuations.**—The fluctuations in business affect capital as well as labor, but the result is entirely different. Capital suffers the same fluctuations and every industry has its "peak loads." The essential differences are, first, that a fair return on investment is estimated by the year, while for labor, it has become more and more customary to hire and pay and discharge by the week, day or hour or by the piece, and; second, that while capital can offset the fat years against the lean, the human beings who are unemployed cannot, but must starve or suffer a rapid physical and moral deterioration. The result is that unless the wage earners are very strongly organized—and the vast majority are not—they must bear the whole burden of the waiting period when they must act as a reserve force ready to meet the maximum demand of the busy season.—169, M.

**Seasonal Labor.**—The seasonal fluctuations in the canning industry in California, involve nearly nine-tenths of all the workers; in logging camps which depend upon snow operations are practically suspended in summer; while in the brick and tile industry only 36.5 per cent of the total number of employees are retained during the dull season. \* \* \* The effects of the loss in working time and the attendant irregularity of employment may be summed up in the term: "the workers economic insecurity."—164, 165, M.

**The Dread of Unemployment.**—Not only is practically every wage earner in constant dread of unemployment, but there are few who do not suffer bitterly many times in their career because they are unable to get work.

Every year from 15,000 to 18,000 business enterprises fail and turn their employees out; every year new machinery and improved processes displace thousands; cold weather and wet weather and hot weather stop operations and force wage earners into idleness; and where there are not these natural causes, there are the customs and habits and holiday rushes which result in overwork, followed by under-employment. All these facts in connection with the conservative figures of fluctuation in the amount of employment prove that "The Unemployed" eventually include practically every wage earner, and not alone a surplus portion.—168, M.

#### THE REAL AGITATOR.

Sir Charles Napier says, "People talk about agitators, but the only real agitator is injustice, and the only way is to correct the injustice and allay the agitation."—63, M.

#### INJUSTICE CAUSE OF DISORDER.

In popular governments, evils are often borne with stolid patience until a culminating point is reached, when the people burst into sudden frenzy and redress their grievances by violent and extreme measures, and even tear down the fabrics of government itself.—76, M.



## PUBLIC UTILITIES' GRAFT UNDER PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.

### From Final Manly Report.

#### The Telegraphs.

**Condition of Workers.**—The workers employed by the two principal telegraph companies (The Western Union Telegraph and the Postal Telegraph-Cable) are not only underpaid, but subject to many abuses, such as the denial of proper periods of relief while on duty, the establishment of arbitrary speed rates, which frequently result in overstrain, the arbitrary discharge of employees without notice for any cause or no cause, the employment of young boys for messenger service under conditions which can result only in their moral corruption, and the employment of women for telegraph service at night.—104, M.

**Companies Illegal.**—The two companies have a monopoly of the transmission of telegrams, and no effective competition exists between them. These companies are performing a service in the transmission of intelligence which has been held by the Federal Supreme Court to have been reserved by the Constitution specifically to the Federal Government.—105, M.

**Companies Overcapitalized.**—The telegraph companies are enormously overcapitalized, and their rates, which are graded to pay dividends upon their large amounts of stock which do not represent the investment of cash, are very much higher than the cost of service warrants.—105, M.

**The Service Inefficient.**—Owing to the duplication of offices on the part of the two companies and the maintenance of branch offices which are idle for a large part of the time, this service is being performed inefficiently and at an unusually high cost, in spite of the low wages paid the operators.—105, M.

**Recommends Government Ownership.**—The property of the telegraph companies, or such part of their equipment as may be necessary for the efficient operation of a National telegraph system should be purchased by the Federal Government after proper valuation and placed under the general jurisdiction of the Postoffice Department for operation.—106, M.

#### Telephones.

**Labor Conditions.**—The wages paid even in the cities having the highest standards, are insufficient to provide decently for women who have no other means of support. The requirements and nervous strain incident to the service are so very severe that experienced physicians have testified that operators should not work more than five hours per day, whereas the regular working hours are from seven to nine per day.

The operators, who are principally girls and young women, are required to work at night, going to and returning from their work at hours when they are subject to grave menace. The telephone operators are unable to secure reasonable conditions for themselves because of their youth and the fact that they ordinarily remain in the service only a short time. The organization of employees for their own protection is effectively resisted by the employing companies.—106-7, M.

**The Companies Overcapitalized.**—The American Telephone and Telegraph Company has increased its capitalization enormously without the investment of new capital. The transaction by which the company, which had been a subsidiary of the American Bell Telephone Company, absorbed the parent company in 1899 was not only designed to evade the legal limitations contained in the Massachusetts charter of the Bell Telephone Company, but resulted in the increase of the capitalization of the combination from \$25,886,300 to \$75,276,600 without the addition of any new capital.—107, M.

**The Companies Illegal.**—The transmission of intelligence is a function which is specifically reserved by the Constitution to the Federal Government, but which in the telephone field has been permitted to become the practical monopoly of a single corporation.—107, M.

**Government Ownership Recommended.**—The purchase by the Federal Government, after proper valuation, of the property of the interstate and local telephone companies, or such part of their equipment as may be necessary for the efficient operation of a National telephone system, is recommended.—107, M.

### Railroads.

**Abuses of Labor.**—The railroad construction camps are largely unsanitary, overcrowded and improperly equipped for the health and comfort of the employees. In addition there are many abuses, such as overcharging at the commissary and grafting by foremen.—111, M.

**Fake Beneficiary Associations.**—The so-called voluntary benefit associations of a number of the railroads constitute, under the present management, a great injustice to employees. These funds, which are contributed almost entirely by the employees, the management as a rule paying only the cost of administration, until recently were generally used to relieve the companies from liability for accident, employees being required to sign a release in favor of the company at the time they became members of the benefit association.

In some cases, even, the membership is compulsory. Nevertheless the employees have no voice in the management and receive no equity when discharged. Finally, such associations, under present management, serve to exert an undue influence over employees, since the members, if they quit the service for any period or for any cause, sacrifice to the company all that has been paid in.—111, M.

**Private Railroad Armies.**—Under the authority granted by the several states the railroads maintain a force of police, and some, at least, have established large arsenals of arms and ammunition. This armed force, when augmented by recruits from detective agencies and employment agencies, as seems to be the general practice during industrial disputes, constitutes a private army clothed with a degree of authority which should be exercised only by public officials; these armed bodies, usurping the supreme functions of the state and oftentimes encroaching on the rights of the citizens, are a distinct menace to public welfare.

### The Pullman Company.

**Employees Are Underpaid.**—Conductors and porters employed in the car service of the Pullman Company are employed under conditions which seem to require radical readjustment. Both classes of employees are admitted by officials of the Company to be underpaid. The standard salary of the porters (\$27.50) per month) is such that the porters are obliged to secure tips from the public in order to live. The Pullman Company is admitted by the chairman of the board of directors to be the direct beneficiary of the tips from the public to the extent of the difference between a fair wage and that which is now paid.—108, M.

**Labor Conditions Are Bad.**—The hours of service are extremely long, the regulation of the company allowing porters and conductors when in service only four hours sleep per night and penalizing them severely if they sleep while on duty. Employees of the Pullman Company are subject to many other abuses, among which may be mentioned the arbitrary deduction from their salaries for such time as they may not be needed for the actual service of the company, although they are required to report at the office each morning and are sometimes compelled to wait the greater part of the day without compensation; the requirements that porters shall

furnish blacking, although they are not permitted to charge passengers for shoe cleaning; the system of arbitrary penalties for the infraction of multitudinous rules; the requirement that all employees shall purchase their uniforms from one mercantile establishment, the owners of which are largely interested in the Pullman Company and the lack of proper sleeping quarters for employees when away

from their home stations.—109, M.

**Unions not Permitted.**—The employees of the Pullman Company are unable to improve their condition through organization, as employees known to be members of labor organizations are discharged, and through the means of an effective espionage, employees are deterred from affiliating with labor unions.—110, M.

**Company Overcapitalized.**—The company is tremendously overcapitalized, having increased its capitalization from \$36,000,000 in 1893 to \$120,000,000 in 1915, without the investment of a single dollar on the part of the stockholders. Upon the basis of actual cash paid in, the annual dividends of the company are not less than 29 per cent. During the history of the company the stockholders have received cash amounting to at least \$167,000,000 and special stock dividends of \$64,000,000, making a total of \$231,000,000 on an actual investment of \$32,601,238.—110, M.

**The Business Illegal.**—The company enjoys a practical monopoly of the sleeping car service.—110, M.



## IRRESPONSIBLE CORPORATIONS ARE TYRANTS.

### From Final Manly Report.

**The Irresponsible Corporation.**—Theoretical and legally the final control and responsibility of the corporation rests with the stockholders, but in actual practice a very different situation is found. The relationship of stockholders to a corporation is anything but permanent; in a busy week on Wall street, the number of shares bought and sold in one of the great corporations will greatly exceed the total number of shares that are in existence.

The stockholders, as a class, therefore, have no guiding interest in the permanent efficiency of the corporation as regards either the preservation of its physical property or the maintenance of an efficient productive organization. Stocks are bought either as a speculation or as an investment, and in case either the physical property deteriorates or the productive organization tends to become inefficient, the stockholder generally takes no steps to correct the condition, but merely throws his stock upon the market.

This marks a very real and definite distinction from the actual ownership of a property or business which must be kept in good condition by the owner as regards both plant and organization. If all industries were owned and operated by individuals, there might be some reason to hope that generally satisfactory wages and physical conditions might be attained through the education of the owner to a realization that permanent success depended absolutely upon the maintenance of the plant in the best condition and the permanent satisfaction of the legitimate demands of the workers, but with the impersonal, remote and irresponsible status of control by stock ownership such a hope must be purely illusory.

The ordinary stockholder in a large corporation actually occupies a less direct relationship to the corporation in which he is interested, has less knowledge of its actual operations, and less control over its management, than the ordinary citizen has over local, state and national governments.—17-18, M.

**Profits the Only Interest.**—Boards of Directors in theory are responsible for and would be naturally expected to maintain supervision over every phase of the corporation's management; but, as a matter of fact, we know that such supervision is maintained only over the financial phase of the business, controlling the acquisition of money to operate the business and distributing the profits. Actual direction generally exists only through the removal of executive officials who fail to deliver the expected profits and through the appointment of their successors.—18, M.

**Ignorance of the Great Financiers.**—Upon the testimony of financiers representing, as directors, hundreds of corporations, the typical director of large corporations is not only totally ignorant of the actual operations of such corporations, whose properties he seldom, if ever, visits, but feels and exercises no responsibility for anything beyond the financial condition and selection of executive officials. Upon their own statements, these directors know nothing and care nothing about the quality of the product, the condition and treatment of the workers from whose labor they derive their income, nor the general management of the business.—18, M.

**Corporate Indifference to Humanity.**—As far as operation and actual management are concerned, the executive officials are practically supreme. Upon their orders production is increased or decreased, plants are operated or shut down, and upon their recommendation wages are raised or lowered. But even they have little direct contact with the actual establishment of working conditions, and no relation at all with the rank and file of the

workers. They act upon the recommendations of superintendents, whose information comes from assistants and foremen and from the elaborate statistics of modern business, which account for every piece of material and product, show the disposition of every penny that comes and goes, but ignore, as though they did not exist, the men and women whose labor drives the whole mechanism of business.—19, M.

**Profits, the Spur That Drives Modern Business.**—In modern corporate business the actions of officials are governed not by their personal intentions, but by the inexorable demands for interest and dividends, and are driven, not by their desire to create a permanently successful business with contented labor, but by the never-relaxed spur of the comparative cost-sheet. The constant demand is for high production at low cost, not through improvements and good conditions which might give them next year, but this very month.

In the high pressure of business every superintendent knows that if his plant is at the bottom of the comparative scale for two months, his position topples, and if for three months, it is virtually gone. He cannot afford to experiment with changes that will not give immediate results. If he were his own master he might take a chance, knowing that the loss of this year would be compensated by gains under better conditions next year, but the monthly cost-sheet does not wait for next year; it demands results now.—20, M.

#### COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS!

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

My appreciation of the conditions surrounding wage-earners and my sympathy with every endeavor to better these conditions are as strong as those of any man.

Louis XVI.

There is none but you and me that has the people's interest at heart. ("H n'y a que vous et moi qui aimons le peuple."—31, M.

## LEGISLATURES OBEY THE CAPITALISTS.

### From Final Manly Report.

**Capitalists Fought Child Labor Legislation.**—Although agitation for the protection of children began during the early part of the nineteenth century in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania, no adequate legislation was obtained until near the end of the century. Time after time in each of these industrial states the sentiment of the public was aroused, organization was effected, and well-drafted bills were introduced, only to be killed in committee, emasculated or killed on the floor of the legislature, or passed with exceptions which rendered them entirely ineffective.

Even the attempt to reduce the hours of children below twelve per day was bitterly contested and met by every known trick of legislative chicanery. The whole history of the contest for adequate child labor legislation is even now being repeated in some of the southern states, where laws prohibiting the employment of children are bitterly contested and beaten session after session by legislators unsympathetic or controlled by cotton-mill interests.—40, M.

**Capitalists Fought Prohibition of Night Work.**—Although the movement to restrict the working hours of women and to prohibit night work began in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania as early as 1840, the first legislation limiting the hours was the ten-hour bill passed in Massachusetts in 1874, and night work went unregulated until the passage of the act of 1899 in Nebraska.—40, M.

**Capitalists Fought the Safety-First Movement.**—The movement for safety of life and limb in the factories and workshops, although pushed with great vigor in almost every session of the State Legislatures after 1880, secured only a few acts providing for such obvious matters as the guarding of set screws and gears, but made practically no provision for their enforcement. No really effective action to promote safety took place until after many years of hard fighting. The first workmen's compensation acts were passed between 1900 and 1910, which for the first time made the unsafe condition of factories directly expensive. Even upon the railroads, where the safety of the public as well as the workers was involved, at least ten years of constant agitation on the part of the railroad brotherhoods and various interested citizens was necessary before the first Federal Act providing for safety appliances was passed in 1893.—41, M.

**Capitalists Fought Protection of Seamen.**—In the movement to secure the safety, comfort and liberty of seamen, it is a matter of record that Andrew Furuseth, President of the Seamen's Union, backed, not only by members of his own organization, but by the entire American labor movement, attended each session of Congress and devoted his whole energies to securing legislation upon this subject for the entire period of 22 years from 1893 to 1915, when the Seamen's Bill finally became a law.—41, M.

**Legislatures Trick the Workers.**—The legislatures have been criminally slow in acting for the relief of grievous wrongs and have used every subterfuge to escape adequate and aggressive action, even while thousands of men, women and children were being killed, maimed or deformed as a result of their negligence.—42, M.



## COURTS ARE CONTROLLED BY CAPITALISTS.

### From Final Manly Report.

**Their Annul Labor Laws.**—After wholesome and necessary laws are passed they are in large part nullified by the courts, either upon technicalities of a character which would not be held to invalidate legislation favorable to the interests of manufacturers, merchants, bankers and other property owners, or thrown out on the broad ground of unconstitutionality, through strained or illogical construction of constitutional provisions.—44, M.

It is startling and alarming to citizens generally to learn that the consensus of Federal decisions is to the effect that the sections of the constitution defining the rights of citizens to trial by jury, security from unwarranted arrest and search, free speech, free assertion of writ of habeas corpus, bearing of arms, and protection from excessive bail and cruel and unjust punishments apply only to Federal jurisdiction and in reality protect the citizen only against the action of the Federal Government.—54, M.

It is impossible to imagine a more complete mockery of justice and travesty upon every conception of fair dealing than the innumerable decisions holding unconstitutional, wise and salutary laws for the protection of the workers, upon the ground that they violate the right of contract, even while the workers, whose rights are supposed to be affected clamor for the maintenance of the statute.—58, M.

### **They Do not Enforce Law to Protect Labor.**

—The ordinary machinery of law provides no adequate means whereby laborers and other poor men can secure redress for wrongs inflicted upon them through the non-payment

of wages, through overcharges at company stores, through exorbitant hospital and other fees, fines and other deductions, through fraud on the part of private employment agencies, loan offices and installment houses and through grafting of foremen and superintendents.—59, M.

**Courts Protect Rich Criminals.**—In some localities the control by the employers of the entire machinery of government is such that lawless acts on the part of agents of the employers go unpunished, while vindictive action against leaders of the strike is accomplished by methods unparalleled in civilized countries.—73, M.

**Recommended for the Courts.**—A constitutional amendment specifically guaranteeing personal protection to citizens of States. A constitutional amendment prohibiting courts from declaring legislation unconstitutional.—78-79, M.

## VALUE OF THE UNION.

### From Final Manly Report.

**Extent of Unionism.**—At present it may be roughly estimated that in manufacturing, mining, transportation and building industries, if the proprietary, supervisory, official and clerical classes are excluded, twenty-five per cent of the workers twenty-one years of age are trade unionists.—183, M. \*

**Work of Unionism.**—The effects of trade unionism on wages are undoubted. Without some form of combination the wage workers cannot bargain on equal terms with their employers. During the past fifteen years, a period of rapidly rising prices, wages in well organized trades have kept pace with the rising cost of living, in contrast with the relative decline of the purchasing power of the wages received by labor generally.—183, M.

**Trades Unionism and Pauperism.**—It is significant that trade union members are practically never found among the applicants for charity during periods of unemployment. They may be unemployed, but they are in some way cared for, either by having work found for them or by systematic or voluntary relief.—175, M.

## SPIES IN THE UNION.

Report by Luke Grant.

**Spies Incite to Violence.**—If the secret agents of employers, working as members of labor unions, do not always instigate acts of violence, they frequently encourage them. If they did not they would not be performing the duties for which they are paid. If they find that labor unions never discuss acts of violence they have nothing to report to those employing them. If they do not report matters which the detective agencies employing men can use to frighten the corporations to cause their employment, they cannot continue long as spies. Either they must make reports that are false, in which discovery would be inevitable, or they must create a basis on which to make a truthful report.—99, G.

**Graft Behind Espionage.**—At the bottom of the whole system of espionage in labor unions is the one word, "graft." The individual operative grafts on the detective agency employing him and the agency grafts on the corporation that pays the bills. In neither case is there honest value received for the money which is paid. The system is an incentive to the commission of crime.—100, G.

**Spy Does not Protect the Public.**—The union spy is not in business to protect the community. He has little respect for the law, civil or moral. Men of character do not engage in such work, and it follows that the men who do are, as a rule, devoid of principle and ready to go to almost any extreme to please those who employ them.—100, G.

## CARNEGIE, ROCKEFELLER AND OTHER FOUNDATIONS.

From Final Manly Report.

**They Help to Control Industry.**—The domination of industry is being rapidly extended to control education and social service of the nation. This control is being extended largely through the creation of enormous privately managed funds for indefinite purposes, designated as "foundations," by the endowment of colleges and universities, by the creation of funds for pensioning teachers, by contributions to private charities, as well as through controlling or influencing the public press.—118, M.

**Work Exceeds the Public Work.**—Two groups of the foundations, namely, the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations, together have funds amounting to at least \$250,000,000, yielding an annual revenue of at least \$18,500,000, which is at least twice as great as the appropriations of the Federal Government for education and social service.—118, M.

**Untaxed and Under Autocratic Control.**—The funds of these foundations are exempt from taxation, yet during the lives of the founders, are subject to their dictation for any purpose other than commercial profit. In the case of the Rockefeller Foundations, the control of the funds and of the activities of the institutions now and in perpetuity rests with Mr. Rockefeller, his son, and whomsoever they may appoint as their successors. The funds of these foundations are largely invested in securities of corporations dominant in American industry. The policies of these foundations must inevitably be colored, if not controlled, to conform to the policies of such corporations.—119, M.

**Funds in Foundations Represent Exploitation.**—The funds of the foundations represent largely the results either of the exploitation of American workers through the payment of low wages or of the exploitation of the American public through the exaction of high prices. The funds, therefore, by every right, belong to the American people.—119, M.

**The Foundations Are Illegal.**—The charters of these foundations were granted under conditions of such laxity that those granted by New York State are legally defective and unconstitutional. In increasing the number of its trustees without complying with the requirements of the new law governing corporations, the Rockefeller Foundation has already been guilty of a breach of the law.—121, M.

**Menace of the Foundations.**—These foundations are subject to no public control and their powers can be curbed only by the difficult process of amending or revoking their charters. Past experience, as, for example, in the case of the insurance companies, indicates that the public can be aroused only when abuses have become so great as to constitute a scandal. The entrance into the field of industrial relations, through the creation of a special division by the Rockefeller Foundation, constitutes a menace to the national welfare. This movement has the power to influence the entire country in the determination of its most vital policy.—121, M.

**Foundations Control the Press.**—The purpose of Mr. Rockefeller to influence the press is shown by the employment of an experienced publicity expert as a member of his personal staff, and is indicated by his evident interest in the ownership or control of a number of publications. The extent of the possible influence of these foundations and private endowments of institutions for education and public service is shown by a large amount of evidence in possession of the Commission.—123, M.

**Foundations Control Education.**—There is developing a degree of control over the teachings of professors in our colleges and universities which constitutes a most serious menace. In June of this year (1915) two professors, known throughout their professions as men of great talent and high character, were dropped from the positions they occupied and no valid reason for such action was made public. Both were witnesses before the Commission, and made statements based upon their own expert knowledge and experience which were given wide publicity.—124, M.

## MAL-ADJUSTMENTS UNDER

### CAPITALISM.

From Final Manly Report.

### Prison Labor.

**Evil Results.**—The competition of prison-made articles has resulted in the existence of a low wage scale in many industries and has subjected the manufacturer to a kind of competition which should not exist in any civilized community. The only beneficiaries of the convict labor system are the contractors who are permitted by the state to exploit the inmates of the prisons.—234, M.

**Suggested Remedy.**—Indoor manufacture by convicts should be abolished as far as possible, and prisoners worked on State farms and State roads, the prisoners to be compensated, and Congress should make convict-made goods sent into any State subject to the laws of that State. 234, M.

## Immigration.

**Bad Influences of Immigration.**—The enormous influx of immigrants during the past twenty-five years has already undermined the American standard of living for all workmen except those in the skilled trades and has been the largest single factor in preventing the wage scale from rising as rapidly as food prices. The presence of such a large proportion of immigrants has greatly hampered the formation of trade unions, and has tremendously increased the problem of securing effective and responsible organizations. 235, M.

**Influence of Prejudice.**—The unreasonable prejudice of almost every class of Americans toward the immigrants, who form such a large proportion of the labor force of our industries, has been largely responsible for the failure of the Nation to reach a correct understanding of the labor problem and has promoted the harshness and brutality which has so often been manifested in connection with industrial disturbances.—235, M.

**Suggested Remedy.**—Restricted immigration.—236, M.

The Burnet-Dillingham bill applying a literacy test as a restriction upon immigration was endorsed by the Report, but Chairman Walsh filed the following opposition report on this recommendation: "I wish to record my opposition, as a matter of principle, to all restrictions upon immigration."—302, M.

## STATE CONSTABULARY.

Violence seems to increase rather than diminish when the constabulary is brought into an industrial dispute. The legal and civil rights of the workers have on numerous occasions been violated by the constabulary; and citizens not in any way connected with the dispute and innocent of any interference

with the constabulary have been brutally treated and in one case shot down by members of the constabulary, who have escaped punishment for their acts. Organized upon a strictly military basis, it appears to assume in taking the field in connection with the strike that the strikers are its enemies and the enemies of the State and that a campaign should be waged against them as such.—149, M.

## A BIT OF EVIDENCE.

Chairman Walsh. What do you think has been accomplished by the philanthropic activities of the country in reducing suffering and want among the people?

Mr. Guggenheim. There has a great deal been done. If it were not for what has been done and what is being done we would have revolution in this country.—23, M.

## ORIGIN OF VIOLENCE.

Violence is seldom, if ever, spontaneous, but arises from a conviction that fundamental rights are denied and that peaceful methods of adjustment can not be used. The sole exception seems to lie in the situation where, intoxicated with power, the stronger party of the dispute relies upon force to suppress the weaker.

The arbitrary suppression of violence by force produces only resentment which will rekindle into greater violence when opportunity offers. Violence can be prevented only by removing the causes of violence; industrial peace can rest only upon industrial justice.—139, M.

## ROCKEFELLER AND THE COLORADO WAR.

From Report of George P. West.

### Corporate Control of Politics.

**Fixing the Courts.**—In the counties where these coal companies operate they have the judges and sheriffs, and through the sheriffs can select the jurors.—42, M.

**Complete Political Machine.**—"I found a very perfect political machine, just such a machine as Tammany in New York; just as much of a machine as you will find in any of the places where a great many voters are susceptible to an organization of that character. I found that the head of this political machine is the sheriff, that it was carried along lines very similar to those maintained by Tammany." Attorney General Farrar, closely related to the Colorado Fuel and Iron company in his dealings, under oath, page 49, W.

**How the Machine Worked.**—Up there a few men got together in a room some days before the convention. They have already fixed up who the delegates to the convention shall be. They have probably given the local superintendent of the mines the number of delegates to which that community will be entitled. They do not tell him whom to bring. He knows he is to select a certain number of delegates who are to come in and follow the dictations of a single man whose name is given to them before they leave. The candidates are selected, not with a view to their fitness to discharge their duty, not with a view to their integrity, but "are they satisfactory to the company?"—From a speech of Jesse C. Northcutt, October 10, 1912, before he became an attorney for the company, page 51, W.

**Some Results of Corporate Control.**—Free speech in informal and personal intercourse was denied the inhabitants of the coal camps. It was also denied public speakers. Union organizers would not be permitted to enter the camps and address meetings. Periodicals permitted in the camps were censored in the same fashion. The operators were able to use their power of summary discharge to deny free press, free speech and free assembly, to prevent political activities of employees contrary to their interests, and control political activities for the suppression of popular government and winning of political control.—54, W.

**Control Through Ownership of Homes.**—Many of the mining camps were situated on land owned by the employing company. No bit of ground and no house could be occupied except by consent of the company, which discouraged home building and refused to sell lots for that purpose even to their oldest employees. In these towns the company owns not only the miners' dwelling, but the church, school, store and saloon buildings.

Miners and their families bought every article of food, clothing and household supplies at stores owned by the company, and from which large profits were drawn. The company either sold a concession to sell liquor to its employees at a yearly rate of so much for each man employed in its camp, or rented the saloon building at a yearly rental, amounting in one instance to one-half the original cost of the building. The company became in effect a beneficiary of the liquor traffic.—54, W.

**Corporate Control of Religion and Education.**—A church building could not be erected in a closed camp without the consent of the company, and the company assumed the right to compel the dismissal of ministers of the gospel who opposed company policies or interests \* \* \* Control of the schools within the closed camps was no less absolute. Mine superintendents and other company officials dictated the selection

of teachers and procured the dismissal of teachers to whom they objected.—55, 56, W.  
**Corporate Usurpation of Power.**—Many camp marshals, whose appointment and salaries are controlled by local companies, have exercised a system of espionage and have resorted to arbitrary powers of police control, acting in the capacity of judge and jury and passing the sentence: "Down the canyon for you," meaning thereby that the miner so addressed was discharged and ordered to leave the camp. These, taken with brutal assaults by camp marshals, have produced general dissatisfaction among the miners.—59, W.

### Tyranny of Political Control.

**Open Swindling of the Miners.**—Checkweighmen were denied at the mine scales; there was actual and deliberate cheating of miners by many of the coal operators. Yet by a state law enacted in 1897, the miners were given a right to employ a checkweighman whenever they desired to do so.—63, 65, W.

**State Law Overridden for Profit.**—Company stores were operated through subsidiary companies, all of the stock of which was owned by the mining companies. President Welborn of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, testified that the company earned more than 20 per cent on a capital of \$700,000. He testified that his company never paid in script, but that script was in use in company stores until 1913. There was a state law against both the company store and the use of script, passed in 1899.—68, 69, W.

**Federal Law Ignored.**—Store managers are the postmasters in most places. For years it has been the custom of the Rockefeller stores to give a company draft when a postal order was solicited, and charge the U. S. postal rates. The amount of money the

government has lost by this trickery would take many experts many days to foot up. Testimony of Rev. Eugene S. Gladdis, page 70, W.

**Sabbath Breaking Encouraged.**—At Delagua an officer of the National Guard noticed a saloon open on the Sabbath and said to the proprietor: "Do you know of a state law which prohibits keeping saloons open on Sunday?" "Oh, that's all right," replied the liquor vendor. "I am justice of the peace in this town and we don't pay much attention to such things as state laws." Sabbath breaking is condoned by local officials; selling to minors and drunkards is an offense that is allowed to pass without protest.—72, W.

**Frightful Housing Conditions.**—A camp physician thus describes a certain Italian quarter at Sopris: "Houses up the canyon so-called, are simply disgraceful; eight are habitable and 46 simply disgraceful. I have had to remove a mother in labor from one part of the shack to another to keep dry." The C. F. and I. Company now own and rent hovels that are unfit for the habitation of human beings and are little removed from the pig sty make of dwellings. Frequently the population is so congested that whole families are crowded into one small room.

At Segundo there are 73 one-room shacks. At an altitude of 10,000 feet in Floresta where the thermometer drops to an extremely low register there is not a plastered house to be found. As a fruit of such folly the medical reports of all camps for 1912 and 1913 gave 151 cases of typhoid, or nearly three a week for the entire year. For more than a year a cesspool, within a few feet of the company's store, was allowed to relieve itself by overflowing at the top and running down the principal thoroughfare of the town. Both the store manager and his wife had been down with the typhoid. This stygian situation and others almost as offensive were reported

to the head of the medical work, and were passed over by a reply to the kicker: "Better be careful or you will step on somebody's toes."—76, W.

**Tyranny of the Camp Doctor.**—By a special order from the head of the medical department at Pueblo, the doctor's charges, whether reasonable or extortionate, may be deducted from the employee's pay check. There is not a camp hotel or boarding house in a C. F. and I. camp where the bedrooms are heated. Men suffer with mountain fevers. Presumably for an object-lesson for the whole camp, a bill for service was collected through the mine office by the company physician, when the family had been so bold as to call in a doctor of their own choice, and the father was discharged for being unwilling to pay it. This case was reported to the Denver headquarters and no redress was ever made.—77, W.

### The Eight-Hour Fight.

**The Long Agitation.**—Miners employed in the coal and metalliferous mines of Colorado began their fight for an eight-hour day for underground workers in 1895. The Supreme Court in that year advised the legislature that an eight hour law would be unconstitutional. The state platforms of all parties in 1900 declared for a constitutional amendment, and such an amendment was submitted by the legislature in 1901, and was adopted by a popular vote in November, 1902. The vote was 72,980 to 26,266 and the majority in favor of the amendment was greater than that given to any other of the seven measures submitted at the same election.—62, W.

**Will of the People Defeated.**—The will of the people as expressed in this mandate to the legislature was defeated during the session of 1903, by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and other large smelting and mining corporations. Eight different bills were introduced and none passed. So great was the scandal created by the failure to comply with the constitutional mandate that at an

extra session of the legislature during the following summer, called for other purposes, each house adopted a resolution blaming the other house for the failure.—63, W.

**Tricking the People.**—In 1905 a bill was passed providing for the eight-hour day to apply to coal miners only. In 1911 an eight-hour bill applying to all classes of underground labor was passed by the legislature, but the companies obtained sufficient signatures to a referendum petition to procure its submission to the people. At the same time they initiated another eight-hour bill applying only to workers whose employment was continuously in contact with noxious fumes, gases and vapors. The voters of Colorado adopted both measures in 1912, but the conflict between them led to discussion and doubt, and they were replaced by a new bill that was enacted by the 1913 legislature and which went into effect April 13, 1913.—68, W.

**The Law Is Ignored.**—For eleven years after the people of the State had ordered the enactment of an eight-hour law, the companies successfully defied the popular will and succeeded in blocking the enforcement of effective legislation. When at last they granted the eight-hour day, in March, 1913, we have the word of Mr. Bowers that it was not respect for the popular will, but the desire to defeat unionization that actuated them.—63, W.

### The Strike of 1913-14.

**What It Was About.**—Four of the seven formal demands of the strikers were for the enforcement of state laws, which had been persistently violated by the operators. These demands were: 1. An eight-hour working day for all classes of labor in and around the coal land and at coke ovens. 2. A checkweighman at all times to be

elected by the miners without interference by company officials.—3. The right to trade at any store they please, and the right to choose their own boarding places and their own doctor. 4. Enforcement of the Colorado mining laws; abolition of the notorious and criminal guard system which has prevailed in the mining camps of Colorado for many years.—62, W.

**Refusal to Consider Grievances of the Miners.**—It was not until after more than a month had been spent in fruitless endeavors, until it became apparent that the operators would not so much as enter the same room with representatives of the union, that after a final written request for an interview in which the likelihood of a strike was plainly stated, that the union officers called the convention which voted for the strike.—85, W. The governor asked the operators to sign a letter agreeing to obey all state laws affecting the conduct of their mines and the well being of their employees. They refused to sign it without alterations.—87, W. Secretary of Labor Wilson held a conference with the operators on December 4, at which he proposed to create a conciliatory board. The operators refused to consider Secretary Wilson's suggestion.—92, W.

Repeated efforts to settle the strike by private and public agencies were made during the winter that followed. All were resisted by the operators.—98, W.

Representative Foster, chairman of the Congressional sub-committee that held extensive public hearings in Denver and Trinidad, visited Mr. Rockefeller in New York in a futile effort to convince him that the difficulties should be arbitrated.—93, W.

Secretary Wilson renewed his efforts to bring about peace, appointing a commission to go to Colorado and attempt mediation \* \* \* The operators were extremely bitter and obstinate.—93, 94, W.

President Wilson himself addressed a plan of settlement to the operators and strikers. President Wilson's plan was promptly accepted by the policy committee of the union.—97, W. The operators refused to accede to the President's wishes.—98, W. A spirit of accommodation or conciliation at no time actuated the operators either in Colorado or New York. Such a spirit, if manifested, would have prevented the strike and all the disastrous events that accompanied it.—100, W.

**Miners Desert Their Homes.**—From 8,000 to 10,000 miners, comprising from 40 to 100 per cent of the employees at various camps, packed their meager household belongings on carts and wagons, and, accompanied by their women and children, moved down the canyons through a drenching fall of snow, sleet and rain, to the ten colonies that had been established by the union officials. This sudden exodus became necessary because in many of the coal camps the companies owned every house and every foot of ground.—31, M.

**The Opposition Prepares.**—In Huerfano County alone 326 men, many imported from other states, had been commissioned as deputy sheriffs by Sheriff Jefferson Farr prior to September 1st. Sheriff Farr admitted before this Commission that for all he knew, they might have been redhanded murderers, fresh from the scenes of their crimes, and that they were employed, armed and paid for by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and the other large companies. The first violence had already occurred in the killing of Gerald Lippiatt, a union organizer, who was shot down on the streets in Trinidad, by a detective in the employ of the operators.—101, 102, W.

**The Strike Becomes a War.**—The union officials and strikers determined there should be no resistance. It is clearly established that the operators had employed 326 armed mine guards in Huerfano county prior to September 1st, (when the strike was called), and that no step was taken to arm the strikers un-

til twelve days after that date.\* \* \* Active in the management of the companies' armed guards were agents and officials of the notorious Baldwin-Feltz Detective agency of West Virginia \* \* \* It was employed by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company to aid in recruiting guards, to install and operate machine guns at the principal mines, and generally to supervise the work of protecting the mines and suppressing the strike.—102, M.

**The Corporation Begins a Civil War.**—Under direction of A. C. Feltz and Detectives Belk and Belcher of this agency an armored automobile was built at the shops of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. This car, christened, "The Death Special," was mounted with a machine gun and first used by company guards and later by militia officers.—102, W.

On October 9, 1913, an attack was made by mine guards on the Ludlow tent colony and one miner was killed. Following this attack the policy committee of the union sent a letter to the operators deploring the killing at Ludlow and asking for their assistance and co-operation to prevent similar occurrences in the future. No reply was received.—103, W.

On October 17th a party of mine guards rode to the Forbes tent colony in an armored automobile and opened fire on the colony with a machine gun. One man was killed and a boy was shot nine times through the leg. A few days later mine guards fired on strikers in the streets of Walsenburg and killed three union men \* \* \* The tent colonists began arming themselves rapidly \* \* \* Feltz recruited a force at Trinidad which was entrained on steel box-cars equipped with machine guns, and started toward Ludlow \* \* \* Strikers took a position on a hill south of Ludlow and when the train arrived shooting began. The train was forced to turn back to Forbes Junction.—105, W. Governor Ammons ordered General Chase to occupy the strike district.—107, W

## The Militia Takes Charge.

**It Is Not Impartial.**—The pretense that leaders of the militia have been impartial is absurd. The militia arrested strikers and held them for long periods without placing charges against them. Numerous instances were found by the committee where women and young girls were insulted by militiamen. Instances where militiamen had taken part in robberies and holdups were reported to the committee.

Captain VanCise admitted that none of the men were Colorado men. Three of them were ex-regulars. One had been dishonorably discharged from the army and had served time in Leavenworth prison. Another had forged his discharge papers. Members of the organized militia committed burglaries. Strikers and union officials charge that many of the 172 prisoners whose cases were in the hands of the Military Commission were mistreated and even tortured by officers and enlisted men.—120, 121, 123, W.

**Coal Companies Pay the Militia.**—The economic dependence of the Colorado National Guard on the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and other operators has been fully established. President Welborn of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, testified that his company had paid militiamen from \$75,000 to \$80,000 on certificates of indebtedness bearing interest and collectable from the State. Troops were quartered in company buildings and furnished with supplies by company stores in return for these certificates.—123, W.

## Rockefeller Knew and Endorsed All.

**He Refused to Recognize the Strikers.**—The policies and acts of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and of the other companies that acted with them had the hearty support and endorsement of the greatest and most powerful financial interest in America, that of John D. Rockefeller and his son, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who controlled the company through

ownership of approximately 40 per cent of its stocks and bonds. Letters from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., heartily approving of his company's refusal to meet representatives of the strikers, of the measures taken to suppress the strike, and of the coercion of the Governor that resulted in throwing the State troops on the side of the owners, were shown not only to executive officers of his company, but to other operators who followed its lead, and his support contributed largely to the unyielding and lawless policy that finally resulted in the horrors of the Ludlow massacre and the intervention of the Federal Government.—16, 17, W.

**Heartlessness of the Capitalists.**—Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., the most influential single owner, had not visited Colorado for ten years at the time of the strike, nor had he attended a directors meeting during that period. He testified that he "had not the slightest idea" of what wages the miners received, of what rent the company charged them for their houses, or of other details vitally affecting their welfare. In striking contrast with this utter ignorance of actual working and living conditions in the coal camps was the detailed information furnished to Mr. Rockefeller regarding the progress of their successful efforts to break the strike. He followed step by step the struggle of his executive officials to gain arbitrary power, and he supported this struggle in every letter he wrote to his agents.—34, W.

## II A The Massacre at Ludlow

**Preparation for It.**—By April 20th, the Colorado National Guard no longer offered even a pretense of fairness or impartiality, and its units in the field had degenerated into a force of professional gunmen and adventurers who were economically dependent upon and subservient to the will of the operators. This force was dominated by an officer whose intense hatred for the strikers had been dem-

onstrated, and who did not lack the courage and the belligerent spirit required to provoke hostilities.

Although 1,200 men, women and children remained at the Ludlow tent colony, and Linderfelt's immediate force consisted of not more than 35 men, the militiamen were equipped with machine guns and high power repeating rifles and could count on speedy re-inforcements by the members of Troop A, which numbered about 100. The Ludlow colony had been repeatedly searched for arms and ammunition, and Major Boughton's testimony before the Commission indicates that Linderfelt believed the strikers to be unarmed. Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson, a member of the Colorado State Senate, testified that while visiting in the strike zone just before the Ludlow affair, she heard reports and threats that the Ludlow colony was to be wiped out.—126, W.

**The Massacre Itself.**—On April 20th, militiamen destroyed the Ludlow tent colony, killing five men and one boy with rifle and machine gun fire and firing the tents with a torch. Eleven children and two women of the colony who had taken refuge under one of the tents were burned to death or suffocated after the tents had been fired. Hundreds of women and children were driven terror-stricken into the hills or near-by ranch houses. Others huddled for twelve hours in pits underneath their tents or in other places of shelter while bullets from rifles and machine guns whistled overhead and kept them in constant terror.

**After It Was Over.**—During the firing of the tents the militiamen became an uncontrolled mob and looted the tents of everything that appealed to their fancy or cupidity. Three of the strikers killed at Ludlow were shot while under the guard of militiamen who had taken them prisoners. They included Louis Tikas, a leader of the Greek strikers, a man of high intelligence who had done his utmost

that morning to maintain peace and prevent the attack, and who had remained in or near the tent colony throughout the day to look after the women and children. Tikas was first seriously or mortally wounded by a blow on the head from the stock of a Springfield rifle in the hands of Lieutenant Linderfelt of the Colorado National Guard, and then shot three times in the back by militiamen and mine guards.

**Following Up the Tragedy.**—Having burned and looted the tent colony and killed or driven off its inhabitants, the militiamen on the following day maintained a close watch in all directions and fired on all persons who showed themselves in the roads or nearby fields and hillsides. Many of the women and children had taken refuge at the ranch house of Frank Bayes and family, three-quarters of a mile northeast of the colony. He sheltered the women and children as best he could, but insisted that none of the men should remain in or around the ranch house. On Tuesday morning the militia started firing at the Bayes house and at least six bullets struck it. A bullet passed just above the bed of two of Mr. Bayes' children.—131, W.

### Lawson and Linderfelt.

**Colorado Law for Labor.**—In pursuance of the "law and order" policy on which they were elected, Governor Carlson and Attorney General Farrer have proceeded vigorously with the prosecution of union officials and strikers. Their most conspicuous success came with the conviction, on a charge of murder in the first degree, of Mr. John R. Lawson, member of the executive board of the United Mine Workers of America and the most conspicuous Colorado official of that organization.

Mr. Lawson is an old resident of Colorado. He had worked his way from breaker-boy to

where he commands the friendship and respect of large numbers of the state's best citizens. He is believed by this Commission to be a man of exceptionally high character and a good citizen in every sense of the term. The judge before whom he was tried was appointed by Governor Carlson after serving the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company as attorney and assisting in the preparation of cases against strikers.

The panel from which the jury was drawn was selected by the sheriff of Las Animas county, an official whose sympathies have been with the mine owners from the beginning. Much of the evidence on which he was convicted came from men in the employ of a detective agency retained by the coal companies. The killing of John Nimmo, a mine guard, by the strikers during one of the many skirmishes between them and the deputies was the crime for which Mr. Lawson was convicted. He was held responsible for Nimmo's death because he was leading the strike and was at Ludlow tent colony on the day of the battle.

Nimmo was one of the small army of deputy sheriffs employed and paid by the companies and deputized by subservient sheriffs who made little or no effort to investigate their records. On August 17th the Supreme Court of Colorado issued an order prohibiting Judge Granby Hillyer, who presided at Mr. Lawson's trial, from presiding at other trials of strike leaders, on the ground that he had been, just prior to his appointment, an attorney for the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and other operators.

The court also issued a writ of supersedeas permitting the Lawson case to come before it on its merits. The prosecution and conviction of Mr. Lawson under these circumstances and his sentence to life imprisonment at hard labor, marked the lowest depths of the prostitution of Colorado's government to the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. It is the crowning infamy of all the infamous records in Colorado of American institutions perverted and debauched by selfish private interests.

—21, 22, 23, W.

Colorado Law for Defenders of Criminal Corporations.—The same authorities who conducted this and other successful prosecutions of strikers have taken no steps to prosecute Lieutenant E. Linderfelt of the Colorado National Guard or other members of the guard who took part in the wanton slaughter of three unarmed strikers held prisoners at Ludlow, and in the burning of the Ludlow tent colony which resulted in the death by suffocation and burning of thirteen women and children.

Yet at the coroner's inquest a doctor who examined the body of Louis Tikas, one of the slain strikers, testified that a blow on the head, dealt by Lieut. Linderfelt with the stock of his rifle, was so severe that it might have caused death even had Tikas not been shot three times through the body as he lay prostrate on the ground by men under Linderfelt's command. It is true that Lieut. Linderfelt and other members of the guard were tried by a court martial composed of their fellow officers and their trifling demotions in rank were assessed as punishment.

Nor have the same authorities taken steps to prosecute the officials and directors of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, in spite of evidence gathered by this Commission, and which has become common knowledge, that these officials, through their agents and **subordinates**, created a private army of armed guards and later procured the enlistment of these gunmen in the militia, and of well-substantiated charges that these disreputable agents of the company in the guise of militia-men committed various crimes from robbery and arson to murder.—26, 27, W.

## INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

The immediate effects of the form and character of industrial organization are greater and closer to the lives and happiness of all classes of citizens than even the form and character of our political institutions.

## WORKERS' SHARE.

The crux of the question is, Have the workers received a fair share of the enormous increase in wealth which has taken place in this country as a result largely of their labors? The answer is emphatically—NO!—8, M.

## PRACTICAL RECOMMENDATIONS.

It is suggested that the Commission recommend to Congress the enactment of an inheritance tax, so graded that, while making generous provision for the support of dependents and the education of minor children it shall leave no large accumulation of wealth to pass into hands which had no share in its production. The revenue from this tax which we are informed would be very great, should be reserved by the Federal Government for three principal purposes:

1. The extension of education.
2. The development of other important social services which should properly be performed by the Nation, which are discussed in detail elsewhere.
3. The development, in co-operation with States and municipalities, of great constructive works, such as road building, irrigation and reforestation, which would materially increase the efficiency and welfare of the entire Nation.—32, 33, M.

## THE RIGHT TO THE LAND.

A basic theory of our Government, which found expression in the Homestead Acts, was that every man should have opportunity to secure land enough to support a family. If this theory had been carried out and homesteads had either gone to those who would use them productively or remained in the hands of the Government, we should not

have a problem of such a character. But these acts were evaded; land was stolen outright by wholesale, and fraudulent entries were consolidated into enormous tracts which are now held by wealthy individuals and corporations.

### LAND REMEDIES.

1. Vigorous and unrelenting prosecution to regain all land, water power and mineral rights secured from the Government by fraud.

2. A general revision of our land laws, so as to apply to all future land grants the doctrine of "superior use," as in the case of water rights in California, and provision for forfeiture in case of actual nonuse. In its simplest form the doctrine of "superior use" implies merely that at the time of making the lease the purpose for which the land will be used must be taken into consideration and the use which is of the greatest social value shall be given preference.

3. The forcing of all unused land into use by making the tax on nonproductive land the same as on productive land of the same kind, and exempting all improvements.—37, M.

### THE RIGHTS OF MAN vs. THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY.

The Fourteenth Amendment, although a humanitarian measure in origin and purpose, has been within recent years practically appropriated by the corporations. It was aimed at restraining and checking the powers of wealth and privilege. It was to be a charter of liberty for human rights against property rights. The transformation has been rapid and complete. It operates today to protect the rights of property to the detriment of the rights of man. It has become the Magna Charta of accumulated and organized capital.—56, M.

### DISTRUST OF GOVERNMENT.

The existing labor and life conditions of common laborers in this country produce immense numbers of justified labor complaints and claims, involving not only great sums of money in the aggregate but untold personal hardships and suffering.

The existing public and private legal institutions are utterly inadequate to secure justice to the laborers in the matter of these complaints and claims.

This situation has already created in the laborers distrust of the Government, of employers, and of the well-to-do classes generally, and is one of the contributory causes of existing industrial unrest.—61, M.

### PERSONAL RIGHTS SUPREME.

In considering the action which needs to be taken it has been urged by some that the end to be achieved is to place personal rights on a parity with property rights. It is necessary to render a firm protest and warning against the acceptance of such an ideal. The establishment of property rights and personal rights on the same level can leave only a constant and ever-growing menace to our popular institutions. With the acceptance of such an ideal our democracy is doomed to ultimate destruction. Personal rights must be recognized as supreme and of unalterable ascendancy over property rights.—78, M.

### WAGES AND WEALTH.

1. The welfare of the State demands that the useful labor of every able-bodied workman should as a minimum be compensated by sufficient income to support, in comfort, himself, a wife, and at least three minor children, and in addition to provide for sickness, old age, and disability. Under no other condition can a strong, contented and efficient citizenship be developed.

2. Under existing conditions such an income is not received by fully one-half of the wage earners employed in industry.

3. The natural resources of the United States are such that an industrial population properly educated and efficiently organized can produce enough to achieve this standard of living.

4. It is probable that even at present the national agricultural and industrial output is sufficient to permit the establishment of such a standard.

5. The problem is, therefore, essentially one of distribution.—92, 93, M.

### EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

The physical well-being, mental development and recreational needs of every class of population demand that under normal circumstances the working day should not exceed eight hours.—94, M.

### FEUDALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

The conditions existing in typical industrial communities which are either wholly or in large part owned or controlled by a single corporation or individual employer, present every aspect of a state of feudalism except the recognition of specific duties on the part of the employer. The employees in such communities are dependent on a single corporation, or employer, for their livelihood. Furthermore, the employer in many cases controls the social and political life of such communities, either by the complete absorption of local political powers or by domination of the local authorities.

Such feudalistic conditions tend to develop principally in connection with the private exploitation of natural resources, being most frequently found in mining camps, lumber camps (including turpentine camps) and large plantations. There are, however, striking examples even in the case of manufacturers, as for example, the textile towns and steel towns.—113, M.

### MONEY AND RELIGION.

Several colleges and universities have abandoned sectarian affiliations and charter clauses relating to religion in order to secure endowments from the Carnegie Corporation and pensions for professors from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. It would seem conclusive that if an institution will willingly abandon its religious affiliations through the influence of these foundations, it will even more easily conform to their will, any other part of its organization or teaching.—123, M.

### THE AGE-LONG STRUGGLE.

The workers insist, "that people can free themselves from oppression only by organized force. No people could gain or maintain their rights or liberties acting singly, and any class of citizens in the State subject to unjust burdens or oppression can gain relief only by combined action."

It has been pointed out with great force and logic that the struggle of labor for organization is not merely an attempt to secure an increased measure of the material comforts of life, but is a part of the age-long struggle for liberty; that this struggle is sharpened by the pinch of hunger and the exhaustion of body and mind, by long hours and improper working conditions; but that even if men were well-fed they would still struggle to be free.

It is not denied that the exceptional individual can secure an economic sufficiency either by the sale of his unusual ability or talent or by sycophantic subservience to some person in authority, but it is insisted that no individual can achieve freedom by his own efforts. Similarly, while it is admitted that in some cases exceptional employers treat their employees with the greatest justice and liberality, it is held to be a social axiom that no group of workers can become free except by combined action, nor can the mass hope to achieve any material advance in their condition except by collective effort.—81, M.

### MISTAKES OF TRADE UNIONS.

The evils of graft, "machine politics," factional fights and false leadership, which have been found sometimes to exist in such organized industries, are those which are inevitable to any democratic form of organization. They are the same evils which have accompanied the development of the American Nation, and of its States and municipalities. Such evils as we have found to exist are indeed to be condemned, but a study of the history of these organizations seems to show clearly that there is a tendency to eradicate them as the organizations become stronger and as the membership becomes more familiar with the responsibilities and methods of democratic action.—88, M.

### REVOLUTION.

Looking back over the industrial history of the last quarter century, the industrial disputes which have attracted the attention of the country and which have been accompanied by bloodshed and violence have been revolutions against industrial oppression, and not mere strikes for the improvement of working conditions.—89, M.

### BENEVOLENT TYRANTS.

It is evident, therefore, that there can be at best only a benevolent despotism where collective action on the part of employees does not exist.

A great deal of testimony has been introduced to show that employers who refuse to deal collectively with their workmen do in fact grant audiences at which the grievances of their workmen may be presented. One is repelled rather than impressed by the insistence with which this idea has been presented.

Every tyrant in history has on stated days granted audiences to which his faithful subjects might bring their complaints against his officers and agents. That justice was never secured under such conditions, except at the whim of the tyrant, is sure. It is equally sure that in industry justice can never be attained by such a method.—85, 86., M.

### FREE SPEECH.

One of the greatest sources of social unrest and bitterness has been the attitude of the police toward public speaking. On numerous occasions in every part of the country, the police of cities and towns have either arbitrarily or under the cloak of a traffic ordinance, interfered with or prohibited public speaking, both in the open and in the halls, by persons connected with organizations of which the police or those from whom they received their orders did not approve.

It is axiomatic that a Government which can be maintained only by the suppression of criticism should not be maintained.—150, 151, M.



## INDEX

	Page
<b>AGRICULTURAL WORKERS:</b>	
Tenancy	12-13
In Texas	13
In Oklahoma	13
Exorbitant Interest	14
Oppressed by Landlord	14
Factory Farming	14
<b>CARNEGIE FOUNDATION</b>	31
<b>CAUSES OF UNREST</b>	7
<b>CAPITALISTS:</b>	
Control Legislatures	26
Oppose legislation protecting workers	26-27
Control Courts	28
<b>CHILDREN:</b>	
Underfed	10
Uneducated	10
Denied Home Care	10
Child Labor	26
<b>COLORADO WAR:</b>	
Coal Companies' control of courts	36
Of Political Machine	36
Of Camp Marshals	38
Of Miner's Lives	37
Of Religion and Education	37
Law Ignored	33-39-41
Living conditions of miners	37-39-40
The eight-hour fight	40
<b>COLORADO WAR CAUSES</b>	41-42
<b>CONDITION OF WORKERS:</b>	
Possible condition	9
Actual condition	9-10
Earnings of Workers	9-11
Agricultural Workers	12-13
Telegraph Workers	18
Telephone Workers	19
Railroad Workers	20
Pullman Employees	21
Colorado Miners	37-39-40
<b>CORPORATIONS:</b>	
Over-capitalized	18-19-22
Irresponsible	23
Profits, only interest	24-25
Indifference to humanity	24
Officers ignorant	24
Control Politics	36
Protected by courts	49-50
<b>EDUCATION:</b>	
Lack of	10
Controlled by Foundation	33
Controlled by Corporations	37

<b>FOUNDATIONS:</b>	Page
Rockefeller and Carnegie	31-32
<b>GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP:</b>	
Recommended	5
Of Telegraphs	19
Of Telephones	20
<b>INDUSTRIAL FLUCTUATIONS</b>	16
<b>IMMIGRATION</b>	34
<b>JUSTICE:</b>	
Denial of	7
For the Workers	27-28
In Colorado	48-50
<b>LABOR AND THE LAW</b>	26-27-28-29
In Colorado	48-49
<b>LAWSON AND LINDERFELT</b>	48-49
<b>LUDLOW MASSACRE</b>	46-47
<b>MILITIA IN COLORADO</b>	45
<b>ORGANIZATION:</b>	
Denial of right	8
Resisted by corporations	19-22
Unionism	29-30
<b>POVERTY:</b>	
Produces crime	10
Trades Unions and Pauperism	30
<b>PUBLIC UTILITIES</b>	18
<b>PRESS: Controlled by Foundations</b>	32
<b>PRISON LABOR</b>	33
<b>PRIVATE ARMIES:</b>	
Of Railroads	21
In Colorado	45
<b>RAILROADS:</b>	
Beneficiary Associations	20
<b>ROCKEFELLER, and Colorado war</b>	45-46
Foundation	31
<b>SEASONAL LABOR</b>	16
<b>STATE CONSTABULARY</b>	34
Militia in Colorado	45
<b>SPIES IN LABOR UNIONS</b>	30
<b>TELEGRAPH COMPANIES</b>	18
<b>TELEPHONE COMPANIES</b>	19
<b>TENANCY</b>	12-13-14-15
<b>UNEMPLOYMENT:</b>	
Cause of Unrest	7
Extent of	15
Classes of	15
Causes of	15-16
Dread of	16-17
<b>UNIONISM</b>	29-30
<b>VIOLENCE—Incited by Spies, 30; State Constabulary, 34; By Militia, 45-47.</b>	
<b>WAGES</b>	11
<b>WEALTH—Unjust distribution, 7; Concentration of, 9; Ownership of, 11; Inherited power of, 11.</b>	

## THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE — WHAT AND WHY.

Education is the key note of success, both for an individual and a class. The invention of the printing press, the establishment of public schools, mark epochs in the world's progress. But education is not universal, nor is it free. There is no equality of opportunity.

In the United States, there are 5,500,000 men, women and children who can neither read nor write. There are 40,416,361 under twenty-one, and of this number, only 21,102,113 are enrolled in school; nearly 20,000,000 of school age, are out of school at work. The only chance for these to secure an education, is through night and continuation schools, or through correspondence schools.

Business interests are using every effort to make our public schools and the night and continuation schools serve their purposes. They are using vocational training to set the boys and girls competing with their fathers and mothers for jobs. Correspondence schools organized for profit, exploit the need of the worker for an education and his inability to secure it in any other way. The prices in these schools are beyond the reach of the average worker.

It was because of these conditions that The People's College was established. It belongs to the working class. By its charter, no profit for any individuals is possible from the operation of the School. Hence the courses are given at cost and placed within the reach of every worker.

Every course is upon a rational, scientific

basis. There is no attempt at propaganda for any "ism" or theory. When we say "we teach from the working-class point of view," we mean that we teach from the point of view of those who have no need to subvert the truth because of special privilege. We teach from the point of view of that class whose historic mission it is to set the truth free from bondage to the Church, the State or the Dollar.

Note the names of the men and women on the Board of Control of this College. They represent every phase of the labor movement, and stand for real education.

This is a plain, simple, frank statement of the plan and purpose of The People's College. We opened our doors in July 1914, and have worked earnestly and faithfully for this ideal. The thousands of members of the College Union have been loyal in their support. Hundreds are enrolled for correspondence courses.

The College is on a substantial basis. We are here to stay and we are here to grow, but we want you with us. We want you as a member of the College Union. This makes you a Director of the College. It costs only a dollar a year and you receive, each month, The People's College News, which gives you full particulars of all the work we are doing.

One dollar a year isn't much, but there are 30,000,000 workers in the United States. Think what a million dollars, put into education, would mean for the cause of Labor!

Write for information. DO IT NOW.

JOIN THE UNION FOR  
EDUCATION

## THE MAN WHO STAYED ON THE JOB

In Portland, Oregon, are two judges. Both have come out of the working class—both are self-educated.

John S. Stevenson studied law at night while working as a reporter. When, at forty, he became Municipal Judge, it was a real achievement for him; but, day after day, the unfortunates of the City were brought before him. He saw that men were never reformed by being punished and that the whole weight of the law was upon the poor and the unfortunate. At last, he pronounced the whole thing a failure, washed his hands of it and retired into private life.

William N. Gatens was a poor boy, an orphan thrown upon his own resources from the time he was twelve. He, too, studied law at night and at last became a judge. He, too, saw the misery of the world and the farce of justice, but he stuck by his class on the job. In the juvenile court and in the district court he has protected the rights of the poor. He has handed down some remarkable decisions which have meant much to the cause of the working class.

Both men have been disillusioned as to the majesty of the law. They know that rich men rule the law and that these same laws grind the poor. But which of these judges would you rather be? The one who, in all sincerity, quit his job, or the one who stayed on the job and served his class?

In every community, there is an opportunity for a working-class lawyer. J. I. Sheppard

realized this need some years ago, and through the columns of the Appeal to Reason, organized the Appeal Law Class. Nearly five thousand men and women enrolled for this law course. Hundreds of them have graduated and are now practicing and occupying places of position and power. The People's College is using the same course taught in this splendidly successful Appeal Class, with the addition of many improvements.

This course has been prepared by the best legal minds of the country. Professors from over twenty of the big resident universities have contributed to its preparation. It is the best that can be had from a capitalist viewpoint. In addition, you receive that which no other institution in America can give—a working-class viewpoint and interpretation of the law.

Upon enrollment, you receive a fourteen-volume law library—American Law and Procedure. The course covers three years, and lectures and additional matter are sent weekly. Upon successful completion of the course, you receive a diploma and a degree of LL. B.

Your work is under the personal supervision of Arthur LeSueur—one of the best known labor lawyers in the country.

The law furnishes magnificent opportunities to you for success and service. Send for our catalog and do what hundreds of others of your working-class comrades are doing—get ready for power and success.

THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE  
Fort Scott, Kansas

## GET AN EDUCATION—THE ROAD TO POWER

Your spare time and your spare  
dime will get it for you.

If you can't go to school we bring  
the school to you.

With our methods of teaching by mail, you  
can get an education without interfering with  
your present employment. Stay on the job,  
earn while you learn, and pay for any course  
you want, in easy installments at your con-  
venience.

If you want to get out of the rut, to help  
yourself and the class to which you belong,  
begin TODAY to build your education. The  
People's College belongs to the working class.  
Let us help you get that education.

Here is a list of splendid courses. Surely  
one of them fits your need. Figure out the  
course which you want, cut out and mail this  
coupon, and start on the road to power.

THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE,  
Fort Scott, Kansas.

Send me full particulars concerning  
the course in:

- Law
- Public Speaking
- Plain English
- Commercial Law
- Algebra
- Shorthand and Typewriting.
- Elementary Arithmetic
- Advanced Arithmetic
- Elementary Bookkeeping
- Complete Bookkeeping
- Penmanship

Name -----

P. O. -----

State -----

## WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS REPORT?

Do you like the way in which the facts in  
this Report are presented? Good, sound, in-  
cisive English—isn't it?—English which all  
may understand; no frills or furbelows—just  
plain, every-day English.

The manner in which a message is written  
has a lot to do with its carrying power. No  
matter how good your ideas may be, if you  
wish them to "get home," you must know  
how to put them in a forcible, telling manner.

Every one can understand and appreciate  
this Report of the Commission on Industrial  
Relations—the workingman as well as the  
"highbrow"—because the men who wrote it  
understood how to express their thoughts.

Wouldn't you like to be able to put your  
thoughts into similar language, to be never at  
a loss for a word, but to be able to say what  
you want to say, and say it clearly and for-  
cibly? You can do this if you wish. Any  
working-man can learn the secret of successful  
speaking and writing. It's just a matter  
of being willing to devote a few minutes'  
time each day to study. You can get this  
power in just the same way the other fellow  
got it—by study.

Write us for our Course in Plain English.  
You can finish it in thirty weeks. It will cost  
you 5 cents a day and a few minutes' time  
each day devoted to its study.

Our text book on Plain English is the first  
revolutionary text book to be published in  
the English language. Frank P. Walsh says:  
"It is a really democratic text book, which I  
can unreservedly commend to everybody who  
wants an education in English, founded on  
the truth concerning society and industry, and  
life in general."

WRITE TODAY for free catalog.

THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE  
Fort Scott, Kansas

# **The Biggest Little Book in the World**

---

Full of facts, figures, statistics, argument clinchers. Put this book in the hands of every worker. Single copies 10 cents.

---

**ORDER FROM  
THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE,  
Fort Scott, Kansas.**

"Eyes, deep weels, that  
might cover a  
brooding soul"

John Bayle & Rice

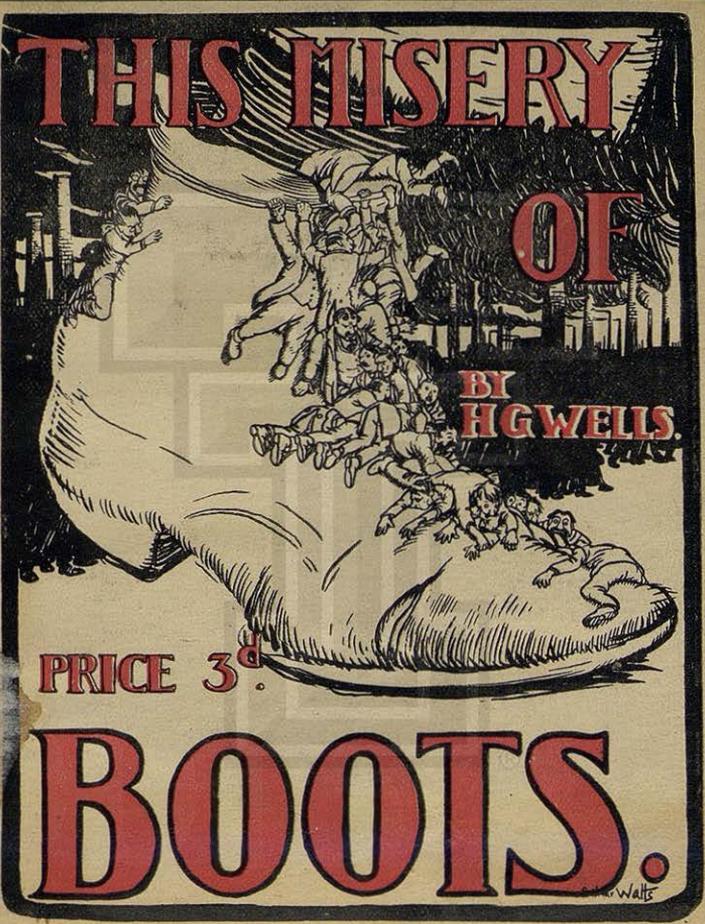
**THIS MISERY**

**OF**

**BY  
H. G. WELLS.**

**PRICE 3<sup>d</sup>.**

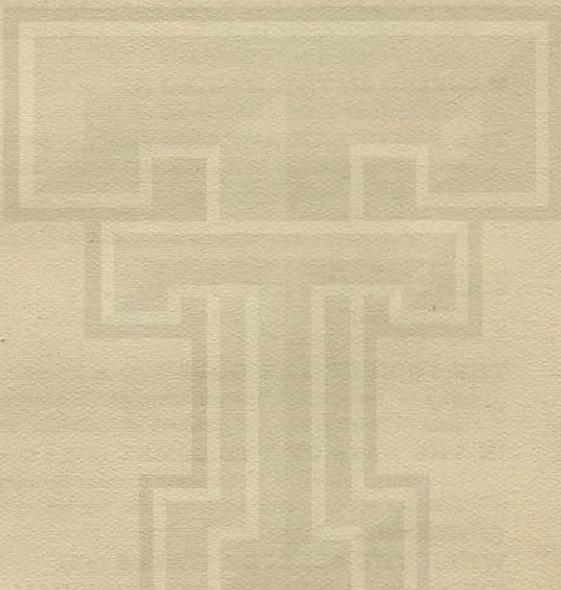
**BOOTS.**



*Walt*

THIS MISERY OF BOOTS

This Misery of Boots. By  
H. G. Wells. Reprinted with  
alterations from the Independ-  
ent Review, December 1905



London: The Fabian Society  
3 Clement's Inn, Strand, w.c.  
1907.

BOOKS BY H. G. WELLS  
of interest to enquirers into Socialism.

**A MODERN UTOPIA** (3/6), a vision of the world under Socialism.

**ANTICIPATIONS** (3/6; or 6d.), an attempt to forecast the course of things in the Twentieth Century, an analysis of contemporary tendencies.

**MANKIND IN THE MAKING** (3/6; or 6d.), a book on Education in the widest sense.

**THE FUTURE IN AMERICA** (10/6), a descriptive study of the situation in America, with especial reference to the drift towards Socialism.

[All the above are published by CHAPMAN & HALL.]

**SOCIALISM AND THE FAMILY** (6d.).

[Published by A. C. FIFIELD, 44 Fleet Street.]

**THE FOOD OF THE GODS** (3/6), a fantastic allegory of the conflict between the gigantic constructive ideas of Science and the pettiness of individualism.

**IN THE DAYS OF THE COMET** (6/-), a romantic love story, giving a picturesque contrast between the disorders of our present state and the free beauty of an ideal world.

**WHEN THE SLEEPER WAKES** (3/6).

**KIPPS** (3/6). **LOVE AND MR. LEWISHAM** (3/6).

**TALES OF SPACE AND TIME** (3/6).

[These latter are published by MACMILLAN & Co.]

THIS MISERY OF BOOTS

I. THE WORLD AS BOOTS  
AND SUPERSTRUCTURE

"IT does not do," said a friend of mine, "to think about boots." For my own part, I have always been particularly inclined to look at boots, and think about them. I have an odd idea that most general questions can be expressed in terms of foot-wear—which is perhaps why cobblers are often such philosophical men. Accident, it may be, gave me this persuasion. A very considerable part of my childhood was spent in an underground kitchen; the window opened upon a bricked-in space, surmounted by a grating before my father's shop window. So that, when I looked out of the window, instead of seeing—as children of a higher upbringing would do—the heads and bodies of people, I saw their under side. I got acquainted indeed with all sorts of so-

cial types as boots simply, indeed, as the soles of boots; and only subsequently, and with care, have I fitted heads, bodies, and legs to these pediments.

There would come boots and shoes (no doubt holding people) to stare at the shop, finicking, neat little women's boots, good sorts and bad sorts, fresh and new, worn crooked in the tread, patched or needing patching; men's boots, clumsy and fine, rubber shoes, tennis shoes, goloshes. Brown shoes I never beheld—it was before that time; but I have seen pattens. Boots used to come and commune at the window, duets that marked their emotional development by a restlessness or a kick.

. . . But anyhow, that explains my preoccupation with boots.

But my friend did not think it *did*, to think about boots.

My friend was a realistic novelist, and a man from whom hope had departed. I cannot tell you how hope had gone out of his life; some subtle disease of the soul had robbed him at last of any enterprise, or belief in coming things; and

he was trying to live the few declining years that lay before him in a sort of bookish comfort, among surroundings that seemed peaceful and beautiful, by not thinking of things that were painful and cruel. And we met a tramp who limped along the lane.

"Chafed heel," I said, when we had parted from him again; "and on these pebbly byways no man goes barefooted." My friend winced; and a little silence came between us. We were both recalling things; and then for a time, when we began to talk again, until he would have no more of it, we rehearsed the miseries of boots.

We agreed that to a very great majority of people in this country boots are constantly a source of distress, giving pain and discomfort, causing trouble, causing anxiety. We tried to present the thing in a concrete form to our own minds by hazardous statistical inventions. "At the present moment," said I, "one person in ten in these islands is in discomfort through boots."

My friend thought it was nearer one in five.

"In the life of a poor man or a poor man's wife, and still more in the lives of their children, this misery of the boot occurs and recurs—every year so many days."

We made a sort of classification of these troubles.

There is the TROUBLE OF THE NEW BOOT.

(i) They are made of some bad, unventilated material; and "draw the feet," as people say.

(ii) They do not fit exactly. Most people have to buy ready-made boots; they cannot afford others, and, in the submissive philosophy of poverty, they wear them to "get used" to them. This gives you the little-toe pinch, the big-toe pinch, the squeeze and swelling across the foot; and, as a sort of chronic development of these pressures, come corns and all the misery of corns. Children's feet get distorted for good by this method of fitting the human being to the thing; and a vast number of people in the world are, as a consequence of this, ashamed to appear barefooted. (I used to press people who came to see me in

warm pleasant weather to play Badminton barefooted on the grass—a delightful thing to do—until I found out that many were embarrassed at the thought of displaying twisted toes and corns, and such-like disfigurements.)

(iii) The third trouble of new boots is this: they are unseasoned and in bad condition, and so they squeak and make themselves an insulting commentary on one's ways.

But these are but trifling troubles to what arises as the boots get into wear. Then it is the pinch comes in earnest. Of these TROUBLES OF THE WORN BOOT, I and my friend, before he desisted, reckoned up three principal classes.

(i) There are the various sorts of chafe. Worst of the chafes is certainly the heel chafe, when something goes wrong with the upright support at the heel. This, as a boy, I have had to endure for days together; because there were no other boots for me. Then there is the chafe that comes when that inner lining of the boot rucks up—very like the chafe it is that poor people are always getting from over-darned and

hastily-darned socks. And then there is the chafe that comes from ready-made boots one has got a trifle too large or long, in order to avoid the pinch and corns. After a little while, there comes a transverse crease across the loose-fitting forepart; and, when the boot stiffens from wet or any cause, it chafes across the base of the toes. They have you all ways. And I have a very lively recollection too of the chafe of the knots one made to mend broken laces—one cannot be always buying new laces, and the knots used to work inward. And then the chafe of the crumpled tongue.

(ii) Then there are the miseries that come from the wear of the sole. There is the rick of ankle because the heel has gone over, and the sense of insecurity; and there is the miserable sense of not looking well from behind that many people must feel. It is almost always painful to me to walk behind girls who work out, and go to and fro, consuming much foot-wear, for this very reason, that their heels seem always to wear askew. Girls ought always to be so beautiful, most girls could be so beauti-

ful, that to see their poor feet askew, the grace of their walk gone, a sort of spinal curvature induced, makes me wretched, and angry with a world that treats them so. And then there is the working through of nails, nails in the shoe. One limps on manfully in the hope presently of a quiet moment and a quiet corner in which one may hammer the thing down again. Thirdly, under this heading I recall the flapping sole. My boots always came to that stage at last; I wore the toes out first, and then the sole split from before backwards. As one walked it began catching the ground. One made fantastic paces to prevent it happening; one was dreadfully ashamed. At last one was forced to sit by the wayside frankly, and cut the flap away.

(iii) Our third class of miseries we made of splitting and leaks. These are for the most part mental miseries, the feeling of shabbiness as one sees the ugly yawn, for example, between toe cap and the main upper of the boot; but they involve also chills, colds, and a long string of disagreeable consequences.

And we spoke too of the misery of sitting down to work (as multitudes of London school children do every wet morning) in boots with soles worn thin or into actual holes, that have got wet and chilling on the way to the workplace . . .

From these instances my mind ran on to others. I made a discovery. I had always despised the common run of poor Londoners for not spending their Sundays and holidays in sturdy walks, the very best of exercises. I had allowed myself to say when I found myself one summer day at Margate: "What a soft lot all these young people must be who loaf about the band-stand here, when they might be tramping over the Kentish hills inland!" But now I repented me of that. Long tramps indeed! Their boots would have hurt them. Their boots would not stand it. I saw it all.

And now my discourse was fairly under way. "*Ex pede Herculem*," I said; "these miseries of boots are no more than a sample. The clothes people wear are no better than their boots; and the houses they live in far worse. And think

of the shoddy garment of ideas and misconceptions and partial statements into which their poor minds have been jammed by way of education! Think of the way *that* pinches and chafes them! If one expanded the miseries of these things . . . Think, for example, of the results of poor, bad, unwise food, of badly-managed eyes and ears and teeth! Think of the quantity of toothache."

"I tell you, it does not *do* to think of such things!" cried my friend, in a sort of anguish; and would have no more of it at any price . . .

And yet in his time he had written books full of these very matters, before despair overtook him.

## II. PEOPLE WHOSE BOOTS DON'T HURT THEM

Well, I did not talk merely to torment him; nor have I written this merely to torment you. You see I have a persistent persuasion that all these miseries

are preventible miseries, which it lies in the power of men to cure.

Everybody does not suffer misery from boots.

One person I know, another friend of mine, who can testify to that; who has tasted all the miseries of boots, and who now goes about the world free of them, but not altogether forgetful of them. A stroke of luck, aided perhaps by a certain alacrity on his own part, lifted him out of the class in which one buys one's boots and clothes out of what is left over from a pound a week, into the class in which one spends seventy or eighty pounds a year on clothing. Sometimes he buys shoes and boots at very good shops; sometimes he has them made for him; he has them stored in a proper cupboard, and great care is taken of them; and so his boots and shoes and slippers never chafe, never pinch, never squeak, never hurt nor worry him, never bother him; and, when he sticks out his toes before the fire, they do not remind him that he is a shabby and contemptible wretch, living meanly on the dust heaps of the world. You might think from

this he had every reason to congratulate himself and be happy, seeing that he has had good follow after evil; but, such is the oddness of the human heart, he isn't contented at all. The thought of the multitudes so much worse off than himself in this matter of foot-wear, gives him no sort of satisfaction. Their boots pinch *him* vicariously. The black rage with the scheme of things that once he felt through suffering in his own person in the days when he limped shabbily through gaily busy, fashionable London streets, in split boots that chafed, he feels now just as badly as he goes about the world very comfortably himself, but among people whom he knows with a pitiless clearness to be almost intolerably uncomfortable. He has no optimistic illusion that things are all right with them. Stupid people who have always been well off, who have always had boots that fit, may think that; but not so, he. In one respect the thought of boots makes him even more viciously angry now, than it used to do. In the old days he was savage with his luck, but hopelessly savage; he thought that

bad boots, ugly uncomfortable clothes, rotten houses, were in the very nature of things. Now, when he sees a child sniffing and blubbering and halting upon the pavement, or an old country-woman going painfully along a lane, he no longer recognises the Pinch of Destiny. His rage is lit by the thought, that there are fools in this world who ought to have foreseen and prevented this. He no longer curses fate, but the dulness of statesmen and powerful responsible people who have neither the heart, nor courage, nor capacity, to change the state of mismanagement that gives us these things.

Now do not think I am dwelling unduly upon my second friend's good fortune, when I tell you that once he was constantly getting pain and miserable states of mind, colds for example, from the badness of his clothing, shame from being shabby, pain from the neglected state of his teeth, from the indigestion of unsuitable food eaten at unsuitable hours, from the insanitary ugly house in which he lived and the bad air of that part of London, from things indeed quite

beyond the unaided power of a poor overworked man to remedy. And now all these disagreeable things have gone out of his life; he has consulted dentists and physicians, he has hardly any dull days from colds, no pain from toothache at all, no gloom of indigestion. . . .

I will not go on with the tale of good fortune of this lucky person. My purpose is served if I have shown that this misery of boots is not an unavoidable curse upon mankind. If one man can evade it, others can. By good management it may be altogether escaped. If you, or what is more important to most human beings, if any people dear to you, suffer from painful or disfiguring boots or shoes, and you can do no better for them, it is simply because you are getting the worse side of an ill-managed world. It is not the universal lot.

And what I say of boots is true of all the other minor things of life. If your wife catches a bad cold because her boots are too thin for the time of the year, or dislikes going out because she cuts a shabby ugly figure, if your children look painfully nasty because their

faces are swollen with toothache, or because their clothes are dirty, old, and ill-fitting, if you are all dull and disposed to be cross with one another for want of decent amusement and change of air—don't submit, don't be humbugged for a moment into believing that this is the dingy lot of all mankind. Those people you love are living in a badly-managed world and on the wrong side of it; and such wretchednesses are the daily demonstration of that.

Don't say for a moment: "Such is life." Don't think their miseries are part of some primordial curse there is no escaping. The disproof of that is for any one to see. There are people, people no more deserving than others, who suffer from none of these things. You may feel you merit no better than to live so poorly and badly that your boots are always hurting you; but do the little children, the girls, the mass of decent hard-up people, deserve no better fate?

### III. AT THIS POINT A DISPUTE ARISES

Now let us imagine some one who will dispute what I am saying. I do not suppose any one will dispute my argument that a large part of the misery of civilised life—I do not say "all" but only a "large part"—arises out of the network of squalid insufficiencies of which I have taken this misery of boots as the simplest example. But I do believe quite a lot of people will be prepared to deny that such miseries can be avoided. They will say that every one cannot have the best of things, that of all sorts of good things, including good leather and cobbling, there is not enough to go round, that lower-class people ought not to mind being shabby and uncomfortable, that they ought to be very glad to be able to live at all, considering what they are, and that it is no good stirring up discontent about things that cannot be altered or improved.

Such arguments are not to be swept aside with a wave of the hand. It is perfectly true that every one cannot

have the best of things; and it is in the nature of things that some boots should be better and some worse. To some people, either by sheer good luck, or through the strength of their determination to have them, the exquisitely good boots, those of the finest leather and the most artistic cut, will fall. I have never denied that. Nobody dreams of a time when every one will have exactly as good boots as every one else; I am not preaching any such childish and impossible equality. But it is a long way from recognising that there must be a certain picturesque and interesting variety in this matter of foot-wear, to the admission that a large majority of people can never hope for more than to be shod in a manner that is frequently painful, uncomfortable, unhealthy, or unsightly. That admission I absolutely refuse to make. There is enough good leather in the world to make good slightly boots and shoes for all who need them, enough men at leisure and enough power and machinery to do all the work required, enough unemployed intelligence to organise the shoemaking and

shoe distribution for everybody. What stands in the way?

Let us put that question in a rather different form. Here on the one hand—you can see for yourself in any unfashionable part of Great Britain—are people badly, uncomfortably, painfully shod, in old boots, rotten boots, sham boots; and on the other great stretches of land in the world, with unlimited possibilities of cattle and leather and great numbers of people, who, either through wealth or trade disorder, are doing no work. And our question is: "Why cannot the latter set to work and make and distribute boots?"

Imagine yourself trying to organise something of this kind of Free Booting expedition; and consider the difficulties you would meet with. You would begin by looking for a lot of leather. Imagine yourself setting off to South America, for example, to get leather; beginning at the very beginning by setting to work to kill and flay a herd of cattle. You find at once you are interrupted. Along comes your first obstacle in the shape of a man who tells you the cattle and

the leather belong to him. You explain that the leather is wanted for people who have no decent boots in England. He says he does not care a rap what you want it for; before you may take it from him you have to buy him off; it is his private property, this leather, and the herd and the land over which the herd ranges. You ask him how much he wants for his leather; and he tells you frankly, just as much as he can induce you to give.

If he chanced to be a person of exceptional sweetness of disposition, you might perhaps argue with him. You might point out to him that this project of giving people splendid boots was a fine one that would put an end to much human misery. He might even sympathise with your generous enthusiasm; but you would, I think, find him adamant in his resolve to get just as much out of you for his leather as you could with the utmost effort pay.

Suppose now you said to him: "But how did you come by this land and these herds, so that you can stand between them and the people who have need of

them, exacting this profit?" He would probably either embark upon a long rigmarole, or, what is much more probable, lose his temper and decline to argue. Pursuing your doubt as to the rightfulness of his property in these things, you might admit he deserved a certain reasonable fee for the rough care he had taken of the land and herds. But cattle breeders are a rude, violent race; and it is doubtful if you would get far beyond your proposition of a reasonable fee. You would in fact have to buy off this owner of the leather at a good thumping price—he exacting just as much as he could get from you—if you wanted to go on with your project.

Well, then you would have to get your leather here; and, to do that, you would have to bring it by railway and ship to this country. And here again you would find people without any desire or intention of helping your project, standing in your course, resolved to make every possible penny out of you on your way to provide sound boots for everyone. You would find the railway was private property, and had an owner or owners;

you would find the ship was private property, with an owner or owners; and that none of these would be satisfied for a moment with a mere fee adequate to their services. They too would be resolved to make every penny of profit out of you. If you made inquiries about the matter, you would probably find the real owners of railway and ship were companies of shareholders, and that the profit squeezed out of your poor people's boots at this stage went to fill the pockets of old ladies at Torquay, spendthrifts in Paris, well-booted gentlemen in London clubs, all sorts of glossy people. . . .

Well, you get the leather to England at last; and now you want to make it into boots. You take it to a centre of population, invite workers to come to you, erect sheds and machinery upon a vacant piece of ground, and start off in a sort of fury of generous industry, boot-making. . . . Do you? There comes along an owner for that vacant piece of ground, declares it is his property, demands an enormous sum for rent. And your workers all round you,

you find, cannot get house room until they too have paid rent—every inch of the country is somebody's property, and a man may not shut his eyes for an hour without the consent of some owner or other. And the food your shoe-makers eat, the clothes they wear, have all paid tribute and profit to land-owners, cart-owners, house-owners, endless tribute over and above the fair pay for work that has been done upon them. . . .

So one might go on. But you begin to see now one set of reasons at least why every one has not good comfortable boots. There could be plenty of leather; and there is certainly plenty of labour and quite enough intelligence in the world to manage that and a thousand other desirable things. But this institution of Private Property in land and naturally produced things, these obstructive claims that prevent you using ground, or moving material, and that have to be bought out at exorbitant prices, stand in the way. All these owners hang like parasites upon your enterprise at its every stage; and, by the

time you get your sound boots well made in England, you will find them costing about a pound a pair—high out of the reach of the general mass of people. And you will perhaps not think me fanciful and extravagant when I confess that when I realise this, and look at poor people's boots in the street, and see them cracked and misshapen and altogether nasty, I seem to see also a lot of little phantom land-owners, cattle-owners, house-owners, owners of all sorts, swarming over their pinched and weary feet like leeches, taking much and giving nothing, and being the real cause of all such miseries.

Now is this a necessary and unavoidable thing?—that is our question. Is there no other way of managing things than to let these property-owners exact their claims, and squeeze comfort, pride, happiness, out of the lives of the common run of people? Because, of course, it is not only the boots they squeeze into meanness and badness. It is the claim and profit of the land-owner and house-owner that make our houses so ugly, shabby, and dear, that make our road-

ways and railways so crowded and inconvenient, that sweat our schools, our clothing, our food—boots we took merely by way of one example of a universal trouble.

Well, there are a number of people who say there is a better way, and that the world could be made infinitely better in all these matters, made happier and better than it ever has been in these respects, by refusing to have private property in all these universally necessary things. They say that it is possible to have the land administered, and such common and needful things as leather produced, and boots manufactured, and no end of other such generally necessary services carried on, not for the private profit of individuals, but for the good of all. They propose that the State should take away the land, and the railways, and shipping, and many great organised enterprises from their owners, who use them simply to squeeze the means for a wasteful private expenditure out of the common mass of men, and should administer all these things, generously and boldly, not for profit, but for service. It

is this idea of extracting *profit* they hold which is the very root of the evil. These are the Socialists; and they are the only people who do hold out any hope of far-reaching change that will alter the present dingy state of affairs, of which this painful wretchedness of boots is only one typical symbol.

#### IV. IS SOCIALISM POSSIBLE?

I will not pretend to be impartial in this matter, and to discuss as though I had an undecided mind, whether the world would be better if we could abolish private property in land and in many things of general utility; because I have no doubt left in the matter. I believe that private property in these things is no more necessary and unavoidable than private property in our fellow-creatures, or private property in bridges and roads. The idea that anything and everything may be claimed as private property belongs to the dark ages of the

world; and it is not only a monstrous injustice, but a still more monstrous inconvenience. Suppose we still admitted private property in high roads, and let every man who had a scrap of high road haggle a bargain with us before we could drive by in a cab! You say life would be unendurable. But indeed it amounts to something a little like that if we use a railway now; and it is quite like that if one wants a spot of ground somewhere upon which one may live. I see no more difficulty in managing land, factories, and the like, publicly for the general good, than there is in managing roads and bridges, and the post office and the police. So far I see no impossibility whatever in Socialism. To abolish private property in these things would be to abolish all that swarm of parasites, whose greed for profit and dividend hampers and makes a thousand useful and delightful enterprises costly or hopeless. It would abolish them; but is that any objection whatever?

And as for taking such property from the owners; why shouldn't we? The world has not only in the past taken

slaves from their owners, with no compensation or with a meagre compensation; but in the history of mankind, dark as it is, there are innumerable cases of slave-owners resigning their inhuman rights. You may say that to take away property from people is unjust and robbery; but is that really so? Suppose you found a number of children in a nursery all very dull and unhappy because one of them, who had been badly spoilt, had got all the toys together and claimed them all, and refused to let the others have any. Would you not dispossess the child, however honest its illusion that it was right to be greedy? That is practically the position of the property-owner to-day. You may say, if you choose, that property-owners, land-owners for example, must be bought out and not robbed; but since getting the money to buy them out involves taxing the property of some one else, who may possibly have a better claim to it than the land-owner to his, I don't quite see where the honesty of that course comes in. You can only give property for property in buying and selling; and

if private property is not robbery, then not only Socialism but ordinary taxation must be. But if taxation is a justifiable proceeding, if you can tax me (as I am taxed) for public services, a shilling and more out of every twenty shillings I earn, then I do not see why you should not put a tax upon the land-owner if you want to do so, of a half or two thirds or all his land, or upon the railway shareholder of ten or fifteen or twenty shillings in the pound on his shares. In every change some one has to bear the brunt; every improvement in machinery and industrial organisation deprives some poor people of an income; and I do not see why we should be so extraordinarily tender to the rich, to those who have been unproductive all their lives, when they stand in the way of the general happiness. And though I deny the right to compensation I do not deny its probable advisability. So far as the question of method goes it is quite conceivable that we may partially compensate the property owners and make all sorts of mitigating arrangements to avoid cruelty to them in our attempt

to end the wider cruelties of to-day.

But, apart from the justice of the case, many people seem to regard Socialism as a hopeless dream, because, as they put it, "it is against human nature." Every one with any scrap of property in land, or shares, or what not, they tell us, will be bitterly opposed to the coming of Socialism; and, as such people have all the leisure and influence in the world, and as all able and energetic people tend naturally to join that class, there never can be any effectual force to bring Socialism about. But that seems to me to confess a very base estimate of human nature. There are, no doubt, a number of dull, base, rich people who hate and dread Socialism for purely selfish reasons; but it is quite possible to be a property-owner and yet be anxious to see Socialism come to its own.

For example, the man whose private affairs I know best in the world, the second friend I named, the owner of all those comfortable boots, gives time and energy and money to further this hope of Socialism, although he pays income tax on twelve hundred a year, and has

shares and property to the value of some thousands of pounds. And that he does out of no instinct of sacrifice. He believes he would be happier and more comfortable in a Socialistic state of affairs, when it would not be necessary for him to hold on to that life-belt of invested property. He finds it—and quite a lot of well-off people are quite of his way of thinking—a constant flaw upon a life of comfort and pleasant interests to see so many people, who might be his agreeable friends and associates, detestably under-educated, detestably housed, in the most detestable clothes and boots, and so detestably broken in spirit that they will not treat him as an equal. It makes him feel he is like that spoilt child in the nursery; he feels ashamed and contemptible; and, since individual charity only seems in the long run to make matters worse, he is ready to give a great deal of his life, and lose his entire little heap of possessions if need be, very gladly lose it, to change the present order of things in a comprehensive manner.

I am quite convinced that there are

numbers of much richer and more influential people who are of his way of thinking. Much more likely to obstruct the way to Socialism is the ignorance, the want of courage, the stupid want of imagination of the very poor, too shy and timid and clumsy to face any change they can evade! But, even with them, popular education is doing its work; and I do not fear but that in the next generation we shall find Socialists even in the slums. The unimaginative person who owns some little bit of property, an acre or so of freehold land, or a hundred pounds in the savings bank, will no doubt be the most tenacious passive resister to Socialistic ideas; and such, I fear, we must reckon, together with the insensitive rich, as our irreconcilable enemies, as irremovable pillars of the present order. The mean and timid elements in "human nature" are, and will be, I admit, against Socialism; but they are not all "human nature," not half human nature. And when, in the whole history of the world, have meanness and timidity won a struggle? It is passion, it is enthusiasm, and indignation that mould

the world to their will—and I cannot see how any one can go into the back streets of London, or any large British town, and not be filled up with shame, and passionate resolve to end so grubby and mean a state of affairs as is displayed there.

I don't think the "human nature" argument against the possibility of Socialism will hold water.

#### V. SOCIALISM MEANS REVOLUTION.

Let us be clear about one thing: that Socialism means revolution, that it means a change in the every-day texture of life. It may be a very gradual change, but it will be a very complete one. You cannot change the world, and at the same time not change the world. You will find Socialists about, or at any rate men calling themselves Socialists, who will pretend that this is not so, who will assure you that some odd little jobbing about municipal gas

and water is Socialism, and back-stairs intervention between Conservative and Liberal the way to the millennium. You might as well call a gas jet in the lobby of a meeting-house, the glory of God in Heaven!

Socialism aims to change, not only the boots on people's feet, but the clothes they wear, the houses they inhabit, the work they do, the education they get, their places, their honours, and all their possessions. Socialism aims to make a new world out of the old. It can only be attained by the intelligent, outspoken, courageous resolve of a great multitude of men and women. You must get absolutely clear in your mind that Socialism means a complete change, a break with history, with much that is picturesque; whole classes will vanish. The world will be vastly different, with a different sort of houses, different sorts of people. All the different trades and industries will be changed, the medical profession will be carried on under different conditions, engineering, science, the theatrical trade, the clerical trade, schools, hotels, almost every trade, will

have to undergo as complete an internal change as a caterpillar does when it becomes a moth. If you are afraid of so much change as that, it is better you should funk about it now than later. The whole system has to be changed, if we are to get rid of the masses of dull poverty that render our present state detestable to any sensitive man or woman. That, and no less, is the aim of all sincere Socialists: the establishment of a new and better order of society by the abolition of private property in land, in natural productions, and in their exploitation—a change as profound as the abolition of private property in slaves would have been in ancient Rome or Athens. If you demand less than that, if you are not prepared to struggle for that, you are not really a Socialist. If you funk that, then you must make up your mind to square your life to a sort of personal and private happiness with things as they are, and decide with my other friend that "it doesn't do to think about boots."

It is well to insist upon one central idea. Socialism is a common-sense,

matter-of-fact proposal to change our conventional admission of what is or is not property, and to re-arrange the world according to these revised conceptions. A certain number of clever people, dissatisfied with the straightforwardness of this, have set themselves to put it in some brilliant obscure way; they will tell you that Socialism is based on the philosophy of Hegel, or that it turns on a theory of Rent, or that it is somehow muddled up with a sort of white Bogey called the Overman, and all sorts of brilliant, nonsensical, unappetising things. The theory of Socialism, so far as English people are concerned, seems to have got up into the clouds, and its practice down into the drains; and it is well to warn inquiring men, that neither the epigram above nor the job beneath are more than the accidental accompaniments of Socialism. Socialism is a very large, but a plain, honest, and human enterprise; its ends are to be obtained neither by wit nor cunning, but by outspoken resolve, by the self-abnegation, the enthusiasm, and the loyal co-operation of great masses of people.

The main thing, therefore, is the creation of these great masses of people out of the intellectual confusion and vagueness of the present time. Let me suppose that you find yourself in sympathy with this tract, that you, like my second friend, find the shabby dulness, the positive misery of a large proportion of the population of our world, make life under its present conditions almost intolerable, and that it is in the direction of Socialism that the only hope of a permanent remedy lies. What are we to do? Obviously to give our best energies to making other people Socialists, to organising ourselves with all other Socialists, irrespective of class or the minor details of creed, and to making ourselves audible, visible, effectual as Socialists, wherever and whenever we can.

We have to think about Socialism, read about it, discuss it; so that we may be assured and clear and persuasive about it. We have to confess our faith openly and frequently. We must refuse to be called Liberal or Conservative, Republican or Democrat, or any of those ambiguous things. Everywhere we must

make or join a Socialist organisation, a club or association or what not, so that we may "count." For us, as for the early Christians, preaching our gospel is the supreme duty. Until Socialists can be counted, and counted upon by the million, little will be done. When they are—a new world will be ours.

Above all, if I may offer advice to a fellow-Socialist, I would say: Cling to the simple essential idea of Socialism, which is the abolition of private property in anything but what a man has earned or made. Do not complicate your cause with elaborations. And keep in your mind, if you can, some sort of talisman to bring you back to that essential gospel, out of the confusions and warring suggestions of every-day discussion.

For my own part, I have, as I said at the beginning, a prepossession with boots; and my talisman is this:—The figure of a badly fed but rather pretty little girl of ten or eleven, dirty, and her hands coarse with rough usage, her poor pretty child's body in ungainly rags, and, on her feet, big broken-down boots that hurt her. And particularly I think of

her wretched sticks of legs and the limp of her feet; and all those phantom owners and profit-takers I spoke of, they are there about her martyrdom, leech-like, clinging to her as she goes . . . .

I want to change everything in the world that made that; and I do not greatly care what has to go in the process. Do you?

H. G. WELLS

[Here is just a bit of hard fact to carry out what I say. It is a quotation from a letter from a workman to my friend Mr. Chiozza Money, one of the best informed writers upon labour questions in England:

"I am a railway man, in constant work at 30s. per week. I am the happy, or otherwise, father of six healthy children. Last year I bought twenty pairs of boots. This year, up to date, I have bought ten pairs, costing £2; and yet, at the present time, my wife and five of the children have only one pair each. I have two pairs, both of which let in the water; but I see no prospect at present of getting new ones. I ought to say, of course, that my wife is a thoroughly domesti-

**This Misery of Boots**

cated woman, and I am one of the most temperate of men. So much so, that if all I spend in luxuries was saved it would not buy a pair of boots once a year. But this is the point I want to mention. During 1903 my wages were 25s. 6d. per week; and I then had the six children. My next-door neighbour was a boot-maker and repairer. He fell out of work, and was out for months. During that time, of course, my children's boots needed repairing as at other times. I had not the money to pay for them being repaired, so had to do what repairing I could myself. One day I found out that I was repairing boots on one side of the wall, and my neighbour on the other side out of work, and longing to do the work I was compelled to do myself. . . ."

The wall was a commercial organisation of society based on private property in land and natural productions. These two men must work for the owners or not at all; they cannot work for one another. Food first, then rent; and boots, if you can, when all the owners are paid.]

NOTICES

## DRAMATIC WORKS BY BERNARD SHAW

- PLAYS, PLEASANT AND UNPLEASANT. 2 vols.  
With a Portrait of the Author by FREDK. H. EVANS,  
and the original Prefaces. 6s. each. Sold separately.
- VOL. I. UNPLEASANT.—(1) Widowers' Houses; (2)  
The Philanderer; (3) Mrs. Warren's Profession.
- VOL. II. PLEASANT.—(4) Arms and The Man; (5)  
Candida; (6) The Man of Destiny; (7) You Never  
Can Tell.
- THREE PLAYS FOR PURITANS. One vol., with the  
original preface. 6s.  
PREFACE.—Why for Puritans? On Diabolonian  
Ethics. Better than Shakespear?  
8. THE DEVIL'S DISCIPLE, with photogravure portrait  
of General Burgoyne.  
9. CÆSAR AND CLEOPATRA, with photogravure of  
Julius Cæsar.  
10. CAPTAIN BRASSBOUND'S CONVERSION.
11. THE ADMIRABLE BASHVILLE. (Included in No.  
4 of Novels of My Nonage: Cashel Byron's Profession.)
- JOHN BULL'S OTHER ISLAND, with a Preface for  
Politicians on Home Rule. (*In the press.*)
- MAJOR BARBARA, with a preface on social and religious  
questions. (*In the press.*)
- MRS. WARREN'S PROFESSION. Contains 12 photo-  
graphs by FREDERICK H. EVANS, and a special preface  
written after the performance in 1902.
- Separate editions of the Plays. Paper wrapper, 1s. 6d. net;  
Cloth, 2s. net.*
- MAN AND SUPERMAN, A COMEDY AND A PHILOSO-  
PHY. One vol. With the original dedication, etc.; 16s.  
Containing—
12. MAN AND SUPERMAN.  
The Revolutionist's Handbook.  
Maxims for Revolutionists.

## The Fabian Society.

(Founded 1884.)

THE FABIAN SOCIETY consists of men and women who are Socialists, that is to say, in the words of its "Basis," of those who aim at the reorganization of Society by the emancipation of Land and Industrial Capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. . . . For the attainment of these ends the Fabian Society looks to the spread of Socialist opinions, and the social and political changes consequent thereon. It seeks to promote these by the general dissemination of knowledge as to the relation between the individual and Society in its economic, ethical and political aspects.

The Society welcomes as members any persons, men or women, who desire to promote the growth of Socialist opinion and to hasten the enactment of Socialist measures, and it exacts from its members no pledge except a declaration that they are Socialists. The Society at times formulates its policy on public affairs, but this policy is necessarily adopted by a majority vote, and the decision is not binding on the minority.

Further information can be obtained on application, personally or by letter, of

THE SECRETARY OF THE FABIAN SOCIETY,  
3 CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND,  
LONDON, W.C.

## FABIAN PUBLICATIONS.

ANY of the following publications can be obtained by order through a bookseller, or direct by post from the Secretary of the Fabian Society,  
3 Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

*Fabianism and the Empire: a Manifesto.* 4d. post free.

*Fabian Essays in Socialism.* (35th thousand.) Paper cover, 1s.; plain cloth, 2s.; post free from the Secretary.

### Fabian Tracts and Leaflets.

*Tracts, each 16 to 52 pp., price 1d., or 9d. per doz., unless otherwise stated. Leaflets, 4 pp. each, price 1a. for six copies, 1s. per 100, or 8/6 per 1000. The Set of 88, 3s.; post free 3/5. Bound in Buckram, 4/6; post free for 5s.*

#### I. General Socialism in its various aspects.

*Tracts.*—121. Public Service *versus* Private Expenditure. By Sir OLIVER LODGE. 123. Communism. By WM. MORRIS. 107. Socialism for Millionaires. By BERNARD SHAW. 78. Socialism and the Teaching of Christ. By Dr. JOHN CLIFFORD. 87. The same in Welsh. 42. Christian Socialism. By Rev. S. D. HEADLAM. 79. A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich. By JOHN WOOLMAN. 75. Labor in the Longest Reign. By SIDNEY WEBB. 72. The Moral Aspects of Socialism. By SIDNEY BALL. 69. Difficulties of Individualism. By SIDNEY WEBB. 51. Socialism: True and False. By SIDNEY WEBB. 45. The Impossibilities of Anarchism. By BERNARD SHAW (price 2d.). 15. English Progress towards Social Democracy. By SIDNEY WEBB. 7. Capital and Land (6th edn., revised 1904). 5. Facts for Socialists (10th edn., revised 1906). *Leaflets.*—13. What Socialism Is. 1. Why are the Many Poor? 38. The same in Welsh.

#### II. Applications of Socialism to particular Problems.

*Tracts*—130. Home Work and Sweating. By Miss B. L. HUTCHINS. 128. The Case for a Legal Minimum Wage. 126. The Abolition of Poor Law Guardians. 122. Municipal Milk and Public Health. By Dr. F. LAWSON DODD. 120. "After Bread, Education." 125. Municipalization by Provinces. 119. Public Control of Electrical Power and Transit. 123. The Revival of Agriculture. 118. The Secret of Rural Depopulation. 115. State Aid to Agriculture: an Example. 112. Life in the Laundry. 110. Problems of Indian Poverty. 98. State Railways for Ireland. 124. State Control of Trusts. 86. Municipal Drink Traffic. 85. Liquor Licensing at Home and Abroad. 84. Economics of Direct Employment. 83. State Arbitration and the Living Wage. 73. Case for State Pensions in Old Age. 48. Eight Hours by Law. 23. Case for an Eight Hours Bill. 47. The Unemployed. By JOHN BURNS, M.P. *Leaflets.*—19. What the Farm Laborer Wants. 104. How Trade Unions benefit Workmen.

#### III. Local Government Powers: How to use them.

*Tracts.*—117. The London Education Act, 1903: how to make the best of it. 111. Reform of Reformatories and Industrial Schools. By H. T. HOLMES. 109. Cottage Plans and Common Sense. By RAYMOND UNWIN. 103. Overcrowding in London and its Remedy. By W. C. STEADMAN, L.C.C. 76. Houses for the People. 100. Metropolitan Borough Councils. 99. Local Government in Ireland. 82. Workmen's Compensation Act. 62. Parish and District Councils. 61. The London County Council. 54. The Humanizing of the Poor Law. By J. F. OAKESHOTT. *Leaflets.*—68. The Tenant's Sanitary Catechism. 71. The same for London. 63. Parish Council Cottages and how to get them. 58. Allotments and how to get them. [FABIAN MUNICIPAL PROGRAM: First Series (Nos. 32, 36, 37). Municipalization of the Gas Supply. The Scandal of London's Markets. A

Labor Policy for Public Authorities. Second Series (Nos. 90 to 97). Municipalization of Milk Supply. Municipal Pawnshops. Municipal Slaughterhouses. Women as Councillors. Municipal Bakeries. Municipal Hospitals. Municipal Fire Insurance. Municipal Steamboats. (Second Series in a red cover for 1d., or 9d. per dozen; separate leaflets, 1s. per 100.)

IV. Books.

29. What to Read on social and economic subjects. 6d. net.  
129. More Books to Read (supplement to Oct. 1906).

V. General Politics and Fabian Policy.

127. Socialism and Labor Policy. 116. Fabianism and the Fiscal Question: an alternative policy. 108. Twentieth Century Politics. By SIDNEY WEBB. 70. Report on Fabian Policy. 41. The Fabian Society: its early history. By BERNARD SHAW.

VI. Question Leaflets.

Questions for Candidates: 20. Poor Law Guardians. 24. Parliament. 28. County Councils, Rural. 102. Metropolitan Borough Councils.

BOOK BOXES lent to Societies, Clubs, Trade Unions, for 6s. a year, or 2/6 a quarter.

PRICE 5 CENTS.

---

**The Federal Government**  
—AND—  
**The Chicago Strike**



BY  
EUGENE V. DEBS.

---

Standard Publishing Co.  
TERRE HAUTE, IND.

## Five-Cent Books

The Living Wage . . . . .	<i>Blatchford</i>
Real Socialism . . . . .	<i>Blatchford</i>
Socialism: Reply to Pope . . . . .	<i>Blatchford</i>
Primer of Socialism . . . . .	<i>Clemens</i>
The American Movement . . . . .	<i>Debs</i>
Liberty . . . . .	<i>Debs</i>
Prison Labor . . . . .	<i>Debs</i>
Why Physicians Should Be Socialists . . . . .	<i>Hagerty</i>
Sanctions for Socialism . . . . .	<i>Hitchcock</i>
Socialism and Slavery . . . . .	<i>Hyndman</i>
Oration on Voltaire . . . . .	<i>Hugo</i>
Object of Labor Movement . . . . .	<i>Jacoby</i>
What Is Capital? . . . . .	<i>Lassalle</i>
A Socialist's View of Religion . . . . .	<i>Mann</i>
Unaccepted Challenges . . . . .	<i>McGrady</i>
Mission of Working Class . . . . .	<i>Vail</i>
Evolution of Industry . . . . .	<i>Watkins</i>
What Socialism Means . . . . .	<i>Webb</i>
The Trust Problem . . . . .	<i>Wilshire</i>

Standard Publishing Company  
Terre Haute, Indiana

## The Federal Government

...and...

## The Chicago Strike

Reply to the article on "The Government in the Chicago Strike of 1894" in *McCLURE'S MAGAZINE*, July 1904, by Grover Cleveland, Ex-President of the United States.

Written for and rejected by *McCLURE'S MAGAZINE*.  
Published by *APPEAL TO REASON*, Aug. 27th, 1904.



By EUGENE V. DEBS.



TERRE HAUTE, IND.  
STANDARD PUBLISHING CO.

1904.

By E. V. Debs.

Liberty . . . . . 5 cents  
Prison Labor . . . . . 5 cents  
The American Movement . . . . 5 cents  
Unionism and Socialism . . . . 10 cents

Standard Publishing Co.  
Terre Haute, Ind.

## The Federal Government and The Chicago Strike.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

In the July issue of McClure's Magazine ex-President Grover Cleveland has an article on "The Government in the Chicago Strike of 1894." That there may be no mistake about the meaning of "government" in this connection, it should be understood that Mr. Cleveland has reference to the Federal government, of which he was the executive head at the time of the strike in question, and not to the State government of Illinois, or the municipal government of Chicago, both of which were overridden and set at defiance by the executive authority, enforced by the military power of the Federal government under the administration of Mr. Cleveland.

### CLEVELAND VINDICATES HIMSELF.

The ex-President's article not only triumphantly vindicates his administration, but congratulates its author upon the eminent service he rendered the republic in a critical hour when a labor strike jarred its foundations and threatened its overthrow.

It may be sheer coincidence that Mr. Cleveland's eulogy upon his patriotic administration and upon himself as its central and commanding figure appears on the eve of a National convention composed largely of his disciples who are urging his fourth nomination for the Presidency for the very reasons set forth in the article on the Chicago strike.

### HIS KNOWLEDGE SECOND HAND.

However this may be, it is certain that of his own knowledge ex-President Cleveland knows nothing of the strike he discusses; that the evidence upon which he acted officially and upon which he now bases his conclusions was *ex parte*, obtained wholly from the railroad interests and those who represented or were controlled by these interests, and it is not strange, therefore, that he falls into a series of errors beginning with the cause of the disturbance and running all through his account of it, as may be proved beyond doubt by reference to the "Report on the Chicago Strike" by the "United States Strike Commission" of his own appointment.

### WHAT WAS THE CHICAGO STRIKE?

Simply one of the many battles that have been fought and are yet to be fought in the economic war between capital and labor. Pittsburg, Homestead, Buffalo, Latimer, Pana, Coeur d'Alene, Cripple Creek and Telluride recall a few of the battles fought in this country in the world-wide struggle for industrial emancipation.

When the strike at Chicago occurred did President Cleveland make a personal examination? No.

Did he grant both sides a hearing? He did not.

In his fourteen-page magazine article what workingman, or what representative of labor, does he cite in support of his statements or his official acts? Not one.

I aver that he received every particle of his information from the capitalist side, that he was prompted to act by the capitalist side, that his official course was determined wholly, absolutely, by and in the interest of the capitalist side, and that no more thought or consideration was given to the other side—the hundreds of thousands of workingmen, whose lives and whose wives and babes were at stake—than if they had

been so many swine or sheep that had balked on their way to the shambles.

### THE OBJECT OF FEDERAL INTERFERENCE.

From the Federal judge who sat on the bench as the protege of the late George M. Pullman, to whose influence he was indebted for his appointment—as he was to the railroad companies for the annual passes he had in his pocket—down to the last thug sworn in by the railroads and paid by the railroads (p. 340 report of Strike Commission) to serve the railroads as United States Deputy Marshal, the one object of the Federal Court and its officers was, not the enforcement of law and preservation of order, but the breaking up of the strike in the interest of the railroad corporations, and it was because of this fact that John P. Altgeld, Governor of Illinois, and John P. Hopkins, Mayor of Chicago, were not in harmony with President Cleveland's administration and protested against the Federal troops being used in their State and city for such a malign purpose.

This is the fact and I shall prove it beyond doubt before this article is concluded.

### CLEVELAND OMITTS REFERENCE TO JUDGE WOODS.

The late Judge William A. Woods figured as one of the principal Judges in the Chicago affair, issuing the injunctions, citing the strikers to appear before him and sentencing them to jail without trial, but President Cleveland discreetly omits all reference to him; and although he introduces copies of many documents, his article does not include copies of the telegrams that passed between Judge Woods from his home at Indianapolis and the railroad managers at Chicago before he left home to hold court in the latter city.

Judge Woods had the distinction of convicting the writer

and his colleagues without a trial and of releasing William W. Dudley of "Blocks of Five" memory in spite of a trial.

Judge Woods is dead and I do not attack the dead. I have to mention his name, and this of itself is sufficient.

#### PULLMAN'S CONTEMPT OF COURT.

During the strike the late George M. Pullman was summoned to appear before the Federal Court to give testimony. He at once had his private car attached to an east-bound train and left the city, treating the Court with sovereign contempt. On his return, accompanied by Robert Todd Lincoln, his attorney, he had a tete-a-tete with the Court, "in chambers," and that ended the matter. He was not required to testify, nor to appear in open court. The striker upon whom there fell even the suspicion of a shadow of contempt was sentenced and jailed with alacrity. Not one was spared, not one invited to a "heart-to-heart" with his honor, "in chambers."

#### A CHALLENGE TO CLEVELAND.

In reviewing the article of ex-President Cleveland I wish to adduce the proof of my exceptions and denials, as well as the evidence to support my affirmations, but I realize that in the limited space of a single issue it is impossible to do this in complete and satisfactory manner; and as the case is important enough to be revived, after a lapse of ten years, by Mr. Cleveland, and as the side of labor has never yet reached the people, I am prompted to suggest a fair and full hearing of both sides on the public rostrum or in a series of articles, and I shall be happy to meet Mr. Cleveland or any one he may designate in such oral or written discussion, and if I fail to relieve the great body of railroad men who composed the American Railway Union of the criminal stigma which Mr. Cleveland has sought to fasten upon them, or if I can not

produce satisfactory evidence that the crimes charged were instigated by the other side—the side in whose interest President Cleveland brought to bear all the powers of the Federal government—I will agree to publicly beg forgiveness of the railroads, apologize to the ex-President and cease my agitation forever.

#### THE CAUSE OF THE PULLMAN STRIKE.

It is easy for Mr. Cleveland and others who were on the side of the railroads to introduce copies of documents, reports, etc., for the simple reason that the Federal Court at Chicago compelled the telegraph companies to deliver up copies of all our telegrams and copies of the proceedings of the convention and other meetings of the American Railway Union, including secret sessions, but the Federal Court did not call upon the railroads to produce the telegrams that passed among themselves, nor between their counsel and the Federal authorities, nor the printed proceedings of the General Managers' Association for public inspection and as a basis for criminal prosecution.

#### HAD THE STRIKE WON.

Nevertheless, there is available proof sufficient to make it clear to the unprejudiced mind, to the honest man who seeks the truth, that the United States government, under the administration of President Grover Cleveland, was at the beck and call of the railroad corporations, acting as one through the "General Managers' Association," and that these corporations, with the Federal Courts and troops to back them up, had swarms of mercenaries sworn in as deputy marshals to incite violence as a pretext for taking possession of the headquarters of the American Railway Union by armed force, throwing its leaders into prison without trial and

breaking down the union that was victorious, maligning, brow-beating and persecuting its peaceable and law-abiding members and putting the railroad corporations in supreme control of the situation.

That was the part of President Cleveland in the Chicago strike, and for this achievement the railroad combine and the trusts in general remember him with profound gratitude, and are not only willing but anxious that he shall be President of the United States forevermore.

#### A PRECEDENT FOR FUTURE ACTION.

In the closing paragraph of his article Mr. Cleveland compliments his administration upon having cleared the way "which shall hereafter guide our nation safely and surely in the exercise of its functions which represent the people's trust." The word "people's" is not only superfluous but mischievous and fatal to the truth. Omit that and the ex-President's statement will not be challenged.

#### CLEVELAND'S FIRST MOVE.

How did President Cleveland begin operations in the Chicago strike. Among the first things he did, as he himself tells us, was to appoint Edwin Walker as special counsel for the government.

Who was Edwin Walker?

"An able and prominent attorney," says Mr. Cleveland.

Is that all?

Not quite. At the time President Cleveland and his Attorney-General, Richard Olney, designated Edwin Walker, upon recommendation of the railroads, as special counsel to the government, for which alleged service he was paid a fee that amounted to a fortune, *the said Edwin Walker was already the counsel of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway.*

Turning for a moment to "Who's Who In America" we find:

Walker, Edwin, lawyer, \* \* \* removed to Chicago in 1865; has represented several railroads as general solicitor since 1860. Illinois counsel for C. M. & St. P. R. R. since 1870; also partner in firm of W. P. Rend & Co., coal miners and shippers. Was counsel for the railway companies and special counsel for the United States in the lawsuits growing out of the great railroad strike of 1894.

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE APPOINTMENT.

Here is the situation: There is a conflict between the General Managers' Association, representing the railroads, and the American Railway Union, representing the employes. Perfect quiet and order prevail, as I shall show, but the railroads are beaten to a standstill, utterly helpless, can not even move a mail car, simply because their employes have quit their service and left the premises in a body. Note also that the employes were willing to haul the mail trains and all other trains, refusing only to handle Pullman cars until the Pullman Company should consent to arbitrate its disagreement with its striking and starving employes. But the railroad officials determined that if the Pullman cars were not handled the mail cars should not move.

This is how and why the mails were obstructed and this was the pretext for Federal interference. In a word, President Cleveland, obedient to the railroads, took sides with them and supported them in their conflict with their employes with all the powers of the Federal government.

#### STRIKE COMMISSION REPORT VS. CLEVELAND.

To bear out these facts it is not necessary to go outside of the official report of the Strike Commission, which any one may verify at his pleasure. The only reason I do not incor-

porate the voluminous evidence is that the space at my command must be economized for other purposes.

It is thus made clear that President Cleveland and his Cabinet placed the government at the service of the railroads.

Edwin Walker, their own attorney, made the agent of the government and put in supreme command of the railroad and government forces! What an unholy alliance! And what a spectacle and object lesson!

Upon Walker's representations Cleveland acted; upon Walker's demand, the Federal soldiers marched into Chicago; upon Walker's command, the great government of the United States obeyed with all the subserviency of a trained lackey.

#### SUPPOSE CLEVELAND HAD APPOINTED DARROW?

Suppose that President Cleveland had appointed Clarence S. Darrow, attorney for the American Railway Union, instead of Edwin Walker, attorney of the General Managers' Association, as special counsel for the government!

And suppose that Darrow had ordered the offices of the General Managers' Association sacked, the books, papers and correspondence, including the unopened private letters of the absent officers, packed up and carted away and the offices put under the guard of Federal ruffians, in flagrant violation of the Constitution of the United States, as was done by order of Walker with the offices of the American Railway Union!

And suppose, moreover, that the American Railway Union, backed up by Darrow, agent of the United States government, had sworn in an army of "thugs, thieves and ex-convicts" (see official report of Michael Brennan, superintendent of Chicago police to the Council of Chicago) to serve the American Railway Union as deputy United States marshals and "conservators of peace and order!"

And suppose, finally, that the expected trouble had fol-

lowed, would any one in possession of his senses believe that these things had been done to protect life and property and preserve law and order?

That is substantially the case that President Cleveland is trying to make for himself and his administration out of their participation in the Chicago strike.

#### THE REAL LAWBREAKER THE RAILROADS.

The implication that runs through Mr. Cleveland's entire article is that the railway corporations were paragons of peace and patriotism, law and order, while the railway employes were a criminal, desperate and bloodthirsty mob which had to be suppressed by the strong arm of the government.

No wonder the ex-President is so dear to the iron heart of the railroad trust and every other trust that uses the government and its officers and soldiers to further its own sordid ends.

Let us consider for a moment these simple questions:

Who are the more law-abiding, the predatory railroad corporations or the hard-worked railroad employes?

What railroad corporation in the United States lives up to the law of the land? Not one.

What body of railroad employes violates it? Not one.

#### THE BRAZEN DEFIANCE OF LAW BY THE RAILROADS.

The railroad corporations are notorious for their brazen defiance of every law that is designed to curb their powers or restrain their rapacity.

The railroad corporations have their lobby at Washington and at every State capital; they bribe legislators, corrupt courts, debauch politics and commit countless other legal and moral crimes against the commonwealth.

The railway employes are a body of honest, useful, self-

sacrificing, peace-loving men who never have and never will be guilty of the crimes committed by their corporate masters.

And yet President Cleveland serves the corporate masters and exalts and glorifies the act while he attempts to absolve the criminals and fasten the insufferable stigma upon honest men.

Nothing further is required to demonstrate beyond all cavil the capitalist class character of our present government.

#### THE STRIKE COMMISSION'S REPORT.

Now for a few facts about the strike. It began May 11th, 1894, and was perfectly peaceable and orderly until the army of "thugs, thieves and ex-convicts," as Superintendent of Police Brennan called them in his official report to the Council of Chicago, were sworn in as deputies by the United States marshal at the command of Edwin Walker, attorney of the General Managers' Association and special counsel to the government. Let us quote the report of the Strike Commission, consisting of Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, who served ex-officio; John D. Kernan, of New York, and N. E. Worthington, of Illinois, two lawyers, appointed by President Cleveland.

Let it be noted that the railway employes, that is to say, labor, the working class, had no representative on this Commission.

From the report they issued we quote as follows:

#### A. R. U. LEADERS ADVISE AGAINST STRIKE.

"It is undoubtedly true that the officers and directors of the American Railway Union did not want a strike at Pullman and advised against it. \* \* \* (P. xxvii.) (Yet the people were told over and over and still believe that Debs ordered the strike.)

#### RAILROADS SET THE EXAMPLE.

"It should be noted that until the railroads set the example a general union of railroad employes was never attempted." (P. xxxi.)

"The refusal of the General Managers' Association to recognize and deal with such a combination of labor as the American Railway Union seems arrogant and absurd when we consider its standing before the law, its assumptions, and its past and obviously contemplated future action." (P. xxxi.)

"\* \* \* the rents (at Pullman) are from 20 to 25 per cent higher than rents in Chicago or surrounding towns for similar accommodations." (P. xxxv.)

#### STRIKE COMMISSION CONTRADICTS CLEVELAND.

"The strike occurred on May 11th, and from that time until the soldiers went to Pullman, about July 4th, 300 strikers were placed about the company's property, professedly to guard it from destruction or interference. This guarding of property in strikes is, as a rule, a mere pretense. Too often the real object of guards is to prevent newcomers from taking the strikers' places, by persuasion, often to be followed, if ineffectual, by intimidation and violence. The Pullman Company claims this was the real object of these guards. *These strikers at Pullman are entitled to be believed to the contrary in this matter, because of their conduct and forbearance after May 11th. It is in evidence, and uncontradicted, that no violence or destruction of property by strikers or sympathizers took place at Pullman, and that until July 3d (when the Federal troops came upon the scene) no extraordinary protection was had from the police or military against even anticipated disorder.*" (P. xxxviii.)

This paragraph from the report of Mr. Cleveland's own Commission is sufficient answer to Mr. Cleveland's article. It is conclusive, crushing, overwhelming.

#### DEPUTIES STARTED THE TROUBLE.

There was no trouble at Pullman, nor at Chicago, nor elsewhere until the railroad-United States deputy marshals were sworn in, followed by the Federal troops.

Governor Altgeld, patriot and statesman, knew it and protested against the troops.

Mayor John P. Hopkins knew it and declared that he was fully competent to preserve the peace of the city.

#### SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE CALLED THEM "THUGS."

Michael Brennan, superintendent of the Chicago police, knew it and denounced the deputy marshals, Edwin Arnold's hirelings, the General Managers' Association's incendiaries and sluggers, as "thugs, thieves and ex-convicts."

These were the "gentlemen" President Cleveland's government pressed into service upon requisition of the railroads to preserve order and protect life and property, and this is what the ex-President calls "the power of the National government to protect itself in the exercise of its functions."

As to just what these "functions" are when Grover Cleveland is President, the railroad corporations understand to a nicety and agree to by acclamation.

#### PROFOUND PEACE REIGNED.

The only trouble there was when the "deputies" were sworn in, followed by the soldiers, was that there was no trouble. That is the secret of subsequent proceedings. The railroads were paralyzed. Profound peace reigned. The people demanded of the railroads that they operate their

trains. They could not do it. Not a man would serve them. They were completely defeated and the banners of organized labor floated triumphant in the breeze.

Beaten at every point, their schemes all frustrated, out-generated in tactics and strategy, the corporations played their trump card by an appeal to the Federal judiciary and the Federal administration. To this appeal the response came quick as lightning from a storm cloud.

#### PEACE FATAL TO MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION.

Peace and order were fatal to the railroad corporations. Violence was as necessary to them as peace was to the employes. They realized that victory could only be snatched from labor by an appeal to violence in the name of peace.

First, deputy marshals. The very day they were appointed the trouble began. The files of every Chicago paper prove it. The report of the Strike Commission does the same.

That was what they were hired for and their character is sufficient evidence of their guilt.

Second, fires (but no Pullman palace cars were lighted) and riots (but no strikers were implicated.)

Third, the capitalist-owned newspapers and Associated Press flashed the news over all the wires that the people were at the mercy of a mob and that the strikers were burning and sacking the city.

Fourth, the people (especially those at a distance who knew nothing except what they saw in the papers) united in the frenzied cry: "Down with anarchy! Down with the A. R. U.! Death to the strikers!"

#### DISTURBANCES STARTED BY DEPUTY MARSHALS.

The first trouble instigated by the deputy marshals was the signal for the Federal Court injunctions, and they came like a succession of lightning flashes.

Next, the general offices of the American Railway Union were sacked and put under guard and communication destroyed. (Later Judge Grosscup rebuked the Federal satraps who committed this outrageous crime, but he did not pretend to bring them to justice.)

Next, the leaders of the strike were arrested, not for crime, but for alleged violation of an injunction.

Next, they were brought into court, denied trial by jury, pronounced guilty by the same judge who had issued the injunction, and sent to jail from three to six months.

#### THE CONCLUDING WORDS NOT YET WRITTEN.

The Supreme Court of the United States, consisting wholly of trained and successful corporation lawyers, affirmed the proceeding and President Cleveland says that they have "written the concluding words of this history."

Did the Supreme Court of the United States write the "concluding words" in the history of chattel slavery when it handed down Chief Justice Taney's decision that black men had "no rights that the white man was bound to respect?"

These "concluding words" will but hasten the overthrow of wage slavery as the "concluding words" of the same Supreme Court in 1857 hastened the overthrow of chattel slavery.

The railroad corporations would rather have destroyed their property and seen Chicago perish than see the American Railway Union triumphant in as noble a cause as ever prompted sympathetic, manly men to action in this world.

#### PEACE OVERTURES TURNED DOWN.

The late Mayor Pingree of Detroit came to Chicago with telegrams from the mayors of over fifty of the largest cities urging that there should be arbitration. (P. xxxix. Report of

Strike Commission.) He was turned down without ceremony, and afterwards declared that the railroads were the only criminals and that they were responsible for all the consequences. L

On June 22d, four days before the strike against the railroads, or, rather, the boycott of Pullman cars, took effect, there was a joint meeting of the railroad and Pullman officials. (P. xlii, Report of Strike Commission.) At this meeting it was resolved to defeat the strikers, wipe out the American Railway Union, and, to use their exact words, "that we act unitedly to that end."

This was the only joint meeting of the kind that had ever been held between the officials of the railroad companies and the Pullman company. They mutually determined to stand together to defeat the strike and destroy the union.

Now, to show what regard these gentlemen have for courts and law and morals, this incident will suffice:

#### RAILWAY OFFICIALS PERJURE THEMSELVES.

When the officers of the American Railway Union were indicted by a special and packed grand jury and placed on trial for conspiracy, the general managers of the railroads were put on the witness stand to testify as to what action had been taken at the joint railroad and Pullman meeting described, and each and every one of them perjured himself by swearing that he had no recollection of what had taken place at that meeting. Sitting within a few feet of them I saw their faces turn scarlet under the cross-examination, knowing that they were testifying falsely; that the court knew it, and that every one present knew it; but they stuck to their agreement and uniformly failed to remember that they had resolved to stand together, the railroads agreeing to back the Pullman company in defeating their famishing

employees, and the Pullman company pledging itself to stand by the railroads in destroying the American Railway Union.

That is what their own record shows they resolved to do, and a little later they concluded to forget all about it, and to this they swore in a Federal Court of law.

I have copies of the court records, including the testimony, to prove this, and the files of all the Chicago dailies of that time contain the same testimony.

These are the gentlemen who have so much to say about law and order—the vaunted guardians of morals and good citizenship.

When A. B. Stickney, president of the Chicago Great Western, who had been victimized by them, told them to their faces that there was not an honest official among them and that he would not trust one of them out of his sight, they did not attempt any defense, for they knew that their accuser was on the inside and in position to make good his assertions.

#### THE DEPUTIES AS VIEWED BY THE COMMISSION.

I must now introduce a little evidence from the report of the Strike Commission bearing upon the United States deputy marshals who were sworn in by the railroads “to protect life and property and preserve the peace”:

Page 356: Superintendent Brennan, of the Chicago police, testifies before the Commission that he has a number of deputy marshals in the county jail *arrested while serving the railroads as United States deputy marshals for highway robbery.*

#### NEWSPAPER REPORTERS' EVIDENCE.

Page 370: Ray Stannard Baker, then a reporter for the Chicago Record, now on the staff of McClure's Magazine, testified as follows in answer to the question as to what he knew of the character of the deputy marshals: “From my

experience with them it was very bad. I saw more cases of drunkenness, I believe, among the United States deputy marshals than I did among the strikers.”

Pages 366 and 367: Malcomb McDowell, reporter for the Chicago Record, testified: “The United States deputy marshals and the special deputy sheriffs were sworn in by the hundreds about the 3d and 4th of July, and prior to that, too, and everybody who saw them knew they were not the class of men who ought to be made deputy marshals or deputy sheriffs.” \* \* \* “In regard to most of the deputy marshals they seemed to be hunting trouble all the time.” \* \* \* “At one time a serious row nearly resulted because some of the deputy marshals standing on the railroad track jeered at the women that passed and insulted them.” \* \* \* “I saw more deputy marshals drunk than I saw strikers drunk.”

These were Edwin Walker's justly celebrated guardians of the peace.

Page 370: Harold I. Cleveland, reporter for the Chicago Herald, testified: “I was on the tracks of the Western Indiana fourteen days.” \* \* \* “I saw in that time a couple of hundred deputy marshals. I think they were a very low, contemptible set of men.”

#### Hired and Paid by the Railroads.

Now follows what the Strike Commissioners themselves have to say about the deputy marshals, and their words are specially commended to the thoughtful consideration of their chief, President Cleveland: “United States deputy marshals, to the number of 3,600, were selected by and appointed at request of the General Managers' Association, and of its railroads. They were armed and paid by the railroads, and acted in the double capacity of railroad employes and United States officers. While operating the railroads they assumed and

exercised unrestricted United States authority when so ordered by their employers, or whenever they regarded it as necessary. They were not under the direct control of any government official while exercising authority. This is placing officers of the government under control of a combination of railroads. It is a bad precedent, that might well lead to serious consequences."

#### THE GOVERNMENT SERVES THE CORPORATIONS.

Here we have it, upon the authority of President Cleveland's own Commission, that the United States government under his administration furnished the railroad corporations with government officers in the form of deputy marshals to take the places of striking employes, operate the trains and serve in that dual capacity in any way that might be required to crush out the strike. This is perhaps more credit than the ex-President expected to receive. His own Commission charges him, in effect, with serving the railroads as strike-breaker by furnishing government employes to take the places of striking railroad men and arming them with pistols and clubs and with all the authority of government officials.

Page after page bears testimony of the disreputable character of the deputy marshals sworn in to the number of several thousand and turned loose like armed bullies to "preserve the peace."

The report of the Strike Commission contains 681 pages. I have a mass of other testimony, but for the purpose of this article have confined myself to the report of Mr. Cleveland's own Commission.

#### HOW THE STRIKERS WERE DEFEATED.

Hundreds of pages of evidence are given by impartial witnesses to establish the guilt of the railroad corporations, to

prove that the leaders of the strike counselled peace and order; that the strikers themselves were law-abiding and used their influence to prevent disorder; that there was no trouble until the murderous deputy marshals were sprung upon the community, and that these instigated trouble to pave the way for injunctions and soldiers and change of public sentiment, thereby defeating the strike.

#### CONFIRMED BY CLEVELAND.

President Cleveland, unwittingly, perhaps, confirms this fact. On page 232 of his article he quotes approvingly the letter written to Edwin Walker, special counsel of the government and regular counsel of the railroads, by Attorney-General Richard Olney, as follows: "It has seemed to me that if the rights of the United States (Railroads?) were vigorously asserted in Chicago, the origin and center of the demonstration, the result would be to make it a failure everywhere else, and to prevent its spread over the entire country."

That is the point, precisely the point, and Mr. Cleveland admits it. It is not the "obstruction of the mails," nor disorder, nor the violation of law that arouses Mr. Cleveland's government and prompts it to "vigorous" assertion of its powers, but the "demonstration," that is, the strike against the railroads, and to put this down, not to move the mails or restore order—a mere pretext which was fully exposed by Governor Altgeld—was the prime cause of Federal interference, and to "make it a failure everywhere" all constitutional restraints were battered down, and as a strike-breaker President Cleveland won imperishable renown.

#### STRIKE LEADERS EXONERATED BY THE COMMISSION.

Particular attention is invited to the following which appears upon page xlv:

"There is no evidence before the Commission that the officers of the American Railway Union at any time participated in or advised intimidation, violence or destruction of property. *They knew and fully appreciated that as soon as mobs ruled the organized forces of society would crush the mobs and all responsible for them in the remotest degree, and that this means defeat.*"

And yet they all served prison sentences. Will President Cleveland please explain why? And why they were refused a trial?

#### IN WHOSE INTERESTS WERE CRIMES COMMITTED?

Read the above paragraph from the report of the Strike Commission and then answer these questions:

To whose interest was it to have riots and fires, lawlessness and crime?

To whose advantage was it to have disreputable "deputies" do these things?

Why were only freight cars, largely hospital wrecks, set on fire?

Why have the railroads not yet recovered damages from Cook county, Illinois, for failing to protect their property? Why are they so modest and patient with their suits?

The riots and incendiarism turned defeat into victory for the railroads. They could have won in no other way. They had everything to gain and the strikers everything to lose.

The violence was instigated in spite of the strikers, and the report of the Commission proves that they made every effort in their power to preserve the peace.

When a crime is committed in the dark the person who is supposed to be benefitted by it is sought out as the probable culprit, but we are not required to rely upon presumption in this case, for the testimony against the railroads is too clear and complete and convincing to admit of doubt.

#### IMPRISONED WITHOUT TRIAL.

If the crimes committed during the Chicago strike were chargeable to the strikers, why were they not prosecuted? If not, why were they sentenced to prison?

The fact that they were flung into prison without evidence and without trial, and the fact that the Supreme Court affirmed the outrage, seemed to afford Mr. Cleveland special satisfaction, and he accepts what he calls the "concluding words" of the court as his own final vindication.

#### JUDGE TRUMBULL'S OPINION.

The late Senator and Judge Lyman Trumbull, for many years United States Senator, chairman of the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Supreme Judge of Illinois, author of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, personal friend of Abraham Lincoln, and, above all, an honest man, wrote: "The doctrine announced by the Supreme Court in the Debs case places every citizen at the mercy of any prejudiced or malicious Federal judge who may think proper to imprison him."

President Cleveland doubtless understands the import of these ominous words. Let the people, the working people, whom the ex-President regards merely as a mob to be suppressed when they peaceably protest against injustice—let them contemplate these words at their leisure.

When the strike was at its height and the railroads were defeated at every turn, the Federal Court hastily impaneled a special grand jury to indict the strikers. The foreman of this jury was chosen specially because he was a violent union hater, and he afterward betrayed his own capitalist colleagues in a matter they had entrusted to his integrity.

The jury was impaneled, not to investigate, but to indict.

A Tribune reporter, who refused to verify a false interview

before the jury, and thereby perjure himself to incriminate the writer, was discharged. The Chicago Times published the particulars.

An indictment was speedily returned. "To the penitentiary" was the cry of the railroads and their henchmen. A trial jury was impaneled. Not a juror was accepted who was of the same political party as the defendants. Every possible effort was made to rush the strike leaders to the State prison.

#### THE FAILURE OF THE PROSECUTION.

After all the evidence of the prosecution had been presented they realized that they had miserably failed. Not one particle of incriminating testimony could the railroads produce with all the sleuth hounds they had at their command.

Next came our turn. The General Managers were dumbfounded when they were, one after the other, put on the stand. Eighty-six witnesses were in court to testify as to the riots and fires. Assistant Chief Palmer and other members of the Fire Department were on hand to testify that when they were trying to extinguish the flames in the railroad yards they caught men in the act of cutting the hose and that these men wore the badges of deputy marshals. Other witnesses were policemen who were ready to testify that they had caught these same deputies instigating violence and acts of incendiarism.

#### THE JURY DUMBFOUNDED.

The jury had been packed to convict. When our evidence began to come in their eyes fairly bulged with astonishment. There was a perfect transformation scene. The jurors realized that they had been steeped in prejudice and grossly deceived.

The General Managers testified that they did not remember

what had taken place at the joint General Managers and Pullman meeting. Their printed proceedings were called for. They looked appealingly to Edwin Walker. The terror that overspread their features can never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. Their proceedings would expose their mendacity and convict them of conspiracy and crime. Something must be done, and done quickly. Court adjourned for lunch. When it reconvened Judge Grosscup gravely announced that a juror had been suddenly taken ill and that the trial could not proceed.

#### THE "ILLNESS" OF A JUROR.

The next day and the next the same announcement was repeated. We offered to proceed in any of the several ways provided in such exigencies. The prosecution objected. The cry "To the penitentiary" had subsided. "To let go" was now the order of the railroads. Not another session of court must be held, for their printed proceedings, the private property in the strong box of each member, and full of matter that would convict them, would have to be produced. All the proceedings of the American Railway Union had been produced in evidence by order of the court and the court could not refuse to command the railroad officials to produce the proceedings of their association. These proceedings were brought in at the closing session of the trial, but by order of the court the defendants were forbidden to look into them and Edwin Walker, the government counsel, watched them with the faithful eye of a trusted guardian.

We were not allowed to examine the proceedings of the General Managers' Association, notwithstanding our proceedings, telegrams, letters and other private communications had been brought into court by order of the judge, inspected by Edwin Walker and others and printed in the court records for public inspection.

It was at this point that the court adjourned and the juror was taken ill.

Ten years have elapsed. He is still ill, and we are still waiting for the court to reconvene and the trial to proceed.

#### GOVERNMENT REFUSED TO GO ON WITH THE CASE.

Every proposition to continue the case was fiercely resisted by Edwin Walker, special counsel of the government and general counsel of the railroads.

Clarence S. Darrow objected to Mr. Walker's appearing in that dual capacity, representing at the same time the government and the railroads—the supposed justice of the one and the vengeful spirit of the other—but Judge Grosscup overruled the objection.

The trial was postponed again and again, the interest in it gradually subsiding, and many months afterward, when it was almost forgotten, it was quietly stricken from the docket.

#### JURORS GREET DEFENDANTS.

When the remaining eleven jurors were discharged by the court, Edwin Walker extended his hand to them, but they rushed by him and surrounded the writer and his co-defendants, grasping their hands and assuring them, each and every one of them, that they were convinced of their innocence and only regretted that they had been prevented from returning their verdict accordingly. The details appear in the Chicago papers of that time.

At the very time we were being tried for conspiracy we were serving a sentence in prison for contempt, the program being that six months in jail should be followed by as many years in penitentiary.

For a jury to pronounce us innocent in substantially the same case for which we were already serving a sentence would

mean not only our complete vindication but the exposure of the Federal Court that had, at the behest of the railroads, sentenced us to prison without a trial.

And so the trial was abruptly terminated on account of the alleged illness of a juror and they could find no other to take his place.

These are the facts and I have all the documentary evidence in detail and only lack of space prevents me from making the exhibits in this article.

If President Cleveland or the Railroad Managers doubt it I stand ready to meet them face to face in discussion of the issue upon any platform in America.

#### THE GREATEST INDUSTRIAL BATTLE IN HISTORY.

The Chicago strike was in many respects the grandest industrial battle in history, and I am prouder of my small share in it than of any other act of my life.

Men, women and children were on the verge of starvation at the "model city" of Pullman. They had produced the fabulous wealth of the Pullman corporation, but they, poor souls, were compelled to suffer the torment of hunger pangs in the very midst of the abundance their labor had created.

A hundred and fifty thousand railroad employes, their fellow members in the American Railway Union, sympathized with them, shared their earnings with them, and after trying in every peaceable way they could conceive of to touch the flint heart of the Pullman company—every overture being resented, every suggestion being denied, every proposition spurned with contempt—they determined not to pollute their hands and dishonor their manhood by handling Pullman cars and contributing to the suffering and sorrow of their brethren and their wives and babes. And rather than do this they laid down their tools in a body, sacrificed their situations and

submitted to persecution, exile and the blacklist; to idleness, poverty, crusts and rags, and I shall love and honor these moral heroes to my latest breath.

There was more of human sympathy, of the essence of brotherhood, of the spirit of real Christianity in this act than in all the hollow pretenses and heartless prayers of those disciples of mammon who cried out against it and this act will shine forth in increasing splendor long after the dollar worshipers have mingled with the dust of oblivion.

Had the carpenter of Nazareth been in Chicago at the time He would have been on the side of the poor, the heavy-laden and sore at heart, and He would have denounced their oppressors and been sent to prison for contempt of court under President Cleveland's administration.

President Cleveland says that we were put down because we had acted in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law of 1890. Will he kindly state what other trusts were proceeded against and what capitalists were sentenced to prison during his administration?

#### A TRIBUTE TO ALTGELD.

He waited ten years to cast his aspersions upon the honor of John P. Altgeld, and if that patriotic statesman had not fallen in the service of the people, if he were still here to defend his official acts, it is not probable that the ex-President would have ventured to assail him.

Reluctantly, indeed, do I close without the space to incorporate his burning messages to President Cleveland and at least some extracts from his masterly speech on "Government by Injunction."

His memory requires no defense, but if it did I could speak better for him than for myself. He never truckled to corporate wealth; he did not compromise with his conscience; he was steadfast in his devotion to truth and in his fidelity to right, and he sought with all his strength to serve the people and the people will gratefully remember him as one of the true men, one of the great souls of his sordid age.

The Chicago strike is not yet settled, and its "concluding pages" are YET TO BE WRITTEN.

## Ten-Cent Books

<b>Merrie England</b> . . . . .	<b>Blatchford</b>
<b>Unionism and Socialism</b> . . . . .	<b>Debs</b>
<b>Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism</b> . . . . .	<b>Deville</b>
<b>State and Socialism</b> . . . . .	<b>Deville</b>
<b>Economic Discontent</b> . . . . .	<b>Hagerty</b>
<b>Right to Be Lazy</b> . . . . .	<b>La Fargue</b>
<b>Open Letter to National Labor Association of Germany</b>	<b>Lassalle</b>
<b>Workingman's Program</b> . . . . .	<b>Lassalle</b>
<b>Wage, Labor and Capital</b> . . . . .	<b>Marx</b>
<b>Communist Manifesto</b> . . . . .	<b>Marx and Engels</b>
<b>City of Angels</b> . . . . .	<b>McGrady</b>
<b>Socialism and the Labor Problem</b> . . . . .	<b>McGrady</b>
<b>Voice From England</b> . . . . .	<b>McGrady</b>

Standard Publishing Company

Terre Haute, Indiana

# INTERNATIONAL PAMPHLETS

## 5 Cents Each

- Socialism and Slavery—Answer to Herbert Spencer's Attack  
on Socialism . . . . . By H. M. Hyndman
- What Socialism Means . . . . . By Sydney Webb, LL. B.
- What is Capital? . . . . . By Ferdinand Lassalle
- Real Socialism—What Socialism is and what it is not,  
By Robert Blatchford
- Socialism—A Reply to the Pope's Encyclical, By Robert Blatchford
- The Living Wage . . . . . By Robert Blatchford
- A Socialist View of Religion and the Churches . . . By Tom Mann
- The Object of the Labor Movement . . . . . By Johann Jacoby

## 10 Cents Each

- The State and Socialism . . . . . By Gabriel Deville
- Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism . . . By Gabriel Deville
- The Workingman's Programme . . . . . By Ferdinand Lassalle
- Open Letter—To the National Labor Association of Germany  
By Ferdinand Lassalle
- The Right to be Lazy—A Refutation of the "The Right to  
Work" of 1848 . . . . . By Paul Lafargue
- Wage-Labor and Capital,  
By Karl Marx; Introduction by Frederick Engels

## 25 Cents Each

- Science and the Workingmen . . . . . By Ferdinand Lassalle
- The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,  
By Karl Marx; with Marx's portrait as frontispiece
- The Civil War in France,  
By Karl Marx; Introduction by Frederick Engels

All 17 above books to one address \$1.

**STANDARD PUBLISHING CO.**  
**TERRE HAUTE, IND.**

*Oliver Bacon August 24th.*

1908.

Price 10 Cents

Per Year 50 Cents

# Wayland's Monthly

Entered at Girard, Kansas, postoffice as second-class mail matter

No. 87      Girard, Kansas, July, 1907.      J. A. Wayland, Publisher

## CONTENTS:



# The Story of the Red Flag

Its Origin, Ancient and Present Place in the History  
of the World . . . . . By G. B. Benham

THE CRIMSON STANDARD . . . . . By Eugene V. Debs

THE WORKING CLASS BANNER (The Red Flag)  
By W. J. Ghent and Moses Oppenheimer

THE RED FLAG (Back Cover)      By William Francis Barnard



“The incalculably aged flag of labor.”  
—Osborne Ward.

“A vast amount of ignorant prejudice prevails against the Red Flag. It is easily accounted for. The ruling class the wide world over hates it and its sycophants and lackeys must therefore decry it.”—  
*Eugene V. Debs.*

BY THE WAY.

*This year, 1907, has witnessed in the larger cities of San Francisco, Chicago, New York, and Boston several stupendous processional demonstrations on the part of those who sweat and toil in the dangerous and malodorous places. In Boston it is said that 65,000 laborers and a few of their sympathizers marched the streets of that staid, decorous city, in hot protest, and that in Chicago not less than 35,000 persons assembled to hear William D. Haywood, the liberated Socialist leader, who, while shackled, imprisoned and helplessly awaiting trial for his life, was twice publicly stigmatized by the coward President of the United States.*

*Nothing in the demonstrations so much angered the Capitalist class as the presence here and there in the vast assemblages of little patches of red bunting.*

*Their parrot press shouted, "Mad dog!" "Anarchist!" while their lickspittle lackeys and pious retainers have thrown fit after fit of the fantods.*

*This number of Wayland's Monthly is devoted mainly to an examination into the antecedent history and uses of The Red Flag with the primary view of determining the propriety of its adoption as the standard of the hunger-slaves.*

BRUCE ROGERS.

Price 10 cents

Per Year 50 Cents

## Wayland's Monthly.

Entered at Girard, Kansas, postoffice as second-class mail matter.

No. 87

Girard, Kansas, July, 1907.

J. A. Wayland, Publisher

# The Crimson Standard.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

A vast amount of ignorant prejudice prevails against the red flag. It is easily accounted for. The ruling class the wide world over hates it and its sycophants, therefore, must decry it.

Strange that the red flag should produce the same effect upon a bull that it does upon a tyrant.

The bull is enraged at the very sight of the red flag, his huge frame quivers, his eyes become balls of fire, and he paws the dirt and snorts with fury.

The reason of this peculiar effect of a bit of red coloring upon the bovine species we are not particularly interested in at this moment, but why does it happen to excite the same rage in the czar, the emperor and the king; the autocrat, the aristocrat and the plutocrat?

Ah, that is simple enough.

The red flag, since time immemorial, has symbolized the discontent of the downtrodden, the revolt of the rabble.

This is its sinister significance to the tyrant and the reason of his mingled fear and frenzy when the "red rag," as he characterizes it, insults his vision.

It is not that he is opposed to red as a color, or even as an emblem, for he has it in his own flags and banners,

and it never inflames his passion when it is blended with other colors, but red alone, unmixed and unadulterated, the pure red that symbolizes the common blood of the human family, the equality of mankind, the brotherhood of the race, is repulsive and abhorrent to him because it is at once an impeachment of his title, a denial of his superiority and a menace to his power.

Precisely for the reason that the plutocrat raves at the red flag the proletaire should revere it.

To the plutocrat it is a peril; to the proletaire a promise.

The red flag is an omen of ill, a sign of terror to every tyrant, every robber and every vampire that sucks the life of labor and mocks at its misery.

It is an emblem of hope, a bow of promise to all the oppressed and downtrodden of the earth.

The red flag is the only race flag; it is the flag of revolt against robbery; the flag of the working class, the flag of hope and high resolve—the flag of Universal Freedom.

## The Story of the Red Flag.

BY G. B. BENHAM.

Copyrighted, 1907.

"Almost as soon as men began to collect together for common purposes, some kind of conspicuous object was used as a symbol of a common sentiment."—*Enc. Brit.*

MEN, in the aggregate, demand something besides abstract ideas and principles. Hence the desire for symbols—something visible to the eye and that appeals to the senses. Every nation has a flag that represents it—every army a common banner, which, to the soldier, stands for that army. It speaks to him in the din of battle, cheers him in the long and tedious march, and pleads with him on the disastrous retreat.

In ancient times the Hebrew tribes had each its own standard—that of Ephraim, for instance, was a steer; of Benjamin, a wolf. Among the Greeks, the Athenians had an owl, and the Thebans a sphynx.

The standard of Romulus was a bundle of hay on a pole, which as fully represented the simplicity of the people as did the golden eagles of the early Roman emperors represent the gorgeousness and rapacity of the monarchs, or the crosses (Labarum) of the "Christian" emperors represent their mendacity and hypocrisy. [1]

The early existence of banners indicated a mutual interest, which in a crude way manifested a unified social and communal action, evidently one of the first steps in the development of the social ideal of today.

The word "Flag" is worthy of notice. [2] It is said "Flag" is derived from the Latin "flamma;" we can without

1 Gibbon's "Rome."

2 Osborne Ward's, "The Ancient Lowly."

difficulty trace the progress of the word, and we have a blazing fire, blaze, flame, and, as an original proposition, the red flag was an imitation of the flames of fire or rays of the sun. Baal, the great Sun God of the Phoenicians, had many attributes in common with Ceres, the particularly friendly deity of the agriculturalists. The fire worshipers, as well as those who worshipped the sun, would naturally select, for symbols or banners, the red color, as the most perfect imitation or visible representation of their deities.

The history of savage man in nearly all parts of the globe, shows an early use of fire to signal, from hills and mountains, the information (otherwise so difficult of transmission), as to attack, defense or condition. The natural sequence would be the adoption of red signals (the best representative of fire color) for use during the day.

Therefore, it is not unfair to presume that the earliest flag was red, as the logical use and lingual connection amply testify. The mythological patronesses of agriculturalists and laborers were Ceres, Pomona, Minerva, Proserpine and others, whose names have allied themselves to the products of the field and orchard of the present day. These goddesses were always clothed in flaming red, and the color became identified with the laborers in their clothing, their symbols and their decorations. It was the favorite color of the plebeians of Rome; it was the emblem of the poor of Athens. [3] So endeared to it were the so-called lower classes in Rome, that (after they were admitted to the army) the crimson banners were, by order of their patrician leaders, thrown into the ranks of the enemy, that the plebeian legions might be forced to exert their utmost valor to reclaim their dearest emblem. The usurpation of the red by the ruling classes in Rome was a part of the programme to disintegrate the communes (the ancient labor unions) and extinguish the love of the color in the hearts of the workers, by the sight of it on the person of their exploiters and masters. Legal enactments prohibited its plebeian use. [4] These restrictions are said to have so disturbed the Phoenician dyers of the color, that the secrets

3-4 "Ancient Lowly."

of their craft were not transmitted, and are, like many others, among the lost arts. The red apparently degenerated into the royal purple, and the red returned to its primal significance and use, the color of the producing class, and no longer that of its enemies.

In contradistinction to the red, the white and azure have been, in clothing and ensigns, assumed by the nobility and priesthoods for thousands of years; [5] the white carrying the idea of "no toil or soil from labor—detested labor;" no perspiring or toiling people could preserve their purity. The azure, representing the vaulted sky, was intended to convey to the observer the conception of high, celestial, or heavenly origin (or divine appointment), attributes assumptuously claimed by the leisure or parasitical classes.\*

Red is the first color in the list of colors; signifies COURAGE, and has had a remarkable place in the world's history. The common color of the life blood of the genus, its significance has been connected, with singular persistency, with those members of society who have toiled to produce the materials for the preservation and healthfulness of life. [a]

[6] The recorded fame of ancient celebrities depended in no small degree on their patrician family connections. Alcibiades, who is seen largely in the reflected light of Socrates and Pericles, was, by birth, heir to distinction. Socrates won his exalted position in spite of the frowns and sneers which greet every aspirant of "mean" extraction; he displayed to the world that love of truth and disdain for death which exasperated the powers to accomplish his destruction, not uncommon finality of men who know and dare to uphold the good. Alcibiades was tried as a criminal at one time for insulting the Goddesses Ceres and Proserpine. He was convicted, his goods confiscated, and he was exiled. All of which shows the hatred for labor's deities by a blue-

5 "Ancient Lowly."

6 Plutarch's Alcibiades.

\*White is supposed to represent integrity; blue, steadfastness and faith.

a Held by some to signify the common color of the blood of mankind—The Brotherhood of Man.

blooded reprobate, and the influence of Ceres and Proserpine in that famous time and the classic city of Athens.

The ancient Druid priests of Britain were clothed in white, the color which adorns the church of English priests of today.

[7] The patron saint of England, St. George (George of Cappadocia), originated in public life as a government contractor, who abused the Roman troops in the supplies for which the peoples' money paid. History records his conduct as infamous; he became a fugitive from justice; preserved his wealth at the expense of his honor; embraced Christianity, was raised by ostentation to high position; and was promptly made a saint and martyr when killed by the people for heinous crimes—oppression, extortion and cruelty, and is now the patron saint of the Church of England.

The ancient communes or fraternal organizations of laborers of Rome and Athens were nearly always upholders of the red flag. These banners carried inscriptions relative to the deities supposed to be favorable to labor in general, or to the particular crafts represented.

Following the progress of the Roman legions through what is now Spain, France and the neighboring country, on and into Great Britain, there were established the trades organizations, and with them, in nearly every instance, was the red flag. (b) But trades organizations then, as now, had no honorable place in society, and were tolerated, in general, only because of the adoption of religious pretences to mask the real purposes of association. Every attempt at organization by laborers for economic advancement has been defeated either by restriction or by fear. Every favorable law, or attempt to rise intellectually, has been met with frowns and force of arms, but religion has seldom been for-

7 Gibbon's "Rome."

b To enumerate the trades that carried the red flag would include nearly all—marble cutters, masons, carpenters, saddle and bridle makers, confectioners, cheese handlers, cutlers, silk workers, glaziers, weavers, shoemakers, tanners, glovemakers, furriers, painters, hatters, surgeons and apothecaries, who were listed among the lower classes; all these and many more had the red banner.

bidden the slave—chattel, feudal or wage—in any age of history. It was a source of satisfactory amusement to the slave holder of our southern states to hear his human cattle chatter and sing about the "Home Over There," for these were the ignorant confessions that the slave's expectations took no hold on a HOME on earth, and that the vaunted hospitality, the gulltomy and the prodigality of the southern master, were to be continued, without remonstrance, at the expense of the flesh and blood of the despoiled producer. To teach the slaves to read was a crime, but religion was encouraged, as it made them remember "Servants, obey your masters."

The mediæval guild furnished an opportunity for trade knowledge by apprenticeship in youth, and for journeyman work and mastership in manhood. The objects of the Trades Unions of the ancient times were almost identical with those of recent years. They divided, in a more equitable way, the results of their toil; had death and sick benefits, and assisted and encouraged by social, benefactory and militant effort the members of the organizations.

Jack Cade, who marched his dissatisfied followers from Kent to London, probably saw the red flag in his ranks, as Kent was an early home of British trades organizations.

The significance of the red banner from early days was eminently peaceful, as its patrons were the gods of husbandry, orchard and vine and of the kindred occupations. The bloody and contemptible attributes which are raised in fierce condemnation of the red flag are a continuation of that violent hatred for laborers which caused the death of a million Roman revolters and which has characterized the white handed, the rich and the tyrannical in every era. [c]

c The flags of Tunis, Tripoli and Morocco are bright red, with no embellishment; some flags of Turkey are red, with small star or crescent; red is prominent in flags of both old and new world. (See colored plate in Ogilvie's Ed. Webster's Dict.; also Enc. Brit.) The red flag was probably carried in the Polish revolts, and in the Hungarian revolution of 1848; it has appeared in innumerable uprisings in cities and provinces, and, with few exceptions, in the hands of the non-propertied and consequently "dangerous" classes. In the Chicago affair of 1886, which terminated in the legal murder of Parsons, Spies and others, the red flag was in evidence. The red

History has been distorted, facts have been suppressed and the most diligent research is necessary to get any data regarding the real condition of peoples. History is but a record of numbers, of kings and of battles; of murder, wholesale and retail, and of the superstitions and mysticisms which, to a great extent, actuated and controlled the actions of men. The labor uprisings have been smothered in the blood of the rebels and the contempt of the historians. The ancient soldiery was ashamed to fight against the despised workingmen, and to conquer them was not very creditable, as the workers were considered inferior beings, although occasionally a Spartacus arose and changed, for the time being, at least, that opinion. The historians, who came from the "higher" classes, felt humbled if they recorded any deed which revealed the spirit of manhood in the hated worker.

[8] The laborers of Sparta and Lacedæmonia saw this hatred exhibited in its full intensity. They were gathered together at feasts and merry-makings; and, helpless and unsuspecting, set upon by the men of the "higher" (propertied) class, and heartlessly massacred. At other times the flower of the Lacedæmonian youth armed themselves with daggers and went man-hunting, stealthily approaching their innocent and half-naked victim, killing him for sport. At other times those in charge of the slaves herded them together, that the sport might take on a more sociable aspect, and the unfortunates were ruthlessly slaughtered, much as noxious or dangerous animals are sometimes destroyed in the present day—for example, the rabbit drives of California and Australia. These ambuscades were intended to squelch any design or

flag is always connected with disorder by the daily press, whereas in reality it is the banner of the greatest peace organization ever known—the Socialists of the world—which is also the largest political body in history, and is industriously seeking, by political and peaceful means, to establish a system of wealth production for use, and the abolition of labor for profit to employers and traders. The red flag was the signal for attack in the ancient Grecian army (Chamber's Enc.), and was displayed from the tent of the Roman commander as the sign for battle. (Plutarch.) The oriflamme of France was originally the banner of St. Denis. (Enc. Brit.)

8 "Ancient Lowly."

hope for material betterment of the workers. Some philosophers protested that these ambuscades were cowardly and unmanly, but the spirit which carried on these outrages, would brook no interference, so the philosophers safely concluded that silence was an essential part of wisdom.

The social insignificance of the laborers cannot be better exemplified than in the reports of populations of cities: Athens (300 B. C.) was credited with 9,000 souls; the number of inhabitants was 500,000; Corinth, with a population of 680,000, had 40,000 souls. The workers were not supposed to have souls, so did not appear in statistics as inhabitants. But the persons who owned the land and the other property were credited with souls; they then occupied the temples of paganism, as they do now those temples ostensibly dedicated to Christ. The soulless laborers were whipped at night as an admonition to be patient on the morrow, and killed, with

NOTE—The inhumanities inflicted on the poor are in no sense confined to remote dates or foreign countries. Debs was imprisoned for daring to assert that the needs of the worker were paramount to vested rights. The wholesale murders at Buffalo, Homestead, Coeur d'Alene and Leadville are instances of the extermination of the workers. Scores are killed in mines by foul air and cave-ins, which are preventable. In the past, human lives could be charged to the individual slave-owner or feudal lord; but now responsibility for the unnecessary loss of life rests upon a too easily satisfied public. In Florida, for petty larceny, men are sent for years to the phosphate mines, which means swift physical disintegration and death—hair falls out, teeth fall out—and two years is practically a life sentence. Crucifixion was a lingering death of a day; the phosphate mine is an underground, living, sickening death, the tortures of which the Spanish inquisition could not excel—as sure, as unnecessary and ten thousand times more cruel than the death on the cross. The slave mart is no more, but human beings are the stock in trade of the employment agent. The crowning fallacy is "free contract," as if a man who is hungry can freely contract with a man who owns and controls the necessities of life. The locked-out miners of Spring Valley, Ill., a few years ago, offered to become the chattel slaves of the mine owners if they were guaranteed a living for themselves and families; this offer was refused; why should the owners obligate themselves in this way, with an innumerable multitude at that time crowding each other for an opportunity to toil on any terms, any hours, any wages?

or without fancied provocation, as a lesson to the living that their service and life were at the disposal of men with souls.

[9] It is related that a Greek laborer had killed a dangerous wild boar with a javelin; the man was summoned to appear before his master and went, expecting a reward for his bravery. On being questioned, he related the circumstances of his courageous act, to which his master replied, "Did you not know that the javelin is a weapon of war, forbidden the hand of a slave?" Then turning to his henchmen, the master said, "Take the rascal out and crucify him, as a warning to his mates to obey the laws in the future," which was accordingly done.

The bitterness of the intestine war inaugurated by Spartacus was displayed when he made the captured patricians don the habiliments of the hated slave gladiators, and shed their blue blood and kill each other for the amusement of the despised army of their former slave. But the conclusion was an autocratic revenge worthy of the Roman leaders Spartacus had so long defied and so frequently vanquished. The great Pompey was recalled from another expedition to assist, and the wealthy Crassus, at the head of 400,000 of the empire's best warriors, gave battle to Spartacus with 300,000 of his followers. History tells of no more sanguinary conflict. After deeds of valor not excelled in record or in tale, 260,000 revolutionists fell, and the remainder were captured or pursued and slain. Then, to serve as a warning to the workers to be patient in the future, came the crowning atrocity of the successful leaders, the crucifying of 6,000 captives on the Appian Way (the handsomest and most frequented thoroughfare of Rome). These were seen and reviled in their death agonies by the patricians, whose property rights in human beings the revolted had so dangerously assailed.

[10] As a commander, capable of successfully disciplining and controlling hundreds of thousands of men, drawn

9 "Ancient Lowly."

10 Historians' statements vary widely regarding size of armies involved in this war; these given are highest numbers found. One author says the 6,000 captives were "hung"; crucifying was hanging. Christ was hung. See Luke 23:39.

from the ranks of the poor and ignorant, the enslaved and the humbled, Spartacus proved himself the military peer of Cæsar or Napoleon, with none of their follies and intrigues or their lust for gold or power. This was the greatest industrial uprising ever known, and in subduing this servile warrior, it is stated that there was scarce a home in the empire but that wailed the loss of a loved one. The brave leader sought but to escape the country of his brutal oppressors, and, failing in this, he fought like a hero, seeking, in the final battle, a personal conflict with Crassus, and his progress toward his chief enemy was marked by heaps of dead Romans, evidences of the prodigious strength and almost insuperable skill-arms of the ex-slave, until at last he fell, conquered only by death. Spartacus was a stranger to defeat either in personal contest or as a leader, until this battle; he had turned the empire into a gladiatorial arena, himself the central figure, the contests of which will interest and instruct through all time. Slightly as the historians speak of this remarkable war and its intrepid leader, one pays him the questionable tribute, "He died like a Roman emperor."

His recruits were from the classes who loved the red flag—members of communes (which included both rural and urban laborers, and also slaves), and the workers in general—and it is safe to believe that in its warm color Spartacus recognized the standard of his army.

In the labor uprising of Eunus (130 B. C.), which was subdued by the Romans only after a ten years' contest, the records indicate at least 20,000 deaths on the cross of prisoners taken from the ranks of the proletariat. It has been the practice of power to place the mark of ignominy on the brow of poverty; the cross was the punishment designed for intolerable malefactors, so became the chastisement for all who questioned the sacredness of property rights, whether as revolutionists or as thieves.

Chattel slavery has been but a drop in the world's ocean of industrial servitude. The position of the proletarian has been practically the same in all times. If idle, from inclination or per force, he has (peaceful or otherwise) aroused the envy of the classes who assume as their perquisites, not only the

property and intelligence, but the leisure of the world. Hence the laws extant for centuries which culminated in vagrant and similar laws. (See state laws in southern states enacted 1864-8.)

Chattel slavery was formerly the lot of prisoners of war, insolvent debtors, and the posterity of these unfortunates. Wage slavery is the lot of those who by honesty, lack of opportunity—the deprivation of the benefits of the progress of productive industry, are at the mercy of those who own the labor power of workers, through the proprietorship of the necessities of life.

About 58 years before Christ, as a result of the aristocratic fear of "servile uprisings" (as exemplified in the wars with Spartacus and Eunus), Cicero, Crassus and Caesar, backed by the venom and property of the turgid blue bloods, through legislation and murder brought trades unionism, as they hoped, to permanent disintegration. Only those trades intimately connected with religion, such as image makers, etc., were allowed to organize, and it was only under pretense of religious association that the others did survive. There were fierce disputations between Cicero, who was a natural despot, and Clodius, who, though a patrician, was apparently a friend of the people. The property interests of the empire of the world (then centered in a few hundred families), triumphed, and the workers—slaves and freedmen alike—were further degraded by the loss of the encouragement and strength of unified class effort.

Constantine, patron of Christianity, founder of Constantinople, abolished, from motives of piety, the cross as an instrument of punishment for criminals; he also recognized thirty-five of the leading trades organizations, redeeming features indeed, in a reign of sycophancy, hypocrisy and murder. [11]

Aside from the particular consideration of the working people in connection with the red flag, no country furnishes a more worthy page for our attention than the United States of America. The history of the American Colonial revolution

11 Gibbon's "Rome."

is full of deeds of wisdom and audacity; and no more fitting symbol of the temper and intentions of the revolutionists could be given than when Putnam gave to the breeze a red flag at Prospect Hill on the 18th of July, 1775. No man need blush to bear or to endorse the emblem which was good enough for Putnam and his colleagues, who fought so desperately and successfully for the common good.

At the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, the troops of the revolutionists were animated by the red flag. [12]

When Pulaski, that distinguished general and master-at-arms, who honored his distressed Poland as well as his loved America by assisting the Colonists, was raising cavalry in Baltimore for the Continentals, the Moravian women of Bethlehem\* sent him a crimson banner wrought with their own hands. The fiery emblem lighted his followers to deeds of heroism, and when Pulaski died, this resplendent star of military genius and honor was wrapped in its historic folds for his last sleep. [13]

In the French Revolution of 1848 the following "Speech of Men with Red Flag" was made:

"Let us come to speech with this government of men suspected by the people. Who are they? What are they doing? What republic are they manufacturing? Is it one in which the rich man shall still enjoy himself and the poor suffer—the manufacturer wear his workmen out by condemning them to a wage which he fixes himself, or to famine, and the capitalist make his own conditions of use for his capital,

12 The flag of the United States was accepted by Congress June 14, 1777, and first sent to battle of Brandywine, Sept. 11, 1777. The first flag was made by Mrs. Betsy Ross, at 239 Arch street, Philadelphia, from a design furnished by General Washington. (Hill's Pol. Hist. of U. S.)

\*Several historians have stated that the "Moravian Nuns of Bethlehem" sent Pulaski the red flag here referred to. The Moravian sect (Unitas Fratrum) is a Protestant society, and there never were any "Moravian Nuns" in Bethlehem, Pa., or anywhere else. The flag was made and presented by the liberty-loving wives and daughters in the Moravian community, who thus probably reflected the revolutionary spirit and sentiments of the men of the sect.

13 See Longfellow's poem, "The Banner of Pulaski."

or bury it? Down with the flag of royalty which reminds us of our servitude and its crimes! Hurrah! for the red one, the symbol of our freedom!"

Lamartine's (member of Provisional Government and Minister of Foreign Affairs) reply to above speech:

"I will reject even to death this banner of blood—and you should repudiate it still more than myself; for this red flag you offer us has only made the circuit of the Champs de Mars through the people's blood in 1791 and 1793, while the tri-colored banner has made the circuit of the world, with the name, with the glory and liberty of your country." [14]

It is evident that the red flag was used in the French Revolution, which followed so closely on the successful American revolt.

\*"The banner of the Paris Commune of 1871 was the red flag. This fearless but unsuccessful struggle for a common good was bravely lost, and after the surrender, the flag of truce was sullied by awful barbarities. The prisoners of war, men of their own blood, were shot down in rows by the successful besiegers, and all proceedings were fully in keeping with the previous triumphs of a like kind."

Today the Red Flag is the symbol of a modern sentiment, and signifies the advance of a new social order.

What this sentiment is can be best understood by a glance at the conditions which its fulfillment will supercede. By the presentation of eminent authorities, I shall endeavor to illustrate the present conditions, and the basis upon which rests the principle the Red Flag now represents.

I here bring to your notice the published opinions of men, most of whom are men whom it is scarcely safe to dispute, and most of whom our conventionalists shun in debate as they would a pestilence in the community.

No attempt has been made to classify by nationality, by

13 National Handbook.

14 Lamartine's History of French Revolution of 1848.

\*See Benham's History Paris Commune.

political or other belief the individuals here quoted. They have been heard among the world's greatest:

(15) "Connected together it was found that a part only of society was sufficient to provide, by their manual labor, for the necessary subsistence of all; and leisure was given to others to cultivate the human mind."

Blackstone apparently intends to convey the following ideas: That a distinct part of the population will always do all the productive labor; that another distinct part will do nothing but cultivate their minds, i. e., live by the productive effort of other members of society. Also, that, either the workers have no minds, or that their minds are not susceptible of cultivation; or that it is not proper for their minds to be cultivated; or that their minds are not worth cultivating. The intellectual position in society assigned to the wealth producers by the great jurist is not, from any standpoint, to be envied, nor is it enviable in reality.

It cannot well be construed that the "leisured" were expected to cultivate the minds of the workers, for the extended hours of labor for both old and young in production for profit preclude the possibility of such a conclusion. The actions of the "leisured" class in Blackstone's time (1723-1780) are significant in this regard. [16]

Further speaking of the progress of humanity from savagery to civilization, Blackstone said:

"Had not, therefore, a separate property in lands, as well as movables, been vested in some individuals, the world must have continued a forest, and men have been mere animals of prey. Whereas, now (so graciously has Providence interwoven our duty and our happiness together), the result of this very necessity has been the ennobling of the human species, by giving it opportunities of improving its *rational*, as well as of exerting its *natural* faculties."

The following symposium discovers to the reader how successful the improvement of the "rational" as well as the "natural" faculties has been under vested rights. The oppor-

15 Blackstone on Property.

16 See Thorold Rogers' "Six Centuries of Work and Wages."

tunities seem to have been permanently withdrawn from a considerable part of the species in civilization. Let us see how graciously Providence has "interwoven."

(17) "In human society all individuals are bound together by a thousand ties, which become the more numerous in proportion to the higher civilization which a nation attains; when a disturbance occurs it makes itself felt at once by all members of the community. . . . Every one who has had any practical experience knows with what mistrust the workman regards every improvement, every new discovery which is to be introduced, and he is perfectly right. . . . He has every reason to fear that the new machine will turn him out of door tomorrow as superfluous. Instead of welcoming an invention which is an honor and should be an advantage to the community, he has an execration and a curse upon his lips. He has no benefit of it, only his 'master.'

"The worker's feelings are the natural result of the conflict of interests."

(18) "Fifty-five years is the average age at death among the nobility in England and Wales; among the workers at Lambeth the average is 29 years; the laborer is robbed of 26 years, nearly half his life."

(19) "The wage is too low to furnish them with food and requisites of health. The infantile death rate among the well-to-do classes is 8 in 100; . . . among the workers, 30 in 100; . . . 90 per cent of the actual producers of wealth have no home, no bit of soil, . . . are separated by a narrow margin from destitution that a month of bad trade, sickness or unexpected loss, brings them face to face with hunger and pauperism. This is the normal state of the average workman in town or country. One-eighth of the population of England are paupers."

(20) "Anyone who is acquainted with the state of the population of all great industrial centers, whether in this or other countries, is aware that amidst a large and increasing

17 A. Bebel in "Woman." 18 Sidney Webb.  
19 Frederick Harrison.  
20 Prof. Huxley, in 19th Century of Feb., 1883.

body of that population there reigns supreme . . . the condition which the French call *la misere*, a word for which I do not think there is any exact English equivalent. It is a condition in which the food, warmth, and clothing which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state cannot be obtained; in which men, women and children are forced to crowd into dens wherein decency is abolished, and the most ordinary conditions of healthful existence are impossible of attainment; in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality and drunkenness; in which the pains accumulate at compound interest in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development and moral degradation; in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded by a pauper's grave. . . . When the organization of society, instead of mitigating this tendency, tends to continue and intensify it, when a given social order plainly makes for evil, and not for good, men naturally enough begin to think it high time to try a fresh experiment. I take it to be a mere plain truth that throughout industrial Europe there is not a single large manufacturing city which is free from a vast mass of people whose condition is exactly that described, and from a still greater mass, who, living just on the edge of the social swamp, are liable to be precipitated into it."

(21) "Manufacturers meet and determine prices, even in spite of the great law of supply and demand. Have the laborers the same right to consult and combine? Workingmen, when they combine, gather in the street. All the organized forces of society are against them. Capital has the army and navy, the legislature, the judicial and executive department. When the rich combine it is for the purpose of exchanging ideas. When the poor combine it is conspiracy. If they act in concert, if they rally to do something, it is a mob. If they defend themselves it is treason. There are certainly more poor than rich. Why should the rich control? . . . Will the workers never learn how powerful they are? A

21 Robert G. Ingersoll, Man vs. Machine.

cry comes from the oppressed, the hungry, the downtrodden, the unfortunate; from the despised, from men who despair and from women who weep. There are times when mendicants become revolutionists—when a rag becomes a banner, under which the noblest and the bravest battle for the right.”

(22) “Never in this happy country or elsewhere—except in the land of miracle—where ‘they did all eat and were filled’—has there been enough of anything for the people. . . . The coal syndicate thinks there is too much coal—there is too much iron, too much lumber, too much flour—for this or that syndicate.”

“The men and women who do the work of the world have the right to the floor. Everywhere they are rising to ‘a point of information.’ They want to know how our labor and the gifts of nature are being ordered by those whom our ideals and consent have made captains of industry over us; how it is that we who profess the religion of the Golden Rule and the political economy of service for service, come to divide our produce into incalculable power and pleasure for a few, and partial existence for the many who are fountains of these powers and pleasures.”

(23) “I am no sentimental admirer of the savage state. I do not get my ideas of the untutored children of nature from Rousseau or Chateaubriand or Cooper. I am conscious of its material and mental poverty, and its low and narrow range. I believe that civilization is not only the natural destiny of man, but the enfranchisement, elevation and refinement of all his powers, and think that it is only in such moods as may lead him to envy the cud-chewing cattle that a man who is free to enjoy the advantages of civilization could look with regret upon the savage state. But, nevertheless, I think no one who will open his eyes to the facts can resist the conclusion that there are in the heart of our civilization large classes with whom the veriest savage could not afford to exchange. It is my deliberate opinion that if, standing on

22 Henry D. Lloyd in *Wealth vs. Commonwealth.*

23 Henry George in “Progress and Poverty.”

the threshold of being, one were given the choice of entering life as a Terra del Fuegan, a black fellow of Australia, an Esquimaux of the Arctic circle, or among the lowest classes in such a highly civilized country as Great Britain, he would make infinitely the better choice in selecting the lot of the savage. For those classes who in the midst of wealth are condemned to want, suffer all the privations of the savage, without his sense of personal freedom; they are condemned to more than his narrowness and littleness, without the opportunities for the growth of his rude virtues; if their horizon be broader, it is but to reveal blessings which they cannot enjoy.”

(24) “The laborer is annually compelled to produce \$1,789 worth of goods (census of 1880, see Dr. Geo. E. Steadman’s *Economic Development of the United States*, 1886, page 10) and receive thereof, in wages, an average of \$350 per annum, only. There are, consequently, \$1,448 worth of goods annually produced by labor, over and above the purchasing power of \$350 to buy. The capitalist must, therefore, look elsewhere for consumers, in order to reduce the surplus which the wages of the producer does not enable him to absorb. In proportion as the modern giant factory is developed, and more men are degraded into more wage earners, the smaller grows the prospect of disposing of such industrial excess and surplus in the domestic or ‘home market’ and capitalism is, therefore, forced to seek a foreign market, and enter into competition with all rivals in the markets of the world.”\*

(25) “Professor Th. Hertzka, of Vienna, Austria, says: ‘I have calculated how much labor and time is necessary, with the aid of the present mechanical appliances, to produce what is required to support in ease and comfort the twenty-two million inhabitants of Austria, viz.: food, clothes and shelter,

24 Ibsen. 25 “Laws of Social Evolution.”

\*The manufacturer of the United States is not isolated in this respect, for all modern industrial countries are affected with the same congestion, and seek the world’s market under exactly the same general circumstances.

consisting of a five-room house to the family, and including fuel, medicine, furniture and utensils. I find that it would require twenty-six million acres of arable land and eight million acres in pasture, or about one and one-half acre per capita, and 615,000 workmen, working 11 hours per day, 300 days in the year.

"These 615,000 are but 12.3 per cent of population able to work, excluding the women, children below 16 years of age and men above 50 years.

"If instead of these 615,000 men, the whole five million men able to work were engaged, they would need to work but thirty-seven days in the year, or if they were to work 300 days of the year, they would need to work only 1 hour and 22½ minutes per day.

"Again, if all the luxuries of life were included, it would require one million workmen, or 20 per cent of the population able to work, 2 hours and 12 minutes per day, 300 days in the year. With this working power the twenty-two million Austrians would be supplied with all their heart could possibly desire.

"But if, again, the whole five million men were employed 2 hours and 12 minutes per day, they would need to work two months of the year only. Behold what time could be spared for study and pleasure, while the cares of life, in so far as wealth is concerned, would be obliterated altogether."

(26) "The beginning of the end is here. Scarcely an hour passes without the invention of an appliance to cheapen production, and each appliance introduced means displacement of workers. Aristotle declared that 'slavery was necessary and would not disappear until the day of the machine.' Today the machines are here; such are the steam horses and other creations of the genius of man; these are the iron and steel slaves of today; it is because they are here that the hour for human freedom has struck."

(27) "Like the voice of many waters, the demand is today arising from every land, in every language, that the

26 Jules Guesde—speech in House of Deputies.

27 Bellamy's "Looking Forward." 28 Bernard Shaw.

social and economic system shall be changed in such a manner that these inequalities shall cease and human beings hereafter bear the burden of toil and enjoy its result on terms of equality."

(28) "On the ground of abstract justice, Socialism is not only unobjectionable, but sacredly imperative."

After these quotations of high and concurrent authorities, let us take a cursory view of the professions—the lawyer, preacher, physician, college professor and educators in general—what are they doing, these men who have had opportunities, as Blackstone says, "to cultivate the human mind"? What are they doing for humanity?

The lawyer merely assists in the division of wealth appropriated from the toilers, often taking the lion's share himself; the physician ostensibly promotes the physical welfare of both producer and parasite, dividing his attention between the wealth producing and wealth absorbing factors in society; the preacher directs the worker to be patient in his poverty, and exhorts the successful exploiter to bless God for his generous bounty.

But the poor increase in numbers, and are not patient; the preacher attends closely to those who have the "generous bounty," which draws him further from the people, and the people grow nearer and nearer to a sense of justice and further from a belief in the continuation of a "Christian" civilization, which is essentially unjust; a civilization with the ethics of cannibalism and the morals of barbarism; a civilization in which prayer of the poor profiteth nothing, but the sack of the rich man availeth much.

The workers are awake to the fact that they need claim no rights except those they can enforce. They believe with Isaiah, "They shall not build and another inhabit; they shall not plant and another eat"—and they refuse to sanction or further proceed, without protest, in an anarchic state of society, continued by and for the wealth absorbers and sanctioned and upheld by salaried and self-appointed heavenly guides; a misarrangement of society which annually sacri-

29 A. Schaeffle in "Quintessence of Socialism."

fices more lives in the pursuit of wealth than any five years of the past in wars of conquest and devastation. It is the war for a few on the many, the expense of which, in wealth and lives, the workers have to pay.

Our learned men in our colleges can decipher hieroglyphics; measure the distances from the earth to the other planets with consummate nicety; detect the deadly microbe in his most hidden retreat; bring forth, name and classify the inhabitants of the remotest ocean recesses, and tell the why and wherefore of rocks and mounds and mammoths and bacilli. But where did this education and time for investigation come from? Who clothed and fed, and built instruments and buildings for, and, in fact, did everything to place in their present position these learned men? Why, the workers, of course. And if you ask one of our professors what can be done to better the condition of the world's producers, with wise looks and cautious tones he replies, "the worker has his part and place in the great evolutionary process," etc., etc., etc.; but not a lesson is taught in any branch with industrial truth as its basis. The teachings instilled are the principles which obtained a century ago; the productive power of the individual in industry has multiplied again and again in the last decades, yet distributive justice, the proper study of government materially just for all the people, is absent. Neither the distribution of products nor the vital education of the people has kept pace with the production for profit, which has time after time overtaken itself. Are the people never to know these things through the institutions which they support?

Patrick Henry said: "I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided—the lamp of experience."

The Social Democrats of today say the same; therefore, they propose—

"To replace the system of private capital (i. e., the speculative method of production, regulated on behalf of society only by the free competition of private enterprises) by a system of collective capital, that is, by a method of production which would introduce a unified (social or 'collective') organization of . . . labor, on the basis of

collective or common ownership of the means of production by all the members of the society. This collective system, by placing under official administration such departments of production as can be managed collectively (socially or co-operatively), as well as the distribution among all, of the common produce of all." (29)

And they insist that upon this foundation of material equality will be raised a superstructure of ethics and morality, the like of which (without the elimination of production for profit) is not obtainable or conceivable.

It is held that any man who will not concede to others the right to enjoy the privileges or powers which he enjoys is a despot.

It is held that any man who can and will not array the producers against their masters is a conscious upholder of the social parasites and of slavery through fraud; that such an individual cannot be other than an enemy to the progress of the race.

The red flag is now the emblem of an intelligent, concrete and determined organization, with millions of members, lacking neither stamina to withstand opposition, nor perspicuity to spread its doctrine. It has been a gleam of hope to the common people for centuries; it is now the light of an army whose victory is conceded by its studious antagonists.

The red flag is the wordless international declaration of independence. It has not been sullied by the principles of Shylockism, nor the morbid teachings of passive abnegation. It waves that the world may be free, and it will float as a warning against the return of injustice when the measure of freedom is complete.

[NOTE—The books cited in this argument in the foot notes may be had from the Appeal to Reason.]

## The Working Class Banner.

(THE RED FLAG)

An Emblem of Order, Justice and Brotherhood.

BY W. J. GHENT AND MOSES OPPENHEIMER.

An excitable city magistrate in New York City recently declared from the bench his eagerness to send a certain Socialist speaker to the workhouse for thirty days.

What misdemeanor had this Socialist speaker committed? None that the law names. He had merely displayed a Red Flag at a street corner meeting. There is no law or ordinance forbidding the display of a Red Flag any more than one of green, orange, black, brown or blue. What, then, was the trouble with the magistrate? Was he, like a bull or a turkey cock, peculiarly sensitive to red? Let us hope not. More likely, he was merely voicing a class antagonism against a banner, loved and honored in all civilized lands as the emblem of the militant working class.

You, Mr. Small Retailer, you, Mr. Clerk, and even you, Mr. Workingman, may have some of the same prejudice. Did you ever stop to think of it? What is there in the Red Flag that should awaken such frenzied hatred? Is it because it is an international emblem? But so is the red cross, and that banner does not arouse your antagonism. Many international societies, such, for instance, as the Masons and the Odd Fellows, have emblems which express a wider communion than that of nationality. You are not troubled about them. And if the International Peace Society should also adopt an emblem, as it probably will do, will that also stir your resentment? Of course not. You will readily recognize that the Stars and Stripes represent one set of interests and one set of traditions and feelings, while this other emblem represents a wider range of interests and emotions, and that both of these banners may consistently be displayed by the same men on the same occasions.

You do not worry greatly—nor do the guardians of law and

order or the great captains of industry—when report is made that the Confederate Flag has been carried about in some Southern celebration. Since the "Bloody Shirt" has ceased to be a political issue, convertible into votes, few or none of our most sensitive guardians of the dignity of Old Glory fly into a passion at sight of the displayed banner of the Lost Cause. And yet that was the banner of a landed aristocracy, supported by slavery—the banner of a rebellion which cost this nation a million human lives and untold millions of wealth. But even the irritable city magistrate who wanted to send a Socialist speaker to jail for having flown the Red Flag from his street stand would hardly suffer a quickened pulse beat were this bloody emblem of a thwarted rebellion flaunted in his face.

No, the case is different. The antagonism to the Red Flag is a class antagonism. It is the feeling of a class who own all the good things of the earth, and who are determined not to let go. They recognize in this banner the emblem of another class—the awakened militant working class—who are equally determined to distribute the good things of life on a more equitable plan. This feeling, this antagonism, is an entirely conscious one on the part of the captains of industry, the judges, the lawyers, the politicians and their like. That is, they know what the Red Flag means, and they know why they hate it. They know that it means disaster to them, and triumph to the working class.

But you, Mr. Small Retailer, you, Mr. Clerk, and even you, Mr. Workingman, if you hate the Red Flag, do so largely because you do not know any better. You are merely manifesting, as an unthinking prejudice, what in your wealthier and clearer-sighted neighbor is a conscious antagonism. For the Red Flag is your flag, quite as much as it is the flag of your more awakened brothers. It is the flag of all true men and women who do, or are willing to do, useful work for society. It is the flag of a regenerated society in which order, justice and brotherhood shall prevail.

How this banner came to be the emblem of the militant part of the working class, organized as the International Socialist Party, we cannot say. Curiously, its history appears so far to have been unwritten. It was the battle signal of the Roman army. It has been variously employed by different peoples. It is, or was, an ensign in the British navy. It was sometimes displayed during

the Revolution in France, and again during the Commune in Paris. Gradually, and by an almost imperceptible development, it came to be regarded as the international banner of Socialism.

The Red Flag involves no necessary antagonism to the flag of any civilized nation. It is carried by Frenchmen along with the tricolor, by Britons, by Germans, along with their national banners, by Americans along with the Stars and Stripes. All of human good that these banners represent, or pretend to represent, the Red Flag also represents. But it is an emblem of more than this. It is an emblem of the hope and the determination of men and women in all civilized lands to eliminate the wrongs of modern society, to erect a more orderly, a more harmonious, a more equitable social system. It is the chosen emblem of human brotherhood, without regard to frontiers and boundaries. By common consent its color is taken to be symbolical of the blood that flows in the veins of all human beings, making them all one kin.

The Red Flag is not the emblem of anarchy. No doubt, anarchists sometimes use this flag. But it is not the only thing which anarchists appropriate in use to themselves, and their occasional appropriation of this emblem is something for which the Socialists cannot rightly be blamed. There is, as all sensible men know, not the slightest similarity between Socialism and anarchism. Between capitalism in its unmitigated form and anarchism, there is a close and easily observable relationship. But Socialism is equally the enemy of both. Anarchism and capitalism stand equally for social chaos. But Socialism stands eternally for social order. As the emblem of Socialism, the Red Flag stands for social order.

The Red Flag is the symbol of a world-wide movement for the emancipation of the toiling masses, emancipation from the last form of slavery, the system of wage work. That system must endure as long as the master class owns and controls the means and machinery of production. Under that system the workers are robbed of the greater part of their product. The Red Flag stands for the abolition of masters by making the toilers themselves owners of the tools with which they create wealth. The Red Flag means that the whole fruit of toil shall go to the workers. It means that in the coming brotherhood of man there are to be no drones or idlers fattening on the sweat and blood of their fellow beings.

There is still another meaning. Red is the color emblematic

of life and of the joy of living. For thousands of years the masses have been taught that the earth is a place of sorrow and suffering, that it always must remain so. This doctrine of gloom and despair suited the masters. It kept their victims down, made them center all their hopes in some vague and indefinite future beyond the grave. Socialism preaches the glad gospel of life and of the joy of living. It aims at making this earth of ours a fit and comfortable place for human beings to live in. It rejects slavery and misery as part of the eternal scheme of the universe. It heralds the glad tidings of the kingdom of men on earth. Recognizing only equal human beings, it leaves no room for masters and exploiters.

Do you begin to understand now why the master class, their hangers-on, their tools and mouthpieces, try to bespatter the Red Flag with mud? They denounce it as an affront to patriotism. Theirs is the kind of patriotism defined by the celebrated Dr. Samuel Johnson as the last refuge of a scoundrel. They try to hide their sordid greed, their cruel robbery, behind some gay hit of bunting, posing as the saviors of the nation.

The Red Flag is the expression of love, not of hatred; of mutual helpfulness, not of oppression and robbery. In various parts of the civilized world, more than seven millions of people march triumphantly behind the Red Flag, holding it dear as the symbol of mankind's final emancipation, the symbol of the coming brotherhood of man. Neither czars nor warlords, not even irritable city magistrates, can stop that onward march. Prisons and scaffolds have no terrors for the followers of the Red Flag. Persecution but increases their ranks, redoubles their zeal. Pinkerton villainies only knit them together more closely. Socialism has become the sole hope, the rallying point for all the oppressed, for the men toiling without hope for the morrow; for the women torn from their homes and children; for the little ones dragged into the factory hells. They all begin to look upon the Red Flag with eyes brightening with hope, their only hope.

From Moscow to Tokio the Red Flag is waving triumphantly, and its followers march on an on to certain and early victory, to the establishment of the Brotherhood of Man on Earth.

# The Question Box

This is the nickname of a 64-page pamphlet, containing 125 questions about Socialism put to the editor of the Appeal from time to time by its readers.

Each question is answered briefly and to the point, and the matter is selected so as to cover the whole subject of Socialism in short articles easily read and understood by anyone.

The pamphlet is growing in favor with the comrades, and the lively demand indicates its value for propaganda purposes. Neatly printed with colored covers.

**Price, Postpaid:**

Single copy 10c, twelve for \$1.00,  
a hundred for \$5.00

Appeal to Reason  
Girard, Kansas

## The Writings of Jack London

"Whatever may be said in the premises, Jack's art cannot be successfully assailed."—Bruce Rogers, Manager Book Department Appeal to Reason.

*What Life Means to Me.* Originally published in *The Cosmopolitan Magazine*. Republished by the APPEAL TO REASON in pamphlet form, to sell as low as 5 cents the copy, and to our good comrades who wish to push along a good thing among their neighbors, \$2.00 the hundred.

*The War of the Classes.* A series of papers on "American Socialism." Bound in paper, 25 cents; in cloth, \$1.25, by mail, postpaid, from the APPEAL.

*The People of the Abyss,* with many illustrations from photographs. By mail, postpaid, \$1.50, from the APPEAL.

*Tales of the Fish Patrol.* A story for boys. By mail, postpaid, \$1.50, from the APPEAL.

*The Call of the Wild.* "A tale that is literature—the unity of its plan and the firmness of its execution are equally remarkable—a story that grips the reader deeply. It is art; it is literature—it stands apart, far apart, with so much skill, so much reasonableness, so much logic."—*New York Mail and Express*. Regular library price, \$1.50; now 80 cents, postpaid, from the APPEAL.

*The Sea Wolf,* classed by Edwin Markham as among the "ten best books." Regular \$1.50, library Edition, now 80 cents, postpaid, from the APPEAL.

*The Children of the Frost.* "So powerfully written and so totally different from the great mass of books." By mail, postpaid, \$1.50, from the APPEAL.

*The Kempton-Wace Letters.* "I am much impressed by the book—it is an entertaining, thought compelling book. I should not be surprised if it became a classic on the subject of love."—Edwin Markham. By mail, postpaid, \$1.50, from the APPEAL.

*A Daughter of the Snows.*

*The Game.*

*The Faith of Men.*

*The God of His Fathers.*

*The Son of the Wolf.*

By mail, per volume, \$1.50, postpaid, from the APPEAL.

*Moon Face* and other stories, "The Minions of Midas," "The Tramp," "The Seab," etc. Just received from the publishers and worth the money. By mail, postpaid, \$1.50, from the APPEAL.

*The Apostate.* A story of Child Labor. Our own print. To sell at 10 cents each; \$5.00 a hundred. Order from

The Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas

# Announcement

## ... .. Studies in Socialism... .. QUARTERLY

Now Published Same Size as the Appeal to Reason

### POINTS OF EXCELLENCE:

- 1 No Advertising.
- 2 Large, clear type; 10-point size.
- 3 No news matter; exclusively devoted to expounding Socialism.
- 4 No man can read it without fully understanding Socialism and its program.
- 5 Just the thing to hand out.
- 6 People will read it who will not read a book.
- 7 Its matter is permanent, like a book, and good for all time.
- 8 Contains matter that the Appeal, because of its increasing volume of news, cannot publish.
- 9 It contains all the questions put to the Appeal by inquirers, and the best answers we can make to them. One whole page of questions and answers.
- 10 Just what the agitator wants — brim full of Scientific Socialism.
- 11 Nothing like it in the whole world.
- 12 **COST**—Single copy 10 cents a year. In bundles of 50 or more at 2 cents per year.  
50 Copies to one address 1 year \$ 1.00  
100 Copies to one address 1 year 2.00  
1,000 Copies to one address 1 year 20.00  
Extra copies 50 cents a hundred.

**Send Today for 50 or More**

APPEAL TO REASON, - Girard, Kansas

## THE RED FLAG.

WILLIAM FRANCIS BARNARD, IN FREE SOCIETY.

Banner of crimson floating there,  
Thou alone shalt have homage from me;  
Sole among flags thou gleamest fair,  
The sacred emblem of liberty.  
The nations have made them symbols of state  
To flaunt to the world since the race began—  
Flags of rivalry, scorn and hate;  
But thou art the flag of the world, of man.

Thou art not new; thou hast waved full long;  
Thou hast seen the day arise from the night.  
Whenever the hand of the world grew strong  
It grasped thy staff in sign of its might.  
Over the sea and on every shore  
Thy color has called to the heart and the hand  
To seek their brothers and strive no more,  
Save only for liberty in the land.

Red as the blood of freedom's dead,  
Thy hue might well have poured from their hearts,  
Red as the one blood of man, that is red,  
Thou speakest fraternity's holiest arts.  
Thou tellest of strife in liberty's name,  
Early and late, and of great deeds done;  
Thou picturest world-wide friendship's flame.  
Shine proudly thou in the gracious sun!

As thou art loved, thou art loathed, full well;  
Loathed and cursed by the lords of power.  
Yea, ever they name thee the flag of hell,  
And rage at the thought of thy triumph-hour.  
But their chains hold not on the limbs of men;  
Their shackles are broken, and eaten with rust;  
They never may pull thee down again  
To trample and drag thy fair folds in the dust.

Flag of the world, in strife and peace  
Gleam thou above us. I wait the day  
When lustful power's long ravage may cease—  
Cease, and forever pass away.  
Who would not all for liberty give?  
As I look on thy folds, two hopes have I—  
To love thee and greet thee while I live,  
To wrap thee around me when I must die!

---

The Subscription Price of Wayland's Monthly is 50 Cents a Year  
WAYLAND'S MONTHLY      GIRARD, KANSAS

15  
✓

Karl Kautsky

Die historische Leistung  
von Karl Marx

SOCIALIST LITERATURE Co.,  
15 SPRUCE ST., NEW YORK.

Preis 30 Pfennig

Wir empfehlen:

## Schriften von Karl Marx

### Das Kapital.

1. Band: Der Produktionsprozeß des Kapitals. 4. Aufl. M. 9,—; in Halbfranz gebunden M. 11,—.  
2. Band: Der Zirkulationsprozeß des Kapitals. 2. Aufl. M. 8,—; in Halbfranz gebunden M. 10,—.  
3. Band: Der Gesamtprozeß der kapitalistischen Produktion. 2. Teile. M. 10,—; in Halbfranz gebunden M. 14,—.

### Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich 1848—1850.

Mit einer Einleitung von Friedrich Engels. M. 1,—. In dieser Studie wendet der Begründer der materialistischen Geschichtsauffassung zum erstenmal diese Methode an zur Aufhellung der treibenden sozialen Momente der 48er Revolutionsperiode. Die Engelsche Einleitung gibt eine Geschichte der Entwicklung der revolutionären proletarischen Taktik vom Barrikadenkampf bis zum allgemeinen Stimmrecht und — zum Umsturz.

### Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich.

Adresse des Generalrats der Internat. Arbeiter-Assoziation M. —30. Die neue Auflage ist vermehrt durch die beiden Adressen des Generalrats über den deutsch-französischen Krieg und durch eine in Form einer Anleitung gelleidete historische kritische Skizze über die Kommune aus der Feder von Friedrich Engels.

**Lohnarbeit und Kapital.** Separatabdruck aus der „Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung“ vom Jahre 1849. Mit einer Einleitung von Friedrich Engels. Neu herausgegeben v. K. Kautsky. M. —75; Agitationsausgabe M. —25. Kautsky schreibt im Vorwort: „So sehr unsere populäre Literatur angewachsen ist, sie hat auch heute noch nichts aufzuweisen, was sich an Einfachheit, Klarheit und doch wissenschaftlicher Schärfe mit dieser Schrift messen könnte.“

### Das Elend der Philosophie.

Antwort auf Proudhons „Philosophie des Elends“. Deutsch von Eduard Bernstein und K. Kautsky. Mit Vorwort und Noten von Fr. Engels. Brosch. M. 1,50; gebd. M. 2,—.

### Marx vor den Kölner Geschworenen.

Prozeß gegen den Ausschuh der rheinischen Demokraten wegen Aufrufs zum bewaffneten Widerstand (9. Februar 1849). Mit Vorwort von Fr. Engels. Neue Auflage M. —20.

### Revolution und Konterrevolution in Deutschland.

Deutsch von Karl Kautsky. Brosch. M. 1,50; gebd. M. 2,—.

### Der 18. Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte. M. 1,—

Diese Broschüre gegen den Organisator des Lumpenproletariats ist wohl die glänzendste Streitschrift von Marx; sie enthält auch eine ätzende Kritik der politischen Feigheit und Halbheit des „Bürgertums“.

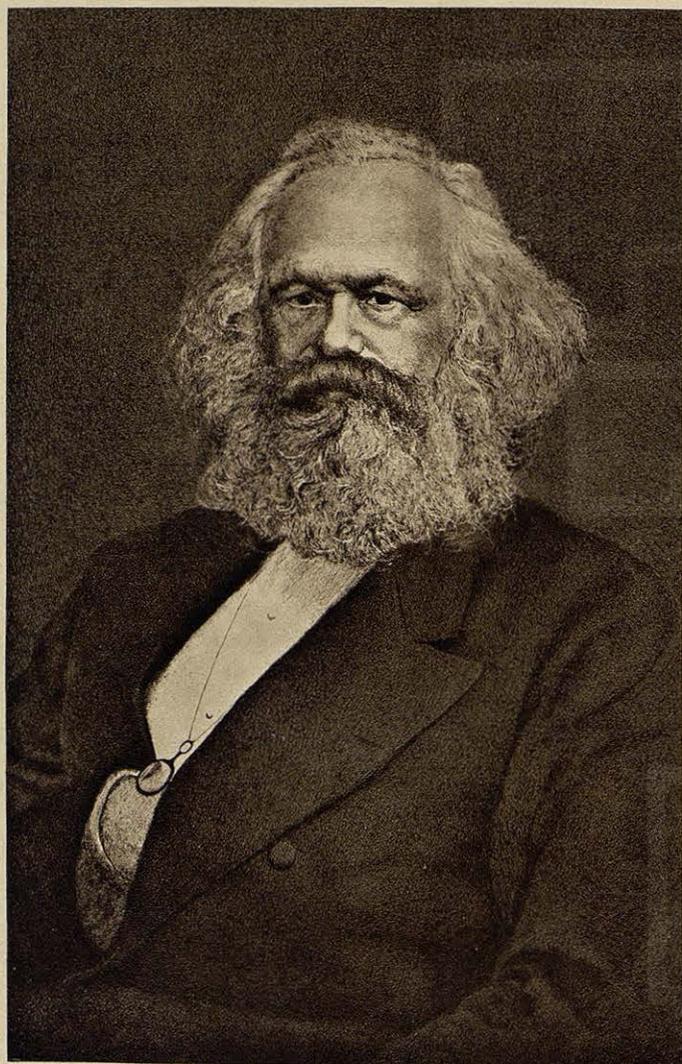
### Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie.

Herausgegeben von Karl Kautsky. Gebd. M. 2,50. Jahrzehntelang war diese 1859 erschienene Schrift, die Vorläuferin des „Kapitals“, im Buchhandel vergriffen; die jetzige Ausgabe ist mit einem Vorwort des Herausgebers versehen.

### Theorien über den Mehrwert.

Aus dem nachgelassenen Manuskript: „Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie“. Herausgegeben von Karl Kautsky.

1. Bd.: Die Anfänge der Theorie vom Mehrwert bis Adam Smith. M. 5,50; gebd. M. 6,—.  
2. Bd.: I. Teil: David Ricardo. M. 5,50; gebd. M. 6,—.  
2. Bd.: II. Teil: David Ricardo. M. 5,—; gebd. M. 5,50.



Karl Marx

# Die historische Leistung von Karl Marx

Zum 25. Todestage des Meisters  
herausgegeben von Karl Rautsky

Mit einem Porträt

Berlin 1908  
Verlag: Buchhandlung Vorwärts, Berlin SW. 68  
(Hans Weber, Berlin)

## Inhalt.

Vorwort . . . . .	5
1. Einleitung . . . . .	7
2. Die Zusammenfassung von Natur- und Geistes- wissenschaft . . . . .	9
3. Marx und Engels . . . . .	18
4. Die Zusammenfassung deutschen, französischen, englischen Denkens . . . . .	21
5. Die Vereinigung von Arbeiterbewegung und Sozialismus . . . . .	28
6. Die Zusammenfassung der Theorie und Praxis . . . . .	39



Zur Zeitstärker Nachvollziehung für  
Herrn Louis.

Zur Finanzierung von dem 2. April. 1912.

Lehrerbildung, Lehrerb. Mr. Louis.

## Vorwort.

Im Auftrage des Bremer Bildungsausschusses hielt ich am 17. Dezember des vorigen Jahres in Bremen einen Vortrag über Karl Marx. Von Bremer Genossen, die den Vortrag gehört, kam mir die Aufforderung zu, ihn im Druck herauszugeben, da er geeignet sei, weitverbreitete irrthümliche Auffassungen über das, was Marx geleistet hat und was der Marxismus bedeutet, richtig zu stellen. Ich komme hiermit dieser Aufforderung nach, doch beschränke ich mich nicht auf eine bloße Wiedergabe des Vortrages. Ich habe ihn für den Druck mehrfach erweitert, namentlich in seinem ersten Theil.

Es ist nicht eine Lobrede auf Karl Marx, was ich hier gebe. Sie entspräche wenig dem stolzen Sinne des Mannes, dessen Wahlspruch es war: Verfolge Deinen Weg und laß die Leute reden. Sie wäre auch abgeschmackt zu einer Zeit, wo seine persönliche Bedeutung von aller Welt anerkannt wird.

Es handelt sich mir vielmehr darum, das Verständniß dessen zu erleichtern, was Marx der Welt gebracht hat. Das ist keineswegs so allgemein bekannt, wie es notwendig wäre in einer Periode, in der so heftig für und wider Marx gestritten wird. Gar mancher wird wohl beim Lesen der folgenden Seiten finden, daß Gedanken, die heute zu Selbstverständlichkeiten geworden sind, von Marx und Engels in mühsamer Arbeit zu entdecken waren. Er wird aber auch finden, daß Ideen, die uns heute als über-

raschende, neue Entdeckungen gepriesen werden, durch die der „veraltete“ Marxismus überwunden oder weitergebildet werden soll, im Grunde nichts darstellen, als die Wiederbelebung von Anschauungen und Denkweisen, die vor Marx grassierten und sich abnutzten, und die gerade dieser überwunden hat, die aber vor neuen Generationen, denen die Vergangenheit unserer Bewegung fremd ist, immer wieder von neuem auftauchen.

So will die vorliegende Arbeit nicht bloß eine Studie zur Parteigeschichte sein, sondern auch ein Beitrag zur Entscheidung aktueller Fragen.

Friedenau, Februar 1908.

R. Kautsky.

## 1. Einleitung.

Am 14. März 1908 werden es 25 Jahre, daß Karl Marx tot ist, und im Beginn desselben Jahres waren es sechs Jahrzehnte, daß das Kommunistische Manifest erschien, in dem seine neue Lehre ihren ersten zusammenfassenden Ausdruck fand. Das sind lange Zeiträume für eine so raschlebige Zeit, wie die unsere, die ihre wissenschaftlichen und künstlerischen Anschauungen ebenso schnell wechselt, wie ihre Moden. Und doch lebt Karl Marx heute noch unter uns in voller Kraft, und er beherrscht das Denken unserer Zeit mehr als je, trotz aller Krisen des Marxismus, trotz aller Widerlegungen und Ueberwindungen von den Rathedern der bürgerlichen Wissenschaft herab.

Dieser erstaunliche und stets wachsende Einfluß bliebe völlig unverständlich, wenn es Marx nicht gelungen wäre, die letzten Wurzeln der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft bloßzulegen. Hat er das getan, dann sind freilich, so lange diese Gesellschaftsform dauert, neue soziale Erkenntnisse von grundlegender Bedeutung über Marx hinaus nicht mehr zu gewinnen, und dann bleibt so lange der Weg, den er gewiesen, praktisch wie theoretisch weit fruchtbringender als jeder andere. Der gewaltige und dauernde Einfluß von Marx auf das moderne Denken wäre aber auch unverständlich, wenn er nicht vermocht hätte, geistig über das Gebiet der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise hinauszuwachsen, die Tendenzen zu erkennen, die über sie hinaus zu einer höheren Gesellschaftsordnung führen, und uns so ferne Ziele zu weisen, die durch den Fortgang der Entwicklung immer näher, immer greifbarer werden und in demselben Maße auch die Größe des Mannes immer gewaltiger erkennen lassen, der sie zuerst klar erkannte.

Es ist die so seltene Mischung wissenschaftlicher Tiefe mit revolutionärer Kühnheit, was bewirkt, daß Karl Marx heute, ein Vierteljahrhundert nach seinem Tode, zwei Menschenalter nach dem Beginn seines öffentlichen Auftretens, weit machtvoller unter uns lebt wie damals, als er noch unter den Lebenden wandelte.

Suchen wir uns klar zu werden über das Wesen der historischen Leistung dieses wunderbaren Mannes, dann kann man sie vielleicht am besten dadurch charakterisieren, daß man sie als die Tätigkeit der Zusammenfassung kennzeichnet, der Zusammenfassung verschiedener, oft anscheinend gegensätzlicher Gebiete zu einer höheren Einheit: Wir haben da vor allem die Zusammenfassung von Naturwissenschaft und Geisteswissenschaft, von englischem, französischem, deutschem Denken, von Arbeiterbewegung und Sozialismus, von Theorie und Praxis. Daß ihm das alles gelang, daß er mit einem Universalismus ohne Gleichen alle diese Gebiete nicht bloß kannte, sondern bis zur Meisterschaft beherrschte, dadurch wurde es Karl Marx möglich, seine gewaltige historische Leistung zu vollbringen, die den letzten Jahrzehnten des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts und den ersten des zwanzigsten ihren Charakter ausprägt.

## 2. Die Zusammenfassung von Natur- und Geisteswissenschaft.

Die Grundlage alles Wirkens von Karl Marx bildet seine theoretische Leistung. Sie müssen wir vor allem betrachten. Aber gerade sie bietet für die populäre Darstellung besondere Schwierigkeiten. Es wird uns hoffentlich gelingen, sie zu überwinden, trotzdem wir uns auf einige Andeutungen beschränken müssen. Auf jeden Fall werden die Punkte, die wir nach diesem behandeln, ohne weiteres leicht verständlich sein, der Leser braucht sich also durch einige Mühe, welche die nächsten Seiten bereiten, nicht davon abschrecken zu lassen, sich zu den weiteren durchzuarbeiten.

Man teilt die Wissenschaften in zwei große Gebiete: Die Naturwissenschaften, welche die Gesetze der Bewegungen der leblosen und belebten Körper zu erforschen suchen, und die Geisteswissenschaften, die eigentlich mit Unrecht so genannt werden: Denn soweit der Geist als Äußerung eines einzelnen Körpers auftritt, wird er von den Naturwissenschaften untersucht. Die Psychologie, die Seelenlehre, wird ganz mit naturwissenschaftlichen Methoden betrieben, und es ist den Geisteswissenschaften nie eingefallen, Geisteskrankheiten heilen zu wollen. Das Unrecht der Naturwissenschaft auf dies Gebiet bleibt unbestritten.

Was man Geisteswissenschaft nennt, ist tatsächlich Gesellschaftswissenschaft, und behandelt die Verhältnisse des Menschen zu seinen Nebenmenschen. Nur jene geistigen Tätigkeiten und Äußerungen des Menschen, die dafür in Betracht kommen, werden von den Geisteswissenschaften untersucht.

Innerhalb der Geisteswissenschaften selbst kann man aber wieder zwei Gruppen unterscheiden: Die einen, die die menschliche Gesellschaft als solche auf Grund von Massenbetrachtungen erforschen. Dazu gehört die politische Ökonomie, die Lehre von den Gesetzen der gesellschaftlichen Wirtschaft unter der Herrschaft der Warenproduktion; die Ethnologie, die Untersuchung der verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Zustände der ver-

schiedenen Völker; endlich die Prähistorie oder Urgeschichte, die Erforschung der gesellschaftlichen Zustände in der Zeit, aus der keine geschriebenen Dokumente überliefert sind.

Die andere Gruppe der Geisteswissenschaften umfaßt Wissenschaften, die bisher vornehmlich vom Individuum ausgingen, die die Stellung und Wirkung des Individuums in der Gesellschaft behandelten: Geschichte, Jurisprudenz und Ethik oder Sittlichkeitslehre.

Diese zweite Gruppe von Geisteswissenschaften ist uralt und hat auf das Denken der Menschen seit jeher den größten Einfluß geübt. Die erstere Gruppe war dagegen zurzeit, da Marx sich bildete, jung und eben erst zu wissenschaftlichen Methoden gelangt. Sie blieb auf Fachleute beschränkt und hatte noch keinen Einfluß auf das allgemeine Denken, das durch die Naturwissenschaften und die Geisteswissenschaften der zweiten Gruppe bestimmt wurde.

Zwischen den beiden letztgenannten Arten von Wissenschaften bestand nun eine gewaltige Kluft, die sich in gegensätzlichen Weltanschauungen offenbarte.

Die Naturwissenschaft hatte so viele notwendige, gesetzmäßige Zusammenhänge in der Natur aufgedeckt, das heißt, so viele Male erprobt, daß gleiche Ursachen stets auch gleiche Wirkungen hervorrufen, daß sie ganz durchdrungen war von der Voraussetzung einer allgemeinen Gesetzmäßigkeit in der Natur und die Annahme geheimnisvoller Mächte, die ganz nach Willkür in das natürliche Geschehen eingreifen, aus ihr völlig verbannt wurde. Der moderne Mensch trachtet nicht mehr danach, solche Mächte sich durch Gebete und Opfer günstig zu stimmen, sondern nur noch danach, die gesetzmäßigen Zusammenhänge in der Natur zu erkennen, um in ihr durch sein Eingreifen jene Wirkungen erzielen zu können, deren er zu seiner Existenz oder seinem Behagen bedarf.

Anderes in den genannten Geisteswissenschaften. Diese wurden noch beherrscht von der Annahme der Freiheit des menschlichen Willens, der keiner gesetzmäßigen Notwendigkeit unterliege. Die Juristen und Ethiker fühlten sich gedrängt, an dieser Annahme festzuhalten, weil sie sonst den Boden unter den Füßen verloren. Wenn der Mensch ein Produkt der Verhältnisse ist, sein Tun und Wollen die notwendige Wirkung von Ursachen, die nicht von seinem Belieben abhängen, was sollte dann aus Sünde und Strafe, aus Gut und Böse, aus der juristischen und moralischen Verurteilung werden?

Das war freilich nur ein Motiv, ein Beweggrund „praktischer Vernunft“, kein Beweisgrund. Diesen lieferte vornehmlich die

Geschichtswissenschaft, die im wesentlichen auf nichts anderem beruhte, als auf der Sammlung von geschriebenen Dokumenten früherer Zeiten, in denen die Taten einzelner Individuen, namentlich der Regenten, entweder von ihnen selbst oder von andern mitgeteilt wurden. Irgendeine gesetzmäßige Notwendigkeit in den einzelnen Taten zu entdecken, schien unmöglich. Vergeblich versuchten naturwissenschaftlich Denkende, eine solche Notwendigkeit herauszufinden. Wohl sträubten sie sich dagegen, daß die allgemeine Gesetzmäßigkeit der Natur für das Tun des Menschen nicht gelten sollte. Die Erfahrung bot ihnen genügenden Stoff, zu zeigen, daß der menschliche Geist keine Ausnahme in der Natur mache, daß er auf bestimmte Ursachen immer mit bestimmten Wirkungen antworte. Indes, so unleugbar das für die einfacheren geistigen Betätigungen festgestellt werden konnte, die der Mensch mit den Tieren gemeinsam hat, für seine komplizierten Betätigungen, für die gesellschaftlichen Ideen und Ideale konnten die Naturforscher keinen notwendigen ursächlichen Zusammenhang herausfinden, sie vermochten also diese Lücke nicht auszufüllen. Sie konnten wohl behaupten, daß der menschliche Geist nur ein Stück der Natur sei und innerhalb ihrer notwendigen Zusammenhänge liege, aber sie konnten es nicht ausreichend auf allen Gebieten beweisen. Ihr materialistischer Monismus blieb unvollständig und konnte mit dem Idealismus und Dualismus nicht fertig werden.

Da kam Marx und sah, daß die Geschichte und die in der Geschichte wirkenden Ideen und Ideale der Menschen, deren Erfolge und Mißerfolge das Ergebnis von Klassenkämpfen sind. Aber er sah noch mehr. Klassengegensätze und Klassenkämpfe hatte man schon vor ihm in der Geschichte gesehen, aber sie waren meist als das Werk von Dummheit und Bosheit einerseits, von Hochsinigkeit und Aufklärung andererseits erschienen; erst Marx deckte ihren notwendigen Zusammenhang mit den wirtschaftlichen Verhältnissen auf, deren Gesetzmäßigkeit erkannt werden kann, wie Marx am besten dargethat. Die wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse selbst beruhen aber wieder in letzter Linie auf der Art und dem Maße der Herrschaft des Menschen über die Natur, die aus der Erkenntnis der Naturgesetze hervorgeht.

Nur unter bestimmten gesellschaftlichen Bedingungen ist die Triebkraft der Geschichte der Klassenkampf; stets ist es in letzter Linie der Kampf gegen die Natur. Wie eigenartig auch die Gesellschaft gegenüber der übrigen Natur erscheinen mag, hier wie dort finden wir dieselbe Art der Bewegung und Ent-

wicklung durch den Kampf von Gegensätzen, die immer wieder aus der Natur selbst hervorgehen, die dialektische Entwicklung.

Damit war die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung in den Rahmen der natürlichen Entwicklung hineingestellt, war der menschliche Geist auch in seinen kompliziertesten und höchsten Neußerungen, den gesellschaftlichen, als ein Stück der Natur dargetan und die natürliche Gesetzmäßigkeit seines Wirkens auf allen Gebieten erwiesen, dem philosophischen Idealismus und Dualismus der letzte Boden entzogen.

Auf diese Weise hat Marx nicht bloß die Geschichtswissenschaft völlig umgewälzt, sondern auch die Kluft zwischen Naturwissenschaften und Geisteswissenschaften ausgefüllt, die Einheitlichkeit der gesamten menschlichen Wissenschaft begründet und dadurch die Philosophie überflüssig gemacht, insofern diese als besondere, außerhalb der Wissenschaften und über ihnen stehende Weisheit jene Einheitlichkeit des Denkens über den Weltprozeß herzustellen suchte, die ehemals aus den Wissenschaften nicht zu gewinnen war.

Es bedeutet eine gewaltige Erhebung der Wissenschaft, was Marx mit seiner Geschichtsauffassung bewirkte; das gesamte menschliche Denken und Erkennen mußte dadurch auf das kraftvollste befruchtet werden — aber merkwürdig: Die bürgerliche Wissenschaft verhielt sich völlig ablehnend dagegen, und nur im Gegensatz zu ihr, als besondere, proletarische Wissenschaft konnte die neue wissenschaftliche Auffassung sich durchdringen.

Man hat die Aufstellung des Gegensatzes von bürgerlicher und proletarischer Wissenschaft verhöhnt, als ob es etwa eine bürgerliche und eine proletarische Chemie oder Mathematik geben könnte! Aber die Spötter beweisen nur, daß sie nicht wissen, um was es sich handelt.

Die Entdeckung der Marxschen materialistischen Geschichtsauffassung hatte zwei Vorbedingungen. Einmal eine bestimmte Höhe der Wissenschaft, dann aber auch einen revolutionären Standpunkt.

Die Gesetzmäßigkeit der geschichtlichen Entwicklung konnte erst erkannt werden, als die neuen oben erwähnten Geisteswissenschaften, politische Ökonomie und in ihr wieder Wirtschaftsgeschichte, dann Ethnologie und Prähistorie zu einer gewissen Höhe gelangt waren. Nur diese Wissenschaften, aus deren Material das Individuum von vornherein ausgeschlossen war, die von vornherein auf Massenbeobachtungen fußten, konnten die Grundgesetze der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung erkennen lassen und so den Weg bahnen zur Erforschung jener Strömungen,

von denen die einzelnen an der Oberfläche schwimmenden Individuen getrieben werden und die die herkömmliche Darstellung der Geschichte allein beachtet und verzeichnet.

Diese neuen Geisteswissenschaften entwickelten sich erst mit der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise und ihrem Weltverkehr, sie konnten bedeutendes erst leisten, als das Kapital zur Herrschaft gelangt war, damit aber auch die Bourgeoisie aufgehört hatte, eine revolutionäre Klasse zu sein.

Nur eine solche vermochte jedoch die Lehre vom Klassenkampf zu akzeptieren. Eine Klasse, die die Macht in der Gesellschaft erobern will, muß auch den Kampf um die Macht wollen, sie wird seine Notwendigkeit leicht begreifen. Eine Klasse, die die Macht besitzt, wird jeden Kampf darum als eine unwillkommene Störung betrachten und sich gegen jede Lehre ablehnend verhalten, die seine Notwendigkeit dartut. Sie wird um so mehr dagegen auftreten, wenn die Lehre vom Klassenkampf eine Lehre gesellschaftlicher Entwicklung ist, die als notwendigen Abschluß des gegenwärtigen Klassenkampfes die Überwindung der gegenwärtigen Herren der Gesellschaft hinstellt.

Aber auch die Lehre, daß die Menschen Produkte der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse insofern sind, als sich die Mitglieder einer besonderen Gesellschaftsform von den Menschen anderer Gesellschaftsformen unterscheiden, auch diese Lehre ist für eine konservative Klasse nicht annehmbar, weil dabei als das einzige Mittel, die Menschen zu ändern, die Veränderung der Gesellschaft selbst erscheint. Solange die Bourgeoisie revolutionär war, huldigte auch sie der Anschauung, daß die Menschen die Produkte der Gesellschaft seien, aber leider waren damals jene Wissenschaften noch nicht genügend entwickelt, aus denen man die Triebkräfte der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung hätte erkennen können. Die französischen Materialisten des 18. Jahrhunderts kannten nicht den Klassenkampf und beachteten nicht die technische Entwicklung. Und so wußten sie wohl, daß man, um die Menschen zu ändern, die Gesellschaft ändern müsse, aber sie wußten nicht, woher nun die Kräfte kommen sollten, die die Gesellschaft zu ändern hätten. Sie sahen sie in der Allmacht einzelner außerordentlicher Menschen, vor allem in der von Schulmeistern. Darüber hinaus kam der bürgerliche Materialismus nicht.

Sobald dann die Bourgeoisie konservativ wurde, erschien ihr bald der Gedanke unerträglich, daß die gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse es seien, die an den besonderen Mißständen unserer Zeit

Schuld trügen und daher geändert werden müßten. So weit sie naturwissenschaftlich denkt, sucht sie jetzt nachzuweisen, daß die Menschen von Natur aus so sind und sein müssen, wie sie sind, daß die Gesellschaft ändern wollen, nichts anderes heißt, als die natürliche Ordnung auf den Kopf stellen. Man muß indes schon sehr ausschließlich naturwissenschaftlich gebildet und von den gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen unserer Zeit unberührt geblieben sein, um deren naturnotwendiges Fortbestehen für alle Zeiten zu behaupten. Die Mehrzahl der Bourgeoisie findet nicht mehr den Mut dazu, sie sucht sich zu trösten durch Leugnung des Materialismus und Anerkennung der Willensfreiheit. Nicht die Gesellschaft macht die Menschen, behauptet sie, sondern die Menschen machen die Gesellschaft nach ihrem Willen. Diese ist unvollkommen, weil jene es sind. Wir müssen die Gesellschaft verbessern nicht durch gesellschaftliche Umwandlungen, sondern dadurch, daß wir die einzelnen höher heben, ihnen eine höhere Sittlichkeit einflößen. Die besseren Menschen werden dann schon eine bessere Gesellschaft erzeugen. So wird die Ethik und die Anerkennung der Willensfreiheit zur Lieblingsdoktrin des heutigen Bürgertums. Sie soll dessen guten Willen bekunden, den gesellschaftlichen Mißständen entgegenzuwirken und es doch zu keiner gesellschaftlichen Veränderung verpflichten, im Gegenteil, jede solche abwehren.

Wer auf dem Boden der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft steht, dem sind von diesem Standpunkt aus alle Erkenntnisse unzugänglich, die auf der Grundlage der von Marx geschaffenen Einheitlichkeit aller Wissenschaft gewonnen werden können. Nur wer sich der bestehenden Gesellschaft kritisch gegenüberstellt, kann zum Begreifen dieser Erkenntnisse gelangen, das heißt, also nur derjenige, der sich auf den Boden des Proletariats stellt. Insofern kann man die proletarische von der bürgerlichen Wissenschaft unterscheiden.

Natürlich äußert sich der Gegensatz zwischen beiden am stärksten in den Geisteswissenschaften, während der Gegensatz zwischen der feudalen oder katholischen und der bürgerlichen Wissenschaft am auffallendsten in den Naturwissenschaften zutage tritt. Aber das Denken des Menschen strebt stets nach Einheitlichkeit, die verschiedenen Wissensgebiete beeinflussen einander stets und daher wirken unsere gesellschaftlichen Auffassungen auf unsere gesamte Auffassung der Welt zurück. So macht sich der Gegensatz zwischen bürgerlicher und proletarischer Wissenschaft schließlich auch in der Naturwissenschaft geltend.

Das kann man schon in der griechischen Philosophie verfolgen, das zeigt unter anderem ein Beispiel aus der modernen Naturwissenschaft, das zu unserem Gegenstand in enger Beziehung steht. Ich habe schon einmal an einem andern Ort darauf hingewiesen, daß die Bourgeoisie, solange sie revolutionär war, auch annahm, daß sich die natürliche Entwicklung durch Katastrophen vollzieht. Seitdem sie konservativ geworden ist, will sie von Katastrophen auch in der Natur nichts mehr wissen. Die Entwicklung vollzieht sich jetzt nach ihrer Ansicht in langsamster Weise ausschließlich auf dem Wege ganz unmerklicher Änderungen. Katastrophen erscheinen ihr als etwas abnormes, unnatürliches, nur noch dazu geeignet, die natürliche Entwicklung zu stören. Und trotz der Darwinschen Lehre vom Kampf ums Dasein bemüht sich die bürgerliche Wissenschaft aus allen Kräften, den Begriff der Entwicklung gleichbedeutend erscheinen zu lassen mit dem eines ganz friedlichen Vorganges.

Für Marx dagegen war der Klassenkampf nur eine besondere Form des allgemeinen Entwicklungsgesetzes der Natur, das durchaus nicht friedlicher Art ist. Die Entwicklung ist für ihn, wie wir schon bemerkt, eine „dialektische“, das heißt das Produkt eines Kampfes von Gegensätzen, die notwendigerweise auftreten. Jeder Kampf unversöhnlicher Gegensätze muß aber schließlich zu einer Überwindung des einen der Kämpfenden, also zu einer Katastrophe führen. Die Katastrophe kann sich sehr langsam vorbereiten, unmerklich mag die Kraft des einen Kämpfenden wachsen, die des andern absolut oder im Verhältnis abnehmen, schließlich wird der Zusammenbruch des einen Teils unvermeidlich, — das heißt, unvermeidlich infolge des Kampfes und des Anwachsens der Kraft des einen Teils, nicht unvermeidlich als ein Ereignis, das sich von selbst vollzieht. Tagtäglich, auf Schritt und Tritt begegnen wir kleinen Katastrophen, in der Natur wie in der Gesellschaft. Jeder Todesfall ist eine Katastrophe. Jedes bestehende Gebilde muß einmal einer Übermacht von Gegensätzen erliegen. Das gilt nicht bloß für Pflanzen und Tiere, sondern auch für ganze Gesellschaften, ganze Reiche, ganze Himmelskörper. Auch für sie bereitet der Fortgang des allgemeinen Entwicklungsprozesses durch allmähliches Anwachsen von Widerständen zeitweise Katastrophen vor. Keine Bewegung, keine Entwicklung ohne zeitweise Katastrophen. Diese bilden ein notwendiges Stadium der Entwicklung, die Evolution ist unmöglich ohne zeitweise Revolutionen.

In dieser Auffassung finden wir ebenso die revolutionär bürgerliche überwunden, die annahm, die Entwicklung vollziehe sich ausschließlich durch Katastrophen, wie die konservativ bürgerliche, die in der Katastrophe nicht den notwendigen Durchgangspunkt eines oft recht langsamen und unmerklichen Entwicklungsprozesses erblickt, sondern dessen Störung und Hemmung.

Einen andern Gegensatz zwischen bürgerlicher und proletarischer, oder wenn man lieber will, zwischen konservativer und revolutionärer Wissenschaft finden wir in der Erkenntnis Kritik. Eine revolutionäre Klasse, welche die Kraft in sich fühlt, die Gesellschaft zu erobern, ist auch geneigt, keine Schranke für ihre wissenschaftlichen Eroberungen anzuerkennen, sich zur Lösung aller Probleme ihrer Zeit fähig zu halten. Eine konservative Klasse dagegen scheut instinktiv jeden Fortschritt nicht bloß auf politischem und sozialem, sondern auch auf wissenschaftlichem Gebiet, weil sie fühlt, daß jede tiefere Erkenntnis ihr nicht mehr viel nützen, wohl aber unendlich schaden kann. Sie ist geneigt, das Vertrauen in die Wissenschaft herabzusetzen.

Die naive Zuversicht, die noch die revolutionären Denker des 18. Jahrhunderts besaß, als trügen sie die Lösung aller Welträtsel in der Tasche, als sprächen sie im Namen der absoluten Vernunft, kann auch der kühnste Revolutionär heute nicht mehr teilen. Heute wird niemand mehr leugnen wollen, was freilich auch schon im 18. Jahrhundert, ja selbst im Altertum manche Denker wußten, daß alle unsere Erkenntnis relativ ist, daß sie ein Verhältnis des Menschen, des Ich, zur übrigen Welt darstellt, uns nur dieses Verhältnis zeigt, nicht die Welt selbst. Alle Erkenntnis ist also relativ, bedingt und begrenzt, absolute, ewige Wahrheiten gibt es nicht. Das besagt aber nichts anderes, als daß es keinen Abschluß für unsere Erkenntnis gibt, daß der Prozeß des Erkennens ein unendlicher, unbegrenzter ist, daß es zwar töricht ist, irgendeine Erkenntnis als der Weisheit letzten Schluß hinzustellen, aber nicht minder töricht, irgendeinen Satz als der Weisheit äußerste Grenze aufzustellen, über die wir nie und nimmer hinauskommen könnten. Wir wissen vielmehr, daß es der Menschheit noch stets gelungen ist, jede Grenze ihres Erkennens, deren sie sich bewußt wurde, früher oder später zu überschreiten, freilich nur, um dahinter weitere Grenzen zu finden, von denen sie ehedem keine Ahnung hatte. Wir haben nicht den mindesten Grund, vor irgend einem bestimmten Problem zurückzuschrecken, das wir zu erkennen im Stande sind, mutlos davor die Hände in den Schoß sinken

zu lassen und resigniert zu murmeln: Ignorabimus, wir werden darüber nie etwas wissen. Diese Mutlosigkeit kennzeichnet aber das moderne bürgerliche Denken. Statt mit aller Macht dahin zu streben, unsere Erkenntnis zu erweitern und zu vertiefen, wendet es heute seine vornehmste Kraft dahin auf, bestimmte Grenzen herauszufinden, die unserer Erkenntnis für immer gezogen sein sollen, und die Sicherheit wissenschaftlicher Erkenntnis zu diskreditieren.

So lange die Bourgeoisie revolutionär war, ging sie an solchen Aufgaben vorüber. Auch Marx hatte nie etwas dafür übrig, sehr zur Entrüstung der jetzigen bürgerlichen Philosophie.

### 3. Marx und Engels.

Es war kein revolutionärer, proletarischer Standpunkt, der es einem Geistesriesen wie Marx erlaubte, die Einheitlichkeit aller Wissenschaft zu begründen. Aber wenn wir von Marx reden, dürfen wir nie vergessen, daß dieselbe Großtat gleichzeitig einem ebenbürtigen Denker gelang, Friedrich Engels, und daß ohne das innige Zusammenwirken beider die neue materialistische Geschichtsauffassung und die neue geschichtliche oder dialektische Weltanschauung nicht mit einem Schlage so vollkommen und umfassend hätte auftreten können.

Auf anderem Wege wie Marx gelangte Engels zu dieser Auffassung. Marx war der Sohn eines Juristen, zunächst für die juristische, dann die akademische Laufbahn bestimmt. Er studierte Rechtswissenschaft, Philosophie, Geschichte und wandte sich ökonomischen Studien erst zu, als er den Mangel ökonomischer Erkenntnis bitter empfand.

In Paris studierte er Ökonomie, Revolutionsgeschichte und Sozialismus, und namentlich der große Denker Saint Simon scheint auf ihn sehr gewirkt zu haben. Diese Studien brachten ihn dann zu der Erkenntnis, daß nicht das Gesetz, nicht der Staat die Gesellschaft mache, sondern umgekehrt, daß die dem ökonomischen Prozeß entspringende Gesellschaft das Gesetz, den Staat nach ihrem Bedürfnis macht.

Engels dagegen wurde als der Sohn eines Fabrikanten geboren, nicht das Gymnasium, sondern die Realschule gab ihm die ersten Grundlagen seines Wissens; dort lernte er naturwissenschaftlich denken. Dann wurde er praktischer Kaufmann, betrieb Ökonomie praktisch und theoretisch, und zwar in England, in Manchester, dem Zentrum des englischen Kapitalismus, wo sein Vater eine Fabrik besaß. Von Deutschland her mit der Hegelschen Philosophie vertraut, wußte er die ökonomische Erkenntnis zu vertiefen, die er in England vorfand, und wurde sein Blick vor allem auf die Wirtschaftsgeschichte gelenkt.

Nirgends war aber auch in den vierziger Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts der proletarische Klassenkampf so entwickelt und lag dessen Zusammenhang mit der kapitalistischen Entwicklung so klar zu Tage, wie in England.

So kam Engels gleichzeitig mit Marx, aber auf einem anderen Wege an die Schwelle derselben materialistischen Geschichtsauffassung wie dieser. Kam der eine dahin auf dem Wege über die alten Geisteswissenschaften, Jurisprudenz, Ethik, Geschichte, so der andere auf dem über die neuen, Ökonomie, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Ethnologie, und die Naturwissenschaften. In der Revolution, im Sozialismus begegneten sie sich. Die Übereinstimmung ihrer Ideen war es, was sie einander sofort näher brachte, als sie in persönliche Berührung kamen, im Jahre 1844 in Paris. Die Übereinstimmung der Ideen wurde aber bald zu völliger Verschmelzung in einer höheren Einheit, bei der es unmöglich ist, zu sagen, was und wieviel der eine oder der andere dazu beigetragen hat. Wohl war Marx der Bedeutendere der beiden, und niemand hat dies neidloser, ja freudiger anerkannt, als Engels selbst. Nach Marx wird auch ihre Denkweise die marxistische genannt. Aber Marx hätte nie das leisten können, was er geleistet, ohne Engels, von dem er ungeheuer viel lernte — freilich auch umgekehrt. Jeder der beiden wurde gehoben durch das Zusammenwirken mit dem anderen und erlangte so eine Weite des Blicks und eine Universalität, die er für sich allein nicht hätte erringen können. Marx wäre auch ohne Engels, Engels auch ohne Marx zur materialistischen Geschichtsauffassung gekommen, aber ihre Entwicklung wäre wohl langsamer, durch mehr Irrtümer und Fehlschläge hindurchgegangen. Marx war der tiefere Denker, Engels der kühnere. Bei Marx war die Abstraktionskraft stärker entwickelt, die Gabe, in der verwirrenden Fülle der besonderen Erscheinungen das Allgemeine zu entdecken; bei Engels die Kombinationsgabe, das Vermögen, aus einzelnen Merkmalen die Gesamtheit einer Erscheinung im Geiste herzustellen. Bei Marx war das kritische Vermögen kraftvoller, auch die Selbstkritik, die der Kühnheit seines Denkens einen Zaum anlegte und es zu vorsichtigem Vorschreiten und steter Prüfung des Bodens mahnte, während der Engelsche Geist durch die stolze Freude über die gewaltigen Einblicke, die er gewonnen, leicht beflügelt wurde und über die größten Schwierigkeiten hinwegflog.

Unter den vielen Anregungen, die Marx von Engels empfing, ist vor allem eine bedeutsam geworden. Er war gewaltig gehoben

worden dadurch, daß er die Einseitigkeit der deutschen Denkweise überwand und deutsches durch französisches Denken befruchtete. Engels machte ihn mit englischem Denken vertraut. Damit erst erlangte sein Denken den höchsten Aufschwung, der unter den gegebenen Verhältnissen möglich war. Nichts irriger, als wenn man den Marxismus für ein rein deutsches Produkt erklärt. Er war von seinem Beginn an international.

#### 4. Die Zusammenfassung deutschen, französischen, englischen Denkens.

Drei Nationen waren im 19. Jahrhundert die Träger der modernen Kultur. Nur wer sich mit dem Geiste aller drei erfüllt hatte, die Leistungen aller drei beherrschte, war bewaffnet mit allen Errungenschaften seines Jahrhunderts, nur der vermochte das Größte zu leisten, was mit den Mitteln dieses Jahrhunderts zu leisten war.

Die Zusammenfassung des Denkens dieser drei Nationen zu einer höheren Einheit, in der jede ihrer Einseitigkeiten aufgehoben war, bildet den Ausgangspunkt der historischen Leistung von Marx und Engels.

England hatte, wie schon erwähnt, den Kapitalismus in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts weiter entwickelt als jedes andere Land, vor allem dank seiner geographischen Lage, die es ihm im 18. Jahrhundert ermöglichte, erhebliche Vorteile aus der kolonialen Eroberungs- und Plünderungspolitik zu ziehen, an der sich die an den atlantischen Ozean grenzenden Staaten des europäischen Festlands verbluteten. Dank seiner insularen Lage brauchte es kein starkes stehendes Heer zu halten, konnte es seine ganze Kraft der Flotte zuwenden und ohne Erschöpfung die Seeherrschaft erringen. Sein Reichtum an Kohle und Eisen erlaubte ihm dann, die durch die Kolonialpolitik gewonnenen Reichtümer zur Entwicklung einer kapitalistischen Großindustrie anzuwenden, die wieder durch die Beherrschung der See den Weltmarkt eroberte, der vor der Entwicklung des Eisenbahnwesens für Güter des Massenkonsums nur auf dem Wasserwege zu erschließen war.

Früher als anderswo konnte man daher in England den Kapitalismus und seine Tendenzen studieren, aber auch, wie schon erwähnt, den proletarischen Klassenkampf, den diese Tendenzen hervorriefen. Nirgends war auch die Erkenntnis der Gesetze der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise, d. h. die politische Ökonomie weiter gediehen als in England. Ebenso, dank dem

Welthandel, Wirtschaftsgeschichte und Ethnologie. Besser als sonstwo konnte man in England erkennen, was die kommende Zeit in ihrem Schoße barg, konnte man aber auch, dank den neuen Geisteswissenschaften, die Gesetze erkennen, die die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung aller Zeiten beherrschen, und so die Einheit von Natur- und Geisteswissenschaft herstellen.

Aber England bot hierzu nur das beste Material, nicht die besten Erforschungsmethoden.

Gerade weil sich in England der Kapitalismus früher entwickelte als anderswo, kam die Bourgeoisie dort zur Herrschaft in der Gesellschaft, ehe der Feudalismus politisch, ökonomisch, geistig völlig abgewirtschaftet hatte und die Bourgeoisie in jeder Beziehung zu völliger Selbständigkeit gekommen war. Die Kolonialpolitik selbst, die den Kapitalismus so förderte, gab auch den Feudalherren neue Kräfte.

Dazu kam, daß aus den schon erwähnten Gründen in England das stehende Heer keine starke Entfaltung erreichte. Das hinderte wieder das Aufkommen einer starken, zentralen Regierungsgewalt. Die Bureaucratie blieb schwach, die Selbstverwaltung der herrschenden Klassen behielt neben ihr große Kraft. Das bedeutete aber, daß die Klassenkämpfe sich nur wenig zentralisierten, sich vielfach zersplitterten.

Alles das bewirkte, daß der Geist des Kompromisses zwischen Altem und Neuem das ganze Leben und Denken durchdrang. Die Denker und Vorkämpfer der aufstrebenden Klassen wandten sich nicht grundsätzlich gegen das Christentum, die Aristokratie, die Monarchie, ihre Parteien stellten keine großen Programme auf. Sie trachteten nicht danach, ihre Gedanken zu Ende zu denken, sie zogen es vor, an Stelle umfassender Programme nur bestimmte, vom Augenblick praktisch gebotene Einzelmaßregeln zu verfechten. Beschränktheit und Konservatismus, Überschätzung der Kleinarbeit in der Politik wie in der Wissenschaft, Ablehnung jeden Strebens nach Gewinnung eines weiten Horizonts durchdrang alle Klassen.

Ganz anders war die Situation in Frankreich. Dies Land war ökonomisch viel rückständiger, seine kapitalistischen Industrien vorwiegend Luxusindustrien, das Kleinbürgertum vorherrschend. Aber den Ton gab das Kleinbürgertum einer Großstadt an, wie Paris, und derartige Großstädte mit einer halben Million Einwohnern und mehr gab es bis zur Einführung der Eisenbahnen nur wenige, und sie spielten eine ganz andere Rolle, als heute. Die Armeen konnten vor dem Aufkommen der

Eisenbahnen, die erst rasche Massentransporte ermöglichten, nur geringfügig sein. Sie waren im Lande zerstreut, nicht rasch zusammenzuziehen, ihrer Ausrüstung gegenüber die Volksmassen keineswegs so wehrlos, wie heutzutage. Gerade die Pariser hatten sich denn auch stets durch besondere Widerhaarigkeit ausgezeichnet, lange vor der großen Revolution schon zu wiederholten Malen in bewaffnetem Aufstand der Regierung Konzessionen abgetrotzt.

Vor der Einführung der allgemeinen Schulpflicht, der Verbesserung des Postwesens durch Eisenbahnen und Telegraphen, der Verbreitung der täglichen Zeitungen im Lande, war aber auch geistig die Überlegenheit der großstädtischen Bevölkerung über das übrige Land und daher ihr geistiger Einfluß ungeheuer groß. Der gesellige Verkehr bot damals für die Masse der Ungelehrten die einzige Möglichkeit, sich zu bilden, vor allem politisch, aber auch künstlerisch, selbst wissenschaftlich. Wieviel größer war diese Möglichkeit in der Großstadt, wie in den Landstädtchen und Dörfern! Alles was Geist hatte in Frankreich, drängte nach Paris, ihn zu betätigen und zu entfalten. Alles, was sich in Paris betätigte, wurde von einem höheren Geiste erfüllt.

Und nun sah diese kritische, übermütige, kühne Bevölkerung einen unerhörten Zusammenbruch der Staatsgewalt und der herrschenden Klassen.

Dieselben Ursachen, die in Frankreich die ökonomische Entwicklung hemmten, förderten das Abwirtschaften des Feudalismus und des Staates. So kostete vor allem die Kolonialpolitik den Staat unendliche Opfer, brach seine militärische und finanzielle Kraft und beschleunigte den wirtschaftlichen Ruin namentlich der Bauern, aber auch der Aristokraten. Staat, Adel, Kirche waren politisch, moralisch und, mit Ausnahme der Kirche, auch finanziell bankrott, wußten aber gleichwohl ihre erdrückende Herrschaft bis aufs äußerste zu behaupten, dank der Gewalt, die die Regierung durch das stehende Heer und eine ausgedehnte Bureaucratie in ihren Händen zentralisiert hatte, und dank der völligen Aufhebung jeder selbsttätigen Organisation im Volke.

Das führte schließlich zu jener kolossalen Katastrophe, die wir als die große französische Revolution kennen und in der zeitweise die Kleinbürger und Proletarier von Paris dahin kamen, ganz Frankreich zu beherrschen, ganz Europa die Stirne zu bieten. Aber früher schon führte der zunehmende schroffe Gegensatz zwischen den Bedürfnissen der von der liberalen Bourgeoisie geführten Volksmasse und denen der von der Staats-

gewalt geschügten Aristokraten- und Pfassentums zu radikalster Überwindung alles Bestehenden im Denken. Aller überkommenen Autorität wurde der Krieg erklärt. Materialismus und Atheismus, in England bloße Luxusliebhabereien eines verkommenen Adels, die mit dem Siege des Bürgertums rasch verschwanden, wurden in Frankreich die Denkweise gerade der kühnsten Reformer aus den aufstrebenden Klassen. Und wenn nirgends so sehr wie in England die ökonomische Wurzel der Klassengegenätze und Klassenkämpfe zutage trat, so war nirgends so klar, wie im Frankreich der Revolution die Tatsache zu erkennen, daß aller Klassenkampf ein Kampf um die politische Macht ist, daß sich die Aufgabe jeder großen politischen Partei nicht in einer oder der andern Reform erschöpft, sondern stets die Eroberung der politischen Macht im Auge behalten muß, und daß diese Eroberung, wenn sie durch eine bisher unterjochte Klasse vollzogen wird, stets eine Aenderung des ganzen gesellschaftlichen Betriebes nach sich zieht. War in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts in England das ökonomische, so in Frankreich das politische Denken am höchsten entwickelt. Wurde England vom Geiste des Kompromisses beherrscht, so Frankreich von dem des Radikalismus; gedieh in England die Kleinarbeit des langsamen organisatorischen Aufbaues, so in Frankreich die alles mit sich fortreisende revolutionäre Leidenschaft.

Dem radikalen, kühnen Handeln ging radikales, kühnes Denken voraus, dem nichts heilig war, das unerschrocken und rücksichtslos jede Erkenntnis bis zu ihren letzten Konsequenzen verfolgte, jeden Gedanken zu Ende dachte.

Aber so glänzend und hinreißend die Ergebnisse dieses Denkens und Handelns waren, es entwickelte auch die Fehler seiner Vorzüge. Voll Ungeduld, gleich zu den letzten, äußersten Zielen zu gelangen, ließ es sich nicht die Zeit, sie vorzubereiten. Voll Eifer, die Festung des Staates durch revolutionären Elan zu erstürmen, versäumte es die organisatorische Vorarbeit ihrer Belagerung. Und der Drang, zu den letzten und höchsten Wahrheiten vorzudringen, verführte leicht zu den übereiltesten Schlüssen auf Grund eines völlig unzureichenden Materials, setzte an Stelle des geduldigen Forschens das Gefallen an geistreichen, überraschenden Einfällen. Es erwuchs die Sucht, die unendliche Fülle des Lebens durch ein paar einfache Formeln und Schlagworte zu meistern. Britischer Nüchternheit trat gallischer Phrasenrausch entgegen.

Wieder anders war die Situation in Deutschland.

Dort hatte sich der Kapitalismus noch weit weniger entwickelt als in Frankreich, denn es war von der großen Verkehrsstraße des Welthandels Europas, dem atlantischen Ozean, fast völlig abgeschnitten und erholte sich daher nur langsam von den grauenvollen Verwüstungen des dreißigjährigen Krieges. Weit mehr noch als Frankreich, war Deutschland ein kleinbürgerliches Land, dabei aber ein Land ohne eine starke staatliche Zentralgewalt. In unzählige Kleinstaaten zersplittert, hatte es keine große Hauptstadt aufzuweisen, Kleinstaaterei und Kleinstädtereie machten sein Kleinbürgertum beschränkt, schwach und feig. Der schließliche Zusammenbruch des Feudalismus wurde nicht durch eine Erhebung von innen, sondern durch eine Invasion von außen vollbracht. Nicht deutsche Bürger, sondern französische Soldaten setzten ihn aus den wichtigsten Teilen Deutschlands hinaus.

Wohl erregten die großen Erfolge des aufsteigenden Bürgertums in England und Frankreich auch das deutsche Bürgertum. Aber dem Tatendrang der energischsten und intelligentesten seiner Elemente blieb jedes der Gebiete verschlossen, die das Bürgertum des westlichen Europas eroberte. Sie konnten keine großen kommerziellen und industriellen Unternehmungen begründen und leiten, nicht in Parlamenten und einer machtvollen Presse in die Geschicke des Staates eingreifen, nicht Flotten und Armeen kommandieren. Die Wirklichkeit war für sie trostlos, ihnen blieb nichts übrig als die Abkehr von der Wirklichkeit im reinen Denken und die Verklärung der Wirklichkeit durch die Kunst. Auf diese Gebiete warfen sie sich mit aller Kraft, hier schufen sie Großes, hier überragte das deutsche Volk Frankreich und England. Während diese einen Pitt und Foy und Burke produzierten, einen Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre, einen Nelson und einen Napoleon, brachte Deutschland einen Schiller hervor, einen Goethe, Kant, Fichte, Hegel.

Das Denken wurde die vornehmste Beschäftigung der großen Deutschen, die Idee gestaltete sich ihnen zum Beherrscher der Welt, die Umwälzung des Denkens zum Mittel, die Welt umzuwälzen. Je erbärmlicher und beschränkter die Wirklichkeit, desto mehr suchte sich das Denken über sie zu erheben, ihre Schranken zu überwinden, die gesamte Unendlichkeit zu erfassen.

Während die Engländer die besten Methoden erfannen für den Siegeszug ihrer Flotten und Industrien, die Franzosen die besten Methoden zum Siegeszug ihrer Armeen und ihrer Insurrektionen, erfannen die Deutschen die besten Methoden zum Siegeszug des Denkens und Forschens.

Aber auch dieser Siegeszug hatte wie der französische und englische seine Nachteile im Gefolge, für die Theorie wie für die Praxis. Die Abkehr von der Wirklichkeit erzeugte Weltfremdheit und eine Überschätzung der Ideen, die Leben und Kraft für sich bekamen, unabhängig von den Köpfen der Menschen, die sie erzeugten und die sie zu verwirklichen hätten. Man begnügte sich damit, in der Theorie Recht zu behalten und versäumte es, nach Macht zu streben, um die Theorie zur Anwendung zu bringen. So tief die deutsche Philosophie, so gründlich die deutsche Wissenschaft, so schwärmerisch der deutsche Idealismus war, so Herrliches sie schufen, darunter verbarg sich unsägliche praktische Ohnmacht und völliger Verzicht auf jedes Streben nach Macht. Die deutschen Ideale waren weit erhabener als die französischen oder gar die englischen. Aber man tat keinen Schritt, ihnen näher zu kommen. Man konstatierte von vornherein, daß das Ideal das Unerreichbare sei.

Wie den Engländern der Konservatismus, den Franzosen die radikale Phrase, hängt den Deutschen der tatenlose Idealismus bis heute noch einigermaßen nach. Allerdings, die großindustrielle Entwicklung der letzten Jahrzehnte hat ihn stark eingeschränkt, früher schon aber fand er eine Gegenwirkung im Eindringen des französischen Geistes nach der Revolution. Der Mischung französischen revolutionären Denkens mit deutscher philosophischer Methode verdankt Deutschland einige seiner größten Geister — man erinnere sich nur an Heinrich Heine und Ferdinand Lassalle.

Aber noch gewaltiger war das Ergebnis, als diese Mischung mit englischer ökonomischer Erkenntnis befruchtet wurde. Dem verdanken wir die Leistung von Engels und Marx.

Sie erkannten, wie sehr Ökonomie und Politik, organisatorische Kleinarbeit und revolutionärer Sturm und Drang einander bedingen, wie die Kleinarbeit unfruchtbar bleibt ohne großes Ziel, in dem sie ihre ständige Richtschnur und ihre Anfeuerung findet, wie dieses Ziel in der Luft schwebt ohne vorherige Kleinarbeit, die erst die nötige Macht zu seiner Erringung schafft. Sie erkannten aber auch, daß ein solches Ziel nicht aus bloßem revolutionären Bedürfnis geboren werden darf, soll es von Illusionen und Selbstberauschung frei bleiben, daß es zu gewinnen ist durch die gewissenhafteste Anwendung der Methoden wissenschaftlicher Forschung, daß es stets im Einklang stehen muß mit dem Gesamtwissen der Menschheit. Sie erkannten ferner, daß die Ökonomie die Grundlage der gesellschaftlichen

Entwicklung bildet, daß in ihr die Gesetze zu finden sind, nach denen sich diese Entwicklung notwendig vollzieht.

England bot ihnen das meiste tatsächliche ökonomische Material, die Philosophie Deutschlands die beste Methode, aus diesem Material das Ziel der gegenwärtigen gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung abzuleiten; die Revolution Frankreichs endlich zeigte ihnen am deutlichsten, wie wir für die Erreichung dieses Ziels Macht, namentlich politische Macht, zu gewinnen haben.

So schufen sie den modernen wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus durch die Vereinigung alles Großen und Fruchtbaren im englischen, französischen, deutschen Denken zu einer höheren Einheit.

## 5. Die Vereinigung von Arbeiterbewegung und Sozialismus.

Die materialistische Geschichtsauffassung bedeutet für sich allein schon eine Epoche. Von ihr beginnt eine neue Ära der Wissenschaft, trotz allen Sträubens der bürgerlichen Gelehrsamkeit. Aber sie bedeutet eine Epoche nicht bloß in der Geschichte des Denkens, sondern auch in der Geschichte des Kampfes um die gesellschaftliche Fortentwicklung, der Politik im weitesten und höchsten Sinne des Wortes. Denn durch sie wurde die Vereinigung von Arbeiterbewegung und Sozialismus vollzogen und damit dem proletarischen Klassenkampf die höchste Kraft verliehen, deren er fähig ist.

Arbeiterbewegung und Sozialismus sind von Haus aus keineswegs eins. Die Arbeiterbewegung entsteht mit Notwendigkeit ohne weiteres von selbst als Widerstand gegen den industriellen Kapitalismus, wo immer dieser auftritt, die arbeitenden Massen enteignet, knechtet, aber auch in großen Unternehmungen und industriellen Städten zusammendrängt und vereinigt. Die unwüchsigste Form der Arbeiterbewegung ist die rein ökonomische, der Kampf um Lohn und Arbeitszeit, der zuerst bloß die Form einfacher Ausbrüche der Verzweiflung, unvorbereiteter Emeuten annimmt, bald aber durch gewerkschaftliche Organisationen in höhere Formen übergeführt wird. Daneben tritt früh der politische Kampf auf. Die Bourgeoisie selbst bedarf in ihren Kämpfen gegen den Feudalismus der proletarischen Hilfe und ruft sie für sich auf. Dabei lernen die Arbeiter bald die Bedeutung politischer Freiheit und politischer Macht für ihre eigenen Zwecke schätzen. Namentlich das allgemeine Wahlrecht wird in England und Frankreich frühzeitig der Gegenstand des politischen Strebens der Proletarier und es führt in England in den dreißiger Jahren schon zu einer proletarischen Partei, der der Chartisten.

Früher schon erhebt der Sozialismus. Aber keineswegs im Proletariat. Wohl ist er ebenso wie die Arbeiter-

bewegung ein Produkt des Kapitalismus; jener entspringt wie diese aus dem Drang, dem Elend entgegenzuwirken, das die kapitalistische Ausbeutung über die arbeitenden Klassen verhängt. Indes entsteht die Abwehr des Proletariats in der Arbeiterbewegung überall von selbst, wo eine zahlreiche Arbeiterbevölkerung sich versammelt, dagegen setzt der Sozialismus eine tiefe Einsicht in das Wesen der modernen Gesellschaft voraus. Jeder Sozialismus beruht auf der Erkenntnis, daß auf dem Boden der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft dem kapitalistischen Elend ein Ende nicht bereitet werden kann, daß dieses Elend auf dem Privateigentum an den Produktionsmitteln beruht und nur mit ihm verschwinden wird. Darin sind sich alle sozialistischen Systeme einig, sie weichen von einander nur ab in den Wegen, die sie eingeschlagen wissen wollen, um die Aufhebung dieses Privateigentums zu erreichen, und in den Vorstellungen, die sie von dem neuen gesellschaftlichen Eigentum hegen, das an dessen Stelle treten soll.

So naiv auch mitunter die Erwartungen und Vorschläge der Sozialisten sein mochten, die Erkenntnis auf der sie fußten, setzte ein gesellschaftliches Wissen voraus, wie es dem Proletariat in den ersten Jahrzehnten des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts noch völlig unzugänglich war. Wohl konnte zu sozialistischer Erkenntnis nur ein Mann kommen, der es vermochte, sich auf den Boden des Proletariats zu stellen, von dessen Standpunkt aus die bürgerliche Gesellschaft zu betrachten. Aber es konnte auch nur einer sein, der die Mittel der Wissenschaft beherrschte, die damals noch weit mehr als heute bloß den bürgerlichen Kreisen zugänglich waren. So natürlich und selbstverständlich sich die Arbeiterbewegung aus der kapitalistischen Produktion überall entwickelt, wo diese eine gewisse Höhe erreicht, der Sozialismus hatte in seiner Entwicklung nicht bloß den Kapitalismus, sondern daneben noch ein Zusammentreffen außerordentlicher Umstände zur Voraussetzung, das nur selten eintrat. Überall aber konnte der Sozialismus zunächst nur aus einem bürgerlichen Milieu entstehen. In England ist sogar bis vor kurzem noch der Sozialismus vornehmlich von bürgerlichen Elementen propagiert worden.

Diese Ursache erschien als ein Widerspruch zur Marxschen Theorie des Klassenkampfes, sie wäre ein solcher aber nur dann, wenn die Klasse der Bourgeoisie jemals irgendwo sich den Sozialismus zu eigen gemacht, oder wenn Marx es für unmöglich erklärt hätte, daß einzelne nichtproletarische Individuen aus besonderen Gründen den Standpunkt des Proletariats akzeptieren könnten.

Marx hat stets nur behauptet, die einzige Macht, die imstande sei, dem Sozialismus zum Durchbruch zu verhelfen, bilde die Arbeiterklasse. Mit anderen Worten, das Proletariat kann sich nur aus eigener Kraft befreien. Damit ist aber keineswegs gesagt, daß nur Proletarier ihm den Weg dahin zu weisen vermöchten.

Daß der Sozialismus nichts ist, wenn er nicht getragen wird von einer starken Arbeiterbewegung, bedarf heute keines Beweises mehr. Nicht so klar liegt die Rehrseite der Medaille zutage, daß die Arbeiterbewegung ihre volle Kraft nur entfalten kann, wenn sie den Sozialismus begriffen und angenommen hat.

Der Sozialismus ist nicht das Produkt einer außerhalb von Zeit und Raum und allen Klassenunterschieden stehenden Ethik, er ist im Grunde stets nichts anderes, als die Wissenschaft von der Gesellschaft, ausgehend vom Standpunkt des Proletariats. Die Wissenschaft dient aber nicht bloß zur Stillung unserer Neugierde nach Erkenntnis des Unbekannten, Geheimnisvollen, sondern sie hat auch einen ökonomischen Zweck: den der Kräftersparnis. Sie ermöglicht es dem Menschen, sich in der Wirklichkeit leichter zurechtzufinden, seine Kräfte zweckmäßiger anzuwenden, jeden nutzlosen Kraftaufwand zu vermeiden und so jederzeit das Maximum dessen zu leisten und zu erreichen, was unter den gegebenen Verhältnissen zu leisten und zu erreichen ist. In ihren Ausgangspunkten dient die Wissenschaft direkt und bewußt solchen Zwecken der Ökonomie der Kräfte. Je mehr sie sich entwickelt und von ihrem Ausgangspunkt entfernt, desto mehr Zwischenglieder treten zwischen die Tätigkeit ihrer Forschung und ihre praktische Wirkung. Aber der Zusammenhang beider kann dadurch nur verschleiert, nicht aber aufgehoben werden.

So dient auch die Gesellschaftswissenschaft des Proletariats, der Sozialismus, dazu, die zweckmäßigste Anwendung seiner Kräfte und damit seine höchste Kraftentfaltung zu ermöglichen: Sie erreicht diese natürlich um so mehr, je vollkommener sie selbst ist, je tiefer die Erkenntnis der Wirklichkeit, die sie erschließt.

Die sozialistische Theorie ist keineswegs die müßige Spielerei einiger Stubengelehrten, sondern eine sehr praktische Sache für das kämpfende Proletariat.

Seine Hauptwaffe bildet die Zusammenfassung seiner Gesamtmasse in gewaltigen, selbständigen, von allen bürgerlichen Einflüssen freien Organisationen. Das vermag es nicht zu erreichen ohne eine sozialistische Theorie, die allein imstande ist, das gemeinsame proletarische Interesse in der bunten Mannigfaltigkeit der

verschiedenen proletarischen Schichten herauszufinden und sie alle zusammen von der bürgerlichen Welt scharf und dauernd zu trennen.

Zu dieser Leistung ist jene naive, jeder Theorie bare Arbeiterbewegung unfähig, die sich von selbst in den arbeitenden Klassen gegen den anwachsenden Kapitalismus erhebt.

Sehen wir z. B. die Gewerkschaften an. Es sind Berufsvereine, die die nächsten Interessen ihrer Mitglieder zu wahren suchen. Aber wie verschieden sind diese Interessen bei den einzelnen Berufen, wie ganz anders bei den Seeleuten als den Kohlengräbern, bei den Droschkentutschern als den Schriftsetzern! Ohne sozialistische Theorie vermögen sie die Gemeinsamkeit ihrer Interessen nicht zu erkennen, stehen die einzelnen Proletariatschichten einander fremd, mitunter sogar feindlich gegenüber.

Da aber die Gewerkschaft nur die nächsten Interessen ihrer Mitglieder vertritt, steht sie auch nicht ohne weiteres im Gegensatz zur gesamten bürgerlichen Welt, sondern zunächst nur zu den Kapitalisten ihres Berufs. Es gibt nun neben diesen Kapitalisten eine ganze Reihe von bürgerlichen Elementen, die wohl ihre Existenz direkt oder indirekt aus der Ausbeutung von Proletariern ziehen, daher an der bürgerlichen Gesellschaftsordnung interessiert sind und jedem Versuch entgegenzutreten werden, der proletarischen Ausbeutung ein Ende zu machen, die aber durchaus kein Interesse daran haben, daß gerade die Arbeitsverhältnisse in dem oder jenem Beruf besonders ungünstige sind. Ob der Spinner von Manchester 2 oder 2½ Schilling im Tag verdiente, ob er 10 oder 12 Stunden im Tag arbeitete, mochte einem Großgrundbesitzer, einem Bankier, einem Zeitungsbesitzer, einem Advokaten ganz gleichgültig sein, wenn sie nicht Spinnereaktien besaßen. Diese mochten daran ein Interesse haben, den Gewerkschaftern bestimmte Konzessionen zu machen, um dafür politische Gegendienste von ihnen zu gewinnen. So erstand dort, wo die Gewerkschaften nicht durch eine sozialistische Theorie aufgeklärt wurden, die Möglichkeit, daß sie Zwecken dienstbar gemacht wurden, die nichts weniger als proletarische waren.

Aber noch schlimmeres war möglich und kam vor. Nicht alle proletarischen Schichten sind imstande, sich der gewerkschaftlichen Organisation zu bemächtigen. Es bildet sich im Proletariat der Unterschied zwischen organisierten und nichtorganisierten Arbeitern. Wo jene von sozialistischem Denken erfüllt sind, werden sie die kämpffähigsten Teile des Proletariats, die Vor-

kämpfer seiner Gesamtheit. Wo ihnen dieses Denken fehlt, werden sie nur zu leicht zu Aristokraten, die nicht nur jedes Interesse für die unorganisierten Arbeiter verlieren, sondern oft sogar in Gegensatz zu ihnen treten, ihnen die Organisation erschweren, um deren Vorteile zu monopolisieren. Die unorganisierten Arbeiter aber sind zu jedem Kampfe, jedem Aufstieg unfähig ohne die Hilfe der organisierten. Sie verfallen ohne deren Unterstützung um so mehr ins Elend, je mehr diese emporsteigen. So kann die gewerkschaftliche Bewegung trotz aller Stärkung einzelner Schichten sogar eine direkte Schwächung des gesamten Proletariats herbeiführen, wenn sie nicht von sozialistischem Geiste erfüllt ist.

Aber auch die politische Organisation des Proletariats kann ohne diesen Geist nicht ihre volle Kraft entfalten. Das bezeugt deutlich die erste Arbeiterpartei, der 1835 geborene Chartismus in England. Wohl enthielt dieser einzelne sehr weitgehende und weitblickende Elemente, aber in seiner Gesamtheit verfolgte er doch kein bestimmtes sozialistisches Programm, sondern nur einzelne, praktisch ohne weiteres erreichbare Ziele, vor allem das allgemeine Wahlrecht, das freilich nicht Selbstzweck sein sollte, sondern Mittel zum Zweck; aber dieser bestand für die Gesamtmasse der Chartisten auch wieder nur in nächstliegenden ökonomischen Einzelforderungen, vor allem dem zehnstündigen Normalarbeitstag.

Das hatte zunächst den Nachteil, daß die Partei keine reine Klassenpartei wurde. Das allgemeine Wahlrecht war eine Sache, die auch die Kleinbürger interessierte.

Manchem dürfte es als ein Vorteil erscheinen, wenn das Kleinbürgertum sich als solches der Arbeiterpartei anschließt. Aber diese wird dadurch nur zahlreicher, nicht stärker. Das Proletariat hat seine eigenen Interessen und seine eigenen Kampfmethoden, die sich von denen aller andern Klassen unterscheiden. Es wird beengt durch die Vereinigung mit den andern, kann dabei nicht seine volle Kraft entfalten. Wohl sind uns Sozialdemokraten die Kleinbürger und Bauern willkommen, wenn sie sich uns anschließen wollen. Aber nur dann, wenn sie sich auf proletarischen Boden stellen, wenn sie sich als Proletarier fühlen. Daß nur solche kleinbürgerliche und kleinbäuerliche Elemente zu uns kommen, dafür sorgt unser sozialistisches Programm. Ein solches fehlte den Chartisten, und so schlossen sich ihrem Wahlrechtskampf zahlreiche kleinbürgerliche Elemente an, die für die proletarischen Interessen und Kampfmethoden ebenso wenig Verständnis wie

Neigung besaßen. Die naturnotwendige Folge waren lebhaftere innere Kämpfe im Chartismus, die ihn sehr schwächten.

Die Niederlage der Revolution von 1848 machte dann für ein Jahrzehnt aller politischen Arbeiterbewegung ein Ende. Als sich das europäische Proletariat wieder regte, begann in der englischen Arbeiterschaft von neuem der Kampf ums allgemeine Wahlrecht. Man durfte jetzt ein Wiedererstehen des Chartismus erwarten. Aber da führte die englische Bourgeoisie einen Meisterstreich. Sie spaltete das englische Proletariat, gewährte den organisierten Arbeitern das Wahlrecht, löste sie so los von der Masse des übrigen Proletariats und beugte damit dem Wiederaufleben des Chartismus vor. Ein umfassendes Programm über das allgemeine Wahlrecht hinaus besaß der ja nicht. Sobald diese Forderung in einer Weise erfüllt war, die dem kampffähigen Teile der Arbeiterschaft genügte, war der Boden für ihn verschwunden. Erst in unseren Tagen, mühselig hinter den Arbeitern des europäischen Festlandes einherkriechend, gehen die Engländer daran, wieder eine selbständige Arbeiterpartei zu gründen. Aber auch heute noch haben viele von ihnen die praktische Bedeutung des Sozialismus für die volle Kraftentfaltung des Proletariats nicht begriffen und weigern sich, für ihre Partei ein Programm anzunehmen, weil dieses nur noch ein sozialistisches sein könnte! Sie warten, bis die Logik der Tatsachen es ihnen aufzwingt. Erst wenn die neue Arbeiterpartei ganz von sozialistischer Erkenntnis durchdrungen ist, wird die Arbeiterbewegung Englands ihre volle Kraft entfalten und in höchstem Maße fruchtbringend wirken können.

Heute sind allenthalben schon die Bedingungen für die so notwendige Vereinigung von Arbeiterbewegung und Sozialismus gegeben. Sie fehlten in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 19. Jahrhunderts.

Die Arbeiter wurden damals durch den ersten Ansturm des Kapitalismus so niedergeworfen, daß sie sich seiner kaum zu erwehren wußten. Genug, daß sie sich auf primitive Weise zur Wehr setzten. Zu tiefen, gesellschaftlichen Studien fehlte ihnen alle Möglichkeit.

Die bürgerlichen Sozialisten sahen daher im Elend, das der Kapitalismus verbreitet, nur die eine Seite, die niederdrückende, nicht die andere, die aufstachelnde, zum revolutionären Aufstieg des Proletariats anspornende. Sie glaubten, nur ein Faktor sei da, der die Befreiung des Proletariats durchzusetzen vermöge: das bürgerliche Wohlwollen. Sie bewerteten die

Bourgeoisie nach sich selbst, glaubten in ihr genug Besinnungs-  
genossen finden zu können, um imstande zu sein, sozialistische  
Maßregeln durchzuführen.

Ihre sozialistische Propaganda fand auch anfangs unter  
den bürgerlichen Philanthropen vielfachen Anklang. Die Bour-  
geois sind ja im Durchschnitt keine Unmenschen, das Elend rührt  
sie, soweit sie daraus keinen Nutzen ziehen, sie möchten ihm  
gerne abhelfen. Indes, so weich sie der leidende Proletarier  
stimmt, so hart der kämpfende. Sie fühlen, daß dieser an der  
Wurzel ihrer Existenz rüttelt. Das bittende Proletariat ge-  
nießt ihre Sympathien, das fordernde empört sie zu wilder  
Feindschaft. So empfanden es die Sozialisten sehr unangenehm,  
daß die Arbeiterbewegung ihnen jenen Faktor zu rauben drohte,  
auf den sie am meisten bauten: Die Sympathien des „wohl-  
meinenden Bürgertums“ für die Besitzlosen.

Sie sahen um so mehr in der Arbeiterbewegung ein störendes  
Element, je geringer ihr Zutrauen zum Proletariat war, das  
damals im allgemeinen noch eine sehr niedrig stehende Masse  
bildete, und je deutlicher sie die Unzulänglichkeit der naiven Ar-  
beiterbewegung erkannten. So kamen sie nicht selten dahin, sich  
geradezu gegen die Arbeiterbewegung zu wenden, zum Beispiel  
nachzuweisen, wie unnützlich die Gewerkschaften seien, die nur den  
Arbeitslohn erhöhen wollten, statt das Lohnsystem selbst zu  
bekämpfen, die Wurzel alles Übels.

Allmählich bereitete sich jedoch ein Umschwung vor. In den  
vierziger Jahren war die Arbeiterbewegung so weit, eine Reihe  
höchst begabter Köpfe hervorzubringen, die sich des Sozialismus  
bemächtigten und in ihm die proletarische Wissenschaft von der  
Gesellschaft erkannten. Diese Arbeiter wußten bereits aus  
eigener Erfahrung, daß sie auf die Menschenfreundlichkeit der  
Bourgeoisie nicht zu rechnen hätten. Sie erkannten, daß das  
Proletariat sich selbst befreien müsse. Daneben kamen auch  
bürgerliche Sozialisten zur Erkenntnis, daß auf die Großmut  
der Bourgeoisie kein Verlaß sei. Freilich, zum Proletariat  
gewannen sie doch kein Vertrauen. Seine Bewegung erschien  
ihnen nur als zerstörende Kraft, die alle Kultur bedrohte. Sie  
glaubten, nur bürgerliche Intelligenz könne eine sozialistische Ge-  
sellschaft aufbauen, die Triebkraft dazu aber sahen sie nicht mehr  
in dem Mitleid mit dem duldbenden, sondern in der Furcht  
vor dem anstürmenden Proletariat. Sie erkannten bereits dessen  
gewaltige Kraft und begriffen, daß die Arbeiterbewegung not-  
wendigerweise aus der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise hervor-

gehe, daß sie innerhalb dieser Produktionsweise immer mehr  
wachsen werde. Sie hofften, die Furcht vor der anwachsenden  
Arbeiterbewegung werde das intelligente Bürgertum veranlassen,  
ihr durch sozialistische Maßregeln ihre Gefährlichkeit zu nehmen.

Das war ein gewaltiger Fortschritt, indes konnte die Ver-  
einigung von Sozialismus und Arbeiterbewegung aus dieser  
letzteren Anschauung immer noch nicht entspringen. Den sozia-  
listischen Arbeitern aber fehlte trotz aller Genialität einiger von  
ihnen doch das umfassende Wissen, dessen es bedurfte, um eine  
neue, höhere Theorie des Sozialismus zu begründen, in der er  
mit der Arbeiterbewegung organisch verbunden wurde. Sie ver-  
mochten nur den alten bürgerlichen Sozialismus, den Utopismus,  
zu übernehmen und ihn ihren Bedürfnissen anzupassen.

Am weitesten dabei kamen jene proletarischen Sozialisten,  
die an den Chartismus oder an die französische Revolution  
anknüpften. Namentlich letztere gewannen für die Geschichte des  
Sozialismus große Wichtigkeit. Die große Revolution hatte  
deutlich die Bedeutung gezeigt, welche die Eroberung der Staats-  
gewalt für die Befreiung einer Klasse gewinnen kann. In  
dieser Revolution war aber auch, dank eigenartigen Umständen,  
eine kraftvolle politische Organisation, der Jakobinerklub, dahin  
gelangt, durch eine Schreckensherrschaft der mit proletarischen  
Elementen stark versetzten Kleinbürger ganz Paris und durch  
dieses ganz Frankreich zu beherrschen. Und noch während der  
Revolution selbst hatte bereits Babeuf die Konsequenz davon  
in rein proletarischem Sinne gezogen und versucht, durch eine  
Verschwörung die Staatsgewalt für eine kommunistische Orga-  
nisation zu erobern und ihr dienstbar zu machen.

Die Erinnerung daran war in den französischen Arbeitern  
nie erloschen. Die Eroberung der Staatsgewalt wurde für die  
proletarischen Sozialisten frühzeitig das Mittel, durch das sie  
die Kraft zur Durchführung des Sozialismus gewinnen wollten.  
Aber angesichts der Schwäche und Unreife des Proletariats  
wußten sie keinen anderen Weg zur Eroberung der Staats-  
gewalt, als den Putsch einer Anzahl Verschworener, der die  
Revolution entfesseln sollte. Unter den Vertretern dieses Ge-  
dankenganges in Frankreich ist am bekanntesten Blanqui ge-  
worden. Ähnliche Ideen vertrat in Deutschland Weitling.

Anderer Sozialisten knüpften auch an die französische Revo-  
lution an. Aber der Putsch erschien ihnen ein wenig geeignetes  
Mittel, die Herrschaft des Kapitals zu stürzen. Ebensovienig  
wie die eben erwähnte Richtung rechnete aber auch diese auf

die Kraft der Arbeiterbewegung. Sie half sich damit, daß sie übersah, wie sehr das Kleinbürgertum auf derselben Grundlage des Privateigentums an den Produktionsmitteln beruht wie das Kapital, daß sie glaubte, die Proletarier würden ihre Auseinandersetzung mit den Kapitalisten vollziehen können ohne Störung durch das Kleinbürgertum, das „Volk“, ja unter dessen Beihilfe. Man bedurfte nur der Republik und des allgemeinen Wahlrechts, um die Staatsgewalt zu sozialistischen Maßregeln zu veranlassen.

Dieser republikanische Aberglaube, dessen vornehmster Vertreter Louis Blanc war, fand in Deutschland ein Gegenstück in dem monarchischen Aberglauben des sozialen Königtums, wie ihn ein paar Professoren und sonstige Ideologen hegten.

Dieser monarchische Staatssozialismus war stets nur eine Schrulle, die und da auch eine demagogische Phrase. Ernsthaft praktische Bedeutung hat er nie gewonnen. Wohl aber war das mit den von Blanqui und Louis Blanc vertretenen Richtungen der Fall. Sie erlangten die Kraft, Paris zu beherrschen in den Tagen der Februarrevolution von 1848.

In der Person Proudhons erstand ihnen ein gewaltiger Kritiker. Er zweifelte am Proletariat wie am Staate und an der Revolution. Er erkannte wohl, daß das Proletariat sich selbst befreien müsse, aber er sah auch, daß, wenn es für seine Befreiung kämpfte, es den Kampf auch mit der Staatsgewalt und um die Staatsgewalt aufnehmen müsse, denn selbst der rein ökonomische Kampf hing von der Staatsgewalt ab, wie die Arbeiter damals auf Schritt und Tritt bei dem Mangel jeglicher Koalitionsfreiheit fühlten. Da Proudhon nun den Kampf um die Staatsgewalt für aussichtslos hielt, riet er dem Proletariat, sich bei seinen emanzipatorischen Bestrebungen jeglichen Kampfes zu enthalten und nur die Mittel friedlicher Organisation zu versuchen, wie z. B. Tauschbanken, Versicherungskassen und ähnliche Einrichtungen. Für die Gewerkschaften hatte er ebenso wenig Verständnis, wie für die Politik.

So bildeten Arbeiterbewegung und Sozialismus und alle Versuche, die beiden in ein engeres Verhältnis zu einander zu bringen, in dem Jahrzehnt, in dem Marx und Engels ihren Standpunkt und ihre Methode bildeten, ein Chaos der mannigfaltigsten Strömungen, von denen jede ein Stückchen des Richtigen entdeckt hatte, keine dies völlig zu umfassen vermochte, jede früher oder später mit einem Mißerfolg enden mußte.

Was diese Richtungen nicht vermochten, das gelang der materialistischen Geschichtsauffassung, die damit neben ihrer großen

Bedeutung für die Wissenschaft eine nicht minder große für die tatsächliche Entwicklung der Gesellschaft gewann. Sie erleichterte die Umwälzung der einen wie der andern.

Wie die Sozialisten ihrer Zeit erkannten auch Marx und Engels, daß die Arbeiterbewegung unzulänglich erscheint, wenn man sie dem Sozialismus entgegenstellt und fragt: welches Mittel ist geeigneter, dem Proletariat eine sichere Existenz und Aufhebung jeglicher Ausbeutung zu verschaffen, Arbeiterbewegung (Gewerkschaften, Kampf ums Wahlrecht etc.) oder Sozialismus? Aber sie erkannten auch, daß diese Frage ganz falsch gestellt war. Sozialismus und sichere Existenz des Proletariats sowie Aufhebung jeglicher Ausbeutung sind gleichbedeutend. Die Frage ist nur die: Wie gelangt das Proletariat zum Sozialismus? Und da antwortete die Lehre vom Klassenkampf: durch die Arbeiterbewegung.

Wohl ist diese zunächst nicht imstande, dem Proletariat eine sichere Existenz und die Aufhebung jeglicher Ausbeutung zu verschaffen, aber sie ist das unerläßliche Mittel, nicht bloß die einzelnen Proletarier vor dem Versinken im Elend zu bewahren, sondern auch der gesamten Klasse zusehends immer größere Macht zuzuführen, intellektuelle, ökonomische, politische Macht, Macht, die immer wächst, wenn auch gleichzeitig die Ausbeutung des Proletariats zunimmt. Nicht nach ihrer Bedeutung für das Einschränken der Ausbeutung, sondern nach ihrer Bedeutung für den Zuwachs an Macht des Proletariats ist die Arbeiterbewegung zu bemessen. Nicht aus der Verschwörung Blanquis, aber auch nicht aus dem demokratischen Staatssozialismus Louis Blancs, noch aus den friedlichen Organisationen Proudhons, sondern nur aus dem Klassenkampf, der Jahrzehnte, ja, Generationen hindurch zu dauern hat, ersteht die Kraft, die den Sozialismus schließlich zum Durchbruch bringen kann und muß. Den ökonomischen und politischen Klassenkampf zu führen, seine Kleinarbeit aufs eifrigste zu pflegen, sie aber auch mit den Gedanken eines weitblickenden Sozialismus zu erfüllen, die Organisationen und Betätigungen des Proletariats dadurch einheitlich und harmonisch zu einem ungeheuren Ganzen zusammen zu fassen, das immer unwiderstehlicher anschwillt — das ist nach Marx und Engels die Aufgabe eines jeden, der, mag er Proletarier sein oder nicht, sich auf den Standpunkt des Proletariats stellt und es befreien will.

Das Wachstum der Macht des Proletariats beruht aber selbst wieder in letzter Linie auf der Verdrängung der vor-kapitalistischen, kleinbürgerlichen Produktionsweisen durch die

kapitalistische, die die Zahl der Proletarier vermehrt, sie konzentriert, ihre Unentbehrlichkeit für die gesamte Gesellschaft steigert, gleichzeitig aber auch in dem immer mehr konzentrierten Kapital die Vorbedingungen für die gesellschaftliche Organisation der Produktion schafft, die nicht mehr willkürlich von den Altopisten zu erfinden, sondern aus der kapitalistischen Wirklichkeit zu entwickeln ist.

Durch diesen Gedankengang haben Marx und Engels die Grundlage geschaffen, auf der sich die Sozialdemokratie erhebt, die Grundlage, auf die sich immer mehr das kämpfende Proletariat des gesamten Erdkreises stellt, von der ausgehend es seinen glanzvollen Siegeszug angetreten hat.

Diese Leistung war kaum möglich, so lange der Sozialismus nicht seine eigene, von der bürgerlichen unabhängige Wissenschaft besaß. Die Sozialisten vor Marx und Engels waren meistens sehr wohl vertraut mit der Wissenschaft der politischen Ökonomie, aber sie übernahmen diese kritiklos in der Form, in der sie von bürgerlichen Denkern geschaffen worden war, und unterschieden sich von diesen nur dadurch, daß sie andere, proletarierfreundliche Schlussfolgerungen daraus zogen.

Erst Marx hat die Untersuchung der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise völlig selbständig unternommen und gezeigt, wie viel tiefer und klarer sie erfaßt werden kann, wenn man sie vom proletarischen Standpunkte, statt vom bürgerlichen aus betrachtet. Denn der proletarische Standpunkt steht außer und über ihr, nicht in ihr. Nur er, der den Kapitalismus als vorübergehende Form betrachtet, erlaubt es, seine besondere historische Eigenart voll zu erfassen.

Diese Großtat leistete Marx in seinem „Kapital“, (1867) nachdem er mit Engels schon seinen neuen sozialistischen Standpunkt im Kommunistischen Manifest (1848) dargelegt hatte.

Damit hatte der proletarische Emanzipationskampf eine wissenschaftliche Grundlage von einer Größe und Stärke erhalten, wie sie vor ihm noch keine revolutionäre Klasse besessen hat. Aber freilich war auch noch keiner eine so riesenhafte Aufgabe zugefallen, als dem modernen Proletariat; es hat die ganze Welt wieder einzurenten, die der Kapitalismus aus ihren Fugen gebracht hat. Es ist zum Glück kein Hamlet, es begrüßt diese Aufgabe nicht mit Wehklagen. Aus ihrer ungeheuren Größe schöpft es ungeheure Zuversicht und Kraft.

## 6. Die Zusammenfassung der Theorie und Praxis.

Die wichtigsten Leistungen, die Marx im Verein mit Engels vollbrachte, haben wir jetzt betrachtet. Aber das Bild ihres Wirkens bliebe unvollständig, wiesen wir nicht auf noch eine Seite hin, die es in hervorragendem Maße kennzeichnet: Die Verbindung von Theorie und Praxis.

Dem bürgerlichen Denken erscheint das freilich als ein Flecken auf dem blanken Schilde ihrer wissenschaftlichen Größe, vor der sich, wenn auch widerwillig, murrend und verständnislos, selbst die bürgerliche Gelehrsamkeit beugen muß. Wären sie bloße Theoretiker, Stubengelehrte gewesen, die sich damit begnügten, ihre Theorien in einer für gewöhnliche Menschen unverständlichen Sprache und in unzugänglichen Folianten auseinanderzusetzen, so hätte das noch hingehen können. Aber das ihre Wissenschaft aus dem Kampfe geboren wurde und wieder dem Kampfe diente, dem Kampfe gegen die bestehende Ordnung, das soll ihnen die Unbefangenheit geraubt und ihre Ehrlichkeit getrübt haben.

Diese elende Auffassung kann sich einen Kämpfer nur als Advokaten vorstellen, dem seine Wissenschaft zu nichts anderem dienen soll als dazu, ihm Argumente zur Widerlegung der Gegenpartei zu liefern. Sie hat keine Ahnung davon, daß niemand ein größeres Bedürfnis nach Wahrheit hat, als ein echter Kämpfer in einem furchtbaren Kampfe, den er nur dann Aussicht hat zu bestehen, wenn er seine Lage, seine Hilfsmittel, seine Aussichten in voller Klarheit erkennt. Die Richter, die die staatlichen Gesetze auslegen, können betrogen werden durch die Kniffe eines die juristische Wissenschaft beherrschenden Rabulisten. Die naturgesetzliche Notwendigkeit dagegen läßt sich nur erkennen, nicht übertölpeln und nicht bestechen.

Ein Kämpfer, der auf diesem Standpunkt steht, wird aus der Hefigkeit des Kampfes nur erhöhten Drang nach unverhüllter Wahrheit schöpfen. Aber auch den Drang, die errungene

Wahrheit nicht für sich zu behalten, sondern sie den Kampfesgenossen mitzuteilen.

So schreibt denn auch Engels von der Zeit zwischen 1845 und 1848, in der er und Mary ihre neuen wissenschaftlichen Resultate gewannen, daß sie keineswegs die Absicht hatten, diese Resultate „in dicken Büchern ausschließlich der „„gelehrten““ Welt zuzuflüstern.“ Sie setzten sich vielmehr sofort mit proletarischen Organisationen in Verbindung, um in diesen für ihren Standpunkt und die ihm entsprechende Taktik Propaganda zu machen. So gelang es ihnen denn auch, einen der bedeutendsten der damaligen revolutionären Proletarierevereine, den internationalen „Kommunistenbund“ für ihre Grundsätze zu gewinnen, die dann wenige Wochen vor der Februarrevolution von 1848 im Kommunistischen Manifest jenen Ausdruck fanden, der zum „Leitfaden“ der proletarischen Bewegung aller Länder werden sollte.

Die Revolution berief Mary und Engels von Brüssel, wo sie weilten, zuerst nach Paris, dann nach Deutschland, wo sie nun für einige Zeit vollständig in der revolutionären Praxis aufgingen.

Der Niedergang der Revolution zwang sie von 1850 an, sehr wider ihren Willen, sich ganz der Theorie zu widmen. Als aber im Beginn der sechziger Jahre die Arbeiterbewegung von neuem auflebte, war auch Mary — Engels wurde durch private Verhältnisse zunächst gehindert — sofort wieder daran, mit voller Kraft in die praktische Bewegung einzugreifen. Er tat dies in der internationalen Arbeiterassoziation, die 1864 begründet wurde und bald zum Schreckgespenst für das ganze bürgerliche Europa werden sollte.

Der lächerliche Polizeigeist, mit dem selbst die bürgerliche Demokratie jede proletarische Bewegung beargwöhnt, ließ die Internationale als eine ungeheure Verschwörungsgesellschaft erscheinen, die sich die Veranstaltung von Unruhen und Putsch zur einzigen Aufgabe machte. In Wirklichkeit verfolgte sie in voller Öffentlichkeit ihre Zwecke: die der Zusammenfassung der ganzen proletarischen Kräfte zu gemeinsamem Wirken, aber auch zu selbständigem Wirken, losgelöst von bürgerlicher Politik und bürgerlichem Denken, mit dem Ziele der Expropriation des Kapitals, der Eroberung aller politischen und ökonomischen Machtmittel der besitzenden Klassen durch das Proletariat. Der wichtigste und entscheidendste Schritt dabei ist die Eroberung der politischen Macht, aber die ökonomische Emanzipation der arbeitenden Klassen ist das Endziel, „dem sich jede politische Bewegung als bloßes Hilfsmittel unterzuordnen hat“.

Als das vornehmste Mittel der proletarischen Machtentfaltung betrachtet Mary die Organisation.

„Ein Element des Erfolges besitzen die Proletarier“, sagte er in der Inauguraladresse: „Die Masse (numbers, gewöhnlich mit „Zahlen“ übersetzt, was keinen Sinn gibt). Aber die Masse fällt nur dann schwer in die Waagschale, wenn sie durch eine Organisation vereinigt und einem bewußten Ziel entgegengeführt wird.“

Ohne Ziel keine Organisation. Das gemeinsame Ziel allein kann die verschiedenen Individuen zu einer gemeinsamen Organisation vereinigen. Andererseits wirkt die Verschiedenheit der Ziele ebenso trennend, wie die Gemeinsamkeit des Ziels vereinigend.

Gerade wegen der Bedeutung der Organisation für das Proletariat kommt alles auf die Art des Zieles an, die man ihm setzt. Dieses Ziel ist von der größten praktischen Bedeutung. Nichts unpraktischer als die anscheinend so realpolitische Ansicht, die Bewegung sei alles und das Ziel nichts. Ist die Organisation auch nichts und die unorganisierte Bewegung alles?

Schon vor Mary hatten Sozialisten dem Proletariat Ziele gesetzt. Aber diese hatten nur Sektiererei hervorgerufen, die Proletariat gespalten, da jeder dieser Sozialisten den Hauptnachdruck auf die besondere Art der Lösung des sozialen Problems legte, die er erfunden hatte. So viele Lösungen, so viele Sekten.

Mary gab keine besondere Lösung. Er widerstand allen Herausforderungen, „positiv“ zu werden, im Detail die Maßregeln darzulegen, durch die das Proletariat zu emanzipieren sei. Er setzte in der Internationale der Organisation nur das allgemeine Ziel, das jeder Proletarier sich zu eigen machen konnte, die ökonomische Befreiung seiner Klasse; und auch der Weg dahin, den er zeigte, war einer, den jedem Proletarier schon sein Klasseninstinkt wies: der ökonomische und politische Klassenkampf.

Vor allem war es die gewerkschaftliche Form der Organisation, die Mary in der Internationale propagierte; sie erschien als diejenige Form, die am ehesten große Massen dauernd zu vereinigen vermöge. In den Gewerkschaften sah er auch die Cadres der Arbeiterpartei. Ihre Erfüllung mit dem Geiste des Klassenkampfes und ihre Heranbildung zum Verständnis der Bedingungen, unter denen die Expropriation der Kapitalistenklasse und die Befreiung des Proletariats möglich sei, betrieb er nicht minder eifrig, wie die Ausdehnung der gewerkschaftlichen Organisation selbst.

Er hatte dabei große Widerstände zu überwinden, gerade bei den vorgeschrittensten Arbeitern, die noch vom Geiste der

alten Sozialisten erfüllt waren und auf die Gewerkschaften mit Geringschätzung herabsahen, weil sie das Lohnsystem nicht anstasteten. Diese erschienen ihnen als ein Abweichen vom richtigen Wege, den sie in der Einrichtung von Organisationen erblickten, in denen das Lohnsystem direkt überwunden wurde, wie in den Produktivgenossenschaften. Wenn trotzdem die gewerkschaftliche Organisation auf dem Festlande Europas seit der zweiten Hälfte der sechziger Jahre rasche Fortschritte machte, verdankt sie das vor allem der Internationale und dem Einflusse, den Marx in ihr und durch sie ausübte.

Aber die Gewerkschaften waren Marx nicht Selbstzweck, sondern nur Mittel zum Zweck des Klassenkampfes gegen die kapitalistische Ordnung. Gewerkschaftsführern, die die Gewerkschaften diesem Zwecke abwendig zu machen suchten — sei es aus beschränkten persönlichen oder nurgewerkschaftlichen Absichten — denen setzte er den energischsten Widerstand entgegen. So namentlich den englischen Gewerkschaftsbeamten, die mit den Liberalen zu mogeln begannen.

Überhaupt, so nachsichtig und tolerant Marx gegenüber den proletarischen Massen war, so streng gegenüber denjenigen, die als ihre Führer auftraten. Das galt in erster Linie ihren Theoretikern.

In der proletarischen Organisation hieß Marx jeden Proletarier herzlich willkommen, der mit der ehrlichen Absicht kam, den Klassenkampf mitzukämpfen, einerlei, welchen Anschauungen der Beitretende sonst huldigte, welche theoretischen Beweggründe ihn trieben, welche Argumente er gebrauchte; einerlei, ob er Atheist war oder ein guter Christ, ob Proudhonianer, Blanquist, Weitlingianer oder Lassalleaner, ob er die Werttheorie verstand oder für völlig überflüssig hielt usw.

Natürlich war es ihm nicht gleichgültig, ob er es mit klar denkenden oder konfusen Arbeitern zu tun hatte. Er hielt es für eine wichtige Aufgabe, sie aufzuklären, aber er hätte es für falsch gehalten, Arbeiter deshalb, weil sie konfus dachten, abzustößen und von der Organisation fernzuhalten. Er setzte volles Vertrauen in die Kraft des Klassegegensatzes und die Logik des Klassenkampfes, die jeden Proletarier auf den richtigen Weg bringen mußte, sobald er sich nur einmal einer Organisation angeschlossen hatte, die einem wirklichen proletarischen Klassenkampf diene.

Aber anders verhielt er sich Leuten gegenüber, die zum Proletariat als Lehrer kamen und Anschauungen verbreiteten,

die geeignet waren, die Kraft und die Einheitlichkeit dieses Klassenkampfes zu stören. Solchen Elementen gegenüber kannte er keine Duldsamkeit. Als unerbitterlicher Kritiker trat er ihnen entgegen, mochten auch ihre Absichten die besten sein; ihr Wirken erschien ihm auf jeden Fall verderblich — wenn es überhaupt Resultate zeitigte und sich nicht als bloße Kraftvergeudung erwies.

Dank dem ist Marx stets einer der bestgehaßten Männer gewesen; bestgehaßt nicht bloß von der Bourgeoisie, die in ihm ihren gefährlichsten Feind fürchtete, sondern auch von allen Sektierern, Erfindern, gebildeten Konfusionsräten und ähnlichen Elementen im sozialistischen Lager, die seine „Duldsamkeit“, sein „Autoritarismus“, sein „Papsttum“, seine „Rezeurgerichte“ um so lebhafter empörten, je schmerzlicher sie seine Kritik empfanden.

Mit seinen Anschauungen haben wir Marxisten von Marx auch diese Position übernommen, und wir sind stolz darauf. Nur wer sich als der Schwächere fühlt, klagt über die „Duldsamkeit“ einer rein literarischen Kritik. Niemand wird mehr, schärfer, bössartiger kritisiert, als Marx und der Marxismus. Aber bisher ist es noch keinem Marxisten eingefallen, darob ein Klagelied über die Duldsamkeit unserer literarischen Gegner anzustimmen. Dazu sind wir unserer Sache zu sicher.

Nicht gleichgültig läßt uns dagegen der Unmut, der zeitweise in den proletarischen Massen laut wird über die literarischen Fehden, die zwischen dem Marxismus und seinen Kritikern ausgefochten werden. Aus diesem Unmut spricht ein sehr berechtigtes Bedürfnis: das nach Einheitlichkeit des Klassenkampfes, nach Zusammenfassung aller proletarischen Elemente zu einer großen geschlossenen Masse, die Furcht vor Spaltungen, die das Proletariat schwächen könnten.

Die Arbeiter wissen sehr wohl, welche Kraft sie aus ihrer Einigkeit schöpfen; sie steht ihnen höher als theoretische Klarheit, und sie verwünschen theoretische Diskussionen, wenn diese zu Spaltungen zu führen drohen. Mit Recht, denn das Streben nach theoretischer Klarheit würde das Gegenteil dessen bewirken, was es erreichen soll, wenn es den proletarischen Klassenkampf schwächte, statt stärkte.

Ein Marxist, der eine theoretische Differenz bis zur Spaltung einer proletarischen Kampforganisation fortführte, würde indes nicht marxistisch, nicht im Sinne der Marxschen Lehre vom Klassenkampf handeln, für die jeder Schritt wirklicher Bewegung wichtiger ist als ein Duzend Programme.

Ihre Auffassung der Stellung, die von den Marxisten innerhalb der proletarischen Organisationen einzunehmen ist, haben Marx und Engels bereits im Kommunistischen Manifest dargestellt in dem Abschnitt, der betitelt ist: „Proletarier und Kommunisten“. Die Kommunisten, das war ungefähr dasselbe, was man heute Marxisten nennt.

Es heißt da:

„In welchem Verhältnis stehen die Kommunisten zu den Proletariern überhaupt?

Die Kommunisten sind keine besondere Partei gegenüber den anderen Arbeiterparteien.

Sie haben keine von den Interessen des ganzen Proletariats getrennten Interessen.

Sie stellen keine besonderen Prinzipien auf, wonach sie die proletarische Bewegung modeln wollen.

Die Kommunisten unterscheiden sich von den übrigen proletarischen Parteien nur dadurch, daß sie einerseits in den verschiedenen nationalen (d. h. auf die einzelnen Staaten beschränkten. R. R.) Kämpfen der Proletarier die gemeinsamen, von der Nationalität unabhängigen Interessen des gesamten Proletariats hervorheben und zur Geltung bringen, andererseits dadurch, daß sie in den verschiedenen Entwicklungsstufen, welche der Kampf zwischen Proletariat und Bourgeoisie durchläuft, stets das Interesse der Gesamtbewegung vertreten.

Die Kommunisten sind also praktisch der entschiedenste, immer weitertreibende Teil der Arbeiterparteien aller Länder; sie haben theoretisch vor der übrigen Masse des Proletariats die Einsicht in die Bedingungen, den Gang und die allgemeinen Resultate der proletarischen Bewegung voraus.

Der nächste Zweck der Kommunisten ist derselbe wie der aller übrigen proletarischen Parteien: Bildung des Proletariats zur Klasse, Sturz der Bourgeoisieherrschaft, Eroberung der politischen Macht durch das Proletariat.

Die theoretischen Sätze der Kommunisten beruhen keineswegs auf Ideen, auf Prinzipien, die von diesem oder jenem Weltverbesserer erfunden oder entdeckt sind. Sie sind nur allgemeine Ausdrücke tatsächlicher Verhältnisse eines existierenden Klassenkampfes, einer unter unseren Augen vor sich gehenden geschichtlichen Bewegung.“

In den sechzig Jahren, seitdem dies geschrieben worden, hat sich manches geändert, so daß diese Sätze nicht mehr bis auf jeden Buchstaben angewendet werden können. 1848 gab es noch keine großen, einheitlichen Arbeiterparteien mit umfassenden sozialistischen Programmen, und neben der marxistischen Theorie bestanden zahlreiche andere, viel weiter verbreitete sozialistische Theorien.

Heute ist im kämpfenden Proletariat, das in Massenparteien vereinigt ist, nur noch eine sozialistische Theorie lebendig: die marxistische. Nicht alle Mitglieder der Arbeiterparteien sind Marxisten, noch weniger sind alle durchgebildete Marxisten. Aber diejenigen unter ihnen, die nicht die marxistische Theorie anerkennen, haben überhaupt keine Theorie. Entweder leugnen sie die Notwendigkeit einer jeden Theorie und eines jeden Programms, oder sie brauen sich aus Stücken der vor-marxistischen Denkweisen, die wir eben kennen gelernt haben und die noch nicht ganz verschwunden sind, zusammen mit ein paar marxistischen Brocken einen Allerveltssozialismus zusammen, der den Vorteil hat, daß man aus ihm alles weglassen kann, was einem momentan nicht in den Kram paßt, in ihn alles aufnehmen, was einem momentan verwendbar erscheint, der also weit bequemer ist, als der konsequente Marxismus, aber völlig versagt, wo die Theorie am wichtigsten wird. Er reicht aus für die gewöhnlichen Zwecke populärer Agitation, versagt aber, wenn es gilt, sich in der Wirklichkeit angesichts neuer, unerwarteter Erscheinungen zurechtzufinden. Gerade wegen seiner Schmiegsamkeit und Weichheit kann man aus ihm keinen Bau bilden, der allen Stürmen trozt. Aber auch eine Richtschnur kann er nicht bilden, die den Suchenden leitet, da er selbst ganz durch die persönlichen Augenblicksbedürfnisse seiner Träger bestimmt wird.

Der Marxismus hat sich heute im Proletariat nicht mehr gegen andere sozialistische Anschauungen durchzusetzen. Seine Kritiker treten ihm nicht mehr mit anderen Theorien entgegen, sondern nur noch mit Anzweiflungen der Notwendigkeit entweder einer Theorie überhaupt oder doch einer konsequenten Theorie. Es sind nur noch Redensarten wie die von „Dogmatismus“, „Orthodoxie“ und dergleichen, nicht geschlossene neue Systeme, die ihm in der proletarischen Bewegung entgegengehalten werden.

Das ist aber für uns Marxisten heute nur noch ein Grund mehr, jeden Versuch zu meiden, innerhalb der Arbeiterbewegung eine besondere marxistische Sekte bilden zu wollen, die sich von den übrigen Schichten des kämpfenden Proletariats abschließt. Wie Marx betrachteten auch wir es als unsere Aufgabe, das gesamte Proletariat zu einem kämpfenden Organismus zu vereinigen. Innerhalb dieses Organismus wird es aber stets unser Ziel sein, „der praktisch entschiedenste, immer weitertreibende Teil“ zu bleiben, der „vor der übrigen Masse des Proletariats die Einsicht in die Bedingungen, den Gang und die allgemeinen Resultate der proletarischen Bewegung voraus hat“, das heißt,

wir werden stets bemüht sein, an praktischer Energie und theoretischer Erkenntnis das höchste zu leisten, was mit den gegebenen Mitteln geleistet werden kann. Bloß darin, in der Überlegenheit unserer Leistungen, zu denen uns die Überlegenheit des marxistischen Standpunktes befähigt, wollen wir eine Sonderstellung im Gesamtorganismus des als Klassenpartei organisierten Proletariats einnehmen, das übrigens überall dort, wo nicht bewußter Marxismus es bereits erfüllt, durch die Logik der Tatsachen immer mehr in dessen Bahnen gedrängt wird.

Es hat aber auch kaum je ein Marxist oder eine marxistische Gruppe wegen rein theoretischer Differenzen eine Spaltung hervorgerufen. Wo es zu Spaltungen kam, waren es stets praktische, nicht theoretische, waren es taktische oder organisatorische Differenzen, die sie herbeiführten, und die Theorie nur der Sündenbock, dem alle dabei begangenen Sünden aufgeladen wurden. Was z. B. seit einigen Jahren ein Teil der französischen Sozialisten als Kampf gegen marxistische Anduldsamkeit bezeichnet, ist bei Lichte besehen nur der Kampf einiger Literaten und Parlamentarier gegen die proletarische Disziplin, die sie für entwürdigend ansehen. Sie verlangen die Disziplin bloß für die große Masse, nicht aber für so erhabene Wesen wie sie selbst. Die Verfechter der proletarischen Disziplin sind dagegen in Frankreich von jeher die Marxisten gewesen, und sie haben sich dabei als vortreffliche Schüler ihres Meisters gezeigt.

Er hat nicht bloß theoretisch den Weg gezeigt, auf dem das Proletariat am ehesten sein hohes Ziel erreicht, er ist auch praktisch auf diesem Wege vorangeschritten. Durch sein Wirken in der Internationale ist er vorbildlich geworden für unsere ganze praktische Tätigkeit.

Nicht nur als Denker, sondern auch als Vorbild haben wir Marx zu feiern, oder vielmehr, was eher in seinem Sinne liegt, ihn zu studieren. Wir ziehen nicht minder reichen Gewinn aus der Geschichte seiner persönlichen Wirksamkeit wie aus seinen theoretischen Auseinandersetzungen.

Und vorbildlich wurde er in seinem Wirken nicht allein durch sein Wissen, seinen überlegenen Verstand, sondern auch durch seine Kühnheit, seine Unermüdlichkeit, die sich paarte mit der größten Güte und Selbstlosigkeit und dem unerschütterlichsten Gleichmut.

Wer seine Kühnheit kennen lernen will, der lese seinen Prozeß nach, der in Köln am 9. Februar 1849 wegen seines Auftrufs zum bewaffneten Widerstand gegen ihn verhandelt wurde, wobei er die Notwendigkeit einer neuen Revolution dar-

legte. Für seine Güte und Selbstlosigkeit zeugt die rege Sorge, die er, selbst im größten Elend lebend, für seine Genossen betätigte, an die er stets eher dachte als an sich selbst, so nach dem Zusammenbruch der Revolution von 1848, so nach dem Fall der Pariser Kommune von 1871. Sein ganzes Leben endlich war eine ununterbrochene Kette von Prüfungen, die nur ein Mann bestehen konnte, dessen Unermüdlichkeit und Uner-schütterlichkeit das gewöhnliche Maß weit überstieg.

Vom Beginn seines Wirkens in der „Rheinischen Zeitung“ (1842) wurde er gehezt von Land zu Land, bis ihm die Revolution von 1848 den Beginn eines siegreichen Vorstürmens versprach. Durch ihren Fall sah er sich wieder zurückgeworfen in politisches und persönliches Elend, das um so hoffnungsloser schien, da ihn im Exil auf der einen Seite die bürgerliche Demokratie boykottierte, auf der anderen ein Teil der Kommunisten selbst befehdete und von den Getreuen eine ganze Anzahl in preussischen Festungen für viele Jahre begraben wurde. Dann kam endlich ein Lichtblick, die Internationale, aber nach wenigen Jahren wurde auch dieser wieder verdunkelt durch den Fall der Pariser Kommune, dem bald die Auflösung der Internationale in innerer Wirnis folgte. Wohl hatte diese ihre Aufgabe in glänzender Weise erfüllt, aber gerade dadurch waren die proletarischen Bewegungen der einzelnen Länder selbständiger geworden. Je mehr sie wuchs, desto mehr bedurfte die Internationale einer elastischeren Organisationsform, die den einzelnen nationalen Organisationen mehr Spielraum ließ. Jedoch zur selben Zeit, als dies höchst notwendig wurde, fühlten sich die englischen Gewerkschaftsführer, die mit den Liberalen zusammengehen wollten, durch die Tendenzen des Klassenkampfes beengt, indes in den romanischen Ländern der bakuninistische Anarchismus gegen die Beteiligung der Arbeiter an der Politik rebellierte: Erscheinungen, die den Generalkrat der Internationale gerade damals zur schärfsten Ausübung seiner zentralistischen Befugnisse drängten, als der Föderalismus der Organisation notwendiger wurde denn je. An diesem Widerspruch scheiterte das stolze Schiff, dessen Steuer Karl Marx in Händen hatte.

Das wurde eine bittere Enttäuschung für Marx. Freilich kam dann der glänzende Aufstieg der deutschen Sozialdemokratie und das Erstarken der revolutionären Bewegung in Rußland. Indes das Sozialistengesetz setzte jenem glänzenden Aufstieg zunächst ein Ende und der russische Terrorismus erreichte auch seinen Höhepunkt 1881. Von da an ging es mit ihm rasch bergab.

So war die politische Tätigkeit von Marx eine ununterbrochene Kette von Mißerfolgen und Enttäuschungen. Und nicht minder seine wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit. Sein Lebenswerk, das „Kapital“, auf das er so große Erwartungen gesetzt, blieb anscheinend unbeachtet und wirkungslos, selbst in der eigenen Partei, wurde es bis in den Anfang der achtziger Jahre nur wenig verstanden.

Marx starb gerade an der Schwelle der Zeit, in der endlich die Früchte reifen sollten, die er in den wütendsten Stürmen und sonnenloser, düsterer Zeit ausgesät. Er starb, als die Zeit heranbrach, in der die proletarische Bewegung ganz Europa ergriff und sich überall mit seinem Geiste erfüllte, auf seine Grundlagen sich stellte und gerade dadurch eine Periode ununterbrochenen sieghaften Aufschwungs des Proletariats begann, die so glänzend absteht von jener Zeit, in der Marx als einsamer, wenig begriffener, aber viel gehäfter Kämpfer gegen eine Welt von Feinden nach Verständnis für seine Ideen im Proletariat rang.

So entmutigend, ja geradezu trostlos diese Situation für jeden gewöhnlichen Menschen geworden wäre, Marx raubte sie nie seinen heiteren Gleichmut, nie seine stolze Zuversicht. Er überragte seine Mitwelt so hoch, sah so weit über sie hinweg, daß er das Land der Verheißung klar erblickte, welches der großen Masse seiner Mitlebenden nicht einmal zu ahnen vergönnt war. Es war seine wissenschaftliche Größe, es war die Tiefe seiner Theorie, aus der er die beste Kraft seines Charakters schöpfte, in der seine Unererschütterlichkeit und seine Zuversicht wurzelte, die ihn frei hielt von allen Schwankungen und Stimmungen, von jenem unstillen Gefühlsüberschwang, der heute himmelhoch jauchzt und morgen zu Tode betrübt ist.

Aus dieser Quelle müssen auch wir schöpfen, dann können wir sicher sein, daß wir in den großen und schweren Kämpfen, denen wir entgegengehen, unsern Mann stellen und das Maximum an Kraft entwickeln werden, dessen wir fähig sind. Dann dürfen wir erwarten, früher als es sonst möglich wäre, unser Ziel zu erreichen. Das Banner der Befreiung des Proletariats und damit der gesamten Menschheit, das Marx entfaltet hat, das er mehr als ein Menschenalter lang uns vorantrug, in immer wieder erneutem Ansturm, nie ermattend, nie verzagend, das werden die Kämpfer, die er geschult hat, siegreich aufpflanzen auf den Trümmern der kapitalistischen Zwingsburg.

**Buchhandlung Vorwärts, Berlin SW. 68, Lindenstr. 69.**

Wir empfehlen ferner:

## Schriften von Karl Kautsky:

**Die soziale Revolution.** Zweite Auflage. I. Sozialreform und soziale Revolution. II. Am Tage nach der sozialen Revolution. M. 1,50

**Sozialreform und soziale Revolution.** } Agitations- } „ —,40  
**Am Tage nach der sozialen Revolution.** } Ausgaben } „ —,30

Beide Schriften hängen innerlich miteinander zusammen, jede einzelne bildet aber ein abgeschlossenes Ganzes. Die erste behandelt den Begriff der sozialen Revolution, ihre Entwicklung und Wandlung und erörtert die Frage, ob diese Wandlungen die Revolution künftig unmöglich machen oder einen neuen Typus einer sozialen Revolution vorbereiten. Die zweite untersucht die Aufgaben, die dem Proletariat am Tage nach der Revolution zu lösen gestellt sind, deren Schwierigkeiten und die Hilfsmittel zur Lösung.

**Die Sozialdemokratie und die katholische Kirche.** Zweite, durchgesehene Auflage. Preis 75 Pf., Agitationsausgabe 30 Pf.

Diese Schrift — ein Separat-Abdruck aus der „Neuen Zeit“ — gibt eine historische Klarlegung der ökonomischen und politischen Grundlagen der katholischen Kirche und skizziert die prinzipielle und taktische Stellungnahme der Sozialdemokratie.

**Sozialismus und Kolonialpolitik.** Eine Auseinandersetzung. M. 1,—, Agitationsausgabe M. 0,50

Inhalt: Positive Kolonialpolitik. — Die Ethik der Kolonialpolitik. — Arbeitskolonien. — Ausbeutungskolonien. — Gewalttame oder friedliche Zivillisierung. — Der notwendige Durchgang durch den Kapitalismus. — Der Rückfall in die Barbarei.

**Das Erfurter Programm** in seinem grundsätzlichen Teil. gebd. M. 2,—

Eine ausführliche, in populärer Form gehaltene Begründung der Grundsätze der deutschen Sozialdemokratie, die in gemeinverständlicher Weise jede Seite der sozialistischen Ideenwelt zur Darstellung bringt.

**Karl Marx' ökonomische Lehren.** Gemeinverständlich dargestellt und erläutert. gebd. M. 2,—

Die populäre Zusammenfassung der Marxschen Theorien durch Kautsky wird demjenigen willkommen sein, welcher sich über die Anschauungen des theoretischen Lehrvaters des modernen internationalen Sozialismus kurz und bündig unterrichten will.

**Thomas More und seine Utopie.** Mit einer historischen Einleitung von Kautsky. Gebd. M. 2,50, brosch. M. 2,—

Der erste Abschnitt des Buches enthält eine Schilderung des humanistischen Zeitalters und der Reformation, in deren Anschauungen Morus wurzelte. Im 2. Abschnitt gibt Kautsky eine Uebersicht über die Wirkbarkeit und im letzten eine Darstellung der „Utopie“.

**Konsumvereine und Arbeiterbewegung.** M. 0,15

**Bernstein und das sozialdemokratische Programm.** Eine Antikritik. M. 2,—, Volksausgabe M. 1,—

**Patriotismus und Sozialdemokratie.** „ —,20

Buchhandlung Vorwärts, Berlin SW. 68

Wir empfehlen:

## Biographien unserer Vorkämpfer

□ □ □ □

### Karl Marx zum Gedächtnis

Ein Lebensabriß und Erinnerungen von W. Liebknecht

Unter Beigabe von 1 Porträt von Marx, der  
Abbildung seiner Grabstätte und zwei Familie-  
Wiedergaben von Briefen Marx und Engels

Preis 75 Pfennig

Porto 10 Pfennig

### Ferdinand Lassalle

und seine Bedeutung für die Arbeiterklasse

Zu seinem vierzigsten Todestage

:: von Eduard Bernstein ::

Preis 1 Mark. Agitationsausgabe 50 Pf. Porto 5 Pf.

### Wilhelm Liebknecht

□ Sein Leben und Wirken □

Unter Benutzung ungedruckter Briefe und Aufzeichnungen heraus-  
gegeben von Kurt Eisner — Mit Porträt und Abbildungen

Preis 1,50 Mark

Agitationsausgabe 60 Pfennig

Porto 10 Pfennig

### Ignaz Duer

Eine Gedenkschrift von Eduard Bernstein

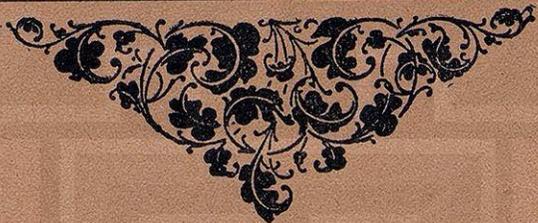
Mit einem Porträt und Abbildungen

Preis 1 Mark. Agitationsausgabe 50 Pf. Porto 5 Pf.

---

**Theodore Roosevelt**  
**THE POLITICAL DR. COOK**

---



**A. CHRONOLOGICAL REVIEW OF  
THE POLITICAL LIFE OF  
THEODORE ROOSEVELT**

**PUBLISHED BY  
T. A. HICKEY  
ABILENE, TEXAS**



# Theodore Roosevelt

## The Political Dr. Cook

A Chronological Review  
of the Political Life of  
Theodore Roosevelt

PUBLISHED BY  
T. A. HICKEY  
ABILENE, TEXAS



Price 10 Cents

5183

# Theodore Roosevelt

## THE POLITICAL DR. COOK

A Chronological Review of the Political Life of  
Theodore Roosevelt by T. A. Hickey.

WITH flaring flags and flying streamers, blaring bands and strenuous shouts an excited multitude that burned red fire, and showered confetti, moved, eddied and swirled in great streams of humanity in the lower end of New York City on the twelfth of last September. They had come to the gateway of the Atlantic to greet Dr. Cook on his safe return from the North Land.

A similar crowd with the same hysterical display will journey to the same spot in the near future to greet another explorer—Theodore Roosevelt. There is a striking similarity between both men and their receptions. As hunters, naturalists, explorers, literatures and superb advertisers they challenge international attention. Both were greeted by European kings and savants; wined and dined, feted and decorated. Both returned to find an expectant multitude at their feet.

Within four months from the day of landing Dr. Cook was in exile—exposed as a fraud. The flags were furled, the bands were silent while the multitude hissed out one word—“*stung*”

Just as the geographers and scientists generally delved into the crooked record and thus destroyed the doctor so shall we now look into the record of the Political Dr. Cook with the same end in view, viz.—the exposure of a fraud.

## Chronological—1883.

Theodore Roosevelt was elected to the legislature from New York, the city of his birth, by the grace of Tom Platt, he of express company and concubine infamy, known even at that time as the most corrupt politician in America.

Roosevelt voted with the Platt-Conkling machine and was known as a safe man, whose assistance could always be secured to kill every Knights of Labor or any other labor measure that was introduced from time to time.

## 1884.

Continued to be used by the machine as the young man of good birth who made capitalist politics respectful. He was the original good young man in politics. Tammany hall has since played that game with splendid success, mixing up their sweet scented Fifth avenue grandees and fine ladies with their Bowery thugs, white slavers and courtesans.

## 1886.

This year found organized labor united as never before. The Knights of Labor, organized in 1867, had grown to over one and a half million members. So great was the desire to organize that the national office had to stop issuing charters for a period of six weeks in the spring of this year. The A. F. of L., then five years old, was thriving splendidly. These organized workers decided that they must use their political power to help them in their economic struggles; hence the organization of the United Labor party in New York City in the summer of 1886.

Their candidate for mayor was Henry George, then at the zenith of his fame as the author of Progress and Poverty. Tammany nominated Abram S. Hewitt, the son-in-law of the great greenbacker, Peter Cooper. Then Wall street lined up as never before behind their "clean young aristocrat," Theodore Roosevelt. It was figured that he would pull enough votes away from Henry George to elect the ticket of Tammany hall. The scheme was successful, and, although George got sixty-eight thousand votes, he was counted out by the Roosevelt-Tammany crowd. That Roosevelt was last in the race was small comfort to the workers whose candidate Roosevelt had helped to defeat.

## 1887-1893.

These years found Roosevelt acting as civil service commissioner for a short time and writing, hunting, plotting and

planning his future political career, with never a word or thought of labor.

## 1894.

This year found Roosevelt re-entering politics. He was appointed one of the four police commissioners of New York City. In his absence from the political field he had developed a good grasp of the psychology of the American people. Even more than the French they loved the spectacular. Everything abnormal, from white elephants to Teddy Bears, goes. Calcium light effect gets results. Red fire is argument—Rah, Rah, Rah! So acted Roosevelt in his new job. He prowled the city at all hours. Slid into Water Front saloons by the back door at 2 a. m. Woke up astounded blue coats, who were taking naps on ash barrels in the gray of the morning.

This stunt was always good for a two-column, front-page display.

It was at this stage of his career that he gave the first evidence of his wonderful press agent ability that has since developed to the point where Barnum, Tony Hamilton, Ringling Brothers, Lydia Pinkham and all great advertisers have been put in the shade.

His real character cropped out well at this time. An inventor came to him with a new police club more murderous than the cestus of ancient Rome. This club had a spring in the end of it; press the spring and presto! sixteen steel spikes sprang out; each spike two and a quarter inches long and sharpened to a fine point. Grab the innocent looking club, the spring would be pressed and your hand was torn off; one blow, a sickening crash and your skull was smashed like an egg-shell. This weapon in the hands of New York policemen would be singularly efficacious for a strike picket, reasoned the simple-life Roosevelt.

But what strange chances upset our plans on this mundane sphere!

The patentee applied to the patent office and patent was refused on the remarkable grounds that the spiked club was a weapon contrary to the interest of humanity. Just because the club flew in the face of civilization the big stick had to discard the big club.

## 1895.

This year found Roosevelt displaying his love for labor by passing favorably upon the examination papers of inspector

McAvoy because he recommended that in the event of a labor disturbance on the east side (the workers' quarters in New York City) that cannon be planted on Chatham square and the seven intersecting streets be raked with grape shot and cannister.

1896.

This year found Roosevelt off the police board and tied up with Mark Hanna and J. P. Morgan. (I will show later that his alliance with Morgan has not been broken up to date.)

He stumped the western states in that ever memorable campaign, at the request of Mark Hanna, and returned to New York on election day happy in the defeat of Bryan.

1897.

For his services against the radical democrats and pops Mark Hanna used his influence with McKinley to have Roosevelt appointed assistant secretary of the navy. Roosevelt, because of his years-long intimacy with Parsons, Shepherd and Havemeyer of the sugar trust, knew that war with Spain was inevitable and trained his mind on every passing event that would assist him upwards in his political climbing.

One of these events proved to be of immense advantage to him. Col. W. F. Cody (Buffalo Bill) had been watching Roosevelt since he was police commissioner. With the genius of a great circus man he selected him as the one individual that could help him (Buffalo Bill) to put through a brilliant scheme that would make all former showmen, from Jimmie Robinson to P. T. Barnum, turn over in their graves with envy. This scheme was none other than the organization of a great regiment of western frontiersmen, cowboys, rangers and sheriffs, all long-legged, raw-boned men, who rode the western range.

The man who put that scheme through in war time might have a mortgage on the country from East St. Louis to Cape Cod. Oh! for the khaki, the leggings, the quirts and the chapps! Roosevelt heard Buffalo Bill and went wild about the scheme at once. \*He was Dee-Lighted.

But alas, for Buffalo Bill! Roosevelt double-crossed him, went to work and organized The Rough Riders, with Buffalo Bill with drooping mustache standing mournfully outside the circus tent.

It was small satisfaction to Buffalo Bill to know that he had made a president and in doing so had made a big fool of himself.

1898.

Too well known are the Spanish-American war incidents to use up much space on them here. From the start it was one prolonged scandal, with scarce a trace of honor to our flag. Our soldiers were murdered by the thousands by the beef trust's embalmed beef.

Rotting hulks were sold by "patriotic capitalists" to the government for ten times their value. Corruption stalked rampant. And even among the gentlemen of the navy we saw Sampson try to steal Schley's honors.

In the midst of all this rottenness our American sense of humor causes us to turn with relief to the one bright, beautiful, comic opera spot in the whole works. It was where the terrific Teddy stood under the spotlight at the bottom of San Juan hill—the hill that he never climbed.

A green policeman in the vortex of a race riot is a thing of repose beside our hero. Through his stupidity the Spaniards had him and his merry men corralled. As rattled as a boy with a bee on his back the terrible Ted ran around like a whirling Dervish giving contradictory orders. Fortunately for all concerned the negro infantry came upon the double quick, and Roosevelt heaved a prodigious sigh of relief as he gazed at the backs of the negroes as they climbed San Juan hill. Shafter, with his hammock and his mule, was a figure of martial dignity alongside the toothful terror from New York. But Roosevelt, if he didn't know how to fight, knew how to advertise. If the negroes saved him from the clicking of the mausers wasn't Richard Harding Davis there to attend to the clicking of the cameras? When the negroes had repulsed the Spaniards Roosevelt grabbed a flag and went to the front. The band played Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight and Roosevelt's Rough Riders came home to a delighted people in the glorious blaze of red ink, colored supplements and four-column cuts. The colonel gleefully told the reporters how he had shot a Spaniard in the back.

Tom Platt needed a spectacular candidate for governor, and invited a conference to discuss the subject in the Fifth Avenue hotel. Elihu Root, the biggest attorney in Wall street, was the chief man assigned for the discussion. When the republican chiefs had decided upon Roosevelt, some disgruntled republican sub-chiefs threw a bomb into the meeting by pointing out that Roosevelt was not a citizen of New York and hence could not run for governor because some months earlier he had sworn he was a resident of Washington, D. C., this for the purpose of dodging his taxes in New York. This

then was Roosevelt's dilemma: If he stood for governor he stood for it as a perjurer.

Tom Platt tells us in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine* this year that Roosevelt went white to the lips and shook with mortal fear, and that Platt, trying to put backbone into the weakling, slapped him on the back and said: "Is this our brave Roosevelt, the leader of The Rough Riders?" Root assisted Platt in regaining Roosevelt's composure; the conference broke up for the night and Root promised to do his best to straighten the perjurer out. A few days later the republican state convention was held.

Root took the management of the situation in one of the most masterful speeches ever delivered in a state convention from a viewpoint of legal word-twisting. Root, the greatest legal mind in Wall street, proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that black was white, white was no color at all, perjury was truth, and Roosevelt was nominated, and elected over Van Wyck, governor of the empire state of New York.

## 1899.

Behind Root in the struggle to elect Roosevelt stood the masterful figure of Edward H. Harriman.

Not only did he deploy Root to the front, but he threw fifty thousand dollars to the campaign in the closing weeks of the fight and turned the tide of victory Roosevelt's way. This debt had to be paid. Roosevelt paid it by signing the Alton Steal bill, which enabled Harriman to loot the Chicago and Alton railway out of sixty-one million dollars, which has been abundantly proved by the Appeal to Reason.

His old-time hostility to labor was shown by his sending the national guard to Croton Dam, New York, to shoot down the workers who were struggling to enforce the eight-hour law of the state.

The republican party nominated Roosevelt for vice president in the national convention at Philadelphia, and he was elected vice president the following November.

## 1901.

On September 7th, this year, the infamous Czolgoz assassinated the benign McKinley and the Spike Club Roosevelt stepped into the white house. Surely no more horrible lesson than this were needed to show the frightful results of the

"propaganda of the deed" anarchist in a country like this where we have the ballot to use as we will.

Roosevelt swore to carry out the McKinley politics; but where and what they were is buried in the limbo of the dead gone past!

## 1902.

With the calcium light working overtime and the press agents working all the time, this year finds Roosevelt posing in a new role—The Apostle of the Apparent; the Discoverer of the Obvious; The Triturator of All That Is Trite.

Every copybook lesson is revamped. Every Sunday school phrase that has done duty for two generations is cried out from clenched teeth with all the dignity of a Delphic oracle.

The people looked on with wild-eyed amazement and delight. Great is the truly good, Roosevelt is the prophet, soothsayer, discoverer and all-round prognosticator of the ever glorious, grand and truly beautiful, simple, war-like life—Selah! Go to! Hurrah!

## 1903.

Something has to be done right now, for the people are restless over the growing power of the trusts, and Mark Hanna threatened, up to the day of his death, to climb into Roosevelt's seat at the expiration of the term. "Destroy the trusts by publicity" is the new cry that comes from white house, and again the tired press agents are lashed on to their typewriters like galley slaves to their oars. Direful and awful things are sure to happen the trust magnates. "Malefactors of great wealth" tremble, for the terrible one will get you if you don't watch out. Lay on, McDuff, to the "criminal rich." Hard is the lot of the trust magnate! Again the people yell with joy as they hear these fearsome sounds, and while gazing delightedly up at Mr. Roosevelt the aforesaid "criminals" go through their pockets and take the last dollar bill.

## 1904.

So well have the trust magnates been squelched that they nominate Roosevelt on the republican ticket, Parker on the democratic ticket and lie back contented to watch the sham battle. Roosevelt's campaign manager, Cortelyou, visits Wall street and carries the Roosevelt campaign coin away in four-wheel trucks.

Roosevelt is elected, but there is a fly in the ointment. The Socialist runs its genuinely first national campaign. Debs

gets over four hundred thousand votes. A large number of people have caught on to Roosevelt the fraud.

It is the first faint glimmering of the dawn.

#### 1905.

Seated in the saddle for four years more the people manifest much interest in Roosevelt's new cabinet. To the disgust of a large number of people the trust lawyers are appointed to the chief positions; Root of the Ryan-Morgan interests; Knox of the steel-Morgan interests; and Taft, the father of the injunction, are the big three that are selected to sail the big ship of state. To offset this Trust Roosevelt bends to work of deception as never before. Like great power machines in the modern factory the carriages fly backward and forward in the typewriters and miles of dope are turned out daily to bamboozle the multitude. Fearful is the onslaught against the trusts and all the time as resistlessly as a moving avalanche the process of trustification sweeps majestically on.

The classical political economists are dazed at the process that Marx sketched with the hands of science before they left their mother's lap. The giant modern industry eats up the little fish like the *Itchosauius* devouring its young, while all through the process Roosevelt like a voodoo priest tears his hair and utters strange sounds. Never was the intellectual and moral poverty of the existing order so apparent.

#### 1906.

Scarce six weeks of this year had passed until the western division of the plutocracy feeling secure in their control of the white house decided to destroy the Western Federation of Miners whose national officers they could neither buy nor coerce. True, in their anarchistic spirit the mine owners believed that by lopping off the head of the organization the body would shrivel and die. They had everything squared from the perjured Van Doyn, of Idaho, to Roosevelt and the supreme court. Splendidly did Roosevelt aid them in their murderous schemes. When Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were shackled in their prison cells and standing in the shadow of the gallows Roosevelt reached up in the white house and struck down the outraged, helpless, kidnaped workingmen. He stole a phrase from one of Jack London's books—undesirable citizens—and hurled this at them in the interest of the vile beast whose hide Judge Lindsay, of Denver, has just peeled off and exposed to the gaze of the horrified people.

But all in vain did Roosevelt work. Debs sprang into the arena and electrified the nation with his historic article, **Arouse,**

**Ye Slaves!** and his declaration, "If they hang Moyer and Haywood they will have to hang me."

The Appeal and the unionists backing Debs beat back the would-be murderers, and, fearing for their precious skins when an aroused people would demand an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, the conspirators collapsed and Roosevelt was left sulking in his tent.

#### 1907.

Strange as it may appear, this off-year proved to be the most eventful year of Roosevelt's life. It witnessed the climax of his perfidy. He knew the feeling against a third term was so strong that he would be beaten were he to run. He had to find a successor. He had to face a panic and save his sugar trust friends from the penitentiary before the day died out of the sky on December 31st. First as to the sugar criminals: A keen-eyed inspector had noticed something wrong on the Brooklyn and Jersey wharves where the imported sugar belonging to the sugar trusts was weighed. A wire had been put into the delicate mechanism of the scales, where it could be pulled by one of the sugar trust weighers, causing it to weigh falsely. In this manner Uncle Sam had been robbed of twenty-five millions in duties and inasmuch as the government can reclaim a sum that is equal to five times as much as that of which it is defrauded, the sugar trust would have been hopelessly wrecked were even-handed justice done. But the sugar trust was in deeper than this. A Philadelphia Jew named Segal had induced the president of the Philadelphia Fidelity Trust company to back an independent sugar refinery in the city of Brotherly Love and street car grafters. The sugar trust bought in on the deal and by criminal frenzied financiering wrecked the independent plant, destroyed the Fidelity Trust company and thus caused President Hippelt to blow out his brains. A brilliant attorney in Philadelphia was appointed receiver for the wrecked property. He uncovered the sugar trust fraud and again it seemed as if the sugar magnates were headed for the pen. Roosevelt's attorney general, Boneparte, with the kingly name and the face of a French chef, visited Philadelphia and prepared for action. Roosevelt sprang into the breach, called Boneparte off and saved his sugar trust friends.

In the good old summer time Roosevelt decided upon Taft as the ideal man to carry out "my policies."

To secure Taft's nomination the first string to be pulled was the postoffice department. The jobs to be given away amounted to 150,000, postmasters and all.

So Hitchcock, assistant postmaster general, was told to pack his grip and go south; this for the reason that a southern vote counts as much in a national convention as a northern one, and in the south where the democratic party reigns supreme postmasters is about all there is of the republican party.

When Hitchcock moved on Roosevelt's campaign, carte blanche was given him to pull all live wires on his itinerary; after the postmasters, federal judges, district attorneys, government inspectors, capitalists seeking special privileges under public domain, in short, everything in sight was to be grabbed to fasten the cogs and wheels and bearings and parts that would make the steam roller that would flatten out all opposition to Taft at the coming national convention.

After visiting the south, Hitchcock passed through Arizona to California, where one of the chief cogs of the Southern Pacific machine, United States Attorney Lawler, of Los Angeles, was pushed on the band wagon. This Lawler was the man who kept the Mexican patriots, Magon, Villarreal and Rivera, in jail for seventeen months without a trial.

Down to the coast to Seattle sped Hitchcock, where the most important meeting of the tour was held. Seattle, be it remembered, is the gateway to Alaska. Billions of dollars of public property was in sight. In fact, Benjamin Hampton, owner of Hampton Magazine, says in his April number that competent experts estimate the value of District of Alaska in trillions. One mountain of anthracite coal in the public domain has six thousand million tons in sight, every pound of which belongs to the American people, and every ounce of this was to be stolen through the connivance of Hitchcock, Taft and Roosevelt; so the plotters plotted in the night at Seattle in October, 1907. This conspiracy was conducted by what was known as the Morganheim agents, otherwise Messrs. Morgan and Guggenheim. The chief demand of the Morganheim agents was that they should be allowed to appoint the secretary of the interior in person of Ballinger, and Taft should drive through congress and sign the bill that the lawyers of Morgan and Guggenheim would frame. In return for this service the Morgan-Guggenheim agents agreed to deliver a Taft delegation to the national convention in all the Rocky Mountain states, then put up a campaign fund sufficiently large to elect Taft in these states. After events have shown that everything has moved up to date as planned. Taft got the delegation, the campaign fund was put up, the states were carried for the republican party, Ballinger was appointed, the Cunningham claims were rushed to patent by Ballinger, and the steal only stopped by the heroism of Glavis; Taft has fathered the Alaska bill that provides that nine commissioners

appointed have the power to give away every franchise in Alaska, thus causing Governor Wickersham of Alaska to say before a congressional committee in answer to a question of Governor Clark of Arkansas—"the Taft bill virtually turns over every five dollars' worth of property in Alaska to the Morgan-Guggenheim interests." So much for the Hitchcock-Roosevelt move in 1907.

In this same October came the panic, sweeping like a tornado through the nation. Banks collapsed, factories closed, three million men are out of employment and the hearse of the suicide is seen in the city streets.

Morgan visits Roosevelt and the United States treasury is tapped for twenty-five million dollars, while the farmer cannot get one dollar to move his cotton. Morgan strides out in the breakers and pulls to his sheltered financial shore steamship lines, factories and other valuable propositions, and winds up his buccaneer cruise by ordering Roosevelt to smash the anti-trust law and enable him to steal the one genuine competitor of these United States Steel corporations, The Tennessee Coal and Iron company. Thus does the trust buster bust the trust.

#### 1908.

In the republican convention held in June the Roosevelt steam roller made in 1907, as sketched above, worked to perfection in Chicago; Taft was overwhelmingly nominated; Roosevelt plunged into the campaign with characteristic vigor; all his old flub-dub running from full baby carriages, empty dinner pails, was dragged out. The flatulent Bryan was unmercifully whipped, Taft triumphantly elected and Morgan smiled joyously at the good work of the strenuous one. The Socialist party was the only third party that held its own in the storm, in spite of a million near Socialists that gave "one last vote for Bryan"—and the wholesale national counting out the Socialist party was the only third party that was not swept off the political field. With its square unbroken it faced Roosevelt and Morgan with the firmness of determined purpose in its poise.

The light was commencing to break in the skies.

#### 1909.

The last congress over which Roosevelt held sway was as usual barren of any results to the people. Floods of special messages came from the white house, Tilman was excoriated. Congress was threatened with secret agents' reports. A rep-

representative from New York attacked Roosevelt savagely in a speech in the house, referring to him as the gargoyle of American politics, and so, on the fourth of March at noon, amidst a frightful snow storm, emblematic of the conditions of the people, Roosevelt walked out of the white house and turned over the reins of office to his successor, William Howard Taft. As he drove through the storm to the Pennsylvania depot he must have recast in his mind the seven swift years that lay behind them since the martyred McKinley gasped out his last breath at Buffalo. Two trusts were doing business to the one that was in operation when he stepped in the white house, the cost of living had enormously increased to the masses of the people and wages had not kept pace with the increase. Millions of unemployed were hungry in the land.

1910.

After a year spent indulging his passion for blood in the wilds, Roosevelt turns his face homeward. He has not forgotten his old spectacular tricks. Scarcely is he out of the jungle until he upholds the mailed fist of English capital and attacks the revolutionary party that is struggling for freedom within the shadow of pyramids.

The prow of his vessel will soon plow through the Narrows, and, like his explorer, double, Dr. Cook, he will be greeted by acclamation in New York. He will find a city captured by the Socialists in his absence. He will find a more sober and thoughtful people thinking as they never thought before. He may then realize his theatrical race is run and he will sink into oblivion, unwept—unhonored—and unsung.

## The Threat of Barbarism

BY GEORGE D. HERRON.

IT IS DIFFICULT to write of so dominant and delusive a personality as Theodore Roosevelt without in some measure using language that fits the subject. In both word and deed is Mr. Roosevelt himself so terribly personal that it is impossible to write about him in an impersonal way. To speak of him in any terms that at all characterize him is to lay one's self open to the charge of personal feeling. I confess I do feel deeply about Mr. Roosevelt, but it is because I believe him to be the most malign and menacing personal force in the political world of today. He is the embodiment of man's return to the brute—the living announcement that man will again seek relief from the sickness of society in the bonds of an imposing savagery. He is a sign, and one of the makers, of universal decay. He is the glorification of what is rotten and reactionary in our civilization. To speak calmly of one whose life and achievements are a threat and an insult to the holiest spirit of mankind, this is not easy for anyone who cares about mankind, or carries within himself the heartache of the generations. About other men one may write judicially, and leave something for inference. But one can only truly write about Mr. Roosevelt by telling the truth about him; and that means the use of plain and terrible words. That is the tragedy and terror of having to speak of him at all.

Quite recently I have been criticised for saying that Theodore Roosevelt is the most degrading influence in our American public life and history. I said this because it was true. It is what many thoughtful Americans know; it is also what no one with a reputation to lose will say. We are all afraid of him; we are afraid of him just as we are afraid of the plotted revenge, of the bludgeon from behind, of the knife in the back, of the thief in the dark. No one knows what this man will do, if one enters the lists against him; but whatever he does, it will be to avoid the question at issue, and to come at you unawares; to seize an advantage that only the dishonorable and the shameless accept. Whatever he does, he will never fight you fair; he will never strike a blow that is not foul. In some respects Mr. Roosevelt has the field to himself; the majority of men have still some rudimentary feelings about the truth; and if not this, then an ordinary sense of humor, as well as the lack of opportunity, saves them from any foolish attempt at competing with Mr. Roosevelt in the art of clothing flagrant falsehood with the garments

of moral pomp. It is notorious, too, that no man will now contend with Mr. Roosevelt, because no man will so demean himself as to fight upon Mr. Roosevelt's terms. It is also notorious that Mr. Roosevelt will avail himself of this fact, as he did in his controversy with Mr. Edward H. Harriman; as he did in his amazing and disgraceful articles against Socialism; as he did when he condemned, for the sake of his own popularity with a capitalist press, the labor leaders, Moyer and Haywood, while these men were still on trial for their lives. He knows that his most bitter opponent will observe some of the decencies of combat. Observing none of these himself, he has all the choice of weapons; and he chooses without reference to the weapons of his opponent. Indeed, no white man would be found with the controversial weapons of Theodore Roosevelt upon his person. And no white man has had, or would wish to have, Mr. Roosevelt's opportunity for investing the most skulking personal revenges with the air of a champion of the public good.

But it is not against a mere individual that I protest. I object to Mr. Roosevelt from the fact that he voices and incarnates the fundamental social immorality—the doctrine that might makes right; that no righteousness is worth the having except that which is enforced by brute words, or brute laws, or brute fists, or brute armies. Mr. Roosevelt stands for a life that belongs to the lower barbarian and to the jungle. He has set before the youth of the nation the glory of the beast instead of the glory of the soul. The nation has been hypnotized and saturated with his horrible ideals, as well as by his possessional and intimidating personality. Of course, the nation is itself to blame, and in this reveals its own decadence; for the heroes we worship, and the ideals we cherish, are the revelations of ourselves. Yet it is this one man, more than all others, who has awakened the instinct to kill and to conquer, and all the sleeping savagery of the people. It is he who has put the blood-cup to the lips of the nation, and who bids the nation drink. And one of the strangest ironies that ever issued from academic ignorance, and what will prove to be one of the historic stupidities, is the endowment of this naked militarist with the Nobel Peace Prize; and this because, in the interests of the great bankers and of his own military policy, he was instrumental in depriving Japan of the full fruits of her victory.

Theodore Roosevelt leads a recession in the life of the world. He betokens the enfeeblement of mankind, its lack of a living faith. He is the ominous star of the new New Dark Ages—wherein the faithless soul of man will seek forgetfulness and excitement in military murder and political bestiality. It is true that Mr. Roosevelt has imposed upon the world an impression of strength; but he is essentially a weakling, an anthropological problem, a case for the pathologist. His psychology is that of the savage at one time, and of the hysteric at another. Intellectually, he is an atavism, the recrudescence of

an antique type; he belongs with the rulers of the Roman degeneracy, or with the lesser Oriental despots.

And Mr. Roosevelt is the last man whose name should be spoken of in connection with democracy. He does not believe in democracy at all; nor in freedom at all. He is no more of a democrat than Genghis Khan or Louis XI. He likes liberty less than Cromwell did; and Cromwell liked liberty less, by far, than did Charles I. Only these are big names to put beside the name of a man so morally small, so ignorant of essential excellence, so ruthlessly inconsiderate of his fellows, as Theodore Roosevelt.

But supposing Mr. Roosevelt were one of the soul's gentlemen, supposing he politically meant to do social good, it is by methods that belong to the darkest phases of human history—the methods of the tyrant who believes his own will to be the only righteousness, and all opposition to that will to be the one unrighteousness; and who proceeds to stamp its opposers with what he means to be an indelible infamy, or to kill if he can. As the best example of this sort, Cromwell tyrannized over a nation, and over the souls of men, for their own salvation and for the glory of God. And this is the method by which every tyranny or tyrant seeks justification. It is the only method Mr. Roosevelt cares for or believes in.

Yet no man ever ruled other men for their own good; no man was ever rightly the master of the minds or bodies of his brothers; no man ever ruled other men for anything except for their undoing, and for his own brutalization. The possession of power over others is inherently destructive—both to the possessor of the power and to those over whom it is exercised. *And the great man of the future, in distinction from the great man of the past, is he who will seek to create power in the peoples, and not gain power over them.* The great man of the future is he who will refuse to be great at all, in the historic sense; he is the man who will literally lose himself, who will altogether diffuse himself, in the life of humanity. All that any man can do for a people, all that any man can do for another man, is to set the man or the people free. Our work, whensoever and wheresoever we would do good, is to open to men the gates of life—to lift up the heavenly doors of opportunity.

This applies to society as well as to the individual man. If the collective man will release the individual man and let him go, then the individual will at last give himself gloriously, in the fulness of his strength, unto the society that sets the gates and the highways of opportunity before him. Give men opportunity, and opportunity will give you men; for opportunity is God, and freedom to embrace opportunity is the glory of God.

Yet, having said all this, I venture to prophesy that Mr. Roosevelt has not yet reached the high noon of his day. And the day is Roosevelt's, you may be sure of that. It will be a long day, too,

and a dark day, before it is done. He will return to the American nation and rule it, as he means to do. It is not merely that the nation is obsessed with Theodore Roosevelt; it is that a situation is arriving in which he will be the psychological necessity. He himself foresees this necessity; the nation is instinct with it. He knew what he was doing when he made Taft president. Roosevelt made Taft president because he knew that Taft would make Roosevelt necessary. He knew that Taft would be a failure; that he would further confound the confusion toward which the nation is drifting.

But drifting is hardly the word. With awful swiftness we are moving toward long crisis and abysmal disaster—crisis and disaster in which the rest of the world will be involved. It is the inevitable outcome of the capitalist system that the workers of the world will become too poor to buy the things they make. We are already in sight of that culmination in America. We must hence reach the last accessible man and compel him to buy, we must sell to the uttermost man on the outermost edge of the earth, or our economic world-machine will fall in upon itself. We Americans must have the market of China; else there will come a sudden day when twenty millions of men will be in the streets without work. And twenty millions of men will not go down to starvation without bringing down the national structure with them.

Now capitalism knows that Mr. Roosevelt is the only man that can be depended upon to get for it the Chinese market. It also knows perfectly well that labor has not in the world a more ruthless enemy than Mr. Roosevelt. At heart he holds the working class in contempt. He despises the dream of equality. He hates the whole modern effort of the soul toward freedom—freedom of labor, freedom spiritual, freedom social. Notwithstanding his bluster about the trusts, and his determination to control to some extent the course of industrial operation, it is in the interest of absolutism, and against Socialism, that he has worked. Intelligent capitalism knows that Roosevelt can be trusted, as no other man can be trusted, to see it through. It is, therefore, to Roosevelt that capitalism will turn to conquer its new worlds for it; to Roosevelt that capitalism will turn to finally crush the resistance of labor. It is to Roosevelt that all the vested interests of the present civilization will turn, in the time of their danger or dissolution. The Cæsars arose as the necessary chief of police of the Roman propertied or plundering class. So will Roosevelt and his successors arise; they will arise to police the world in the interests of its possessors.

There could only be one alternative to Roosevelt, in the dreadful years that are coming to America; a thoroughly organized Socialist movement of the highest order; a Socialist movement that would be profoundly revolutionary, resolutely reaching to the roots of things, refusing any longer to tinker or compromise with the present evil world; yet a Socialist movement with its pattern in the Mount

—a Socialist movement led by the glowing vision, and charged with the highest idealism as to ultimate freedoms and values. It is for such a revolution the whole world waits; a revolution that shall be a synthesis of the life of man; a revolution wherein men shall mightily and decisively make their own world; a revolution that shall make all material facts and forces to be the medium and music of the free human spirit; a revolution that shall make the world's civilization an invitation to the soul of every man to express itself and rejoice. Yet there is not such a Socialist movement in the world now, and the last place to look for its coming is in America. No where else has individualism borne such deadly fruit; nowhere else is there such intellectual and moral servility; nowhere else is there such actual ignorance of the new world that is besetting the old. We have never had a republic in anything but name. We have always and only had the administration of society in the interests of the dominant financial bureaucracy. And it is well known, now, that our whole system of government has long since broken down. America is practically being governed without law. There is absolutely no constitutional method of social reform. There will be a long time of darkness and suffering, of hypocrisy and compromise, and of depthless disaster, before there will be any real social awakening in America, or any effective spiritual fund upon which to draw for a revolution. It is for this reason Mr. Roosevelt will become the nation's psychological necessity. There is nothing for it but the strong man—the man who will govern us without law. Mr. Roosevelt knows this; and he has known it for many years; and all his life he has been getting ready for it. And not only America, perhaps Great Britain as well, will turn to Roosevelt as the only force relentless and purposeful enough to carry it through the beginnings of the New Dark Ages. And, as I have already said, it is when the world is enfeebled and faithless that it turns to the strong man.

Upon such a crisis the nations are turning now. We are approaching one of those times when the world returns to brute force; when civilization is resolved back into its primal elements; when the tyrant seems to be the only savior. And Mr. Roosevelt is the man for this approaching time. And this approaching time is working out the day and the hour of the fulfillment of Mr. Roosevelt's ambitions.

So I make my prophecy: Roosevelt will return to America, and he will rule it. He carries the nation in the hollow of his hand. He will be elected president. There will be war with Japan for the market of China. There will be glutted markets, underconsumption of economic goods, universal unemployment, and the sudden standstill of industry, and the paralysis of even the semblance of government. Roosevelt will seem the only salvation from anarchy. When he returns to Washington he will return to stay, as he means to stay. He is by nature a man utterly lawless, and the nation is now practically lawless. He has been all his life getting ready for

this one goal, and the decadent nation is rapidly preparing the goal for him. The monthly magazine-reformers and Mr. Pierpont Morgan are alike turning to Mr. Roosevelt as the nation's hope. All things are preparing his way. The times and he are joining themselves together perfectly. Theodore Roosevelt has had his dawn; he will now have his day; and it will be one of the harshest and bitterest days in the still-continuing pilgrimage of mankind through the wilderness.

Now having made my prophecy, let me be judged by it ten years hence—not now. And ever, while I live, shall I pray that my prophecy may prove false. For the sake of man, and for the joy of my own soul, may it be that this word of the future may not come true. Rather let it be that some sudden awakening as to what is really true and good and beautiful, some sudden precipitation of the yet unevolved spirit of man, may deliver us from the engulfing misery of the New Dark Ages which the coming of Roosevelt betokens.

## “The Threat of Barbarism” --- The Answer.

Geo. D. Herron's deeply Philosophic article, in 760 of the Appeal may well strike terror in the minds of all thinking Americans.

His prophecy of the dark ages coming upon our country is the most fearsome note that has been struck in the music of our life since Wilkes Booth's shot rang out in Ford's theater in 1865. He prays that his prophecy may not come true and wishes to be judged by the results ten years hence. It were well that he put in that proviso because although ten years from now may find us with primitive barricades on the street fighting with blood and rude weapons the centuries old battle, still, out of that conflict there will come a redeemed America pushing onward to the goal of the race, the universal brotherhood of man.

George Herron may stress on the individualistic spirit of our country with its accompanying lack of ideals, its glorification of power in the hands of the individual and its lack of a soul-lifting movement. But after all is this not a necessary phase in our sociologic development? Just as we could not jump from feudalism into Socialism, so we could not escape this individualistic horror.

If my friend Herron will ponder deeply over the fact that Washington, Jefferson, Franklin and Payne never heard the whistle of a locomotive, the tinkle of a telephone bell and the churning screws of a side wheel steamer and will remember that in 1839 just 70 years ago Ft. Dearborn on which the city of Chicago stands, was an Indian trading post, Wisconsin had 5,000 souls within its border, Minnesota was a wilderness, Nebraska was a political district and westward beyond that was the Indian and Vista he will then realize that the Spirit of America had to be the pioneer spirit of the man in the prairie schooner who pushed on to the west with the leather lines in his hand, the rifle across his knees and his wife and babies behind him.

Viewing events in this way I have no fear for the future of fair Columbia; The Star Spangled Banner will continue to wave

while our people clean out a bunch of Roosevelt vermin that is hidden in its folds.

I do not think of Roosevelt as my good friend Herron does, and the reason is that each time I hear of the "man on horseback," I pull myself away from the stress of the day and take down my eighteenth *Brumaire* and read again the most wonderful monograph on history ever written, Marx's greatest contribution to the sociologic science of our day. Listen to what he says:

"History repeats itself, once as tragedy, again as farce. The tragedy of the great Napoleon, the farce of LaPetite Napoleon" (the little Napoleon).

And so with our Roosevelt as a star of the moment and his part in the history of our times. We have the tragedy of the great Lincoln and his immortal Gettysburg address with its "Government of the people by the people and for the people will never perish from the earth." These words in our history were not the idle words of a passing hour but they were carved in the granite of our nation's life as portrayed for a moment on that historic field and gloriously lit up by the sheen of the sword in hands of George Pickett as with his gallant men he sought to scale the heights of Cemetery Hill.

The Parallel between Lincoln and Roosevelt is just as correct in our day as between Roosevelt and Dr. Cook, and Napoleon the Great and Napoleon the Little. Where is the hill that Roosevelt climbed? It exists not in this world and the only recollection we have of it is that the gentleman himself standing at the base of San Juan Hill while the negroes climbed the heights.

And so I have the Faith within me that the Socialist party will march on carrying the torch of Knowledge and with its footsteps lighted by the lamps of science will climb the obstacles of ignorance that beset the race today and will lead us, through the orderly processes of autonomous work, as laid down by the Jeffersons and Paynes, into the haven of the Socialist republic where all things collectively used will be collectively owned and all things privately used will be privately owned and the stars of a social democracy will light all the homes of the earth as each passing day dies out of the sky.

T. A. HICKY.

## Socialist Party Platform--1908

*Adopted by the Socialist Party in National Convention Assembled at Chicago, May 10, 1908.*

### Declaration of Principles.

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not satisfy human needs. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food, whoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

Today the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner cannot dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive, and requires for its effective operation the organized effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employed workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

As the economic power of the ruling class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental labor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have but little land and little effective machinery outside

of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploited propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage-working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order at the hands of the dominant class.

The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They suffer most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a few capitalists are permitted to control all the country's industrial resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessaries of life the object of competitive private enterprise and speculation is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly used up, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The climaxes of this system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

The capitalist class, in its mad race for profits, is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workingmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominant parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select the executives, bribe the legislatures and corrupt the courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They dominate the educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever

fiercer, and has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class, therefore, has the most direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system the workingmen will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society: The small farmer, who is today exploited by large capital more indirectly, but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage workers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective for private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation.

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process. The great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have organized the work and management of the principal industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

The Socialist party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief.

In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national, but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end is the mission of the Socialist party. In this battle for freedom the Socialist party does not strive to substitute working-class rule for capitalist-class rule, but by working-class victory to free all humanity from class-rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man.

#### PLATFORM FOR 1908.

The Socialist party, in national convention assembled, again declares itself as the party of the working class, and appeals for the support of all workers of the United States and of all citizens who sympathize with the great and just cause of labor.

We are at this moment in the midst of one of those indus-

trial breakdowns that periodically paralyze the life of the nation. The much-boasted era of our national prosperity has been followed by one of general misery. Factories, mills and mines are closed. Millions of men, ready, willing and able to provide the nation with all the necessities and comforts of life, are forced into idleness and starvation.

Within recent times the trusts and monopolies have attained an enormous and menacing development. They have acquired the power to dictate the terms upon which we shall be allowed to live. The trusts fix the prices of our bread, meat and sugar, of our coal, oil and clothing, of our raw material and machinery, of all the necessities of life.

The present desperate condition of the workers has been made the opportunity for a renewed onslaught on organized labor. The highest courts of the country have within the last year rendered decision after decision depriving the workers of rights which they had won by generations of struggle.

The attempt to destroy the Western Federation of Miners, although defeated by the solidarity of organized labor and the Socialist movement, revealed the existence of a far-reaching and unscrupulous conspiracy by the ruling class against the organizations of labor.

In their efforts to take the lives of the leaders of the miners the conspirators violated state laws and the federal constitution in a manner seldom equaled even in a country so completely dominated by the profit-seeking class as is the United States.

The congress of the United States has shown its contempt for the interests of labor as plainly and unmistakably as have the other branches of government. The laws for which the labor organizations have continually petitioned have failed to pass. Laws ostensibly enacted for the benefit of labor have been distorted against labor.

The working class of the United States cannot expect any remedy for its wrongs from the present ruling class or from the dominant parties. So long as a small number of individuals are permitted to control the sources of the nation's wealth for their private profit in competition with each other and for the exploitation of their fellow men, industrial depressions are bound to occur at certain intervals. No currency reforms or other legislative measures proposed by capitalist reformers can avail against these fatal results of utter anarchy in production.

Individual competition leads inevitably to combinations and trusts. No amount of government regulation, or of publicity or of

restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development.

While our courts, legislatures and executive offices remain in the hands of the ruling classes and their agents, the government will be used in the interests of these classes as against the toilers.

Political parties are but the expression of economic class interests. The republican, the democratic and the so-called "independence" parties, and all parties other than the Socialist party, are financed, directed and controlled by the representatives of different groups of the ruling class.

In the maintenance of class government both the democratic and republican parties have been equally guilty. The republican party has had control of the national government and has been directly and actively responsible for these wrongs. The democratic party, while saved from direct responsibility by its political impotence, has shown itself equally subservient to the aims of the capitalist class whenever and wherever it has been in power. The old chattel slave-owning aristocracy of the south, which was the backbone of the democratic party, has been supplanted by a child slave plutocracy. In the great cities of our country the democratic party is allied with the criminal element of the slums as the republican party is allied with the predatory criminals of the palace in maintaining the interest of the possessing class.

The various "reform" movements and parties which have sprung up within recent years are but the clumsy expression of widespread popular discontent. They are not based on an intelligent understanding of the historical development of civilization and of the economic and political needs of our time. They are bound to perish as the numerous middle class reform movements of the past have perished.

## PROGRAM.

### General Demands.

1—The immediate government relief of the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforestation of cut-over waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such work shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour workday and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other meas-

ures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

2—The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship lines and all other means of social transportation and communication and all land.

3—The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.

4—The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

5—The scientific reforestation of timber lands and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.

6—The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

#### Industrial Demands.

7—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

(a) By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

(b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

(c) By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.

(d) By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

(e) By forbidding the inter-state transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories.

(f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.

#### Political Demands.

8—The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to the nearness of kin.

9—A graduated income tax.

10—Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and

we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.

11—The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.

12—The abolition of the senate.

13—The abolition of the power usurped by the supreme court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of congress or by a referendum of the whole people.

14—That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.

15—The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.

16—The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.

17—That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.

18—The free administration of justice.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

The Liberal Classics, (No. 1.)



# History of Christianity

Comprising all that relates to the Christian religion in "*The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*," and, also,

## —\* A VINDICATION —\*

(never before published in this country.)

of "SOME PASSAGES IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CHAPTERS," by

EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

With a Preface, Life of the Author, and Notes by PETER ECKLER; also, *Variorum Notes* by GUIZOT, WENCK, MILMAN, "an ENGLISH CHURCHMAN," and other scholars.

One vol., Post 8vo, 864 pages, with Portrait of Gibbon and numerous Engravings of mythological divinities. Ex. vellum cloth, \$2.00; half calf, \$4.00.

"This important work contains Gibbon's complete *Theological* writings, separate from his historical and miscellaneous works, showing *when, where, and how* christianity originated; *who* were its founders; and *what* were the sentiments, character, manners, numbers and condition of the primitive Christians. What has been said by Christians in regard to the *Origin of Christianity* is reprinted from the valuable notes of Dean Milman, Wenck, Guizot, and other eminent Christian historians who have edited Gibbon's works: and the pious but scholarly remarks of the learned editor of BOHN's edition of *Gibbon* are also given in full. Among the numerous illustrations will be found representations of the principal divinities of the Pagan mythology. The sketch of the author's life adds value and interest to the book, which is not only well edited and printed, but substantially bound. It will be a treasure for all libraries."  
— *The Magazine of American History.*

The Liberal Classics, (No. 2.)



Voltaire's Romances.

*A New Edition, Profusely Illustrated.*

"I choose that a story should be founded on probability, and not always resemble a dream. I desire to find nothing in it trivial or extravagant; and I desire above all, that under the appearance of fable, there may appear some latent truth, obvious to the discerning eye, though it escape the observation of the vulgar." — *Voltaire.*

CONTENTS.

THE WHITE BULL; a Satirical Romance.	BABABEC.
ZADIG; OR FATE. An Oriental History.	THE STUDY OF NATURE.
THE SAGE AND THE ATHEIST.	A CONVERSATION WITH A CHINESE.
THE PRINCESS OF BABYLON.	PLATO'S DREAM.
THE MAN OF FORTY CROWNS.	A PLEASURE IN HAVING NO PLEASURE.
THE HURON; OR PUPIL OF NATURE.	AN ADVENTURE IN INDIA.
MICROMEGAS. A satire on mankind.	JEANNOT AND COLIN.
THE WORLD AS IT GOES.	TRAVELS OF SCARMENTADO.
THE BLACK AND THE WHITE.	THE GOOD BRAMIN.
MEMNON THE PHILOSOPHER.	THE TWO COMFORTERS.
ANDRE DES TOUCHES AT SIAM.	ANCIENT FAITH AND FABLE.

One vol., post 8vo, 480 pages, with Portrait and 82 Illustrations. Paper, \$1.00; Extra vellum cloth, \$1.50; half calf, \$4.00.

Voltaire's satire was as keen and fine pointed as a rapier.—*Magazine of Am. History.*  
A delightful reproduction, unique and refreshing.—*Boston Commonwealth.*



THE SOCIAL CONTRACT,

*Or PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL LAW.*

Also, A PROJECT FOR A PERPETUAL PEACE,

BY

JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU, *Citizen of Geneva.*

One volume, post 8vo, 238 pages, with portrait, extra vellum cloth, 75c., paper 50c.

The writings of Rousseau, says Thomas Paine, in his *Rights of Man*, contain "a loveliness of sentiment in favor of Liberty that excites respect and elevates the human faculties."

"He was the most directly revolutionary of all the speculative precursors. His writings produced that glow of enthusiastic feeling in France, which led to the all-important assistance rendered by that country to the American colonists in a struggle so momentous for mankind. It was from his writings that the Americans took *the ideas and the phrases of their great Charter.* It was his work more than that of any other one man, that France arose from the deadly decay which laid hold of her whole social and political system, and found that irresistible energy which warded off dissolution within, and partition from without."—*JOHN MORLEY.*

"He could be cooped up in garrets, laughed at as a maniac, left to starve like a wild beast in a cage,—but he could not be hindered from setting the world on fire."—*THOMAS CARLYLE.*

PROFESSION OF FAITH of the Vicar of Savoy,

BY JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

Also, A SEARCH FOR TRUTH, by Olive Schreiner.

Post 8vo, 128 pages, with portrait, Vellum Cloth 50c., paper 25c.

The Liberal Classics, (No. 5.)



Superstition in all Ages

OR, "LE BON SENS,"

✦BY JEAN MESLIER,✦

A ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIEST,

*Who, after a pastoral service of thirty years in France, wholly abjured religious dogmas, and asked God's pardon for having taught the Christian religion. He left this volume as his last Will and Testament to his parishioners and to the world.*

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH ORIGINAL BY

MISS ANNA KNOOP.

Post 8vo, 359 pages, with Portrait. Paper, 50 cts.; cloth, \$1.00; half calf, \$3.00.

The same work in German. Cloth, \$1.00.

The work of the honest pastor is the most curious and the most powerful thing of the kind that the last century produced. . . Paine and Voltaire had reserves, but Jean Meslier had none. He keeps nothing back; and yet, after all, the wonder is not that there should have been one priest who left that testimony at his death, but that all priests do not.—*James Parson.*

The Liberal Classics, (No. 6.)



A NEW EDITION, JUST PUBLISHED, OF

VOLNEY'S RUINS

AND

THE LAW OF NATURE,

TO WHICH IS ADDED

VOLNEY'S ANSWER TO DR. PRIESTLY, A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE  
BY COUNT DARU, AND THE ZODIACAL SIGNS AND  
CONSTELLATIONS BY THE EDITOR;

*Also, a Map of the Astrological Heaven of the Ancients.*

Printed on heavy paper, from new plates, in large clear type, with portrait and illustrations. One vol., post 8vo, 248 pages; Paper, 50c.; cloth, 75c.; half-calf, \$3.00.

This is undoubtedly one of the best and most useful books ever published. It eloquently advocates the best interests of mankind, and clearly points out the sources of human ignorance and misery. The author is supposed to meet in the ruins of Palmyra an apparition or phantom, which explains the true principles of society, and the causes of both the prosperity and the ruin of ancient states. A general assembly of the nations is at length convened, a legislative body formed, the source and origin of religion, of government, and of laws discussed, and the Law of Nature—founded on justice and equity—is finally proclaimed to an expectant world.

"VOLNEY'S *Ruins* will be read with as much interest to-day as it was a hundred years ago. It is a book that was born to immortality and a hundred years to come it will be as fresh as it is to-day"—*Religio-Philosophical Journal.*

The Liberal Classics, (No. 7.)



THE WORKS OF THOMAS PAINE.

**Life of Thomas Paine**, by Editor of the National with Preface and Notes by Peter Eckler. Illustrated with views of the Old Paine Homestead and Paine Monument, at New Rochelle, also, portraits of Thomas Clio Rickman, Joe Barlow, Mary Wollstonecraft, Madame Roland, Condorcet, Brissot, and the most prominent of Paine's friends in Europe and America. Paper 50 cts.; clo .75

**The Age of Reason**; being an investigation of True and Fabulous Theology. A new and complete edition, from new plates and new type; 186 pages, post 8vo. Paper 25 cts.; cloth 50 cts.

**Common Sense**. A Revolutionary pamphlet, addressed to the inhabitants of America in 1776, With an explanatory notice by an English author. Paper 15 cts.

**The Rights of Man**. Parts I and II. Being an answer to Mr. Burke's attack upon the French Revolution. Post 8vo., 279 pages. Paper 30 cts., cloth, 50 cts.

**Paine's Complete Theological Works**.—Age of Reason, Examination of the Prophecies, etc. Illus. edition. Post 8vo, 432 pp.; paper 50 cts.; cloth \$1.00

**Paine's Political Works**.—Common Sense, The Crisis, Rights of Man, etc. Illustrated edition. Post 8vo, 650 pages; cloth \$1.00

**Paine's Great Works**. Popular edition. 1 vol. cloth, \$3.00.

SUNDAY  
UNDER THREE HEADS.



AS IT IS.



AS SABBATH BILLS WOULD MAKE IT.



AS IT MIGHT BE MADE.

BY

CHARLES DICKENS,

(TIMOTHY SPARKS.)

One volume, with portrait. Illustrated by "Phiz." Paper 25c., clo. 50c.

The idea of "making a man truly moral through the ministry of constables, and sincerely religious under the influence of penalties," seemed so incongruous and absurd to CHARLES DICKENS—the true and sympathetic friend of the toiling masses—that he was induced to write in their behalf, in his remarkably unique and inimitable style, this eloquent protest against religious intolerance—this trenchant argument in favor of personal liberty—liberty to enjoy respite from the carking cares of every-day life,—even if this liberty should be enjoyed on the *Sun-day*.—the day known to the ancient Pagan idolaters as the "Venerable day of the Sun."—*Preface*.

The Liberal Classics, (No. 3.)



Christian Paradoxes.

The Characters of a Believing Christian in  
Paradoxes and Seeming Contradictions.

BY

FRANCIS BACON, (LORD VERULAM.)

10 pages, post 8vo, with portrait. Paper cover, 10 cents.

From the doubts these *Paradoxes* imply, it seems reasonable to suppose that Bacon was of those who believe that religion should be taught in a symbolical and mystical language that the initiated and learned few may understand, and the great multitude believe; and also that its true meaning should be veiled and hidden in paradoxes and parables, "that seeing they may see and not perceive, and hearing they may hear and not understand."—*Preface.*

Rob't G. Ingersoll's Writings.



ONLY AUTHORIZED EDITIONS.

**Ingersoll's Lectures Complete.** In One Volume: Half Morocco, Containing over 1,300 pages. Price, \$5.00.

**Prose Poems and Selections.** In silk cloth, \$2.50; in half calf, \$4.50; in full Turkey morocco, gilt, \$7.50; in full tree calf, \$9.00.

**The Gods and Other Lectures.** Comprising The Gods, Humboldt, Thomas Paine, Individuality, Heretics and Heresies. Paper 50c.; cloth, \$1.

**The Ghosts and Other Lectures.** Including Liberty of Man, Woman, and Child, The Declaration of Independence, About Farming in Illinois, Speech Nominating James G. Blaine for Presidency in 1876, The Grant Banquet, A Tribute to Rev. Alex. Clarke, The Past Rises Before Me Like a Dream, and A Tribute to Ebon G. Ingersoll. Paper, 50c.; cloth, \$1.

**Some Mistakes of Moses.** Contents: Some Mistakes of Moses, Free Schools, The Politicians, Man and Woman, The Pentateuch, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, He Made the Stars Also, Friday, Saturday, Let Us Make Man, Sunday, The Necessity for a Good Memory, The Garden, The Fall, Dampness, Babel and Babel, Faith in Filth, The Hebrews, The Plagues, The Flight, Confess and Avoid; Inspired Slavery, Marriage, War, Religious Liberty; Conclusion. Paper, 50c.; cloth, \$1.

**Interviews on Talmage.** Being Six Interviews with the Famous Orator on Six Sermons by the Rev. T. DeWitt Talmage, of Brooklyn, to which is added a Talmagian Catechism. Paper, 50c.; cloth, \$1.25.

**Blasphemy.** Argument by R. G. Ingersoll in the Trial of C. B. Reynolds, at Morristown, N. J. Paper, 25c.; cloth, 50c.

**What Must We Do To Be Saved?** Analyzes the so-called gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and devotes a chapter each to the Catholics, Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Evangelical Alliance, and answers the question of the Christians as to what he proposes instead of Christianity, the religion sword and of flame. Paper, 25 cents.

## STANDARD LIBERAL PUBLICATIONS.

### Rev. ROBERT TAYLOR'S WORKS.

**THE DIEGESIS.** Being a Discovery of the Origin, Evidences, and early History of Christianity, never yet before or elsewhere so fully and faithfully set forth. By Rev. ROBERT TAYLOR. This work was written by Mr. Taylor while serving a term in Oakham jail, England; where he was imprisoned for blasphemy. It contains 440 pages, octavo, and is considered unanswerable as to arguments or facts. Cloth, \$2.00.

**THE DEVIL'S PULPIT.** Astro-Theological Sermons. With a sketch of the Author's life, containing sermons on the following subjects: The Star of Bethlehem, John the Baptist, Raising the Devil, The Unjust Judge, Virgo Paritura, St. Peter, Judas Iscariot Vindicated, St. Thomas, St. James, and St. John, the Sons of Thunder, the crucifixion of Christ, the Cup of Salvation, Lectures on Free Masonry, the Holy Ghost, St. Philip, St. Matthew, The Redeemer. Cloth, \$1.50.

**ASTRO-THEOLOGICAL LECTURES.**—Allegorical Meaning of the Bible; Belief not the Safe Side; The Resurrection of Lazarus; The Unjust Steward; The Devil; The Rich Man and Lazarus; The Day of Temptation in the Wilderness; Ahab, or the Lying Spirit; The Fall of Man; Noah; Abraham; Sarah; Melchisedec; The Lord; Moses; The Twelve Patriarchs; Who is the Lord? Exodus; Aaron; Miriam. Cloth, \$1.50.

**THE SYNTAGMA.** Being a vindication of the Manifesto of the Christian Evidence Society, against the assaults of the Christian Instruction Society. Cloth, \$1.00.

**VOLTAIRE'S PHILOSOPHICAL DICTIONARY.** Fifteenth American Edition. Two Volumes in one. 876 large octavo pages, two elegant steel engravings. Price, Sheep, \$5.00.

**VOLNEY'S NEW RESEARCHES IN ANCIENT HISTORY;** showing the origin of the Mosaic Legends concerning the Creation, Fall of Man, Flood, and Confusion of Languages. \$1.50.

**THE SYSTEM OF NATURE;** or, Laws of the Moral and Physical World. By Baron D'HOLBACH. "One of the greatest books ever written. It never was and never will be answered."—R. G. Ingersoll. Price, \$2.00.

**THE LETTERS TO EUGENIA.** By Baron D'HOLBACH. Cloth, \$1.00.

**THE TALMUD.** Selections from the contents of that ancient book, its commentaries, teachings, poetry, and legends. Also brief sketches of the men who made and commented upon it. By H. POLANO. 359 pp. Price, cloth, \$1.00.

**GLAUBE UND VERNUNFT,** oder Le Bon Sens des römisch-catholischen Priesters, JEAN MESLIER. 301 Seiten. Preis, in leinwand gebunden, \$1.00.

**MARTYRDOM OF MAN.** A Compendium of universal History. By WINWOOD READE. One of the most interesting books ever written. 6th ed., 614 pp., cloth, \$1.00.

**ANALYSIS OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF** By VISCOUNT AMBERLEY. Examination of the Creeds, Rites, and Sacred Writings of the World. Complete from London edition. 8vo, 745 pp. Cloth, \$4.00.

**APOCRYPHAL NEW TESTAMENT.**—Price, \$1.50.

**BIBLE MYTHS.** Their Parallels in Religions of Heathen Nations of Antiquity Origin and Meaning. 8vo; cloth, \$2.50. This book has been called "The Free-thinker's Encyclopedia."

**BIBLE OF HUMANITY.** By JULES MICHELET. \$3.00.

**A HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION** By HENRY CHARLES LEE. 3vols. \$9.00.

**CREED OF CHRISTENDOM.** By W. R. GREG. Its Foundation contrasted with its Superstructure. Complete in 1 vol. 12mo, 399 pp. \$1.50.

**LAY SERMONS, ADDRESSES, AND REVIEWS.** HUXLEY. Cloth, \$1.75.

**HISTORY OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN RELIGION AND SCIENCE** By JOHN W. DRAPER. Cloth, \$1.75.

**HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND.** By HENRY THOMAS BUCKLE 2 vols. Cloth, \$4.00; half calf, \$8.00.

**HUME'S ESSAYS.** Including the Liberty of the Press; The Natural History of Religion; Of Miracles; Of a Particular Providence; Of a Future State; Of Superstition and Enthusiasm, etc., 689 pp., with index, cloth, \$1.00.

**A FEW DAYS IN ATHENS.** FRANCIS WRIGHT. Embellished with the portrait of Epicurus, the Greek Philosopher, and of the author. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

**TALLEYRAND'S LETTER TO POPE PIUS VII.** With Memoir of author. 25 c.

**MEN, WOMEN, AND GODS, AND OTHER LECTURES.** By HELEN H. GARDNER. Paper, 50 cts.; cloth, \$1.00.

**HALF HOURS WITH SOME CELEBRATED FREETHINKERS.** Thomas Hobbs, Lord Bolingbroke, Condorcet, Spinoza, Anthony Collins, Des Cartes, M. de Voltaire, John Toland, Comte de Volney, Charles Blount, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Helvetius, Frances Wright, Zeno, Epicurus, Matthew Tindal, David Hume, Dr. Thomas Burnet, Thomas Paine, Baptiste de Mirabaud, Baron de Holbach, Robert Taylor, Joseph Barker. By "ICONOCLAST," COLLINS, and WATTS. Cloth 75 cents.

**A SHORT HISTORY OF THE BIBLE.** Being an account of the Formation and Development of the Canon. By BRONSON C. KEELER. Cloth, 75 cts. Paper, 50 cts.

**CRIMES AGAINST CRIMINALS.** By R. G. INGERSOLL. An Address delivered before the New York State Bar at Albany N. Y., Jan. 21, 1890. Price, ten cents.

**THOMAS PAINE'S VINDICATION.** A Reply to the New York Observer's attack upon the Author-hero of the Revolution by R. G. Ingersoll. Paper 15 cents.

**THE KORAN of Mahomet.** Cloth, \$1.00.

## The Liberal Classics. (No. 8.)



# FORCE AND MATTER

OR

*Principles of the Natural Order of the Universe,*

WITH A SYSTEM OF MORALITY BASED THEREON.

BY

PROF. LUDWIG BÜCHNER, M. D.

A scientific and rationalistic work of great merit and ability. Translated from the 15th German Edition, revised and enlarged by the author, and reprinted from the fourth English edition.  
One volume, post 8vo, 414 pages, with portrait, vellum cloth, \$1.50; half calf, \$3.00.

### CONTENTS:

Force and Matter,	The Heavens,	Consciousness,
Immortality of Matter,	Periods of the Creation	Seat of the Soul,
Immortality of Force,	the Earth,	Innate Ideas,
Infinity of Matter,	Original Generation,	The Idea of God,
Value of Matter,	Secular Generation,	Personal Continuance,
Motion, Form,	The Fitness of Things in	Vital Force,
Immutability of Natural	Nature, (Teleology),	The Soul of Brutes,
Laws,	Man,	Free Will,
Universality of Natural	Brain and Mind,	Morality,
Laws,	Thought,	Concluding Observations.

**MAN**  
 IN THE  
**PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE:**  
 A POPULAR ACCOUNT OF THE  
 RESULTS OF RECENT SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH  
 REGARDING THE  
 ORIGIN, POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF MANKIND.

FROM THE GERMAN OF  
**DR. LUDWIG BÜCHNER,**

AUTHOR OF "FORCE AND MATTER," "ESSAYS ON NATURE AND SCIENCE,"  
 "PHYSIOLOGICAL PICTURES," "SIX LECTURES ON DARWIN," ETC.

"The great mystery of existence consists in perpetual and uninterrupted change. Every thing is immortal and indestructible,—the smallest worm as well as the most enormous of the celestial bodies,—the sand grain or the water-drop as well as the highest being in creation, man and his thoughts. Only the forms in which being manifests itself are changing; but Being itself remains eternally the same and imperishable. When we die we do not lose ourselves, but only our personal consciousness. We live on in nature, in our race, in our children, in our deeds, in our thoughts,—in short, in the entire material and psychical contribution which, during our short personal existence, we have furnished to the subsistence of mankind and of nature in general."—*Büchner*.

"Humanity persists and flows on although the individual disappears after a short course of life; but neither his life, nor that of the waterdrop is lost. For just as the latter could not complete its circulation without dissolving or super-inducing the combinations of other matters, so every man leaves the traces of his existence behind him in what he separated or brought into new combinations in the contribution to the culture-treasure of humanity, which is furnished by every human life, from the least to the greatest."—*Radenhausen*.

"Where are the dead?" asks *Schopenhauer*; and he answers: "They are with us! In spite of death and corruption we are still all together!"

Drum streitet, Thoren, ferner nicht, Ob Ihr im Geist unsterblich seid! Denn keines Todes Macht zerbricht Der Dinge Unvergänglichkeit, Die Alles was da ist und lebt, In einem ew'gen Kreise führt Und, wo sie zur Vernichtung strebt, Die Flammen neuen Lebens schürt!	Unsterblich ist der kleinste Wurm, Unsterblich auch des Menschen Geist, Den jeder neue Todessturm In immer neue Bahnen reisst! So lebet Ihr, gestorben auch, In künftigen Geschlechtern fort, Und dieser ewige Gebrauch Verwechselt nichts als Zeit und Ort!
---	---

*One volume, Post 8 vo., about 350 pages, vellum cloth, \$1.00.*

The Liberal Classics, (No. 10.)



THE  
**POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY**  
 OF  
**AUGUSTE COMTE.**

TRANSLATED BY HARRIET MARTINEAU.

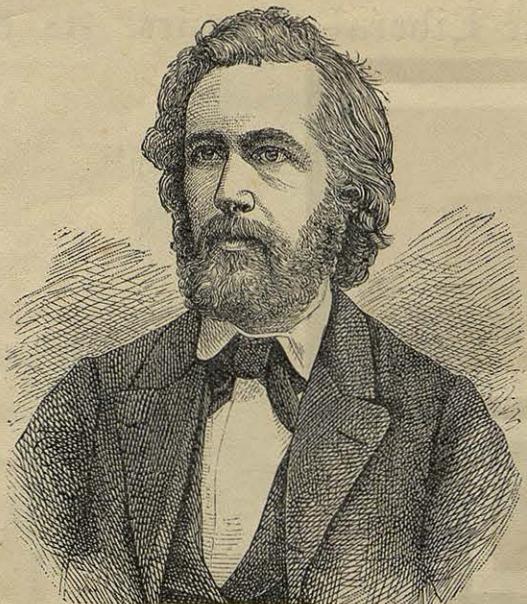
WITH PORTRAIT AND FAC-SIMILE OF AUTOGRAPH.

One volume, royal 8vo, 838 pp., gilt top and side stamp, cloth, \$4.00.

"A work of profound science, and conspicuous for the highest attributes of intellectual power."—*Sir David Brewster*.

"We have no hesitation in recording our conviction that *Comte's Positive Philosophy* is the greatest work of our century."—*Lewis's Biographical History of Philosophy*.

"A work which I hold to be far the greatest yet produced in the Philosophy of the Sciences."—*Mill's System of Logic*.



## A VISIT TO CEYLON

BY  
ERNEST HAECKEL,

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF JENA. AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF CREATION,"  
"HISTORY OF THE EVOLUTION OF MAN," ETC.

WITH PORTRAIT, AND MAP OF INDIA AND CEYLON.

TRANSLATED BY CLARA BELL.

One volume, post 8vo, 348 pages, extra vellum cloth, \$1.00.

Before venturing on this memorable voyage to India and Ceylon, whose results have delighted and entranced many readers in both hemispheres, our enthusiastic author, having conferred many zoological titles in honor of the august divinity that controls and governs the solar orb, claimed in return special consideration and protection from the occult forces of that brilliant luminary, and hoping to be favored with pleasant and agreeable weather during the entire voyage, he made, with all the solemnity that becomes a scientist, the following propitiatory invocation to *Helios*, the benignant god of the Sun:

"I beseech thee, adored Sun-god, that this, my zoological tribute, may find favor in thine eyes! Guide me, safe and sound, to India, that I may labor in thy light, and return home under thy protection in the spring."—*Haeckel's Visit to Ceylon*, page 20.

"These letters constitute one of the most charming books of travel ever published, quite worthy of being placed by the side of Darwin's '*Voyage of the Beagle*.'"—*Nation*.

## ROCHEFOUCAULD'S MORAL MAXIMS.

Containing 541 Maxims and Moral Sentences, by Francis, Duke of Rochefoucauld; together with 144 Maxims and Reflections by Stanislaus, King of Poland. Also Maxims to Live by, and Traits of Moral Courage in every-day life. 12mo, 186 pages, cloth, 75 cts.

"As Rochefoucauld his maxims drew  
From Nature,—I believe them true.  
They argue no corrupted mind  
In him—the fault is in mankind!"—*Swift*.

## FAWCETT'S AGNOSTICISM

AND OTHER ESSAYS, with a Prologue by ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.  
One volume, 12mo, 277 pages. Cloth, 75 cts.

## SALTUS' ANATOMY OF NEGATION.

Intended to convey a tableau of anti-Theism from Kapila to Leconte de Lisle. 12mo, 218 pages, cloth, 75 cts.

## Saltus' Philosophy of Disenchantment.

A critical examination of the Pessimistic Philosophy of Shopenhauer.  
233 pages, cloth, 75 cts.

## Goodloe's Birth of the Republic.

Compiled from the National and Colonial Histories and Historical Collections, from the American Archives, from Memoirs and from the Journals and Proceedings of the British Parliament. Containing the Resolutions, Declarations, and Addresses adopted by the Continental Congress, the Provincial Congresses, Conventions and Assemblies, of the County and Town Meetings, and the Committees of Safety, in all the Colonies, from the year 1765 to 1776, to which is added the articles of Confederation, a history of the formation and adoption of the Constitution, the election of President Washington, his Inauguration, April 30, 1789, a copy of the Constitution, and Washington's Inaugural Speech. 12mo, 400 pages, cloth, \$1.00.

Horæ Sabbaticæ ;  
OR,  
AN ATTEMPT TO CORRECT CERTAIN  
SUPERSTITIOUS AND VULGAR ERRORS  
RESPECTING  
THE SABBATH.

BY GODFREY HIGGINS, ESQ.

*Author of Celtic Druids ; Apology for Mohamed, the Illustrious ; Anacalypsis,  
or an Enquiry into the Origin of Languages, Nations and Religions.*

Post 8vo, 81 pages, Extra vellum cloth 50c, paper covers, 25c.

In *Horæ Sabbaticæ* the Christian Sabbath, or the Sunday, is shown, in the words of our learned author, "to be a *human*, not a *divine* institution,—a festival, not a day of humiliation,—to be kept by all consistent Christians with joy and gladness, like Christmas Day and Easter Sunday, and not like Ash Wednesday or Good Friday."

As the Jews were commanded in the Bible to "Remember [Saturday] the Sabbath day, to keep it holy," certain pharisaical sectarians decided to remember the *Sun* day, the venerable day of the Sun, and keep it holy in like manner, without any biblical command for so doing.

Sunday observance is at best but a human institution, without any claim to occult authority, and while it is not of special importance to wealthy people, who have the 365 days of the year at their disposal, it is of great benefit and advantage to the industrial classes.

The religious orders, and all the followers of ancient traditions, should be allowed the privilege of displaying their faith in Sunday worship as ostentatiously as they may desire, and reasonable people should not be molested for observing Sunday in the manner which proves most conducive to their welfare and happiness.

"One man," says St. Paul, "esteemeth one day above another : another esteemeth every day *alike*. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind."  
— *Rom. xiv, 5.*