

Key to McCormick Medical College Diet Tables

Columns: 1, article; 2, C. (carbonates); 3, N. (nitrates); 4, P. (phosphates); 5, W. (water); 6, grains liquids; 7, grains + solids; 8, grains — solids; 9, points per 1,000 and grains (bold face) phosphorus; 10, points per 1,000 and grains iron; 11, points per 1,000 and grains sulphur; 12, points per 1,000 and grains chlorine; 13, total points per 1,000 of + salts (columns 9, 10, 11, 12); 14, total grains and fractions in columns 9, 10, 11, 12; 15, points per 1,000 and grains (bold face) potassium; 16, points per 1,000 and grains sodium; 17, points per 1,000 and grains calcium; 18, points per 1,000 and grains magnesium; 19, total points per 1,000 — salts (columns 14, 15, 16, 17); 20, total grains and fractions in columns 14, 15, 16, 17.

The carbonates are indigestible and non-nutritive if used alone; nitrates and phosphates are absolute necessities to digestion and assimilation. Carbonates are designated — (negative) and nitrates and phosphates as + (positive) in all our calculations. We use the — and + signs for other purposes, however, as well. In calculating dietaries we recognize the fact that Nature has established no units of measure while she has made standards for comparisons; hence we adopt an arbitrary unit, as all others have always done and must always do: We fix one million as the normal number of units of nerve force which is required daily to operate the digestive apparatus; we have proved it requires four times as much energy to handle the carbonaceous matter as is needed for the nitrogenous; therefore four-fifths of the million, or 800,000 units are for the C. and the remaining one-fifth, 200,000 units, are for the N., provided they are present in the ratio of 1 to 1. For convenience we divide a day's ration into 10 parts; a ratio of 1 to 1 gives 5 parts C. and 5 parts N. Each part C. uses one-fifth of 800,000, or 160,000 units, and each part N. uses one-fifth of 200,000 or 40,000. With this arrangement we are ready to figure the demand and possible supply of energy for any ratio of food combinations; and, it will be seen readily, that figuring all by the same standard we secure their absolute relations, after which it is necessary to know how to observe physiological results and assist in procuring them by all the methods at the command of the competent McCormick Neurologist.

Carbonaceous matter being solely a consumer and not a producer of energy, and, consuming 4 points for each 1 consumed by the nitrogenous matter, it follows that we must look to that 1 point used by the nitrogenous for a return of the 5 points used and if it fails to do it the batteries will run behind, the patient will weaken, because equilibrium is not maintained.

To illustrate the method of calculating the supply and demand under normal conditions: A dietary selected from the table and so arranged with reference to quantities of each item (the figures represent 1 Troy ounce, 480 grains) that the totals of columns 3 and 4 equal that of column 2 would give a ratio of 1 — to 1 +, or 5 to 5.

— 5 × 160,000
+ 5 × 40,000

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diet to an entirely different ratio, say, — 1 to + 1½, which is 4 points — and 6 points + in 10 points:

$$\begin{aligned} -4 \times 160,000 &= 640,000 \\ +6 \times 40,000 &= 240,000 \times 5 = 1,200,000 \text{ product} \end{aligned}$$

Daily demand, 880,000 880,000 demand

Daily gain, 420,000

Of course this is only a general rule of procedure, but it is such that anyone who follows it, using varieties of articles, cannot fail to get much benefit. Neurologists have to know the values of each item, organic and inorganic, and make intricate calculations for their patients. This is a natural chemistry and the only one worth anything in the treatment of human ills—because drug store chemistry and “regular” materia medica deal in and prescribe combinations in which the majority of elements are absolutely foreign to those composing the body, hence cannot be utilized in its structure and must do harm, even when Nature throws them off with an effort.

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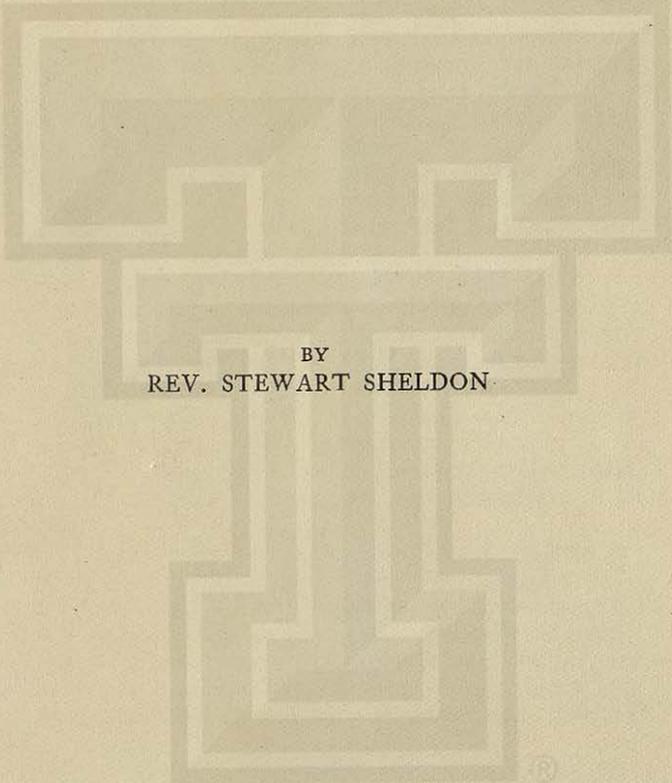
By

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THE ROOT OF ALL
KINDS OF EVIL



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THE ROOT OF ALL KINDS OF EVIL

We are told that Dr. Blank in one of his lectures in Boston said, "We are not here to preserve the existing order of things, but to establish the Christ order."

With this thought in mind, I will try to show that "Money is a False Circulating Medium."

We all admit that the world which we inhabit is God's world, that He made it, that the world's inhabitants are God's children, that He created them and endowed them with whatever powers they possess.

This being true, it follows that all mankind are of the same great parentage, and God being perfect and of infinite benevolence, power and love, must have made a world capable of meeting all the needs of all His children, touching their highest well being in every respect.

Also God in making such a world with such a people, His own children, must wish them to use the world's resources and the powers with which He has endowed them, so as to meet all their highest possible attainments in all good things.

Hence it follows that every person of the great brotherhood should have enough of the very best of the world's products to meet his highest possible needs, touching his health, strength and vigor, physically, mentally and morally, so far as the products of the earth can do this, the Christian experts in science, if you please, being the judges as to the amount and kind of sustenance essential to such an end.

Does any one say, Impossible!—the earth cannot produce enough such things to thus meet the needs of all God's children?

But such an assertion would be a reflection upon the Maker of the world.

It would be saying that an all powerful, an all loving God had constructed a world in which only a part of His children could be supplied with sufficient in the simple matter of food alone, so as to secure the best results.

The rest of the Father's children, half of them say, or a third of them, more or less, as the case might be, of the great household, must suffer because of such a lack.

And what kind of a world would such a world be?

What kind of a being would such a being be, making such a world, incapable of so much as yielding sufficient food suited to the best conditions of all his children?

What kind of a father would such a father be—the universal Father, Our Father, as we say in the Lord's prayer?

Very different, most assuredly, from any conception that we ever have, or that is ever taught us of the God of the Bible, an infinite, all powerful, all merciful God, our heavenly Father.

No, the world surely is capable of meeting this demand for every one of the Father's children.

And if such is the case as to needful food, it is equally so as to needful clothing, a needful home, suitable amusements, comforts in general, attainments, education, every thing in fact, in order that each of the Father's children may make the most of himself possible.

What, of every person in the world, does some one ask?

Yes, of every person in the world.

But isn't that Altruism or Socialism of the most unadulterated character? I imagine I hear some one else ask.

Well, call it whatever you please, it is simply sanctified common sense, and in full and perfect accord with the teachings of the greatest sermon that was ever preached, Christ's sermon on the Mount.

It harmonizes also with the other teachings of our Lord as well as the divinely inspired teachings of His chosen Apostles after Him. In other words, it all accords with the teachings of the Holy Spirit, the representative of Christ, promised by our Lord just before He departed in visible form from the world.

But in order to the existence of proper civic rules in society, it follows by necessity that every person of the great fraternity or brotherhood of the race should do his part toward producing such a state of things. There should be no drones in the hive, no idlers in the camp, and no favoritism shown to one or neglect to another. Here

comes in the mighty significance of the all-embracing command, supreme love to God, and the love of one's neighbor as the love of one's self.

With such principles governing in the civic relations of men,—I do not say the Christian relations according to the highest meaning of the word Christian, but the civic relations—where would be the poverty, the ignorance, the degradation, the misunderstanding, the scheming, the overreaching, the competition, the fighting, the war, the fire and blood and death, the spirit which says and predominates in the world today, "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost"?

You would need go out of the world, surely, to find such things. You would look in vain for poverty, hunger, and starvation, the latter slaying its millions from year to year in some parts of the world, one million a year on the average in India, within the domains and during the reign of the good Queen Victoria, several millions in the very heart of the Celestial Empire so-called, within a few years past. And our own country is by no means exempt from the sad list.

No, and with proper civic relations governing in the body politic, you would find no more from fifteen to twenty thousand strikes, involving more than fifty thousand large establishments within a few years past in lauded America: no more 3,000,000 idle men in the land, as there were not long ago from no fault on their part, which means that from 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 persons were left in a state of want: no more hungry children crying for bread, and hungry fathers and mothers crying with still louder cry because they could not get it for them, and this in the rich heritage flowing with milk and honey and overflowing with the fruits of the soil, the one single product of corn alone in one year's time, said to be 2,750,000,000 bushels, not to speak of other things brought forth in the most munificent quantities, out of one little corner of the world for the Father's children. And yet, as it now is, some of these children suffer and die for lack of food, while others are lavish in their wanton luxury and gigantic wastefulness, because they fail to comprehend or else selfishly disregard the teachings of the heavenly Father, teachings enunciated still more plainly

by the Son, and with still greater emphasis, if possible, by the Holy Spirit.

Yes, truly, no child of God in God's world, with honorable civic relations governing men, would be left to want as to these various needs, food, clothing, a comfortable home, or anything pertaining to his earthly good and his highest earthly well-being as a private individual.

The same must be true also touching the united community interests of mankind. These relate to the state and state powers.

And what is the state, and what are the obligations of the state? Well, I am a part of the state, and you are another part of it. All the inhabitants of the commonwealth are the state.

Here is a great joint stock corporation, a vast copartnership, having mutual interests and mutual obligations.

It means that I, that you, that all of us together—we, the state—should control our mutual interests and not delegate or attempt to delegate them away to a party or clique, to a king, a queen, emperor, president, or governor, who can not from the very nature of things do the essential work as well as we can do it.

If I, as an individual, and you as an individual, have obligations resting upon us from which we cannot rightfully shrink touching our individual brother man, so have we, as a part of the state, the great body politic, obligations as they pertain to the community at large from which we cannot rightfully shrink.

Hence I as a part of the state, and you the same, and all of us together, should control, or help control the food supply, the heating supply, of the city, the village, the home, the postoffice management, the express management, the farms, the mills, the ships, the stores, the shops, the telephones, the telegraphs, the railroads, the street cars, the bicycles, and other transit appliances, as they may be needed, the air ships and flying machines, after a little it may be. Thus would the thousands upon thousands of wicked monopolies, and combines and trusts and sweat shops, and competitions, and blood-sucking politicians, and other heartless scoundrels, and all the base things and base men and measures connected with the universal public needs be swallowed up in one great benevolent, humanitarian state power, my power, your power, our united

power, comparatively unselfish, because there would be but little place for selfishness to play any part in such an arrangement.

But all of this is impossible while money, which has no intrinsic value, never has had and never can have, is made the circulating medium of the world.

Yes, money, the "Summum Bonum," the "Sine qua non," of the great seething, throbbing, restless world, the "Almighty Dollar," the great Mogul God of this planet—money, for which men labor and fight and die, the thing worshiped and adored by so many—money, the love of which is the root of all kinds of evil, as the sacred writer so long ago affirmed—money, the false standard, the circulating medium of the nations, is the bane of the nations.

As the circulating medium among men, if I had it in my power I would banish it from the world at once.

If I only could, I would smite it out of existence with a quick lightning blast in a second.

Let us look at it a moment.

What is the cause of the great unrest of the world at this time, perhaps as never before, all things considered, in view of the age in which we live, and the population of the globe to-day? Money in some form or other, beyond a question.

Why do men shut up their hearts of compassion toward their fellow men, and jostle each other in the markets, and try every conceivable device to get the start of each other in business, in commerce and trade, on the exchange, in Wall Street, in the great gigantic schemes and the little schemes, rife and rampant in almost every community in the world?

The same answer as before must be given: Money!

Why do men gamble in so many ways, and swindle and defraud, and devour each other, rob houses and stores and banks, and railway trains, and squabble and debate for months at a time in legislative halls, and even in courts of so-called justice, which too often become anarchistic, oppressive and tyrannical?

Because of money again is the answer.

Why is it that United States Senators and high officials of trust are so often bribed and wicked schemes framed into laws like the nefarious "Sugar Turst," involving millions upon millions, or the "Standard Oil Company," rep-

resenting other millions, or the "Reading Coal Combine," said to have extorted more than forty millions from the people within a few years past?

Money, both on the part of the bribers and the bribed, tells the secret of it all.

Why was my friend, the former Governor of Dakota, as he told me himself, offered many and many a time when chairman of the committee of Ways and Means in Congress, half a million of dollars for his simple signature to some measure to be brought before the great law-makers of the land?

Money was what these men wanted, and so they were willing to pay liberally for the influence of such a man.

Why was another friend said to have been offered \$75,000 for his vote on the Tariff question, over which there was such prolonged and vituperous wrangling a few years ago?

Money again was the cause of it all!

Why is the Rum power in this land so mighty in politics?

Why does it pour out its treasures like water that it may be sustained by law in its devilish trade?

Why does it give us a row of its hell-houses which, if brought as close together as one block in the city is to another, would reach a longer distance than from Boston to San Francisco and return?

Why does it lure into the drunkards' ranks the mighty army of two million men in this country yearly, and give us besides, 15,000,000 moderate patrons of the accursed saloon?

Money still is the answer, for it thus receives a large revenue while it puts our most favored land as we are wont to call it, in league with these destructive, God defying charnal houses of Satan and worse than wastes in the awful business, we are told \$900,000,000 annually.

Ah, yes, it is Money that does it.

Why are such things tolerated when the men supposed to know assure us that over 90 per cent of the crime in this land, the murders, robberies, house burnings, burglary, political chicanery, corruption in courts and piracy by land and by sea, come through this nefarious evil?

It is money that leads to it through the manufacture and sale of the liquid poison.

Why do men in this boasted land of the Pilgrims, home of the brave and free, in lauded America, send ship loads of the accursed stuff to still farther imbrute the already imbruted men of the dark continent?

Because they want the money which comes from it.

Why should our nation receive a yearly tax so enormous on beer alone that one dollar per barrel added to the same would increase the tax \$35,000,000, to say nothing of car loads upon car loads of other liquors shipped into Cuba and the far away islands of the Pacific, causing a greater destruction of life than the fevers of the climate and the deadly conflicts of the battle-field?

Money, money—the desire for money—is the answer to all such questions.

Why for want of proper appliances, as we are told, on the part of great railroad corporations, wealthy, but wanting more, should 2,500 people have been killed on our great public thoroughfares in a single year of late, besides 22,000 injured, many of them terribly mutilated and rendered helpless for life?

Money, money is still the answer.

Why do the trolley companies in the city of Brooklyn, as we are told, carry on with impunity, and oftentimes in defiance of law, their murderous business, as we see by a late reporter referring to the 150th slaughtered victim, rather than have suitable fenders and speed indicators or other appliances for the defense of the general public, the same thing being true more or less in scores of other cities?

A desire for larger dividends—more money—is the answer.

Why were the stealings and embezzlements in this country said to have been during two years not long since, more than \$35,000,000?

It was money that caused it, as everybody knows.

Why do young men in New York City alone—and what is true there is measurably true in hundreds of other cities—lose in gambling with long practiced professional sharks in this kind of business, millions upon millions every year, impoverishing themselves and bringing distress to helpless wives and dependent children?

A desire to get money through this gigantic and devilish trade is still the answer.

Why do the daily papers come to us teeming with accounts of crime, as I counted no less than 70 in one paper, a very fair average from morning to morning?

The large number of this black list is instigated, as the records show, by the hope of gaining money through the unlawful deeds thus committed.

Why do we have such contentions and wars of words and heated debates and violent accusations between the different parties of the day, during the great political campaigns that once in about so often sweep over the land like a destructive tornado, so that one suddenly coming from some other planet would certainly think that the country must quickly go to the dogs unless victory upon the approaching election should perch on such or such a banner of the numerous forces in the strife?

Money in the great majority of instances if not universally is at the bottom of it all.

Why should two men noted for nothing of special merit only their superior physical muscle after long training, convulse the whole country and put to their wits end the governors of two of the states to prevent a brutal encounter and a savage knock down between two such bullies, fit exponents of some barberous age and country instead of denizens of renowned England and boasted America in this late period of the world?

Because of money, involved in the betting of hundreds of kindred spirits, money, to be obtained by it.

Why should England, till only a short time since, England regarded as one of the greatest Christian powers of the world recognize in its dominions, the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba on the coast of Africa, the status of slaves, of which there were said to be 140,000, over 130,000 of whom were stolen by raiders, most of them being left absolutely to whatever treatment or disposition their heartless Arab masters might see fit to give them, a life of helpless infamy, cruelty and death even, and all this in the year of grace 1896!

It was all because England feared a commercial revolution; in other words a loss of money by protecting and releasing from bondage those thousands upon thousands of poor people, having as good a right to their freedom at the time as Queen Victoria or Mr. Gladstone or you or I or any other person in God's world had.

Money was the cause of it all!

Why did men only a little while since, men worth their millions dare to violate the Lord's day, distract the peace of community and contrary to all justice and law forcibly take possession of a public highway, tear up the road bed with a great army of workmen and begin the foundations of a street car line, men too who were said to stand at the very front of what is generally considered respectable society, doing this on God's day and with such precipitation for fear that some other corporation might get the start of them in attempting the same brazen faced violence?

Because of money, greed, a wish for more, did they become thus open and bold in crime, being encouraged by other men of greed holding offices in the city government, so that the people trespassed against were practically helpless!

Yes, money prompted them to this high handed deed, defiant of both God and man!

Why do the railroads in this country, as a rule, if not invariably, set at naught the Sabbath, one road as an indication of how it is generally, having in its service 25,000 employes, requiring armies of men to run trains and do other work on God's day as much as on any other day, an open violation of the command, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy," the same largely true of the street car service also, requiring two millions of men in this country, it is said, to work 7 days in the week the year round?

The desire to make money tells the secret of it all.

Why is there such an increasingly intense warfare as seen in the past few years between capital and labor in all parts of the world, indicating that the results ere long, are sure to come from it, a thousand fold more terrible than were those of the French Revolution, unless by some means the contentions may be stayed rather than increased year by year?

Money, money is the cause of it.

Why do the commission men of the city of the Golden Gate combine in dumping boat-loads and car-loads of fruit and vegetables into the ocean off San Francisco, when the supply for the time being chances to exceed the more than usual demand, the producers and senders of these

products being at the mercy of these veritable sharks in these dumpings, when hundreds and thousands of poor people would be glad to get at moderate rates these fruits of the all merciful Father's bestowing, thus wantonly withheld from them and wickedly wasted?

Because these men want more money, and expect the better to fill their coffers by such a criminal destruction of food that should go to God's poor rather than the monsters of the deep.

And then, the brazen effrontery of these men to send to those whose products they have thus wasted, "Your last shipment of fruit was dumped into the bay, enclosed find bill of freight on the same."

Oh money, money, what a perverter of reason and conscience and righteousness it may and often does become!

And who dares say that anything in the wide world productive of such gigantic wrongs as we have seen, is the proper circulating medium of the world?

Then also, when we look at the vast number of competitors and speculators, the superabundant stores and markets and middle men and shops and mills, book-keepers, clerks, accountants, drays and delivery wagons, ten times as many of each class as are required, but for the false standard that men have set up we see more of the needless waste continually going on as the result of the way by which we are blunderingly and blindly led, contrary to our highest good and greatly enlarged happiness.

Look for a moment at the matter that for several years past has been so much in the wind as we say, the clamor for free silver, which as well as gold, it is claimed should constitute a part of the circulating medium of the world, and see the inconsistency of making money in any form the standard.

A few years when this country numbers 200,000,000 people, as it doubtless will a century hence, and the other nations of the earth shall have gained in like manner, on the same principle there may be a demand for free copper, or brass, or lead, or iron, or anything else, as a part of the circulating medium, the stamp of the United States, or of England, or France or Germany, or Russia being on it as a sign of recognized money, and how inconsistent

the whole thing, as well as the fact that trouble must go hand in hand with money, or anything else not of intrinsic worth as the circulating medium of the nations.

A cubic foot of gold says J. A. Conwell weighs 19,000 ounces and is worth nearly \$400,000 as money at the mints. If one of our western settlers should discover that his quarter section farm was so rich in gold that when brought to the surface it would be equal to five inches of the precious metal over the entire one hundred and sixty acres, it would when coined into money, have a purchasing power almost without limit. Such a man could buy all property, both personal and real, on our continent, including Canada and South America. He could cross the ocean and purchase England, Ireland, and the continent of Europe. He could then buy China, Japan, and all Asia and Africa. Still his purse would not be emptied. He could search the seas and buy all the islands. The whole earth would be his. His purse would still be rich in gold. Not one half of his money would be absorbed. He would still have more money than all the rest of the world.

He also says that within a few years gold may be a relic of the past, or it may be so plentiful as to rival copper or brass in household utility. Chemists tell us that the oceans contain 60,000,000,000 tons of gold. This is equal to \$25,000,000 worth to every man, woman, and child now living on the earth.

How absurd to make any material of which there is a possibility of such things, the circulating medium of the ages!

Even as it now is, the whole commercial world is every now and then, and more or less all the time, like a great seething caldron, foaming and sputtering. The men who stir the fires and watch the turmoil are full of perplexity and fear, though they claim to feel perfectly sure that their standard leads absolutely heavenward while the truth is, it leads in just the opposite direction.

The mere shipping to England from this country, or from England here, a little more gold than usual from time to time, almost and sometimes quite, produces a panic among the great business firms of the nations, and shows the inconsistency and trouble necessarily attendant upon such a fictitious standard as money, which is made

the great absorbing, overruling passion of the world, as seen in the astonishing fact that while the Armenian Christians, our brethren in European Turkey, were being slaughtered by scores of thousands and the houses of our missionaries plundered by Mohammedan Turks, and their school and college buildings gutted and burnt by heartless murderers, the great nations of the earth, pre-eminently our own, were wrangling over finance, bonds, a bit of land in some far-off region of the continent, and with hardly a protest coolly witnessed the savage butchery of men, women and children, money, in some form, being at the bottom of it all.

Then again look at the inconsistency of such a standard, in the fact that it allows seventy-one per cent of the money of this country to be owned by nine per cent of the families of the country, leaving only twenty per cent of the small margin of money left, to the millions and scores of millions, ninety-one per cent of the people even!

More than this. Thirty thousand of the inhabitants of this country out of 75,000,000 or more possess one half of the money, the circulating medium of the world.

At the same ratio, it may happen with such a standard, that 30,000 people in this country may soon practically possess all the money there is in the land.

Nay, more. A much less number than this may possess it all. What does it signify? That nearly all the people of America might become absolutely dependent, so far as money is concerned, upon a few plutocrats of the land; 200,000,000 of the Father's children subject in this way, which might mean little less than slavery, to a small clique, no better or wiser or more deserving, and in all probability not half so much so, as the hundreds of millions over whom they might dominate. Even now we are told that of the 75,000,000 of our people only about 1,000,000 buy whatever they please without thinking of the cost.

Only about 3,000,000 buy carefully and cautiously, having money enough for some luxuries if obtained with care not to overrun the income, while with 66,000,000, life is but a mere bread-and-butter battle.

It all shows the great inequality of things to-day, not to surmise what it may be to-morrow, and the marvel of

it is that the mighty majorities of the world who are under the ban have endured it as long as they have!

And then what about the fiat money, as the gold bugs are pleased to term it, and which they so vigorously denounce?

But is it not all that kind of money?

Here, for example, are twenty nickels, equal to one dollar.

The materials of which those nickels are composed, are worth for carpet tacks, or shoe nails, or something of that sort, not far from seven and a half cents, leaving just ninety-two and one-half cents fiat money in those twenty nickels. And so it is with all kinds of moneys which are used as the circulating medium of the world.

Yes, indeed, it is fiat money, more or less, the world over. We read of late a good deal about tainted money and the like, and a good many men seriously question the propriety of receiving such money for educational purposes and missionary work, but is not every dollar which is a part of the false medium of the world tainted money?

If not, why not? I beg leave to ask.

Being a false medium, is it not coined in Satan's workshop at the very best, and if there is any fitness in using it at all as a standard of exchange, why is it any worse to use it after it has passed several hands, than to use it fresh from the mint, and directly from the Arch Enemy himself?

Such are some of the sad results that come from the false standard of the world, touching the civic relations between man and man. The tendency of the thing is all wrong.

The temptation to young and inexperienced life is most dangerous, for the environment of youth decides the ambitions and the character of manhood as a rule.

Bring up a child in the atmosphere of the profane, the lewd, the sneak thief, the drunkard, the murderer, and ten to one when he comes to manhood he will be just what these influences have helped make him.

But give the child an opposite environment, and you may expect a different harvest in the days of his after life.

So we say, take away from the world the false standard, money, and substitute in its place the true standard,

subject to none of these evils, and you will introduce a healthful environment that will develop the noble, the loving, the divine qualities with which every man, created in the image of God, is more or less endowed.

The old theory of man's nature being totally depraved and devilish is a false theory, long since exploded. No one believes it now, however sincere but mistaken the good fathers with less light than we possess may have been in promulgating such a sentiment. The greatest thing in the world is Love, and men and women naturally love each other, naturally love their children, love to be happy and to see others happy, love to laugh and see others laugh, love society and pleasant things, and pleasant surroundings, the artistic, the bright sunny face, the cheery voice, the tidy dress, the blooming flowers, the gaily plumed birds, the sweet music of the human voice.

These are only a few of the things that man naturally loves, all of which shows something of the Godlike principles with which he is endowed.

Now let man's environments be such as to foster and cultivate this love, and by divine grace he will soon come to love the all-lovable, the very God of Love, in whose image he was created, as expressed in Jesus Christ, the sun and center, and substance of all true love, such as we cannot fully grasp in all its amazing vastness and infinite proportions.

But surround the child with an environment so liable to come from the fictitious standard of money and he may grow to utterly hate all these good and lovable things.

Hence the need as much in his civic relations in life as any other, of removing from him the great temptation, and surrounding him with influences that lead to the cultivation of the good that he naturally loves.

To illustrate. Here is a criminal. Does he plunder and rob and commit murder, as a rule, because he loves to do such things? Certainly not. But for a consideration, which is generally money. Had Christ accepted the offer which was made Him in the wilderness, He would have done just what men to-day do when they make money their chief concern, as millions do, always have and always will so long as money, a false standard, remains the great, gross tempter, as the circulating medium of the world.

Again, as to land ownership by private individuals, of which we hear so much of late, and which practically means money in the end, the same principle holds as that which holds in money as the circulating medium of the world.

Why should any man or class of men claim ownership in land any more than they should claim the private ownership of the sea or the air?

Surely there is sufficient land, as there is enough water and air in the world, for every member of the great fraternity of the human family, and the Heavenly Father would certainly have every one of His children free to use each for his highest good as he might need them, as He would have all His children work together for the highest good of the whole, just as does the bee with every other bee of the whole hive of bees.

Just as does the ant with the vast number of ants touching the whole great army of ants.

Why should a few aristocrats of England claim to own most of the land of that country, and compel others to work for the increase of their already superfluous wealth or starve?

Why should the same thing in any measure be true in this country, a Mrs. King, as one solitary instance, said to own 1,000,000 acres in Texas, while in New York City 10,000 people are huddled together on one single acre, not one foot of which they can call their own?

Why should our representatives in Congress, without any authority from the people, give the railroad companies of this country as Dr. Gladden tells us, 215,000,000 acres of public land, an area four times the size of the great state of Illinois, and six times as large as Ohio, while many towns, counties and municipalities have given them hundreds of millions of dollars in addition to this enormous gift of lands?

Why is all this? There certainly is no justifiable reason why, but every reason to the contrary, would we right the gigantic wrongs that exist in the present woefully distorted and abominably wicked relations which the strong have imposed upon the weak, in the civic usages of the day, because of the abnormal customs noticed.

The greed of the nations for land in nearly all ages of the world has been more or less like the greed of men

for money, the possibilities of money coming from the land, being the primary incentive, and most of the wars between different nations having grown out of this.

See how it is to-day. But a little while ago, China and Japan wanted Corea, and so they crossed swords, and sacrificed thousands of their young men on battle-fields.

Spain wanted Cuba, and so she made her savage attacks upon a comparatively defenseless people and provoked the righteous indignation of all Christendom.

England wanted the rich gold-fields of Venezuela and how quickly the powers that be in this country began to buckle on their fighting apparel, and grimly growl with a roar that could be heard around the world, Look out! look out! for we don't want you to have those possessions, and we will sacrifice a million of our young men if need be and fill the land with bitter lamentation and woe sooner than allow it."

All history abounds in contentions over the land question when the truth is that the land is God's as much as the ocean and the air, and no part of it belongs by right to any private individual only as he may need it, just as every other one of the mighty brotherhood needs it for meeting the common wants of life.

And here is the place to touch upon a very delicate point, but one that must not be passed entirely by.

It is this. The woeful fact that there are yearly born in the city of New York, and doubtless the same is true in like ratio in other cities, many thousand illegitimate children, this deplorable state of things arising out of another fact in large measure, that many men and women have no home of their own and are able to support no such home as every man and every woman ought to have, or ought to be able to have such a home, and each one of this great army of men and women should be able to bear the sacred name of husband and wife so far as a removal of the hindrance noticed would allow it.

Here is an awful truth, not apt to be proclaimed in very loud terms to the world, but nevertheless a truth that should be known, and a truth that should be understood as growing out of the evil in question much more largely than many imagine.

Remove from the world the bogus standard which prevents many a man and many a woman from having such

a home, and themselves from being the honorable heads of a true household, and you would greatly help towards removing from the world the damnable thing of which I speak, but speak only in a loud whisper, the details of which can be treated here only in a very cursory way.

"Home!" There's no place surely like it, and every man and every woman should be able to say "I have it, and am one of the joint head of a home, my home," the natural thing to have and to be, the natural way of it, God's way.

But how is it? We read from a recent census report from Washington that the tenant families throughout the country are 63 per cent of the total number of families, by which it appears that only about one-third of the families of the United States have any sort of a title to the places in which they live.

Even in the country, only about 34 families in a hundred own their own so-called homes, without any incumbrance.

In 420 cities of 8,000 to 10,000 inhabitants, there are only 24 families in a hundred that own their abodes with a clear title.

In 28 cities of over 100,000 inhabitants, 77 hire their dwellings and only 13 in a hundred own them.

In New York City, 6 per cent of the people are said to own all the real estate, and only 4 in a hundred own the houses in which they live, and thousands upon thousands have no homes whatever, which accounts largely for the children born without known parents or homes either. Of the inhabitants of Glasgow, Scotland, 25 per cent we are told, live in houses of only one room.

And what is the cause of all this unequal state of things?

It comes largely, most assuredly, from the false standard that has been set up, making possible such gigantic wrongs.

Now I say, the Divine Master and sanctified common sense being my teachers, these things ought not so to be. If the great Father should speak in audible tones He would surely say to His children, in all the world, these things are wrong. There should be different rules in the civic relations between man and man.

Some of the advanced thinkers and writers and novelists like Mrs. Burton Harrison, Marion Crawford, Charles Dudley Warner, Sir Walter Besant, the advocates of the "Single Tax Theory," Dr. Abbott, Washington Gladden and many others, have said some grand things, and set forth some startling facts, but I do not see how any of their purposes can be attained till they attack the very citadel of the trouble, and reach the very heart of the difficulty, the abnormal, fictitious standard which has been set up for the world's following, an attempt to regulate society by a gross irregularity!

Who can claim for a moment that any thing, the love of which is the root of all kinds of evil should be the circulating medium of the world? And how wrong it is to suppose that any thing through which there is a possibility of acquiring in any such manner as we have seen more than belongs to one by the law of nature and the law of God, or allows such waste, or is liable to such fluctuations and trouble in business, can possibly be made the true standard, the genuine circulating medium of the world?

No code of men-made rules, no long custom of past ages can make it thus. Indeed, speaking with all reverence, not even the Almighty himself can make it thus, and it is no weakness in Him not to be able to do impossibilities.

Hence we say break down the false standard that has ruled the world so long in cruelty. Abolish the false circulating medium, the chief cause of so much distress through all the ages, and introduce the true standard, a thing of intrinsic value, subject to none of the evils noticed, and productive of good only.

What can this be, is it asked? Show us the great panacea, is it said?

Here it is. Work, Valuable Labor, Honest Industry, a thing of intrinsic value because it is absolutely essential to the sustenance of man's life in the world.

Work was what the good Father said to His erring children in the Garden of Eden should be the standard, because without this, man must perish from the earth. "In the sweat of thy face," not with money, but "in the sweat of thy face," were the words, "shalt thou eat thy bread."

Work was essential, and will continue to be essential so long as the thing exists that necessitated work in the first

place. But it is asked, how can the work be divided up so as to suit the tastes and adaptability of everybody?

How is it divided up now, let me ask in return?

What thousands and millions even, under the present régime, are compelled to do, not what they would most like to do, but whatever they can get to do, however distasteful it may be to them!

It certainly could be no worse than it is now, and would in all reason be infinitely better.

How about the kind of work for each one?—is asked by the skeptic, as to whether the present system could be improved, however monstrously unreasonable it may be, as I have abundantly shown?

Well, give the scavengers and sewage workers and ditch and well diggers and all those doing such menial service fewer hours of labor, and put them on the retired list at an earlier date than those engaged in more congenial toil perchance.

But again the question comes up, would you have everybody engaged in manual labor?

Not necessarily, and yet it might not be amiss as a preparation for better service as teachers, preachers, inventors, scientists, statesmen and the like.

David of old was a shepherd.

Elisha was a farmer.

Moses was a keeper of flocks in the land of Midian for 40 years.

Jesus Christ was a carpenter.

The Apostles were fishermen.

Paul was a tent maker.

Washington was an agriculturist.

Lincoln was a surveyor, a boatman on the river, and even a rail-splitter.

Garfield was a mule-driver on the canal tow path for a time.

Some of the most able and popular clergymen in the biggest cities of the land to-day came from early service in the country, behind the plow, at the forge, in the shop, or from the cobbler's bench. To tell the truth, just such kind of service for a time may be as valuable as the college as a preparation for the very best work that man can do in the world, though this need not imply its absolute necessity to every one under the system here advocated.

Work being the standard, useful work of some sort should be required of every one, and manual work for multitudes who have never dreamt of such a thing so far as they are concerned.

When Mr. Rothschild, a member of perhaps the richest family on earth, was asked if riches led to happiness, he replied very emphatically "No, the truest source of happiness is Work," the very thing for which we plead as the standard in the civic life of men.

Thomas Carlyle gave repeated emphasis to this question in the same way, as did Cicero of old, and Thomas More, and Ruskin, and Thorold Rogers, and Richard Jeffries, and Mathew Arnold, and Robert Blatchford, as well as many other deep thinkers and able writers.

Thus it is easy to see that all the points of apparent difficulty at first thought in regard to the matter are of easy solution, and vastly preferable to thousands with which we have to cope at the present time.

But alas! the controlling powers have been saying, "Yes, oh yes, for some men what you say about work for a part of the great family is true, is indeed needful, but for the mighty army of men and women, the favored 30,000 for example, who possess all the money or may soon possess it all, it is not a necessity, and we will not eat our bread by the sweat of our faces. We will eat it by the sweat of other men's faces.

"They may toil and groan and grind and grub early and late at starvation rates, wearing themselves out and dying long before their time, but we shall do nothing of the kind.

"They may exhaust themselves in accumulating riches for us, and take for their pay the scraps and the crumbs of our leaving, and live in shacks and shanties, and dark forlorn tenements, while we through their toils eat the tender loins of the fatted calves of the stall in our palatial homes, and ride in our gilded carriages, we, the Masters may, but they, the poor, are our slaves!"

So is it. So it always has been and always will be so long as the false standard and the fictitious medium govern the world as at present.

Hence do we say remove such a counterfeit from the calendar of civic life, and adopt something of real practical intrinsic worth that can only result in good.

That real something is Work in some form, of course in a just measure for every one of the great brotherhood of the race in every country, everywhere.

This is the true standard, nature's standard, God's standard touching all the civic relations between man and man.

Yes, make Work the medium, and let every one of the great household do his share of the same and receive his share of the profits and no more, and every one shall have all that he needs for his very highest happiness and manhood possible.

And what more is essential for any one?

Nothing more. All beyond this is superfluous, a cumbrance. Worse than this, downright robbery, because it deprives others of their rights. Robbery, did I say? That is a very strong statement, involving tremendous responsibilities, woefully overlooked by the great world to-day.

I wish to fortify the statement, for it's very radical, as my whole treatment of the subject may see to many, but if we are not here, as Dr. Blank tells us, and I believe him, "to preserve the existing order of things," we shall need to be radical beyond what many have dreamed as yet.

The point in question expressed in another form is just like this. If I, or you, or all of us together, or a larger company than all of us, hold more of God's possessions than we are using for the promotion of our highest good, so that any member of the great brotherhood suffers from a lack of some of these possessions held by us, but not essential to our needs, we are guilty, and we stand condemned before the tribunal of our Heavenly Father and the judgment of our injured brother.

And would not the verdict be robbery? If not, I confess my inability to see why not.

But let Work, not Money, but Work, be the standard of measurement in the civic world, and there would be no such trouble.

But the cry, of course, is heard by a vast army of the brotherhood, "We know nothing of work. We were not born to it. Neither were our fathers before us, or their fathers before them. Make us work, would you?" No, we respond. No, indeed, we would make no man work, but we would say with the great inspired Apostle of old, "If any would not work, neither should he eat."

If any one preferred to starve rather than do his share of the necessary work of the world, let him starve.

Besides this, work, manual work, compared with what it now is, would be almost play, four hours a day on the average being ample to meet all the demands of the great brotherhood according to the estimates of those who have given the subject the most careful study, leaving twenty hours of the twenty-four for rest, reading, recreation, amusement, the cultivation of the mind, the fine arts, the college or university course, the beautiful, the philosophical, the scientific, and whatever one might desire for a larger knowledge of the world, for inventions and discoveries, and for bringing to light the hidden things of darkness.

No, we would compel no one to work, any more than we would compel him to eat or wear comfortable clothing, or live in a house suited to his highest needs and most exalted manhood.

As it now is, how pertinent are the words of Ruskin, when he says, "I never stand up to rest myself in the stalls of the theater and look around the house without the renewal of wonder how the crowd in the pit, the shilling gallery, allow us of the boxes and stalls to keep our places! think of it! Those fellows behind us there have housed us and fed us.

"Their wives have washed our clothes and kept us tidy.

"They have bought for us the best places.

"They have brought us through the cold to these places, and there they sit behind us patiently seeing what they may.

"There they pack themselves together, squeezed and distant behind our chairs, and we, their elect toys and pet puppets, oiled and varnished and incensed, lounge in front placidly, or for the greater part wearily and sickly contemplatively!"

How apt and significant this comparison touching life in general between the rich and the poor!

It is chiefly as a result of the false standard by which the world has been fooling itself through all the ages of the mighty past, and from which it has by no means recovered as yet.

Indeed, we are very gravely told by some that the banishment of money from the body politic, and adopting a true standard, would destroy all noble aspirations and reduce man to a level almost with the brute. We are very gravely assured that everybody knows that civilization could not exist without money.

Now I wish to say that everybody does not know any such thing! Nobody knows it, for it isn't true.

What are the facts in the case?

Is man by nature such a creature that he must be stimulated to everything that is grand and good, and that leads to the highest civilization by the glitter of gold as money, the love of which is the root of all kinds of evil?

It's a libel against the race!

Who have accomplished the most for the world?

Is it the men and women whose ambition has been to accumulate money?

Take the lady nurse at the seat of war as an illustration among thousands. You see her on the field of carnage after some battle caring for the dead and dying. You see her in the hospital binding up the wounds of men and administering to the wants of the sick and suffering, amid scenes of the most revolting and heart-rending character, patient, persevering, uncomplaining, spending wearisome days and sleepless nights for weeks and months, having left the home of refinement and luxury, where she was loved and petted and almost adored by those who knew her best, for these scenes of the most revolting and soul-sickening character, with no expectation of earthly glory to come to her as a reward for her God-like services in these charnel houses of suffering and death.

And is money the incentive that prompts her?

No, by no means. The whole world, even the degraded minions of avarice whose God is the Almighty Dollar, would unite in one loud acclaim. No! Ten thousand times No!

Well, history abounds in such noble characters.

Look at some of the greatest teachers, inventors, authors, missionaries and martyrs that the world has ever seen, and say if money was the incentive that moved them.

Take the twelve Apostles, with Paul and Martin Luther, and Wesley, and Whitfield, and Galileo, and Bruno, and Socrates, and Milton, and Cromwell, and

Washington, and Hampden, and Columbus, and our own noble Christian Scientist, Agassiz, who declined an urgent invitation from a famous Boston Bureau to lecture at \$500 an hour in some of the big cities, to the high-toned people of the brown stone front houses, saying that he could not; he had no time to spend in making money.

Multiply these instances by thousands of others as seen in the men and women of the past and the present, and you will find there is a vastly higher motive than anything connected with money that prompts them.

And so of the noblest of the great brotherhood of the race in all ages of the world. Take our colleges and higher schools of learning, and are the men and women there engaged as teachers stimulated, as a rule, to toil as they do for the sake of money when many of them could earn ten fold more in some other calling? Take the grand workers in the slums of our cities, and who will pretend for a moment that money in any sense whatsoever is the stimulus that impels them.

Take the missionaries in the wilds of Africa or the Isles of the sea, and how is it?

Yes, all that is most brave and true and philanthropic and uplifting in the world is the product of an incentive utterly disconnected with money, and as money is a false standard and unnatural medium of exchange, and certain to lead to most of the crimes and wrongs that exist in the civic relations of men, it should be relegated to the rear, and be no longer tolerated as it now is.

The true standard should be adopted, God's standard, nature's standard, and then every member of the great brotherhood would be fully remunerated and amply supplied for his share of service in the mighty world compact of justice and right between man and man. There would be no money and no wages, only the wages, all that one needs, coming from his doing his share of just what he ought to do if he would be a member of the great, loving, harmonious brotherhood.

The industries of the State would be properly organized.

The products of the lands and the seas, as to food and all kinds of goods would be produced in sufficient quantities for all. Labor hours would be so arranged as to meet the best needs of the entire fraternity, and food,

clothing, fuel, transit, amusements, and all other things essential to man's highest wants, would be supplied so as to meet the requirements of one as much as another.

Of course, to the aged and infirm, not able to contribute work, the medium of exchange, provision would be made, leaving no fear of the poorhouse or of the world's cold charities for themselves or their children, or the possibilities of a tramp life, or a lack of support and consequent suffering as it is with multitudes in this land, and multiplied millions in the older countries of the world.

Now I say, give the entire State the control of its own as suggested, and then every man and woman could have a good home of their own, and all the comforts of such a home, so as to promote, so far as home could do it, their highest welfare in every point of view.

Yes, remove the false standard and erect in its place the true and proper standard, LABOR, or, more properly speaking, work, real, genuine work.

Set the great army of men engaged in the various callings noticed, and among them hundreds of thousands of other men very like them, about something where every effort of every one would be of value to the great co-partnership of the race, and who could estimate the immense saving that would thus come out of what can now only be regarded as a tremendous waste through the blunder of the ages, to say nothing of the hardening effects of it upon the nature of man and a confirmation of the saying long ago uttered, "The root of all kinds of evil."

Does any one say, "Nonsense! It can't be done?" Then I advise such a one to change places with his less fortunate brother for a little while.

Try the life of a menial servant, half starved, and subjected to hunger and cold, wearing yourself out to accumulate riches and luxuries for him who was your servant, but is now a heartless aristocrat.

Just for a few days try it, and then tell what you think about the justice of the case, you the slave now, he the master; you snubbed and maltreated and outraged in thousands of ways, and he plumed and petted, proud and tyrannical.

I fancy it would take but little such experience to bring about a change of opinion.

Or, take another illustration.

Suppose you are forced to live in a very humble hired tenement, and everything else connected with your life is made to correspond to the same, and all this without any lack or fault on your part. Your neighbor just across the way lives in a beautiful mansion well furnished and all his home life corresponds to the same. You are poor.

He is rich.

You walk.

He rides.

You are clothed in the cheapest garments.

He in the most costly.

You stay at home.

He journeys and goes and comes at his pleasure, lavish in his expenditure of money and everything else that contributes to his taste and pride.

You have to practice the closest economy.

He is grossly extravagant.

You are held by your fellows as hardly of commonplace importance in the community.

He is highly honored and looked up to as a person of great consequence, simply because he has money.

You are an educated and well-informed man.

He is exceedingly ignorant.

You live to serve your country and bless the community, and lift up the fallen and make them wiser and better and happier.

He, your master now, has lived simply for himself.

You are a real benefactor to your race.

He is a miserable, selfish wretch.

In short, you have done ten thousand times more for the world than he has, if indeed it can be said that he has ever done anything.

You have produced several inventions of great service to mankind, and made wonderful discoveries, and established schools and churches in divers places where they were needed, and gladdened the hearts of many desponding ones, and caused them to sing aloud in the night time.

He has done nothing of the sort.

But you have very little of the material blessings of the world, while he abounds in them and has more than heart can wish.

Now all these earthly good things belong to the Heavenly Father, and you are both His children, both brothers.

And would you believe, after an experience of this kind, that there had been an equal distribution of the Father's gifts between you and your neighbor, and that your Father was well pleased with the strange dissimilarity of the distribution?

You could not believe it.

Everybody knows better.

It comes as the result of the false standard in the circulating medium of the world.

And yet, some men who seem to be living far behind the times, and trying to hold back the car of progress which is slowly making its way up the steep hill difficulty, the moneyed men mostly will meet you with the howls of "Impossible," "Utopia," "Maudlin Pietism," "Chatterings of an unbalanced crank," "The survival of the Fittest," "Quackery," "Fakerism," and the like.

Indeed, the words of our Lord are sometimes quoted, "The poor ye have always with you," and the like, as if Christ meant to be understood that there ought always to be a multitude of poor people in every community in the world almost.

As if it had been so decreed!

As if it was one of God's plans in the civic relations that should be established between man and man.

But we cannot interpret the sayings of Christ in any such manner, though such interpretations are very like most of the reasoning employed in combating great wrongs that have always existed in the civic affairs of the world.

But, as drowning men cling to straws, we must not wonder that so it is, and will continue to be thus, while a false standard like money as the circulating medium, holds such a prominent place among men.

But, nevertheless, if such changes as are here suggested or their equivalent as to reform measures in the civic life of society are impossible, then anything like half way justice between the rich and the poor everywhere is impossible, for there is no people on the face of the globe this very moment that does not need changes for the better that would surpass anything here suggested.

If these, or what would lead to greater changes than these in the civic affairs of the state, are "Utopian," then the thought of the "Kingdom to come," foretold in God's word, is "Utopian."

If they are the fruits of an "Iridescent Dream," or the wild "Vagaries of Maudlin Pietism," or the "Shrieks of An Unbalanced Tender Hearted Crank," then the Author of the Sermon on the Mount and His most devoted followers, many of whom have laid down their lives in the advocacy of the great principles of true love to God and man all through the ages for nearly two thousand years, must have been the same kind of weaklings that the men of to-day are, who plead for civic righteousness by the banishment from the body politic the false standard Money and the adoption of the true standard Work.

We must remember that we cannot make a truth from a lie any more than we can make an angel of a devil, and what is a devil and a lie if money as a circulating medium is not a false standard, leading to most of the evils which we all so much deplore?

But, no, again says the objector; you are ahead of your time.

It is not money, but the love of money that leads to these great evils of the world.

Ah! indeed. Could that be said of work?

No, assuredly, for the greater the love of work the better.

But, then, verily, as long as the love of money is almost if not always sure to go with the desire for it, or the possession of it, it is surely safe to say that money itself is indeed a dangerous thing so long as it is made the standard as we have seen.

As gunpowder surrounded with flames of fire, or torpedoes and bombs burning and bursting are dangerous, so is money held as the representative of what it now is, a dangerous thing.

To retain it as the world's medium of circulation is a gigantic, an unpardonable wrong, when service, work, a thing of intrinsic value is wholly free from the evils in question, and is a real substantial blessing always and everywhere.

So, then, it is not simply the love of money against which we contend, but the possibility of fostering such love by giving it the place which it now holds in the civic relations of the world.

"Lead us not into temptation," was a part of the prayer of our Lord, and the wise man of old said, touching this very matter of temptation, "Go not in the way of evil, avoid it, pass not by it, turn from it and pass away."

Not that I claim for a moment that banishing from society a false standard like the one in question and adopting a true one in the civic relations between man and man would make every one a saint of the most exalted character, any more than banishing the saloon from community would make every one just what he ought to be, a true, devoted, pure, renovated child of God.

As to the latter it certainly would not do this, though it would keep most of the people from the drunkard's ranks and make most of them sober, industrious respectable useful members of society, an almost infinite improvement above what follows in the wake of the saloon.

The temptation removed, and such are the blessed fruits of the removal.

Just so with money. The temptation removed, by its removal from community as the medium of exchange now held, and alike good results would surely follow; not the renewed heart necessarily in this case any more than in the other, but the prevention of uncounted wrongs and crimes, and the promotion of corresponding good.

True, the reform proposed is so very radical that many are ready to say at first thought, "It is impossible."

Still that does not alter the truth, for truth, according to the old maxim, is forever immortal and will prevail.

The working classes of the world are even now organizing themselves into an international party for the purpose of doing away once and forever with the capitalist system based on money and mastery, and establishing in its stead a collectivist system based on labor and brotherhood. By the working classes are meant not only those who labor with their hands, but those who labor with their brains as well.

It is true that as long as the capitalists are our rulers, human selfishness will prevent the present system from being radically changed.

But the capitalists are really a small and weak minority, and it is only because the workers ignorantly vote against their own interests that the rule of money continues for a day.

The workers are beginning to realize the situation, and the result is a world-wide class struggle, which can only end in the overthrow of capitalism and the setting up of the kingdom of heaven,—the republic of the brotherhood of man.

The socialist movement has been called atheistic, but the only god it denies is the travesty of God which has been set up by the ruling class to justify its tyranny and oppression.

Socialism does appeal to the natural desires of men to have their share of the good things of earth, but its aim is to rebuild society in such a way that those who obey the teachings of Jesus may no longer be punished for so doing by hunger and death, but that these teachings may become the common rule of life.

In the great political struggle that is nearer than many of us dream, those who really believe in the teachings of Jesus will be in the ranks of the Socialists, helping to hasten the coming of the new order.

Yes, I am sure that the change for which I plead should, and some time will, be made, and the proper standard be adopted, when the world comes to understand more fully the significance of the terms so often used in these days, "The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man," which implies, among other things, "civic righteousness," satisfactory to the Great Father, and each of His loyal and loving children.

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WHERE 
WE STAND

A LECTURE

BY

JOHN SPARGO

Editor of the "COMRADE"

Originally delivered under the title:
"OUR POSITION; ECONOMIC,
ETHICAL AND POLITICAL".

(Third Edition)

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Ladies and Gentlemen: No one, I think, who has at all thought upon the subject I have been requested to speak to you upon to-night can have failed to notice its scope and comprehensiveness. Dealing, as it does, with the three main phases of the world's life and thought, it is indeed one of those subjects of which Matthew Arnold has aptly said: "They at once invite and repel criticism by reason of their very magnitude." Whatever the strength or weakness of the organized Socialist movement in this city, it is well to bear in mind that it is to-day the largest and most far-reaching political movement in the world. Never before, I think, has there been a single political party based upon definite principles, with the strength that the great International Socialist Party possesses. To state the position of such a party under the important heads that my subject is divided by is, therefore, no mean task. It may well be, indeed, that by some of you I am already condemned for my presumption in attempting to do so in the compass of a single lecture. You will, perhaps, absolve me, however, if I declare at the outset that I do not pretend to do more, because I cannot possibly hope to do more, than indicate our position in a general way—in bare and even incomplete outline—and without going into elaborate details. Further than that, the subject is not my choice, but was imposed upon me by the committee at whose invitation I am here to-night.

Having said so much in "extenuation," if you please, of my own part in the matter, let me revert just for a single moment to something I have already said. I have referred to the subject as dealing "with the three main phases of the world's life and thought," and perhaps I ought to make that clear. Stated in the common phraseology of everyday life, these divisions mean that we are to deal with:

- (1) The supply of the material requirements of life;
- (2) Our moral obligations to each other and to Society as a whole;

(3) Our responsibilities and powers as citizens, and, in a wider sense, the form and character of the institutions and laws by which we are governed.

A brief reflection will, I am quite sure, convince you that I have not been guilty of any exaggeration in describing the subject as I have done.

There is another word of criticism which I may be allowed to anticipate, since I have no doubt that it has already rooted itself in the minds of some, even in this audience. In all parts of the world there are to be found earnest-hearted men and women, who are equally interested with ourselves in bringing about a state of Order and Brotherhood in place of the Chaos and Strife of to-day, with whom, however, we do not find it possible to agree, much as we may, and do, admire their earnestness and zeal. They seek to bring about a better social condition by and through the moral regeneration of the individual. They ignore the all important fact that Society is not merely a large number of individuals; evolution has made it an organism, and each unit of the whole being interdependent upon the other units; each life being affected by the lives of others, this individual appeal and effort must be, to a very large extent, abortive. Forever preaching "Be Good!" they disregard entirely the fact that all the circumstances of life, circumstances that are inseparable from the essential qualities of our industrial system, conspire to make true "Goodness," meaning by that term right and just living, impossible. Where is the sense or where the morality in telling a man he must be good or be damned if some fundamental wrong in Society itself, which he individually cannot alter, makes it impossible for him to be good? This I assert to be true of our present industrial system—called "System" only in irony, and more properly "Chaos"—as I shall presently try to show.

In my humble judgment, our friends who talk of solving the social problem by the individual acceptance of an ethical ideal, whether rooted in theological belief or otherwise, are acting as foolishly as if they attempted to build a cathedral from the spire downwards. They are "placing the cart before the horse"

with a vengeance! You might just as well argue that the pyramids of Egypt were built from the apex to the base, as contend that moral regeneration must precede economic change. That is our view. Before you talk of rules of conduct, make sure of the means of life. Before you talk ethics to a man feed him, since it is obvious that unless he is fed he will cease to live at all. That is a simple and perhaps somewhat crude statement of a fairly obvious fact, and that fact, in turn, is but a faint expression of a great and profound truth which lies back of all social progress.

We believe in evolution. Everybody believes in evolution nowadays, so that is not such a startling or dangerous statement to make, as it would have been comparatively few years ago. But we not merely believe that in the organic world all life is the result of evolutionary changes; we believe that the same process is at work in society itself, and that there is a law of social evolution which is but the counterpart of the law which pervades the organic world. Some of us are fond of calling ourselves "Revolutionary Socialists," and whenever we do some good critic is sure to cry out: "You are wrong; you are opposed to evolution!" This is not true; precisely the contrary is true. We are the only people who logically and consistently apply that principle to social science. There is no necessary antagonism between Evolution and Revolution, as any scientist will tell you. Revolutions are but necessary stages in the general process of evolution. That is true alike of organic and social evolution, and, after all, "Social Revolution" simply means that "Social Evolution" has reached a stage where transformation is not only possible, but inevitable. We do sometimes hear men say, with a pessimism that is appalling, "things are to-day as they always have been and always will be," and having said so much they look abundantly satisfied that they have settled the matter for good and all. Yet, if there is one fact more plainly written on the blood-stained pages of the world's history than another, it is that things have not always been what they are to-day; that the present form of society is the result of a long series of changes

logically consequent upon each other, and all signs of the time portend that we are on the eve, nay, in the very midst of, further great and far-reaching changes.

Mankind began to exist upon this planet in a state of savage barbarism without any conception either of private property or of individual rights. The form of society was that of a rude tribal communism, the interests of the individual being entirely subordinated to those of the tribe itself. When wars broke out among the different tribes, it was the avowed purpose of each tribe to kill as many of the opposing tribe as possible. Then came a time when it was recognized that a man could produce more than was necessary for himself, and thenceforth it was the aim of the warring tribes to take as many prisoners as possible. These prisoners became the reward of the bravest and most successful in the fray, and thus, out of the communal association for defence against foes, human and other, came class dominance and private property, and man first spake the words "Mine" and "Thine." From chattel slavery it is easy to trace the rise of that more modified form of slavery which underlay the Feudal system, and its subsequent decline—a form of class domination followed by still another in which the worker became a wage-earner, and, ultimately, the mere adjunct of a machine. Thus the progress of the world has been from Savagedom with its underlying elemental communism, to Slavedom with its class domination; from Slavedom to Serfdom and thence to Wagedom, class dominance being the essential feature of each. We believe that this law of change still operates and that the next great change will at least be in the direction of Freedom. We, at any rate, do not believe with the dyspeptic Carlyle that "the destiny of mankind is downward to an everlasting swine trough." No! Painful and slow as the progress may be, all footprints on the sands of the ages betoken an upward march.

Just as in the evolution of organic life it is necessary to find a determining factor—a force that determines the time and the character of each successive change—so in this process of social evolution. There-

fore we ask ourselves, "What force was it that determined the time and the manner of the great changes we have seen? What, for example, brought about the destruction of Feudalism and the establishment in its stead of a system based upon wage-paid labor?" and the reply comes, that it was an economic force—an industrial change culminating in the industrial organization of the towns. The propelling force behind all history is not ideal, or moral, but economic, centered in man's power over the forces of external nature. What the determining force summed up in the old adage, "Self-preservation is the first law of nature," is to organic evolution, economic pressure is to social evolution. This is the theory of the economic determinism of historical development summed up by Karl Marx in that famous sentence: "In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch." Because life is finally dependent upon the supply of its material requirements, any far-reaching change in the means of producing those material necessities must affect the whole life.

I fear that I have dwelt longer upon this than I had intended or than I ought to have done, but you will, I am confident, forgive me in view of its obviously great importance. You will henceforth know at least why we lay so much stress upon the material basis of life.

In order that we may understand the problems incident to the production and distribution of wealth, it is necessary, it seems to me, to know first of all what we mean by wealth. Primarily, it may be said to consist of an abundance of useful or otherwise desirable things, quite irrespective of whether they can be exchanged for other things or not. The savage without any idea of exchange, but with all his felt needs plentifully supplied, was a comparatively wealthy man. But in our modern society, based upon production for profit rather than for use, the idea of wealth is commonly associated with exchange, and wealth itself

may be said to be an accumulation of commodities, or articles possessing the quality of sale or exchange. Now, we take the view that all such wealth is produced by, and rightly belongs to, Labor. Going further, we say that the value of all commodities is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor-power embodied in them. That is not a theory peculiar to the Socialist. We are not seeking to impose a strange principle upon the student of political economy when we state it, but, on the contrary, it is common to all the economists of the "Classical School." Sir William Petty, who wrote in the time of Charles the Second, taught that very clearly; Adam Smith, in his epochal work, *The Wealth of Nations*, laid great stress upon it, declaring labor to be "the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities," and that "it is natural that what is usually the produce of two days' or two hours' labor should be worth double of what is usually the produce of one day's or one hour's labor." Ricardo and John Stuart Mill both endorse this theory of value, the former declaring it to be "a doctrine of fundamental importance in political economy." Benjamin Franklin, too, estimates the value of everything by labor and declares that "the value of all things is most justly measured by labor." Thus you will see that this view of labor as the source of all wealth and the basis of value is amply supported by all the great economists of note. True it is that we have our Decadents of political economy, mere word spinners, who seek to evade this truth and its logical consequences. We are told by some of these "profound" and "deep" thinkers that there is something even more important than labor, and when we ask what it is, we are told that it is "genius," "ability," "managing capacity," and so on. Now, to any but these very clever gentlemen it would be easily apparent that if all the genius of the ages could be concentrated in the mind of one person, and that person were to sit and think, let us say upon a theory of agricultural chemistry, from now till the "crack of doom," it would not assist the growth of a single ear of corn unless actually embodied in labor. Ability, in the abstract, apart from labor could never produce

—never has produced—a pin's value. This attempt to divide labor into two separate classes, "intellectual" and "non-intellectual," is entirely absurd and foreign to the whole science of economics. John Stuart Mill taught very much sounder political economy, when he declared that "even the stupidest hodman who carries a hod of brick or of mortar up a ladder performs a task that is not wholly mechanical, but is in part intellectual." In the world of industry there is no such thing as "unskilled labor," and it always seems to me a great pity that workers themselves should use the cant phrase. Let some of those who use it, college professors as well as the "skilled artisans," who repeat their glib sophistries, take hold of the handles of a plow, and they will find, I think, that it requires a very considerable amount of "skill" and "ability" to plow a straight furrow. When, therefore, we speak of labor, we mean all those physical and mental qualities in ourselves which are used in the production of wealth. Thus, to take the case of a great railway, we say that the labor of the engineer who designed the plans and of the surveyor is equally necessary—but no more so—with that of the man who coals the engine or lays the tracks. You might have all the plans ever conceived by man's ingenuity, but without the labor of the coal miner, the iron miner, the steel worker, the excavator, the mason, the boiler maker, and numerous other workers you could not have a railway. Rightly understood, the labor of the lowest and most ill-paid is equally as valuable—because equally indispensable—as that of the highly-paid official.* Therefore, we are entitled to protest, and do protest, against a system which gives to one man working under conditions of comparative comfort and ease, a salary amounting to a hundred, or perhaps five hundred, times as much as the

*This must not be construed as implying that every such "official" of modern industry, whether highly paid or otherwise, is, per se, a useful worker. This should be trite to the humblest intellect. Yet, the warning seems necessary in view of a good deal of lamentably loose thinking, speaking and writing lately observed.

wages of another whose labor, equally necessary, is attended with discomfort and risk to life and limb. But there is a worse phase of the question than this. A pale-faced curate in New England, for example, who, it may be, never saw the railway, will be drawing a comfortable sum, in the shape of dividends, from the unpaid labor of the workers on some British railway, or some old maiden lady in the South of England whose only "labor" is the fondling of her tabby cat will draw from the unpaid labor of men, women and children in some American factory which she has never seen. How does this help those who so glibly talk of the "rent of ability"?

Again, we sometimes hear that it is not labor which constitutes value, but utility. That is, that the value of a thing is determined by its usefulness.* A ten-cent collar-stud, being equally well suited to the purpose for which it is intended, it must, therefore, be as valuable as one containing a costly diamond! That a sack of potatoes will ordinarily possess greater "utility" than a sack of gold will not be disputed, but every one knows that the gold will ordinarily be worth more, far more, than the potatoes. Truly, Professor Jevons'

*In this simple form the "Utility" theory of Boehm-Bawerk and Jevons seems too ridiculous for serious consideration or reply. But it is not now often so stated. Instead, we get words like "esteem" and "desirability" in place of "utility." But this word-juggling does not and cannot hide the fact, that, as my friend, H. M. Hyndman has clearly shown in his "Economics of Socialism," this theory, for which Jevons claimed "novelty" so many years after it had been refuted by Ricardo, is, in reality, when the word-juggling is resorted to, only the old Lauderdale theory of Supply and Demand stated in a less intelligible manner. Stated in its definite form, as by Jevons, "that value depends entirely upon utility," and giving to that word its legitimate meaning, the foregoing reply, which is quite Ricardian, completely shatters a much belauded theory, the popularity of which is but another evidence of the bankruptcy of our critics.

theory of value is equally remarkable with his other theory that commercial crises are somehow or other due to the spots on the sun!

Dismissing, then, the vagaries of these pseudo-philosophers, we can with perfect confidence rest upon the solid foundation of economic science, that all wealth, as previously defined, is produced by labor, and that labor, therefore, is the real secret and explanation of the establishment of the relative value of commodities, which are, except in that one quality, utterly unlike each other. With this two-fold fact in mind, turn we then to the actual prevailing conditions of to-day—from theory to fact. What there do we find? Why, simply this, that those who possess the greatest share of the world's wealth are the idlers and those who produce the great bulk, nay, the whole, of that wealth, are those who possess least. This is the tragic paradox, that whilst all wealth is produced by labor, only they who labor are without wealth! I give you this as a general rule which will not fail you through life; wherever you find luxury and ease you will find the idler, and wherever you find poverty and its attendant evils you will find the worker. Show me the workers in their hovels and I will tell you "These are they who built the mansions which the pampered sons and daughters of luxury inhabit."

This, then, is a serious question for the workers and challenges attention. If you ask me how this strange paradox is brought about, I reply without hesitation, that it arises from the *robbery of labor*. Perhaps you think that word "robbery" is too strong. Some of my friends tell me sometimes that I ought to use a milder and less obnoxious term; something more respectable, you know! I have been expecting them to suggest that more modern word, "kleptomania," which seems rather popular in circles of polite society. But I am satisfied with the old-fashioned Saxon word, which better than any other in our vocabulary expresses my meaning. That the robbery has been *legalized* I am perfectly aware, but that does not alter the fact. If a gang of brigands were to hold you up, and, after taking all you possessed, were to form

themselves into a ring, and after electing a presiding officer and a secretary, were to declare their action quite legal and proper, or if before robbing you they had thus met and called their meeting a parliament or congress, I am confident you would not like it any the better for that. Yet that is but a parallel case! I am always reminded when I speak on this theme of a story that was told me during the great Welsh Coal Strike in 1898, when the British Tory government, with that same love for labor which all other governments show, whether Liberal or Tory, Democratic or Republican, had sent its troops into the strike district to protect the "sacred rights of property," and, if possible, to break the strike. One evening at the time of the greatest agitation, the miners were holding a mass meeting on the top of a high hill thinking that there they would probably be free from molestation. As I was going up the hillside I overtook an old Welsh farmer, and we fell into conversation about the strike.

"This strike," said he, "reminds me of something that occurred here about three months ago."

"How so?" I inquired.

"Well, you see that farm upon the top of the other hill, right across the valley? Two men were going up to that farmhouse, and when they were midway up the hill they thought they'd like to get themselves some water from the old pump which was placed in the hillside by the vestry many years ago. So they went to the pump and began to pump for all they were worth. After they had been pumping with might and main for about twenty minutes or so, they had managed to get only about two pints of water—just two pints as a result of all their labor. When they got to the farmhouse, therefore, one of them said to the farmer:

"I say, Jones, there's something wrong with that confounded pump."

"Wrong with the pump? Why, what is it?" asked the farmer.

"Well, we don't just know what it is, but something is wrong—something must be wrong. Why, man alive, it took us twenty minutes to get two pints of water from the rusty old thing; it needs repairing."

"The old farmer just laughed at them. 'Is that all, my boys? Is that all? The pump is all right, only you don't understand it—that is all. You didn't know that I had a secret pipe laid on to that pump, and that for every pint you were pumping for yourselves you were pumping a gallon into the tank in our barnyard!'"

Of course the farmer would say there was nothing wrong with a pump of that kind, and if I lived upon the top of the hill I should be prepared to swear by bell and candlestick and by all the saints in the calendar that that pump was all right; and if you lived there you would give that pump a certificate of good character without hesitation. But it is different, if, instead of being the farmer on the top, you are the man down in the hillside toiling at the handle. So when we hear people say that things to-day are all right; when we hear them condemn the "big, fat, burly and overpaid agitator" for stirring up discontent, we may be quite sure that they live somewhere in comfortable proximity to the tank on the top of the industrial hill, and that if they had to toil as we toil and to bear the burdens we bear, they would not be so ready to chant the praises of "sweet content."

Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not think it will be necessary for me to tax your imaginations to show that there exists a very strong likeness between that ingenious pump and our present industrial system. Imagine, if you will for a moment, that all the great agencies of wealth production may be likened to a great pump. At the pump handle, toiling with might and main, are the great masses of the world's workers. They are toiling day in, day out, year in and year out, at a terrible cost to themselves. I do not know whether it has ever occurred to you, but it is a fact that for our much vaunted "greatness" and prosperity," we, the workers, pay a terrible price—a price that cannot be set down in terms of dollars and cents. No combination of figures, and no words in the whole of the human vocabulary can convey an adequate idea of its magnitude. If you could gather into a great ocean of waters all the tears of the widows and orphans who are made widows and orphans because on our railways, in our mines, our factories and our quarries it does not

"pay" to protect the life and limb of the worker; if you could gather into a great volume of sound all the cries of the babes that are motherless, and the mothers that are childless because it does not "pay" the landlord under our reign of ghoulish greed to provide proper and adequate sanitary arrangements in the tenements—those crowded "warrens of the poor"—that are his; if you could only see in one great throng all the little child lives that go out each year upon the great ocean of death, because, in the richest cities of the world, there is no means of subsistence for them; and if you could see in one great army all the crippled and maimed of our great industrial centers who are crippled and maimed because it does not "pay" to provide protection for the life and limb of the worker in a world that is based upon profit and greed; with all that hideous phantasmagoria, and all that anguish, impressed upon your minds, you would only be beginning to conceive the terrible price which we are paying for our fancied "greatness." And when we have so labored and sacrificed at the industrial pump, where do the results go? Out of our own sad life experience the answer is borne to us: "Into the tanks of those who live upon the top of the hill." A few cosmopolitan capitalists, a mere handful of men like Carnegie, Morgan, Rockefeller, Yerkes and others have built upon the unpaid labor of the proletariat a despotism greater than the tyrannies of old. They exercise to-day a greater power than any despotic Emperor or Czar the world has ever seen.

When we look at the question fairly is it readily apparent that there are, after all, only three means of living known to men—by the charity of others, by your own labor, or by stealing. All the experience of the ages does not reveal another means whereby men can live. If, however, we turn to the great wealth-holders of to-day and ask, "Whence this wealth—did you by your labor create these vast possessions?" there comes only an answering cry of derision. It remains, then, only to decide whether they hold that wealth and its resultant power through charity or theft, and we, the producers, who alone have a right to bestow it, know full well that it is not by charity. They do not come

and beg us to give them of our substance, but on the contrary, when by our labor we have produced so much wealth, they take the lot and very kindly give us back just enough to enable us to live and continue working upon the same terms. Perhaps you will say that it is not quite just to them; that they "give" us libraries, hospitals, art galleries, colleges and so on, all of which is quite true. As Victor Hugo once said, "the idlers will do anything for the workers except get off their backs." Such gifts, resting as they do finally upon the physical, mental and moral degradation of our fellows are demoralizing to our manhood. Moreover, did we get bare justice, which is all we crave, there would neither be any need of charity nor any to bestow it. Mind, I do not attack any individual: that were indeed a useless thing to do. If Mr. Rockefeller, for example, were to give up all his holdings in the great industrial concerns in which he is interested and were to become poor, that would not avail; others would take his place. Again, there is the absurdity of attempting to solve the social problem through the individual! So we go further back and begin at the beginning; we seek to change the conditions which do, and must, overpower the individual. And, let it not be forgotten, that it is just as wrong to submit calmly to robbery as to rob, and the continuance of this robbery of labor depends upon our own class. When we will it so, it will be ended.

It is manifest that society based upon production for profit, which is but another form of saying the exploitation of labor, is fundamentally wrong. We say that the whole of our institutions are founded on that wrong, and that the whole fabric of our so-called "civilization" is immoral from its center to its circumference. I say "so-called civilization" because the word is a monstrous misnomer. "Brutalization" is the word which best describes the anarchical conditions which everywhere confront us. How can the ceaseless striving of a robber class and its victims be called "civilization"? And this robbery of which we complain is not merely a question of dollars and dimes; it is not the *amount* of the robbery so much as its *effect*. It divides men into two hostile classes, for it is true,

as a great Englishman once said, "There are in the world to-day two great classes, the idlers and the workers; and the workers are not really a class at all, they are the world itself, while the idlers are its parasites." Here is the terrible fact: that far transcending in importance and potency all other divisions, whether of race or color or creed, is this great economic dividing line. When we socialists appeal to the class interests of the workers; when we urge the necessity of class-conscious political action, we are accused of creating a class war. But that is absurd. We do not create the class war—it exists as a result of our economic methods. We simply call attention to the fact of its existence and urge the necessity of dealing with it. We abhor the class system and its evils and say it must be abolished. But how? that is the question. In order that the class war may be abolished its existence must be recognized. We emphasize it, therefore, and call upon our fellows to join us, because we know that in this strife there are no neutrals: in this especially is it true that "he who is not for us is against us." Further, we do not say to them "let us defeat the ruling class that we may rule them as they have ruled us!" No, it is not a cry of vengeance or of envy: on the contrary, we say "let us destroy the power of the ruling class so that henceforth there may be no classes but a unified people which is far better.

We shall all agree, I suppose, that whatever tends to divide men and to create strife and fratricide is wrong; and that, on the other hand, whatever tends to unite men in bonds of co-operation and mutual service is right, quite irrespective of religious dogma. By that agreement capitalism is condemned and socialism establishes a claim upon your lives! But it is not merely a question of men being divided into *opposing* camps; there is something far worse than that. The division divides not only into warring classes, but it divides into a MASTER class on the one hand and a SLAVE class on the other. In England workers sing "Britons never, never shall be Slaves" and point to the Union Jack with glowing enthusiasm as the "Flag of the free," and in America the workers sing of their "Sweet land of Liberty" and point with pride to Bar-

tholdi's statue of the Goddess of Liberty in New York harbor as a pledge of freedom to every child born in the republic, and to every alien that seeks a home within its shores. Every Fourth of July they rave of their "glorious independence," just for all the world as if it were true instead of being a colossal lie. Never was there in the world at any time in its history a people less independent, and more entirely dependent upon the will of a ruling class, than are the great bulk of the people of these two nations. And what is true of these countries is true of all the great commercial nations of the world. The liberty of the Englishman or the American amounts to the same as the liberty of the German, the Russian or the Spaniard—to work for such wages and under such conditions as the master class may determine, or starve. The much vaunted "Liberty" of the workers is, after all, only as Shelley sings:

"To work and have such pay
As just keeps life from day to day.
In your limbs as in a cell
For the tyrants' use to dwell.

* * *

'Tis to let the Ghost of Gold
Take from toil a thousandfold
More than e'er its substance could
In the tyrannies of old.

* * *

This is slavery,—savage men
Or wild beasts within a den
Would endure not as ye do—
But such ills they never knew."

* * *

There are two means of enslaving men: either you may, by purchase or by conquest, acquire the ownership of the people themselves—this is one way—or

you may own the means whereby they must live. If you own all the means of a man's life, nay, further, if you own anything that he cannot live without, you are his master and he is your slave as truly as if you owned him by right of purchase or of conquest. Shakespeare, the great God-bard realized that when he said:

"You take my house, when you do take the prop
That does sustain my house; you take my life,
When you take the means whereby I live."

If we apply that test to our economic system and ask ourselves whether we own all the means of life, or whether some indispensable things are not withheld from us, no amount of sophistry can hide the fact that the great bulk of the means of the common life are in the hands of a few people, and that we are dependent upon them for life itself. Thomas Carlyle, whose dyspepsia was responsible for many foolish sayings, said also some profoundly wise things. His description of the difference between the wage-worker and the chattel-slave ought to be graven on the tablets of the memory of every workingman and every working-woman. The difference between the white wage-worker and the negro slave, he said, consists principally in the fact that the negro slave was bought for a lifetime for so many hundreds of dollars, whilst the wage-worker is bought for so many cents an hour or so many dollars a week, as the case may be. That is the chief difference. Another thing is that we don't give them the trouble to offer us by auction nowadays, but instead we go and offer ourselves for sale, saying "please buy us at so much an hour or so much a week," for that is what it amounts to when one man has to beg from some other man the right to work. We sell ourselves on the instalment plan—and heaven knows the price is small! Under the old-time slave system the master who had a couple of thousand dollars invested in a slave, would naturally look after the health of the slave, since he would lose if the slave died or was ill. But there is no money invested in the wage-slave and the employer has not that interest in his well-being. If a worker is killed or maimed, what of it? The employer loses nothing and there are plenty

waiting to step into his place. Our position, then, leads us to condemn as wrong and immoral the whole fabric of society.

But it is not enough to formulate theories of destructive criticism: this is the age of the "affirmative intellect" and men are seeking for a positive ethical standard. We say that Unity must replace Strife before we can be even approximately civilized, and that can only be brought about by changing the very fundamental basis of our social relationships. We believe that the vitalizing force of an ethical impulse was never so much needed as now, and we have no sympathy with those who declare that ethical standards are good for old ladies and children alone. The very word Socialism indicates that we found our theories upon a profound belief in, and recognition of, social interests and obligations centered in those interests. Whatever advances the interests of society is right: whatever militates against those interests is wrong. We bring ethics back from the clouds of mythology to the world of men. Morals being purely secular in origin and purpose should be kept free from all contact with religion. A thing is right or wrong not by reason of the declaration of one God or many Gods, or the prophets of Gods, but by reason of its social effect. As Socialists, therefore, we do not ask ourselves what Moses or Christ, Buddha or Confucius, Madame Blavatsky or Mrs. Eddy, John Wesley or the Pope would say, but simply this: "How will it affect the working class to which we belong?" Just as the injustice that is done to labor is the measure of the wrong of our present conditions, justice to labor must be the standard by which alone it can be righted. In the light of the right of labor to the whole of its product, the world must be re-created. But, it may be argued "class interests" and "social interests" are not identical: how, then, can the interest of society as a whole be gauged by the interest of the working class? That is a perfectly fair question which we by no means wish to evade. Taking the position—the only logical position, it seems to me—that the interests of labor are fundamentally opposed to those of the exploiting class, and that between them, in the very na-

ture of things there can be no reconciliation, we do not attempt the impossible. Instead of that we say that all interests which conflict with ours, must, somehow or other, be eliminated. No matter how painful an operation that may be, it must be performed as a measure of self preservation and protection. If a man suffers from cancer and calls a surgeon, the surgeon does not talk about the identity of interest of the cancer with that of the man's body. He doesn't try to find something that will help both at once. He well knows that such a thing would be ridiculous, and that if the cancer is not overcome, it will overcome the body. Therefore he tries to eliminate the cancer. Capitalism is the cancerous growth in the social organism that must be eliminated in the interests of the organism as a whole. Thus the interest of the producing class becomes the standard of ethical judgment. Nor is this a principle foreign to the science of ethics. In all ages it has been theoretically admitted at any rate. And, after all, is it not everywhere clearly apparent that the interest of its useful and necessary members is the true interest of any body? In the hive it is always the bees' interests that are considered and not those of the drones. With the sum total of its experience for its bible, and its own well-understood interests for its moral standard the awakened proletariat will build a new earth in which vice and misery shall find no place, and in which the moral Sahara of to-day shall be a moral Eden where the sweet spirit of Comradeship shall blossom forth like the fabled rose of unfading beauty.

How then does this great economic question, which we have seen to be also a moral question, become again transformed into a political question? There are many people who will agree with us so far as we have already gone, but will part company with us right here. Yet, this is the crucial point, and their agreement with us is of no value if they fail us here. If you agree that the present economic system rests upon the enslavement and robbery of labor, it becomes your duty to do whatever lies in your power to alter it. Even a superficial examination will show that the exploiting class finds its greatest strength in its control

of the legislative and governmental forces: it dominates the halls of legislature and the offices of administration; the courts of "Justice" are subordinated to its interests. If we desire some measure of protective legislation we must beg the hirelings of the enemy for it. Generally, when we ask capitalist legislators for bread they give us a stone; or if, perchance, they give us bread, other hirelings of the enemy in the "courts of Justice" will declare it to be "unconstitutional!" If we beg we are scorned and derided; if we strike we are shot down by their troops or bludgeoned by their police! Thus, by their possession and control of the forces of government, the exploiters are enabled to defend the infamy of their rule, and to crush any revolt against it. We find, moreover, that this is true no matter what the political badge of the individual exploiter may be. Scratch the politician, and, whether he be Democrat or Republican, you will be sure to find the capitalist. To paraphrase some words of Herbert Spencer, we insist that there is no political alchemy which can change an industrial enemy into a political friend. Whenever I read in the papers of the passing of laws that are injurious to labor; of injunctions granted against labor organizations, or of the shooting down of strikers, I refuse to join in the cry of "Shame!" that goes up from angry throats all over the land. "Shame" indeed there is, but it is our own. It is we ourselves who should hide our faces, for it is our own power that is behind the legislator, the judge and the policeman. The child that takes to school a rod to be used over its own shoulders, is made the butt of its companions' ridicule. Yet, its folly is but a grain of sand to a mountain, compared with that of the worker who votes for a capitalist politician of any stripe!

There is, in the political world, an element that needs to be considered apart from the ordinary political parties. With the word "Reform" for its watchword, it seeks our support upon the ground of "practicality". These "Reformers" promise "something here and now," and urge our acceptance of the half loaf which is proverbially better than no bread. When we examine closely the pretensions of these people

we shall find that they have emasculated the word which they call themselves by, till it is no longer recognizable. They do not mean when they call themselves "Reformers" that they believe in re-forming, or making anew, but rather in patching up the old. Is there any use in this sort of thing? Why, if we are convinced of the fundamental wrong, should we seek anything short of its removal? As a well-known French dramatist has said, when we realize that the conditions of life and labor of the poor—long hours, excessive toil, poor food, insanitary workshops and homes, are responsible for the ravages of tuberculosis, there is no wisdom, but folly, in concentrating our energies on putting up signs warning people not to spit on the floor! Realizing our right to the whole of the world's wealth, and the cause of our non-possession of an adequate supply of the means of life, why should we concentrate our efforts upon getting an old-age pension of a dollar and a quarter a week for all workers over sixty-five years of age—an age which comparatively few workers attain—instead of dealing with the basic wrong? That is not the way of "practical" men. When men invite us to "begin the solution" of the social problem, by municipalizing telephones, we decline on the ground that *we* are practical men. A doctor who prescribed worm powder for consumption, or court-plaster for cancer, would be quite as wise and as "practical" as most of our so-called "Reformers." No, we want what William Morris calls "a world new-built," not a patching and stitching of the old.

And that brings me to my last point. We urge the importance of the political struggle, not alone by reason of the necessity—the imperative necessity—of taking away the weapons from the enemy with which they do us most harm. Important as that is, there is another reason, which is, perhaps, even more important. We believe that whether we will or no we shall have to face, perhaps at no far distant date, not the mere possibility, but the actual imminence of some comprehensive change. The crisis itself is inevitable, but the result will depend upon our preparedness or unpreparedness to meet and cope with it. We do not say that the common ownership of the means of

life to be used in the common interest cannot be brought about except as a result of a political propaganda. We know that there is at least one other way possible. Goaded to desperation, men may rise in armed rebellion, and so accomplish the overthrow of the evils of which we complain. Force may prove to be as Marx has it, "the midwife of Progress," and out of the travail of bloody and ruinous rebellion may come Liberty and Comradship; but there is the danger that, as our friend, Hyndman, has said, force may prove to be "the deadly abortionist, strangling the new society in the womb of the old;" that, in destroying the bad, we destroy the very things we desire to preserve. "Take heed lest ye pull up the wheat with the tares," is a warning fraught with great and terrible importance. You remember those lines of Longfellow:

"There is a poor blind Sampson in this land,
Shorn of his strength, and bound in bonds of steel;
Who may, in some grim revel, raise his hand
And smite the pillars of our commonweal;
Till the vast temple of our liberties,
A shapeless mass of wreck and ruin lies."

The "blind Sampson" then was the negro slave; the "blind Sampson" of to-day is the wage-slave bound in bonds, not of steel, but of ignorance, and the danger is that by rising in rage he destroys himself.

And, apart from the dangers of depending upon violent uprisings to bring about a better condition of affairs, we urge that it is too terrible a thing if there are any other methods open to us. Force is always justifiable as a last resource, but not otherwise. At present we possess constitutional means whereby we can do all that is needed, and we Socialists urge that these should be used. We say, therefore, let us unite to bring about by well-considered political action, the social ownership and control of all the agencies of wealth production, distribution and exchange, believing that by that means we can best attain to that life of co-operation and liberty which we desire. Not the hybrid independent political action which sends a so-called "labor leader" to support a party that is

financed, officered and controlled by capitalists; but the straightforward, class-conscious, political organization of the workers consciously aiming at the elimination of the capitalist, and the right of labor to all that it produces, must be understood by our use of the term "independent political action." The common ownership and control of the common product of social labor, and all natural resources, must be the objective of every vote. Then, and not till then, shall we be true to ourselves and to each other. Do you say "It is a great task: too great to be accomplished?" Yes, truly it is a mighty undertaking: its magnitude is only equalled by its beauty. But there is no task too great—there can be no task too great, for the makers of the world and its history to accomplish. In the political vocabulary of an enlightened proletariat the word "impossible" finds no place. Once let it decide, upon the establishment of a commonwealth and nothing can prevent it. In the words of William Morris again: " . . . There are three words to speak: WE WILL IT, and what is the foeman but the dream-strong wakened and weak?"

Shall we not "Will it"—that wonderful time a-com-
ing, "when all shall be better than well?" Shall we
not "Will it"—the end of this ghoulish Mammon-
reign? Surely the answer is Yes! Then let us up and
be doing! Let us translate conviction into action.

"Rise like lions after slumber,
In unvanquishable number—
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you—
Ye are many—they are few!"

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THAT
BLESSED WORD
"REGULATION"

... By ...

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

Author of "The Greatest Trust of All," "Soldiers of the
Common Good," etc.

*Reprinted from Wilshire's Magazine,
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THAT BLESSED WORD "REGULATION"

"**B**UT you Americans that are so clever and so smart, and have done so much, why do you endure such things in your country? We should not endure them in ours. Why don't you put an end to your Trust domination and huge swindles and gigantic robberies?"

Many a foreigner has asked me some such question, and as many times I have been obliged to admit that I knew of no answer and had never heard of anybody that knew anybody that knew of one. The strangest thing, the weirdest thing, the thing that most fills you with amazement and perplexity as you go around the world, is to see all other civilized nations striding swiftly towards a cure for the evils of modern conditions, while we cling desperately to the old ways and the old idols that the rest of mankind is scornfully flinging upon the junk-heap of forgotten things. It is absolutely true. You cannot name a nation in the civilized circuit that has not been confronted with such social diseases as plague us and is not ending them by attacking their origin and cause, while we continue to fiddle-faddle and dose the symptoms.

I can give you concrete illustrations, if you wish. Within the last few years, and apparently much against our will, we have awakened to the fact that the heart of the problem that besets modern nations is the question of transportation, and we begin to perceive the tremendous power that goes with the control of a country's transportation system. Foreign nations learned all about this years ago, and solved the whole difficulty and ended that phase of their troubles by making the highways instruments of the public welfare instead of aids to private greed. That, of course, might be well enough for the stupid Japanese and the thoughtless Germans and other unsuccessful and backward people, but it would not do for us. Regulation was what we wanted, not national ownership; the thieves must keep the railroads, but they must be regulated thieves, nice thieves, sweet, orderly thieves. "Government ownership of railroads? That is the greatest calamity that ever befell a nation," said the sacred President, and we all felt that he must be right. So we began to agitate for symptomatic regulation; that was the thing for us. The President sprang into the center of the arena and shrieked aloud for regulation, and the entourage of the press loyally took up the cry. "Above all, the highways of the nation must be kept open to all upon equal terms!" declared the President. So in Congress was brought in a bill to keep them open. It took two years to pass that bill, but at last we got it through,

and then we sat down with glad, proud smiles, and wiped our brows, and congratulated one another that we had vindicated the American principle of "regulation" and shown that we in this country know how to deal with monopoly without resorting to government ownership or interfering with the ancient and sacred right to gouge.

And now after all that gigantic struggle and all that eloquence and self-satisfaction, we discover that the whole measure is not worth the paper it is printed upon, that it is absolutely ineffectual, that it will not keep the highways of the nation open to all upon equal or other terms, that it will not remedy one of the abuses under which we have groaned so long, that it will not cure anything, help anything, nor change anything, and that the chief monopoly at which it was aimed, or we thought it was aimed, in reality drew up that very measure and from it will derive untold benefits.

Suppose that some other nation had made a similar hash of its affairs, what fun we should have now, to be sure. One of those low, inferior Latin countries, for instance. How we should jibe and jeer, and how our cartoonists would picture the alien incompetence, and our paragraphers jest about it! Our newspapers would prove again and incontestibly the vast superiority of the Anglo-Saxon intellect, and our editorial writers bubble over with wisdom and good advice, and then tell the unfortunate foreigners that the advice was quite wasted

because they did not know anything about government anyway, and could not learn. Ah, yes; it would have been a sweet time for us if only somebody else had made this ridiculous fiasco. But it was not somebody else; the thing was done by us of America. And few nations, I suppose, have ever cut a more absurd figure, with preparations so vast and noisy and performance so futile and infinitesimal. We went out with thirteen-inch guns; we returned without even killing a mule.

Yes, "regulation" is the thing for us. Observe how beautifully it works. For years we are told by persons that ought to know that a great part of our meat supply (controlled by a private monopoly for private greed) is prepared in unsanitary ways and is unfit and even dangerous for food. That is asserted so often that the foremost medical journal of Europe is moved to send over here and investigate the condition of our packing houses. It finds them to be unutterably bad and warns the world not to eat our meats. The warning is repeated from many sources until at last Mr. Sinclair writes a novel with descriptions of packing house conditions so vivid and convincing that the nation awakes in alarm and demands radical and sweeping improvement. Now, in Europe, where they prefer not to be inoculated with actinomychosis from lumpy jaw cattle, consumption from tubercular cows, and trichinae and typhoid fever from diseased hogs, they have abolished all these dangers by making slaughter houses govern-

ment institutions under government management and medical direction. None of that for us; what we want is regulation, symptomatic regulation. So we bring in a bill to regulate the packing houses, and the corporations that we so wisely establish and sedulously maintain to be our masters, they cut the heart out of the measure, and when it is passed we discover that this also will not regulate anything, cure anything, help anything nor change anything. Under it the same old swindle will go on in the same old way, the lumpy-jaw cattle will disappear in the same old mysterious manner, the tubercular cows will go the old route to the cannery, the diseased hogs will still find the path to our tables. But what of that? Let us be of good cheer. We have been loyal to our American methods, we have adhered to blessed regulation, we have dosed the symptoms. Let other nations remove the causes of disease if they will. As for us, it is better to have disease than to interfere with the sacred rights of a burglar to ply his trade.

Or take another illustration; take the insurance scandal. Ah, the wave of reform that swept over us from the wholesome revelations of that probe! It makes us feel good yet to remember how shocked and horrified we were at that awful story, and how firmly we resolved that there should be no more of such doings. We had reason to be shocked, for around the world the American name, American prestige and American credit have never received a blow so deadly.

This generation will not see our recovery from that huge disaster. There is hardly a branch of American trade abroad that has not felt it, and there were times and places when some courage was required for a man to acknowledge himself an American, so great was the world's scorn. Now, in a country like New Zealand no such scandal nor any part of it would be possible, because the government, recognizing the immense importance of insurance safety, has largely taken insurance out of the hands of private greed and has operated it for public need. In New Zealand the government does both life and fire insurance. None of that for us. We had rather be robbed and swindled, we had rather have the insurance reserves become the football of carousing millionaires or the corruption fund of corporations. What we wanted for our insurance troubles was regulation, symptomatic regulation. So we promised ourselves many kinds of regulation and reforms and this and that, and laws that would make the thieves be good. And now that the moral spasm is over, if you will merely take the trouble to glance over a list of the officers and directors of our great insurance companies you will see the net results of all this upheaval and how surely we have provided that the same old tricks shall go on as before, and how neatly the control of all this vast power and all these millions of the people has been kept in the hands that have had it heretofore. Humbugged, that was all,—just as with the railroad

rate bill and the meat inspection bill and all the rest of it.

But no matter how often it fails and covers us with confusion, and no matter how steadily we go from bad to worse in this our country, let no man talk to us of any other policy but our precious "regulation." Do our gas companies garrote us and charge us \$1 for gas that is worth 25 cents? Regulate them; that is the thing. All other countries may do away with the garroters; we must continue to cling to them as to our brothers. In England, city after city has abolished private gas supply, and turning to public ownership has secured better gas than we have, at from one-fourth to one-half the prices we pay. That is well enough for effete England; it will not do for us. If we had public ownership, what should become of the thieves?

Do our street railroad companies swindle us with watered stock and extortionate fares, while they steal franchises, seize the public streets, corrupt aldermen, and furnish the means by which our politics are made notoriously rotten? Never mind; that is the American system. All the cities of Europe, Australia, New Zealand, even Asia, may abolish these evils, and substituting public interest for private greed, secure better transportation at cheaper cost. None of that for us. For us, give us regulation—and theft.

Is it not strange? We can see without taking the slightest interest or drawing lessons, city after city in England, Scot-

land, Germany, France, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, India, that is now turning into the public treasury, to be used for the public good, profits from public utilities that formerly went to swell the hoards of a few fortunate individuals; and we do not care. Here are street-car services, gas-works, electric light works, telephones, telegraphs, railroads, mines, slaughter-houses, oil-wells, insurance enterprises, all around the world, wherever men think and observe the trend of evolution, passing from private to public control. Here is nation after nation recognizing the fact that the private ownership of public utilities means nothing in the world but extortion, robbery, bad and costly service, and the creation of a power stronger than the state. Here is Italy in one year converting a very bad private into a good public railroad system. Here is Japan in the same year, after long and exhaustive study of all the systems of the world, nationalizing her railroads. Here is the obvious and admitted situation, that our own railroad companies dominate Congress, control the legislatures, choose public officers, violate laws, evade taxes, corrupt public life and by means of fraudulent stock issues and excessive charges, practice highway robbery. But, resolutely we shut our eyes to all these matters and plunge along the old road. We can see with indifference the magnificent results of publicly-owned enterprises in London, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Liverpool, Cologne,

Coblentz, Munich, Vienna, Zurich, Bern, Sydney, Wellington, and even when we compare the efficient street railroad systems, let us say, in these cities with such indescribable horrors as the street railroads of Chicago and Brooklyn, we do not care; it is nothing to us. In London, Manchester, Birmingham, Sydney, and the rest of it, the people are not robbed, and what we want is to be robbed. We care not who robs us, so long as the job is well done. We learn without concern that our telephone and telegraph rates are monstrous, that we pay more for our light than any other people in the world, that our express system is merely a device to cover the most vulgar fraud, that on a basis of reasonable profit on actual investment all our railroad rates could be reduced more than one-half. We learn that refrigerator cars and coal companies and terminal railroads and switching charges merely disguise huge swindles that in any other country would land their perpetrators in jail. We learn that the results of all these conditions are slums and poverty on one hand and monstrous and useless fortunes on the other; and for all this we care not. What interests us is that we are piling up those great family fortunes of which we are so proud, and we think with satisfaction that Europe has no man getting rich from the sale of cancer germs and no Rockefeller extorting a billion-dollar fortune from public tribute. True, some of the conditions in our happy land do seem at times sus-

ceptible of improvement. It is, of course, undeniable from the census reports that we are ceasing to be a nation of land owners and becoming a nation of land renters. It appears further that while these glorious fortunes are being piled up by the happy few, the rest of us are becoming dependant. But the man that proposes to cure these things, instead of fooling with them, is a vile Socialist, and ought to be imprisoned; and as for us we heed him not.

It is strange, but it is perfectly true. Let all the rest of the world move towards honesty and decency and the public welfare if it will; as for us, give us robbery, or give us death. Mr. Bryan comes home from a trip around the world, deeply impressed, as every man must be that makes that journey, with the immense superiority of a system in which public utilities are conducted for the public benefit. It seems to him, as it must seem to every man that goes about the world, that the whole trend of the progress of the race is towards the substituting of public welfare for private greed. And at the first mention of what has impressed him as it would impress anybody else, being a fact as certain as addition, half of his following falls away with horror, and he is informed that he should have kept his impressions to himself. You can explain it in any way you please, but here is the fact that the rest of the world is finding public ownership a potent remedy for the evils that beset us, and when a man goes abroad and

returns to tell of such developments, he is denounced as an anarchist. You can hear for the Trust evil and the private car evil and the railroad monopolies all kinds of remedies advocated except the only remedy in this world that would do the slightest good. You can hear men denouncing railroad rebates, for instance, and talking about this measure or that as the means to stop them, when you can no more have privately owned railroads without rebates than you can have a railroad without rails. Such a thing does not exist anywhere on this earth as the private ownership of railroads without rebates, and you cannot have rebates without monopolies, gouging, unfair advantage and the accumulating of abnormal fortunes at public expense. In England, where they still have railroad corporations like ours, and where law enforcement is generally much more strict than with us, every kind of a measure has been tried that ingenuity can suggest, and the rebates go on unimpeded. The mind of man cannot devise a law that will stop rebates so long as railroads are owned and operated for private gain.

As to why we continue to lag in this matter at the far end of the world's procession, why we cling to ways and methods regarded elsewhere as obsolete, why all the experience of all other men seems to mean nothing to us, I cannot pretend to say. But one thing every man knows that has been in the Orient. Let us continue for only a few years longer to keep the good old way, and Japan, with her

government railroads, her government steamers, her government-made transportation rates, her government factories and her government trading, will make a ghost of our commerce on the Pacific. That is as certain as the shining of the sun. We have seen or might have seen if we had cared to look, how Germany, with only a part of the equipment and advantages in these respects of Japan, is gathering to herself the trade of South America. In the same way, but with greater resources and more government ownership, Japan is crushing our Pacific interests. We are a trading nation; the only thing that appeals to us, we are told, is trade and business. Well, then, here is something for traders to consider. Do we want to keep up or do we want to go under? If it is keep up, then there is not a trust nor corporation nor combination in all our blessed list that has a show of any kind against the government enterprises of Japan, for the simple reason that Japan has her railroads, her transportation facilities, and she is conducting her enterprises for the general welfare of Japan and not for the aggrandizement of any family. In these days nations cannot neglect and scorn the trend of the world's development without getting hurt. If we are determined to keep to the rear, well and good; but when we discover our position we ought not to complain about it, for it will be our own fault. And another thing. If we find then that this old man of the sea is too strong upon

us to be thrown off, that again will be our own doing, for we placed him and kept him upon our necks. A power that now is strong enough to choose our public officers, dictate public policies, control legislation, pack conventions, select party candidates and corrupt every legislative body it desires to corrupt, from the town council of Shohokus to the Congress of the United States, would seem to be a good power to suppress in its early stages. When we stop to think of what it has already shown itself able to do, the idea of opposing such a power by making "regulations" seems to be a good subject for humor, but without value for adults.



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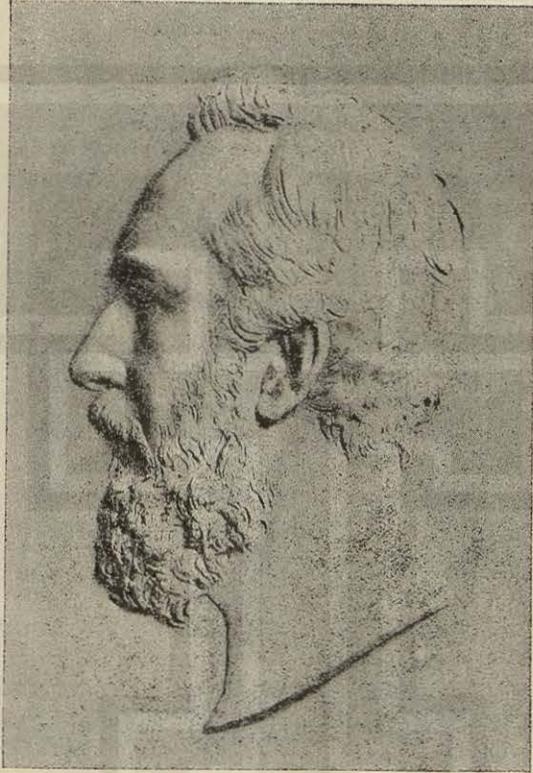
BY
DR. ERNST HAECKEL,
PROF. UNIVERSITY OF JENA,
GERMANY.

*Substantially adopted by the Universal Freethought Congresses of
Europe and North America, at Rome and St. Louis, 1904.*

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN INTO THE ENGLISH (TRANSLATION
AUTHORIZED AND APPROVED BY PROF. HAECKEL) AND
SUPPLIED WITH A GLOSSARY

BY
DR. F. W. DODEL, Milwaukee, Wis.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.
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1907



ERNST HAECKEL

was born in Germany on February 16, 1834; he is the most reputed living follower of Darwin and a scientist of the highest order and of eminent philosophic capacity. A professor at the State University of Jena (Germany), he is also President of the European International Freethinkers' Alliance. Every scientist of any importance and of sufficient courage to tell the truth everywhere agrees with him on the Science of Evolution. Even theologians and clergymen cannot help assenting to Theoretical Monism, but unfortunately voice this assent in public with the greatest reluctance.

PREFACE OF TRANSLATOR.

The "*International Congress of Progressive Thought*" of St. Louis, Mo. convened in 1904 at the invitation of the United Freethought Congregations of that city during the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. The Anglo-American Freethought organizations, embracing the "*American Secular Union*" and the "*Freethought Federation*", adopted the "*Theses of Monism*" proposed by Prof. ERNST HAECKEL without opposition, and the German-American *Alliance of Freethought Congregations and Freethinkers Associations of North America* fundamentally agreed upon the same principles. The "*Theses of Monism*" form a safe base to stand upon for every Freethinker, Agnostic, Ethist, etc. They are scientifically irrefutable, genetically sound and logically conclusive. Though not binding in details they form a framework of ultimate truths, unbreakable, unshakable and firm like bedrock.

This second translation into English has been undertaken with a view to eliminate some clerical and typographical errors in the first translation.

The *Glossary* has been added by the translator for the benefit of those readers who may not be versed in the multitudinous fields of scientific research.

Haeckel's Theses are monumental in many respects because they embody in themselves the systematized fundamental scientific truths and altruistic postulates of the Modern or Scientific Conception of the Universe (*Weltanschauung*) in a limited number of pregnant and concise logical statements, the like of which have not been presented to the civilized world since the days of Luther, Copernicus and Newton.

Milwaukee, Wis., January 1907.

DR. F. W. DODEL.

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INTRODUCTION.

The *International Freethought Congress* convening at Rome (Italy) from the 20th to the 22nd day of September (1904) presented a timely opportunity for a general exchange of ideas of all those refined persons who intend to found our "Weltanschauung" (conception of the world) entirely upon *scientific truth*, and upon this alone to regulate the conduct of life and the demands of civilization. About one month thereafter, in the latter half of October, there will take place in St. Louis, in connection with the Louisiana Purchase Exposition held in that city, an "International Congress for Progressive Thought" conducted under the auspices of the "Alliance of Freethought Congregations and Freethinkers' Societies of North America." This International Congress of St. Louis has identical programs and aims with the International Freethinkers' Congress at Rome.

I regret not to be able to attend either of these two important congresses. But upon requests from many quarters to present in writing at least some essay to the transactions of this congress I propose to condense in the following paragraphs all those basic principles which in my opinion I deem deserving of acceptance and propagation before all others.

Of the thirty theses herein formulated twenty bear reference to Theoretical and ten to Practical Monism; the latter ones are intended merely to elicit general suggestions according to their subjective interpretations. But the former, viz. the objectively accepted and established truths of modern Science, I consider to be a firm foundation of the Monistic Conception of the World (Monistische Weltanschauung).

[Jena, 1904.]

Scientific Truth—As distinguished from the popular, untested, "Bible"-Truth, a statement of tested facts provable by either sense experience or strict logical reasoning or other indubitable evidence.

Conception of the World (Weltanschauung)—The manifold relations of an individual to the world, life, creed, etc., systematized, united and expressed by an attribute like: Mosaic; Ptolemaic; Christian; Buddhistic, etc.

Alliance of Freethought Congregations and Freethinkers Associations of the United States—was founded by the German-American organizations of the United States in 1898.

Theses of Monism.

I. THEORETICAL MONISM.

(*A True Conception of the World (Weltanschauung) Based Purely on Experience, Reason and Science.*)

1. THE MONISTIC PHILOSOPHY. The natural *Monistic World-Conception* has its firm foundation exclusively in scientifically established truths, acquired by the human intellect through critical (verifiable) *experience*, a posteriori.

2. EXPERIENCE (Empiricism). True *Science* arrives at these empiric (experimental) apperceptions partly by sense-observations in the external world, partly by conscious ratiocination in our internal mentality. The organs used for the acquisition of the former are *those of our Senses* and the *Motor-Areas and Sensory Centers of our Cerebral Hemispheres*. Between them, in constant reciprocal interrelation with them, are situated the *Regions of Ratiocination*, the real organs of Reason, or *Phronema*.

1. MONISTIC—That which teaches the uniformity of the cosmic or natural laws and the unity of matter and force, god and world, etc., in contradistinction from *dualistic*, meaning a doctrine that accepts two separate parts or elements as: God and Nature; Body and Soul; Matter and Force; Good and Evil, etc.

A POSTERIORI—A conclusion drawn from many experiences for the purpose of formulating or expressing underlying laws.

2. RATIOCINATION—Process of reasoning, thinking, attention, imagination, will, etc.

MOTOR-AREAS—Areas in the gray surface substance of the brain from where conscious movements are inaugurated and controlled in the organs of the body.

SENSORY CENTERS OR AREAS—Those areas of the gray substance of the brain where sensations are recorded first.

3. REVELATION. In opposition to this monistic theory of apperception the prevailing (traditional) dualistic world-conception affirms that the most important and profoundest apperceptions cannot be established through sense-experience but are gained through *Supernatural or Divine Revelation*. All such claims are based either upon confused or uncritical *Dogmas*, or upon *Intentional Deception*, ("Pious Fraud").

4. A PRIORISM. Alike untenable and contrary to experience is the assertion of the Metaphysics of Kant that part of our most important knowledge be obtained *a priori*, i. e. independently of experience, through reasoning alone. Actually all the so-called "apperceptions a priori" have originated through the *Association of Concepts* that were formed from a chain of experiences *a posteriori*.

5. THE UNITY OF THE COSMOS (Cosmic Monism). The whole world has been recognized by science as a great dynamic unit, a *Cosmos* governed by fast, unchangable natural laws. This cosmos encompasses Infinite Space together with both the Cosmic Bodies revolving therein according to the eternal laws (Solar Systems) and the Organisms inhabiting their planets; in short: the *Totality of Nature*.

6. THE DUALISTIC WORLD-CONCEPTION (Cosmologic Dualism.) In contradiction hereto the Science of to-day cannot acquiesce to the hitherto prevailing contra-distinction of two worlds: a *Material World*, or *Nature*, the *Mundus Sensibilis* of Kant, accessible to Experience, on the one hand, and a *Spiritual or Supernatural World*, the *Mundus Intelligibilis* of Kant, accessible only to Faith and Feeling. All concepts concerning this latter or supernatural world, the "Beyond," are founded on the ignorance of the real world, or upon confused thinking, and in part also upon the strength of mystic tradition.

7. THE UNITY OF NATURE (Bio-physics). The vast advance achieved in the domain of natural science during the latter half of the 19th century has forced upon us the conviction that the living or organic

3. DIVINE REVELATIONS—Commands or doctrines alleged and believed to have been communicated by a god, directly or through angels, dreams, etc., or through certain inspired persons, of whom many pious legends and myths have been woven by the busy imagination of early ignorant and superstitious generations.

SUPERNATURAL—From sources alleged to be beyond the established course of nature, but really existing only in imagination.

DOGMAS—Doctrines discussed, voted upon, adopted, promulgated and then taught by the clergy. The latest dogma of the Church of Rome is that of the Infallibility of the Pope. Most dogmas are utterly at variance with common sense and cannot stand the test of scientific investigation. At every stage of civilization they are impediments to progress and simply serve to increase the power of the Church.

PIOUS FRAUD—Falsehoods propagated both by lay people and the clergy to augment the glory of some alleged god or saint.

4. A PRIORISM—Doctrine that some concepts, such as space, time, godhead, number, etc., are inherited and not acquired by experience.
6. IMMANUEL KANT (1724—1804)—One of the greatest philosophers, the actual systematic founder of the modern conception of the world; the starting point of modern science. He still retained a limited number of a priori concepts.

beings inhabiting our earth are subject to the same natural laws that govern the dead or inorganic bodies. Biology, the science of living organisms, is but a branch of the all-comprehensive science of Physics, inclusive of Chemistry, or physics of the atoms.

8. THE DUALITY OF NATURE (Vitalism). Consequently, modern exact natural science cannot help rejecting the old, here and there still prevailing conception that organic and inorganic nature are two widely differing domains, and that consequently the laws of physics and chemistry possess absolute validity only in the latter, not in the former. A so-called "*Vital Force*," the *vis vitalis*, which is believed to direct and control the physical and chemical processes within the organisms, does not exist any more than does a "*Cosmic Intelligence*."

9. THE EVOLUTION OF THE COSMOS (Genesis). The advances of the Science of Evolution have forced us to the conviction that all Nature is subject to a great monogenetic process of *Evolution* in strict obedience to the *Laws of Cause and Effect*, and that *this Cosmogensis* really is an unbroken succession of transformations and variations. This holds good for the evolution of inorganic Nature (Kant-Laplace) as it does for the evolution of organized beings (Lamarck, Darwin). Part of this universal process of evolution is directly accessible to our apperception, while its beginning and its ultimate goal are unknown to us.

10. THE WORLD-CREATION. Again, modern Science must absolutely reject any so-called "*Creation of the World*" and it likewise declines the received assumption of a *Personal Creator*, who is said to have created this world from "*Nothing*", and to have "*materialized*" his creative concepts in the shape of organisms. Such an anthropomorphic creator does not exist any more than does any "*Moral World-Order*" (*sittliche Weltordnung*) instituted by him, or does any so-called "*Divine Providence*."

11. THE SCIENCE OF DESCENT. That part of the general Science of Evolution which concerns itself with the transformation (variation) of organisms of our earth has of late been firmly established as the *Science of Descent* upon *three biological fields of research*, to wit: *Comparative Anatomy*, *Ontogeny*, and *Paleontology*. These

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8. VITALISM—The doctrine that there is a distinct force (vital force) in contrast to the commonly understood physical and chemical forces: attraction, affinity, etc.
 9. KANT-LAPLACE. Pierre de Laplace (1747–1827)—a French mathematician and astronomer, formulated a nebular hypothesis of the origin of the planetary bodies as Kant of Germany had done before him. Hence the co-ordination of the two names.
 10. ANTHROPOMORPHIC—Resembling in character to man.
MORAL WORLD-ORDER—Doctrine that all nature is ruled in accordance with human moral ends and intentions.
 11. PHYLOGENY—Tribal history or the paleontological history of Evolution. The phylum includes all organisms connected by blood which are descended from a common parent form. Phylogeny includes paleontology and genealogy.
ONTOGENY—The history of the development of organic individuals, beginning with embryology.

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sciences show in perfect agreement with one another that all organisms existing to-day on our planet are the transformed descendants of an extensive series of extinct organisms and have, in the course of long periods of many millions of years in duration, descended from them by Evolution. This bio-genetic transformation is an established fact, no matter, whether we explain its causes by means of the theories of Selection or Mutation or any other theory of Variation.

12. SPONTANEOUS GENERATION (Archeony). Since organic life can exist only in living substance (Plasma), and since the vitality of this albuminous, semi-liquid substance is possible only in the presence of liquid water, living organisms could not originate upon our planet before the latter had cooled down from its molten liquidity into a sphere encircled with a solidified crust, the temperature of which had sunk below the boiling point of water. Then originated, at first by catalysis from the colloidal carbo-hydrogen combinations, the simple *Monerae*, structureless plasma-globules, represented in our time by the *Chromaceae* (*Cyanophyceae*). From these evolved by separation of the nuclei from the surrounding plasma (*Cytosoma*) the first *cellular bodies*.

13. TRANSFORMATION OF LIFE (Metabolism of the Plasma). The grand process of Biological Transformation, through which in the course of many millions of years the numerous species of plants and animals could come into existence, may be reduced to a common physico-chemical process, however infinitely diversified its manifestations have been: it is the infinite *Transformability of Living Matter, the Metabolism of the Plasma*. Its two most important factors are the physiological functions of *Adaptation* (Variation) and *Heredity*; the former is related with Metabolism (Nutrition and Growth), the latter with Propagation (Transgressive Growth).

PALEONTOLOGY—Treats of the structure, affinities, classification and distribution in time of the forms of vegetable and animal life imbedded in the rocks of the earth's crust.

SELECTION—The process of nature by which such individuals disappear from the earth as are not fitted out to continue the struggle for existence, and by which only such individuals survive as can adapt themselves to new conditions.

MUTATION—The alleged capacity of an individual to change its material organization by virtue of an innate potentiality without external stimulation.

VARIATION—The capacity of individuals of changing the structure of their organs through internal or external stimulation.

12. SPONTANEOUS GENERATION—The origin of organized bodies from previous inorganic substance.

PLASMA—The living substance, no matter whether of vegetable or animal origin.

CATALYSIS—New arrangement of molecules through new contact.

NUCLEI—The central-structures of organic cells, suspended in the semi-liquid other cell substance or plasma or cytosoma.

13. METABOLISM—The changes in organized bodies produced by nutrition and surrounding conditions.

ADAPTATION—The capacity of altering the mode of living in conformance with necessity.

HEREDITY—Transmission of forms of organs and functions to descendants, whether they be inherited or recently acquired.

14. GENEALOGY OF ORGANIC TYPES (Phylogeny). Out of the critical relationship of the three great sciences, reciprocally supplementing one another (Paleontology, Comparative Anatomy and Ontogeny) arises a new science, the modern *Science of Phylogeny* or Science of Type-Formation (1866). It aims hypothetically to trace the relationship within larger and smaller groups of organic types and bases upon it the natural system of *Families, Classes, and Species*. The hypothetical genealogical trees of descent (pedigrees, phylema) representing their simplest expression are of great heuristic and practical value. In the animal as well as in the vegetable kingdom all types can be traced back to but a few ancestral types (Phyla) and these again can be shown to have descended, since their first appearance on earth, from the common arch types, the *Monerae* (Chromaceae).

15. ANTHROPOGENY. "The Place of Man in Nature," the so-called "problem of problems" of Huxley, is fully understood now. *Comparative Anatomy* demonstrates that our human body possesses all the characteristics of the *Vertebrates*. *Comparative Ontogeny* convinces us that man originates and develops like them. *Comparative Physiology* demonstrates that all vital activities—inclusive of the psychical or "soul" functions—take place according to the laws of physics and chemistry. *Paleontology*, finally, teaches us to recognize the distinct ancestors of our race in the successive series of vertebrate fossils. There is, then, no room left to doubt that man is in every respect a genuine vertebrate, or more precisely: a *mammal*, and that he has evolved from this highest family of animals not earlier than the latter part of the Tertiary Period.

16. MAN'S DESCENT FROM APES (Pithecoïd Theory). Of all mammals the apes (Simiae) stand nearest to man in every anatomical, embryological and physiological aspect; this holds good especially of the *Tail-less Anthropoid Apes*. None of the living representatives of this group, however, (neither the Gibbon and Orang of Asia, nor the Chimpanzee and Gorilla of Africa), can be considered the *direct ancestor* of man. On the contrary, these common ancestors of all these anthropoids and of man are to be looked for in extinct earlier species of apes of the Old World (Pithecanthropus) or in their relatives.

17. THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL (Athanism). The "Soul" (*Psyché*) of *Man*, taken as a distinct supernatural "Being" in both the mystic realms of metaphysics and of theology, has been recognized as the *totality of cerebral functions*, a discovery brought about chiefly through the astounding progress made in modern biology and particularly in comparative brain-research. The function of the higher

14. PHYLOGENY—See under 11.

15. HEURISTIC—Suggestive of other than the practically established modes of proceeding.

16. MAMMAL—Producing suckling descendants.

TERTIARY PERIOD—A period in the history of the evolution of the earth preceding the present.

PITHECOÏD—Resembling the Orang, derived from Pithecus—Orang.

ANTHROPOÏD—Resembling man.

17. ATHANISM—Doctrine of the immortality of the soul.

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soul or thought organ in man (phronema)—a certain area of the cerebral cortex—takes place perfectly in accordance with the same laws of Psycho-Physics in the other mammals, and especially in the nearest relatives of man, the anthropoids. This function, of course, ceases at death, and *in our time it appears utterly absurd to persist nevertheless in the doctrine of a "Personal Immortality of the Soul."*

18. THE FREEDOM OF THE WILL (Indeterminism). Like all other functions of the brain (sensation, imagination, ratiocination), the Will of man is a physiological function of this nervous central organ and is dependent on the latter's anatomic structure. The peculiar individual potentialities of the human brain, partly *inherited* from ancestors and partly *acquired* through adaptation in the life of individuals, necessarily determine the will. *The ancient doctrine of a "Free Will," INDETERMINISM, therefore appears untenable and must give room to the opposite doctrine of DETERMINISM.*

19. GOD. If under the ambiguous term of "God" is understood a personal "Sublime Being," a ruler of the Cosmos who, after the fashion of man, thinks, loves, generates, rules, rewards and punishes, etc., such an anthropomorphic God must be relegated to the realm of mystic imagery—no matter whether this "Personal God" be invested with a human form, or be assumed as an "Invisible Spirit" or as a "Gaseous Vertebrate." For modern Science the idea of "God" is scrutable only so far as we recognize in this "God" the last irrecognizable cause of all things, the unconscious hypothetical "*First Cause of Substance.*"

20. THE LAW OF SUBSTANCE. The earlier fundamental law of the *Preservation of Matter* (Lavoisier, 1789) and the more recent fundamental physical law of the *Preservation of Energy* (R. Mayer, 1842) have been amalgamated into one great universal law in 1892 through the agency of our *Monism*. For we consider *Matter and Force* (or *Matter and Energy—Matter and Mind*) *to be inseparable attributes of Substance* (Spinoza). This all-comprehensive universal law or the fundamental law of cosmology we name in short the *Law of Substance*, and are firmly convinced that man is subject to it to the same extent as is all the rest of the cosmos.

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18. INDETERMINISM—Doctrine that the will is not determined by the law of cause and effect.
19. PERSONAL GOD—Acting like a human being, a person, with all its virtues and flaws.

II. PRACTICAL MONISM.

(*Rational Conduct of Life Founded on Theoretical Monism.*)

21. SOCIOLOGY (Science of Society). Civilization, which has elevated man high above the other animals and has given him the dominion of the Earth, rests upon the rational cooperation of the human races living in social communities, with extensive division of labor and with the mutual assistance of the working classes. The biological foundations of the Social Organizations have their prototypes already in the socially living animals, especially among the Primates, whose herds and tribes are held together by means of Social Instincts (inherited habits).

22. THE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT AND THE LAWS. A rational Organization of Society and its Government by means of Laws can be accomplished in many and various forms. Its paramount problem to solve is a just *Nomocracy*, i. e. the building up and strengthening of a *Secular Power* founded upon Justice. The laws which restrict the liberty of the citizens for the benefit of Society should be based alone upon a reasonable application of scientific truths, never on so-called "Time-Honored Traditions" or transmitted Customs.

23. THE CHURCH AND THE CREEDS. Contrariwise, opposition by all means must be sustained to the *Clergy*, that drapes the secular power with a spiritual cloak for the purpose of exploiting the credulity of the uneducated masses for egoistic ends. The preservation of *Creeds*—as distinct forms of *Superstition* only fit to create discord against non-believers—must be combated with energy. The much-to-be-wished-for *Separation of Church and State* should be inaugurated in such a way that the State shall grant equal rights to all creeds but shall reserve to itself the right to repel their practical usurpations. The "*Spiritual Power*" (Theocracy) must always submit to the "*Secular Government*" (Nomocracy).

24. PAPISM. The most powerful hierarchy, that to this day spiritually dominates the greater part of the civilized world, is *Papism* or *Romanism*. Although this great *Political Organization* is diametrically in contradiction with the early pure form of Christianity and but misuses its label for purposes of domination, this hierarchy nevertheless is energetically supported even by its antagonists, the *Secular Monarchs*. In the inevitable "*Kulturkampf*" (Struggle of progressive civil govern-

21. PRIMATES—Man and the apes.

22. NOMOCRACY—A system of government that is ruled by a code of laws.

23. CLERGY—The ministers of all the Christian Churches in distinction from the laity or common adherents.

THEOCRACY—A system of government alleged to be in the direct name of God, but actually exercised by the head or heads of the Church according to their self-ordained laws.

24. HIERARCHY—A body of persons in whom is vested the control, direction, power and authority in so-called sacred matters; a sacred body of rulers.

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ments against the Hierarchy) against Papism, the goal to be reached must be the destruction by lawful means of its three fundamental pillars: the *Celibacy of Its Clergy*; the *Auricular Confession of Its Adherents*, and the *Traffic of Indulgences*.—These three most dangerous and immoral institutions of the modern Catholic Church are foreign to early Christianity.—In like manner the Propagation of Superstition by means of the *Miracle Cult* (Lourdes, Marpingen) and the *Adoration of and Belief in Relics* (Aix-la-Chapelle, Treves) are to be suppressed by law as *Public Nuisances*.

25. THE MONISTIC RELIGION. If under the term of "Religion" be not understood a cult of superstition or some irrational creed but rather the *Elevation of the Mind by the Noblest Gifts of Art and Science*, the religion of Monism forms a "*Bond between Religion and Science*" (1882). The three *Religious Ideals* of this rational Monism are *Truth, Virtue and Beauty*. In all civilized States it is the duty of the people's representatives to adopt laws requiring the recognition of the Monistic Religion by the State, and granting it all the rights which other Creeds enjoy.

26. THE MONISTIC ETHICS. Natural *Moral Philosophy*, to be in accord with this Monistic Religion, is to be derived in the modern Science of Evolution from the *Social Instincts of the Higher Vertebrates*, not from the dogmatic "*Categoric Imperative*" of Kant. Like all higher social animals man must strive for a natural equipoise between the two diverging instincts of *Self-Love or Egoism* and *Charity or Altruism*. The fundamental ethical law, the "*Golden Rule*," expressed this double commandment as early as twenty-five centuries ago by these words: "DO UNTO OTHERS AS YOU WOULD THAT THEY DO UNTO YOU."

27. THE MONISTIC SCHOOL. In most of the civilized countries, especially in Germany, the higher as well as the lower schools are still fettered by the *Scholastic Traditions of the Medieval Ages*. Nothing short of the perfect *Divorce of Church and School* can undo these shackles.

CELIBACY—Unmarried condition, "Single-blessedness."

AURICULAR CONFESSION—The habitual and detailed confession of sins to the priest with a view of receiving priestly absolution for becoming properly prepared for truly partaking of the "Holy Communion."

TRAFFIC OF INDULGENCES—Trading for money the remission of the punishment which is still due to sin after sacramental absolution, the remission being valid before one's conscience and before God. This traffic gave occasion to the rise of Protestantism through Martin Luther.

26. CATEGORIC IMPERATIVE—The name by which Kant designates the principle of the moral law, to show that morality is not a mere synonym of interest, nor founded on experience, but that it prescribes a priori what we ought and what we ought not to do, presupposing man's liberty to obey or disobey (indeterminism of the will).

27. SCHOLASTIC TRADITIONS OF THE MEDIEVAL AGES—The determination of the medieval clergy to teach ancient philosophy in the cloister-schools with such restrictions that they could control the entire field of thought and philosophic speculation, the subjects of instruction to be accommodated to the arbitrary will of the Church in case they did not already suit the interest of the hierarchy.

DIVORCE OF CHURCH AND STATE—The complete separation of the two political powers, a desideratum imperfectly realized in the United States,

Denominational dogmatic religious instruction, as was customary to this day, must be superseded by instruction in the *Comparative History of Religions* and in *Monistic Ethics*. Clerical influence of every kind upon schools must be effaced. The inevitable *School Reform* must be accomplished *on the Foundation of Modern Science*. The greater part of instruction must not be devoted to the study of the *Ancient Languages* and of the *History of Nations* but to that of the different branches of *Science*, above all to the study of *Anthropology and Evolution*.

28. THE MONISTIC EDUCATION. Because the normal development of the mind (as a function of the cerebral cortex) is closely connected with the general development of the rest of the organism, the Monistic education of youth, free from the shackles of ecclesiastical dogmas, must be so directed that mind and body, from infancy on, be *trained harmoniously*. Daily Physical Exercises, Bathing, Swimming, Outings and Excursions are to be employed for the purpose of vigorously developing and strengthening the organism from delicate childhood up; the *Love of Observation and Enjoyment of Nature* must be planted and stimulated. By means of *Public Libraries, Continuation-Schools and Popular Monistic Lectures*, suited also to the taste of persons of higher education, intellectual food must be offered continually.

29. THE MONISTIC CIVILIZATION. The astonishing height of civilization, to which the human race has attained in the nineteenth century, and the amazing advances made in Science in its practical application in technics, manufactures, medicine, etc., justify our expectations of further progress in the 20th century. But this highly desirable advance can be realized only if the time-worn by-paths over traditional dogmas and clerical superstition are being abandoned, and if a Monistic World Conception is taking their places.

30. THE MONISTIC ALLIANCE. For the purpose of propagating this rational Monistic World Conception and practically utilizing the good results of Theoretical Monism, it is desirable that all attempts directed toward the attainment of these blessings should have a common focus to be realized by the *Organization of a Consolidated Monistic Alliance*. In this UNIVERSAL MONISTIC ALLIANCE would be admitted not only all Freethinkers and adherents of the Monistic Philosophy but also all the Freethought Congregations, Ethical Societies, Free-Religious Communities, etc., that for guide in thinking and acting will accept nothing but Pure Reason, and will never submit to the traditional dogmas and "Revelations." The Freethinkers Congresses in Rome and St. Louis (U. S. A.) present a most favorable opportunity for accomplishing the consolidation of all these unorganized energies into one great UNIVERSAL MONISTIC ALLIANCE.

but in no other civilized country of the earth. The French Republic is in the throes of the Culturkampf at this time and has been successful so far. England and Germany are engaged in the fight for the separation of Church and School. The Mosaic Creation Myth is still being taught in all the public schools of every European state under governmental control although nobody believes in it any longer.

28. HARMONIOUS TRAINING OF MIND AND BODY—Equal care and training of both the physical and mental powers; the body to be trained by gymnastic exercises—not athletics—the intellect by school studies, both along pedagogical lines.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

An Address
Delivered on Labor Day, 1901,
at ELKHART, IND.,

BY

J. W. KELLEY

Socialist Councilman, Marion, Ind.

Pocket Library of Socialism

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INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

Working People of Elkhart:—

There have been many times in my life when I have experienced regret that I did not possess the oratorical abilities of a Webster or of an Ingersoll, but never have I experienced that regret more than I do at this time. No invitation ever extended me by any individual or social body, was ever more highly appreciated by me than is the one in answer to which I am before you to-day.

Another year has come and gone and another Labor Day is here, and you have again assembled for the purpose of celebrating either your liberty or your slavery; your emancipation or your subjugation, and I don't know which, notwithstanding the fact that you have likely produced more value during the twelve months just past than during any previous like period.

I will venture this assertion: that if a vote could be taken at this moment by you who are here assembled, as to your progress during the year past, the general verdict would be that your condition, as wage earners, is more precarious and unsatisfactory to-day than it has been on any previous Labor Day within the history of your organization. And, I will also ven-

ture this prediction: That when you re-assemble one year hence, you will then conclude that your condition as wage workers is still more precarious and uncertain than it is to-day.

Every new labor saving device brought out; every trust formed, increases the power of capital and renders more precarious and uncertain the condition of the wage-working class.

Just so long as you perpetuate the institution of private property in the means of production and distribution, just so long as you perpetuate the institution of wage slavery, you will remain wage slaves, and your condition will become hourly worse until you reach that point where subsistence is no longer possible, and a bloody revolution on the field of carnage inevitable.

If such a calamity as this is avoided, fellow workingmen, it will be because you decide not only to work together, and strike together, but to vote together as well.

I can understand why the white people of the South took up arms in the defense of the institution of African slavery. It was because that institution sanctioned their act of taking possession of a large per cent of the earnings of the black slave, without giving them any equivalent in return. And I can understand why the capitalistic class of both North and South to-day vote through the medium of the Republican and Democratic parties for the perpetuation of the institution of wage slavery. It is because that institution sanctions their act of taking possession of a large measure of the values produced by the wage slave, without giving them an equivalent in return.

But, fellow workingmen, I cannot understand why the wage workers themselves continue all these years to vote with their capitalistic masters for the perpetuation of the institution of private property and of the wage system, through which institution they are daily robbed of a large measure of their product.

Suppose that the African slave, before the war, had been given the free use of the ballot, as you now have it, and suppose that he had continued to vote with his master for the perpetuation of the institution which held him in bondage and sanctioned the robbery of which he complained. Had he done this, what kind of a fool would we have thought he was?

Whatever we may have thought of such action on his part, we are forced to conclude that he would have been acting as wisely as you are now, in casting your ballots along with your capitalistic master for the perpetuation of the institution of wage slavery through which you are being robbed and of which robbery you complain.

I am no longer a wage worker myself, though I have spent many years of my life in that capacity. I have succeeded in robbing my fellow men, by the employment of methods that are legal, and as yet considered respectable, of enough to enable me to lift myself for the present out of the quagmire in which the wage slaves are floundering, and over into the field with the employing class.

I am to-day occupying the position in industry known as a business man. And it is from the standpoint of a business man that I view the

gigantic problem that is rapidly presenting it self to us for settlement.

It looks to me like bad business judgment for a nation to perpetuate an industrial method that brings each individual member in society into antagonistic relations with every other, and that arranges society, as a whole, into antagonistic and warring classes, who spend more of their industrial energies in the devising of ways and means for the letting of each other down than they do for the helping of each other up.

Neither does it look to me like good business judgment for a nation to perpetuate an industrial method that results in the utter waste of more than half its productive energy, and places the whole burden of society on the back of the weakest member in it.

My entire experience and observation in business is that the lesson of the bundle of seven sticks is good for all times and places, and that we will pull the load easier if we all pull one way on the rope.

"United, we stand; divided, we fall."

Social squealing will never cease so long as we perpetuate an industrial method that patterns after the pigs at the trough.

It don't look to me like good business policy for us, as a nation, to perpetuate an industrial method that is rapidly reducing the masses of our people to the condition of wage earners and the wage earners to the condition of industrial serfs.

With all my heart, I join with that grand patriot, Eugene V. Debs, against the perpetuation of an industrial method that makes the lap dogs

of the rich the social superiors of the children of the poor.

You wage slaves,—you who produce everything and have nothing; you whose labor produces all the fine streets for other people to ride on, and all the fine carriages for others to ride in, and who hew the ties, make the iron and build all the railroads, fine cars and Pullman coaches, and who, when you want to travel yourselves, must wait for a crowded excursion or take a tie ticket; you who open up all the mines and build all the great factories and invent and construct all the machinery that goes into them, which, with the aid of your wife and children, does the work while you starve in idleness; you who find yourselves smoked out of the mines which you have opened, and of the factories which you have built and equipped, like the bees from the hive which they have filled with honey (only they use a different kind of smoke); you who have built all the fine houses down in the central and desirable parts of the city, and who must yourselves live in the cottages and hovels in the swamps of the suburbs, where you can keep some chickens or a cow or a pig, which you must stay at home and care for while your wife and children are forced out of even these cottages and hovels and into the factories and mines where they are chained all day long to merciless machines that grind their very souls into profits to be fed to the Gods of Capital, Interest and Rent.

You who are the greatest sufferers from the profit system of industry may continue to vote

for its perpetuation if you want to, but I don't do it. I don't think it's good business policy.

Economic development has brought us to that point where we must, as a nation, choose between an Industrial Democracy and an Industrial Plutocracy; and in view of the present and past experiences, it looks to me as if it would be bad business policy to choose the Plutocracy.

An Industrial Democracy or a Plutocracy,—which shall we have in America? This, my friends, will be the question which I will offer you for discussion to-day.

Shall we have in America an Industrial Democracy?—a nation of sovereign equals; each one of whom is on an equality, in point of opportunity, with every other at every point of human need; each one of whom has every material thing that his needs require; each one of whom is joint owner of an estate whose value is beyond computation; each one of whom is co-operating with those about him for the elevation of all, thereby creating for themselves and for all their fellows that environment most favorable to the development of their better nature, as well as that which is necessary to their peace and happiness?

Or, shall we have an Industrial Plutocracy:—a nation comprising a few individuals who are fabulously rich, and the remainder industrial and political serfs, who are competing, or rather, fighting with each other for the right of access to the means of life, as did the prisoners in the Black Hole of Calcutta, tramping each other down, down, down, deeper and deeper and deeper, until at last they must perish of hunger

and cold, while surrounded by warehouses filled to overflowing with the produce of their own hands?

Shall we have co-operation; equality of opportunity and national advancement, or competition, monopoly of opportunity and national decline?

The immortal Lincoln once said that no nation could long endure half bond and half free, and the history of the world stands a monument in evidence, that individual freedom can be maintained only by national adherence to democratic principles, and that violation of these principles have produced every revolution and caused the final downfall of every great nation that has passed from the stage of action; and it is departure from these principles that to-day makes necessary constantly increasing armies that are being organized to stay the rapidly rising tide of discontent, which must soon break forth in a world-wide conflict.

The entire history of mankind is but the tale of a struggle for more democracy—for equality of opportunity; and just in that degree that equality of opportunity has been granted, just in that degree that the principles of democracy have become disseminated, has the speed of the ship of human progress been quickened or retarded.

The principles of democracy are the simple principles of justice, and justice demands equality of opportunity. In all ages the elevation of justice has preceded the elevation of societies in general; it is the one corner-stone that must be rightly laid; it is the Star of Bethlehem which

the wise men of the west, as well as those of the east must follow, if any better condition of society than that which exists at present is ever to be gained.

The entire path over which mankind has journeyed, from savagery up to the present civilization, is dotted at brief intervals with the graves of governments that one after another have been goaded to destruction by centralized power, and the signs of the times indicate, that unless some change be speedily made in the fundamental principles upon which the industries of our country are founded, this government of ours is destined to meet the same doom.

Our forefathers perceived this danger when they wrote the constitution, under which we still live; and it is evident from the record of their acts, that they used all the means within their power, all the information within their knowledge, all the knowledge within their possession, to so frame their government that the causes of dissolution would not be contained in it.

They were conversant with the history of the world as then written, and they observed that the cause of national disaster had always been, that the wealth of the nations had become centralized in the hands of kings and royal families, and so they decided that in this government, they would have neither of these. It was their conviction that with neither kings nor royal families, or no fixed line of descendency established, the wealth accumulated in the hands of individuals during a life time, would, at their death, be disseminated, and that no dangerous

centralization of the nation's means of life ever could occur.

In its infancy the government, which they organized, was the nearest approach to a democracy that the world had ever seen. They were surrounded on every side with what then seemed inexhaustible quantities of free land. The tools of the workers were very simple and very cheap. The shoemaker had his last and awl, and the carpenter his hatchet and square, and because of the presence of free land and the cheapness of the tools, the employer possessed very little advantage over the employe. Under such conditions, the employe could and did demand the full measure of value that his labor produced. There was equality of opportunity and consequent happiness.

Every crowned head in Europe looked on with sneers and jeers and predicted the early death of the new society, because of the dissemination of power. To them, Democracy was the vision of a dreamer, a great joke. To-day, when the little republic, at which they sneered, has, because of that very dissemination of power, outstripped them in every department of human endeavor, they are vying with each other in amazement and wondering how it happened.

But the equality of opportunity, the dissemination of power, that has enabled this nation to outstrip all competitors, is rapidly disappearing. With every revolution, the wheels of our industries are encountering increased resistance. Almost unconsciously, we are being transformed from the most Democratic to the most Plutocratic society on the face of the earth.

Had the conditions, with which the founders of our government were then surrounded, remained, it is doubtless true that the government which they formed would not only have outstripped all others in industrial development, but it would have endured longer than any of its predecessors. But the inquiring mind of man discovered the power of steam, which gave rise to the need of larger capital and resulted in the organization of the company, the corporation and the trust: And these have grown up in our society and are occupying the same position in it as was occupied in former societies, by the king and royal families.

In fact, no nation ever witnessed its means of life pass more rapidly into the hands of the king or royal family than is the wealth of this nation now passing into the hands of the corporations and trusts of this country; and no royal family or king in any country ever more completely shaped the ends of legislation to suit themselves than are the trusts and corporations now shaping the ends of legislation to suit themselves in this country of ours.

Six years ago the manufacturing industries in this country were owned and operated by about one million companies and corporations. To-day they comprise only about six hundred giant organizations, controlling almost absolutely the tools of production, and at the same rate of progress these six hundred will have become one in a very short time.

It seems to me that a nation that stands charmed or palsied, with gasping breath and folded arms, while its entire means of life pass

under the control of a few boards of directors, who, like the kidnapers of Cudahy's son, will hold them for an ever increasing ransom, or who, like an anaconda, will bring it to its knees and to final death and destruction, manifests very poor business judgment.

Alongside of these mighty organizations stand millions and millions of men, women and children, helpless and alone. Those who hold the keys to the factories, and deeds to our lands, hold the powers of life and death over them. Their ability to live depends upon their ability to gain access to the tools of production. All semblance to equality of opportunity has disappeared.

The wage worker of former days, who was an independent industrial democrat, has been transformed into a dependent industrial serf; and, whereas, he once received a hundred per cent of his products as his wages, he to-day receives less than fifty per cent, while every increase in our population, every advance in the value of land, every labor-saving device invented, every company, corporation or trust formed, serves, not only to reduce wages and make the condition of the wage earners less tenable, but to increase the percentage of our society who must work for wages.

The wage slave finds, in his environment, many causes of unhappiness not prevalent in any other system of which we have any account. Under every other form of slavery, it was provided in their statutes that the masters should see that those under them were provided with the necessary food, shelter, clothing, medi-

cal attendance and protection in old age, while those who have monopolized our tools of production are not responsible to their serfs in any degree whatever.

At the Black Hole of Calcutta, the prisoners, consisting of men only, were shut inside the warehouse while the means of life were on the outside; while in the condition that is growing up in our society, the means of life are on the inside of the warehouse, while the millions of prisoners, consisting not only of men, but of women and children as well, are on the outside. And the intensity of the struggle between them is increasing every hour.

Look into that struggling, seething mass of humanity and see who are contained in it. Are your children among the number who are being trampled under foot? If so, how do you like it? If not to-day, what assurance have you that they will not be to-morrow?

But, even if no invention of labor-saving machinery had superseded the simple tools of the workers; had the tools remained as simple and cheap as they were when the wage system was introduced in America; had no company, corporation or trust ever been formed, there is in our land system that which must finally have wrecked this nation. These things only hasten the fatal day. This is no idle assertion. It is a mathematical proposition, as clearly demonstrable upon the black-board as any other mathematical proposition. Whenever land is made private property, its price must increase with every increase of population. An increase in

the value of land means that the capital in the land has increased its power.

When the land is free, the tenant receives a hundred per cent of his product, and as the land increases in price, he must accept a constantly decreasing per cent. The per cent the tenant receives is his wages and forms the wage barometer of the country. When the wages decline on the farm they will decline in the factory and store as well. In other words, as the price of the land goes up, the price of the man must go down.

Over in Italy, the land has gone up and the man gone down to that point where the landlord demands seventy-five per cent of the product, while the tenant takes the remaining twenty-five per cent, and the wage line corresponds to this condition. They have a Plutocracy. The few are fabulously rich, while the masses grovel in poverty and vice. While here in America, our tenants, who once received a hundred per cent of their product, now only receive about forty-five per cent, to which amount the wages of the country correspond.

What can be more evident than that when by reason of increased population and perfected inventions our capitalistic class can demand seventy-five per cent of the values produced by our laborers, as they now do in Italy, the condition of our society will become the same as theirs is now, and for the same reason.

There is eternal constancy in the laws of nature, and whatever has happened once under given conditions will, under these same conditions, always happen again.

If the man who tries to save his country from disaster is a patriot, then there is great work for the patriots of America. Our greatest danger is not from foreign invasion. Capital in land has laid hold of our national heart and is drinking our life blood. Surely the Scriptural injunction that a man's greatest foes are those within his own house is proving true.

What shall we do? What is the supreme duty of every voter, every man who loves his country?

Are we ready and willing to follow further in the footsteps of dying Italy, Spain and other pauperized nations around us? Or, having perceived the true cause of their downfall, present in our own body politic, shall we seek to remove it? Are we ready to turn our children and our children's children over into a bondage worse than any African slavery ever was, without so much as raising a finger to prevent it? Forbid it, Almighty God!

If not, the hour for determined action is here now. And of what shall our action consist? If we abandon Plutocracy because of the threatened danger, where shall we turn for relief and safety unless to Democracy; and if we are to have a Democracy in fact, then the whole capitalistic system of industry must go. The principles of Capitalism and the principles of Democracy are like those of oil and water. They may both occupy the same territory, but they will not mix. As the oil remains above the water, so the capital will remain above the Democracy, the dollar above the man.

The word Democracy means a government of

sovereign equals. It can be maintained only as long as equality of opportunity is maintained at every point of human need. There can be no real Democracy in any country so long as that power remains in law by which some individuals can gain a monopoly of the land upon which other individuals must live, or by which some may gain a monopoly of the tools with which others must work, or by which some may gain a monopoly of the product of both land and tools, without which others cannot exist.

Complete socialization of all land, tools and product are necessary to justice, equality of opportunity and industrial Democracy.

In this we might well hesitate had any step ever taken toward Democracy by any nation ever brought disaster, but in all the history of the world there is not a single example.

The achievement of Democracy in the field of religion, bought at such a fearful cost, was one of the greatest strides toward civilization that has ever been gained. There is no longer monopoly in that field. There is equality of opportunity, and in consequence the religious wars that for so many centuries drenched the earth with human blood have ceased.

The partial achievement of a political Democracy has also materially quickened our progress in America. The horrible war which raised the African negro to the dignity of a political democrat would never have occurred had democratic principles been more closely adhered to when the foundations of our government were laid.

I don't know what it will cost to lift woman

to a position of equality in the political field, but that it will be done in the very near future, and that society will greatly benefit by the step, I have not the slightest doubt.

But Religious Democracy and Political Democracy are of secondary importance as compared to Industrial Democracy. It is the foundation upon which the others must rest. Not until it is achieved will the nations of the earth beat their swords into plow-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks and learn war no more.

There is not an institution beneath the stars and stripes to which any American citizen can point the finger of pride that is not a socialistic institution.

Why should we resist its onward coming? Why not lend a helping hand? Not a single step has ever yet been gained in advance from the lowest savagery to the highest civilization yet attained that has not been a step in the direction of real democracy. Socialism, every lighthouse, every public school building, every post-office, every public street or sidewalk or highway, stand as monuments in evidence that the principles of socialism are right principles.

And the history of the whole past bears witness that if the principles of socialism are right principles, then everything is to be gained and nothing lost by following them. Neither men nor nations come to grief because of following right principles. "By their fruits shall ye know them," says the proverb. Right principles lead to peace, prosperity and happiness. Wrong ones to slavery, contention, war.

Enormous as have become some of the corporations or trusts in our country, there is yet no one of them that maintains as many different offices, handles as many different pieces of matter or merchandise, serves as many different customers, performs as much service for the remuneration demanded, employs as many different persons or pays them as good an average of wages, as does the postal department of our government.

Likewise, the educational department of our government employs more persons and at better wages than any of the enormous trusts that are reducing us to industrial serfdom, and the service rendered, though of the most difficult nature, is eminently satisfactory, while every private monopoly is a constant thorn in the flesh of body politic.

If the government can administer successfully these two immense departments of human need, it can certainly administer those less difficult as well. The directing of the employes in a factory is not more difficult than the proper management of a schoolroom.

If a farmer, without experience, can step into a postoffice and conduct it satisfactorily, certainly the department of agriculture would not need fall for want of a competent board of directors.

If an army of destruction can be equipped and made more efficient when under governmental direction, then certainly the same would hold good of an army of production. If not, then I suggest that we call our armies from the Philip-

piners and turn the job of subduing them over to the Standard Oil Company.

Industrial Democracy is not only necessary to justice and equality of opportunity. It is necessary to economy in production. The lesson of the bundle of seven sticks is good for all times and places. We will pull the load more easily, if we all pull the same way on the rope. More than half the world's work, as now performed, is useless. The needs for its doing would disappear were a rational organization effected.

Is it according to good business principles that ten milk wagons should rattle along a street from one end to the other, wearing out their wagons, horses and harness, and wearing out the lives of the drivers, when one wagon, team and driver would serve the citizens as well?

Go into any town or city and note the number of stores. There are ten times as many people subsisting by trade as there should be.

In our little city we have about seventy-five different places at which provisions are being sold. The rent on all these must be paid every day and tacked on to the price of the goods sold. Besides different delivery wagons go out from these numerous different places, pell mell, hurry scurry, back and forth, across each other's tracks. Besides, each one of these stores is practically a duplicate of the others.

What would you think of a merchant who maintained ten counters and ten clerks, selling one kind of goods, when one counter and one clerk could serve all his customers as well. Certainly, you would say he was foolish and incompetent, but surely he would be as wise as are

the citizens of our little city, which maintain ten or a dozen dry goods or boot and shoe stores, seventy-five provision houses and ten milk-supplying outfits, where one of each would serve them more satisfactorily were proper organization effected.

All these different stores are none the less a burden on society, because they are owned and operated by private interest. Every dollar that goes to their support is extracted from the pockets of our citizens just as effectually as it would be were it first paid in over the counter of the City Treasurer's office.

There is as much reason why we should have seventy-five different postoffices, with mail carriers going out from each one in every conceivable direction, as there is why we should have all these different stores.

There is as much reason why the city government should own the street railway and operate it free for the convenience of its people as there is why it should construct and maintain the streets and sidewalks for their free use.

We are all agreed that it is desirable that the government postoffice and free school system should be maintained, to the end that the cost of education and dissemination of information should not be increased by any element of private profit. But is there not as much reason why shoes and clothing should be easy of procurement as well? Do you consider it of more importance that the youth of the land should be sure of an education than that they should be sure of something to eat and wear, or of a house in which to live?

If an invention of machinery that results in making the necessities of life procurable with a less expenditure of energy is a good thing, then an organization of society that has the same effect must be a good thing also.

Our Republican friends claim that the McKinley administration has been a great blessing, because it has made more work, and many unthinking working people accept it as true. But a moment's reflection will convince any candid mind that if that which makes more work is a blessing, then a devastating fire or a cyclone must be a blessing, and then the invention and manufacture of labor-saving machinery must be a curse.

What labor really wants is not more work, but a greater per cent of the value which their labor is producing. They are rapidly awakening to the fact that there is not a valid reason that can be mentioned why they should not have it all, and they see in Socialism an opportunity of getting it.

Capital produces no wealth and should have none. Were John D. Rockefeller to take every dollar of the capital he now possesses into an uninhabited island, or one one where no one worked, he might stay there a hundred years, but he could not add one penny to his holdings.

There can be but one hundred per cent of anything. If capital takes more, labor must take less. Yet our Republican friends tell us that the interests of capital and labor are identical.

But the objection is urged that were an Industrial Democracy established, that all incentive to individual effort would be gone. That what

we would have would be a kind of a lazy peace. This objection is the one most popular in the public mind at the present time, though containing no basis of fact whatever within it. We should always remember that there can be no such thing as a valid objection to a true method. Truth has no conflict with its self, only with falsehood.

The whole history of mankind stands a monument in evidence that dissemination of power has always stimulated individual effort, rather than discouraged it. When the priesthood held a monopoly in the field of religion and granted no opportunity to the masses, there could be no incentive on the part of the masses for investigation, and consequently, during that time, the progress of truth was very slow. Likewise, when the kings and royal families held a monopoly in the political field, there could be no incentive to induce the masses to study political economy. It has been only as Democracy has superseded this monopoly that the individuals comprising the masses have become interested in public questions. It is to-day in those states, only where the women have gained the ballot that they manifest any interest in politics.

While J. P. Morgan and associated syndicates hold a monopoly in the field of industry, incentives to industry, on the part of the masses, will become less every hour until they will finally become entirely dead; then progress will be at an end. The same conditions will prevail in the field of industry during their reign, as prevailed in the field of religion during the reign of the priesthood; and in the political field during the

time when all political power was monopolized by the kings and royal families.

The chief lesson to be learned from the history of the past is that mankind has nothing to fear from freedom. It is the water in the pond above the dam that becomes stagnant and that generates the germs of disease. Explosions can result only from enslaved forces. But, as this is the stumbling block over which many good persons fall, and there give up the further pursuit of the social ideal, let us approach it from still other points of view.

Students of nature find it advantageous to separate the material found in whatever field they enter for investigation, into divisions: For instance, if they were going to study the phenomena of organic life, they would separate all the material found in that field as follows: Those that swim; those that fly; those that walk.

Or, were they going to study the phenomena of light, they quickly discover that all light that comes streaming into this otherwise dark world is reflected by either the sun, moon or stars.

Let us then in the same way classify and study the incentives that excite human beings to effort. Then we shall see how these will be affected by socialism. Three of the strongest motives operating at the present time are hunger, cold and the desire for honor or the approval of society.

Hunger was doubtless the first and lowest incentive that ever excited human beings to effort. Its power is plainly visible in the whole field of organic life. Will it have lost any of its

power as an incentive when the profit system shall have been abolished, and all property shall have become common, as contemplated under Socialism?

Under present conditions, a tramp comes to our hack door and says he is out of work and hungry, and this serves his needs; and the child of the rich has its appetite satisfied whether it works or not. This places society at present between two classes of parasites; both of which must disappear with the advent of Socialism. There can be no one out of work under Socialism, for the government stands ready to employ all who make application. There could be no rich, for the profit system will have been abolished and the State the only heir. Hunger, as an incentive to individual effort, will have lost nothing by the change, but its power will have been multiplied many times.

But what do we find in our second division? Will cold have lost any of its power as an incentive under Socialism? And by cold, I mean protection from the elements. Under present conditions, the tramp not only begs something to eat, but also something to wear. The child of the rich has its clothes furnished by the labor of others. Many find it cheaper to move than to pay rent; and many get their clothing, from competing merchants, and never pay. There are a thousand and one ways for getting protection and plenty to eat under the system that will disappear when there is but one grocer, store-keeper and landlord.

But, of all the incentives that ever excited human beings to effort, honor is the most pow-

erful. What crime so black, or what undertaking so great that men will not undertake and do for the sake of honor; for the sake of bringing to themselves the favorable mention of their fellows. Go into the school-room. What is it that makes the children there strive so hard to get to the head of the class? Go into the field of battle? What is it that induces a man to get up in front of a cannon which means almost sure death? Certainly it isn't the salary of thirteen dollars a month.

What makes Edison go on working day and night just as if poverty was at his heels? He has millions of money and is not at all fond of ostentation. What makes the man who has accumulated a million dollars, want another? Certainly not because his needs require it. The additional million is only an additional burden. The answer to all this is plain. The child in school, the soldier on the field of battle, the inventor in his laboratory, the millionaire, are all, in their class, seeking the favorable mention of their fellows, that comes only as a reward of special achievement in whatever capacity their efforts are being expended.

The idea that economic dependence is necessary to the highest individual effort, is a mischievous and base falsehood. Those persons who have accomplished the most for humanity; those who have studied it out and told us almost all that we to-day know about the universe within and around us; Darwin, Huxley, Sir John Lubbock, Ruskin, the Duke of Argyle, and Haeckel, were all their lives beyond the reach of economic want. Look over the entire

roster of these names that must live as long as truth, and be loved the more as truth shall conquer falsehood, and deduct therefrom a list of those who were financiers. Your list, when completed, will contain not one single name.

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Socialism and the Labor Problem.

BY REV. T. McGRADY.

The object of material advancement is to give man more of the comforts and enjoyments of life, to lessen the burdens of maintenance, and furnish him with the facilities of mental, moral and spiritual development. Social progress is a blessing when utilized to diminish the intensity of the struggle for existence. When the human mind is liberated from the bondage of incessant toil, it will study the Infinite in the works of creation, and soar aloft on the wings of thought beyond the floating clouds, amidst "gleams and flames of purple light that roll in glittering billows in that vast wilderness of worlds" that fleck and jewel and spangle the broad firmament of heaven. Every step on the road that leads to the snow-capped peaks of intelligence brings us nearer to the source of light and the fountain of glory. The purpose of civilization is to elevate the aspirations of man, that he might arise in contemplation from the clod and the furrow to the battlements of the eternal Zion, and march through the golden city and seek refuge at the foot of the jasper throne. Any civilization that fails to accomplish this purpose is unworthy of the designation.

We have surpassed all the generations of history in the accumulation of wealth, in the march of material progress. We have shackled the flash of the stormy skies, and sent it on errands of peace and war, love and mercy, over oceans and continents to the ends of the earth. We have utilized the fiery elements in

the illumination of our residences, and in the transformation of the sable shadows of night into the golden sheen of day. We have harnessed the fleecy vapors to wheels of iron, and lashed the child of flame and flood into foaming steeds, that fly with cargoes of human lives and the wealth of human industry, over hill and vale, and dell and dale, and mountain-crag and moonlit wave.

The genius of invention has invaded all the avenues of trade, and every field of industry is filled with the glory of its triumphs. In weaving, one man to-day can do as much work as fifty-four men could do one hundred years ago; in spinning, one man can do the work of eleven hundred men; in making horse-shoes, one man can do the work of five hundred men; in making nails, one can do the work of one thousand men; in shipping, one can do the work of two thousand men; in making tin cans, a boy can do the work of twenty-five men; in making musical instruments, one man can do the work of eighty-five men; and in coal-mining, one man can do the work of ten men. These are a few illustrations taken from hundreds that could easily be recounted.

If our powers of productivity have been multiplied twenty-fold within the last half century, then we should have twenty times the amount of comforts for the same application of labor in the days of our fathers. But such is not the case. Poverty has everywhere kept pace with the march of progress. In one part of the city is a magnificent mansion, adorned with Oriental rugs and carpets and drapery from the work-shops of Switzerland, windows of variegated colors from the factories of Germany, statuary of the finest marble and most delicate carving, paintings of the richest hues and most artistic skill; and in another part of the city is the cabin and the shanty, the hut and the hovel,

where whole families are huddled together in one room, living in the most degraded state of poverty, where the sunshine of joy and the smile of happiness never beam. On one street is the grand old Cathedral, ornamented with marble altars and crystal shrines, and architecture and frescoing that rival the genius of mediaeval Europe, windows of most delicate tracery, and spires that taper away toward the heavens and are lost in the skies; and on another street is the throne of iniquity, the haunt of vice, the cess-pool of corruption, where human souls are festering in moral putridity, and where they are hurled from a life of degradation, misery and sorrow, into the gulf of eternal perdition. Are your ears deaf to the lamentations that echo throughout this great land, from ocean to ocean, and from the Gulf to the Lakes? Are your hearts callous to the widow's wail and the orphan's cry?

"Do you hear the children weeping, O my brothers!
 Ere the sorrows come with years?
 They are leaning their young heads against their
 mothers,
 And that can not stop their tears.
 The young lambs are bleating in the meadows,
 The young birds are chirping in the nest,
 The young fawns are playing with the shadows,
 And the young flowers are blowing toward the
 west;
 But the young, young children, O my brothers!
 They are weeping bitterly;
 They are weeping in the playtime of the others,
 In the country of the free."

Let us examine the cause of these social evils; and we will begin the examination with a few definitions.

Wealth consists of natural products that have been modified by human exertion so as to fit them for the gratification of human desires. The land in itself is not wealth, for land in itself can not satisfy human desires. In vain would you appeal to the hills and vales to transform their verdure into lager beer and sauerkraut. In vain would you plead with the woods and groves to transmute their growth into potatoes and macaroni. It requires labor to develop the latent energies of nature, and to bring forth its hidden possibilities. We say that America is more wealthy than she was one hundred years ago, and by that statement we do not mean to say that she has more land, more natural resources, that her hills are higher, her valleys richer, that her streams are longer and her mountains grander; but we affirm that her natural resources have been converted into food, clothing, factories, cities and railroads. The factors of wealth are land and labor. Land includes the entire earth—the coal fields, oil wells, gold and silver deposits, the fowl of the air, the fish of the deep, and the beasts of the field—for these deposits have been created by the operation of nature, and these living organisms derive their subsistence from the earth. Labor is human exertion applied to the land to bring forth its hidden treasures, and form them into new creations that satisfy human desires.

More than one hundred years ago Adam Smith wrote that "The produce of labor constitutes the natural recompense or wages of labor. In that original state of things which precedes both the appropriation of land and the accumulation of stock, the whole produce of labor belongs to the laborer. Had that state continued, the wages of labor would have augmented with all those improvements in its productive powers to which the division of labor gives occasion. All

things would gradually have become cheaper. They would have been produced by a smaller quantity of labor, and as the commodities produced by equal quantities of labor, would naturally, in this state of things, be exchanged for one another, they would have been produced, likewise, with a smaller quantity." (Wealth of Nations, Chap. 8.)

If I kill a deer, that deer is my wages, for it represents the product of my toil. If I make a chair, that chair is my wages, for it is the result of my labor. If I raise one hundred bushels of wheat, that is my wages, for it is the product of my exertions. The division of labor does not alter this simple principle. A number of men pursue different avocations. One is a hunter, another is a fisherman, a third picks berries, a fourth raises fowl, a fifth cultivates corn, and a sixth grows wheat. The man who goes out on the briny deep and braves the storm and flood, and wind and wave, and brings forth the finny tribe from the aqueous realm, can exchange his wealth for the commodities produced by the labor of his fellowmen.

But they claim that capital is a factor of wealth. This statement is absolutely false, for capital is not an active principle, but a passive agency. Silver dollars and bags of gold will not command the energies of nature. Machinery will not create wealth, unless used by human energy. Capital is merely an instrument in the hands of labor, and has no power of production apart from labor. But is not land an instrument in the hands of labor? Yes, it is an instrument, but it is also an active agency. It contains creative forces, but it requires labor to direct these forces. The sea produces fish, but labor removes the fish from the deep and renders them fit articles of food. The earth produces corn, but labor must plow the furrow and sow the grain.

Capital does not support labor, and wages is not drawn from capital. A shoe manufacturer opens his establishment on Monday morning. He has capital in building, machinery, leather, and money. On Saturday night he pays his operatives, but this does not diminish his capital. He has the same building, the same machinery, less leather and less money; but he has more shoes. He has simply transformed capital of one kind into capital of another. The operatives have increased the wealth of the proprietor before they receive their compensation, and the money they get in payment for their services is a draught on the world's wealth.

Capital depends on labor, but the latter does not depend on capital. If all the laborers would vanish from the world to-day, capitalists would perish in less than six months, for production would cease, and famine would reign from one end of the earth to the other. But if all the capitalists would pass down into the grave, and bury their wealth in their tombs, laborers would not only survive, but grow rich, for then they would get the full amount of the wealth produced by their exertions. It is true that they would be without money and without machinery, but they would soon create these as they have created the wealth of the world.

Labor has brought the blessing of civilization to the wilderness. It has invaded the mighty primeval forests, felled the pine and the oak, the beech and the elm, adorned the streams with the hamlet and the village, the town and the city. Labor has made our streets and mills and factories and palaces. It has plowed the furrow and raised the corn and reaped the grain. It has covered our fields with flocks, and transformed the unbroken woodland into smiling meads and leas. It has threaded our land with rail-

roads, and built those magnificent iron-clad ships that carry the products of one clime to the shores of another. It has established our schools and colleges and universities. It supports our professors and scientists, and has enabled them to bear the sun of civilization over land and wave, from the ice-bound regions of the North to the foaming billows of the South. Since labor produces all wealth, it should own all wealth.

Capital is the product of labor, and hence the latter precedes and creates capital. Capital is the child of labor, and has no right to labor's products. Capital is that part of wealth devoted to the aid of production. If we had no capital in money, labor would be compelled to make its own exchanges at a great loss of time and inconvenience. If we had no capital in machinery, labor could not operate with the same facility. Away back in the primeval ages of time all men obeyed the scriptural injunction and earned their living in the sweat of their brow.

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

God gave to mankind the earth, which was a common heritage. "I have given you every herb-bearing seed upon the earth, and all trees that have in themselves seed of their own kind, to be your meat. And to all the beasts of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to all that move upon the earth wherein there is life that they may have to feed upon." (Gen., 1st Chap.) Blackstone, referring to this grant, writes: "That is the only true and solid foundation of man's dominion over external things. The earth, therefore, and all things therein, are the general property of mankind." (Com., Book 2d., p. 208.)

Again, man has a right to life. But land is necessary to the exercise of that right; therefore man has a right to the use of land, and it can not become private property. He that owns the land is master of those who live upon it, and can force them to give him the product of their labor for the privilege of living. If I owned the entire earth, I could drive every human being into the briny deep. I could compel the multitude to serve me under the stroke of the lash, or crouch as minions at the foot of my throne.

Moreover, the only basis of private property is the right that a man has to the ownership of his person, and his powers and faculties. An article belongs to me, because I have made it. But if I have a right to the product of my labor I have, also, a right to the material upon which I expend my labor, and therefore a right to the land. If I have no right to the land, then I have no right to the ownership of my person and the product of my labor, for these rights are dependent on the right to the use of the land.

Besides its inherent, or natural value, arising from its fertility or productive energy, land has a social value; that is, a value created by society. Two hundred years ago I could have bought the land upon which the city of Cincinnati now stands for the sum of one dollar, whereas to-day it is worth many millions. For in that remote day the wigwam rested on Mt. Adams and Price Hill, the red man's canoe glided along on the bosom of the Ohio, and the dusky warrior roamed through the surrounding forest, and feared not the pale-faced intruder from the shores of the Potomac and the Susquehanna. But since then the light of civilization has penetrated the wilderness of the West, the forests have been cleared away, and the Queen City has been built on the ruins of the Indian village. The increased value of this land is

the product of society, and therefore should belong to society.

Man can be considered in a two-fold relation—as an individual and as a member of society. As an individual he is entitled to the product of his labor, and as a member of society he is entitled to the enjoyment of the common fund created by social factors. The individual living apart from society could never accumulate a competence. By his unaided efforts he could not make more than twenty cents per day, and this would scarcely provide him with the necessaries of life. Let the individual migrate to the wilds of Asia or the jungles of Africa, and he will never become wealthy, because there is no one to fleece. The isolated individual may seek a climate where nature smiles on every leaf of vernal wood, and every sheaf of golden grain, and every field of waving corn, and every grove of yellow fruit, and yet he will be compelled to earn his living in the sweat of his brow, all the days of his life. Why, then, does the same individual, living in America, rise from a state of mendicancy to vast opulence within a few years? Because he robs labor of its fruit, and he appropriates the wealth accumulated by the progress of society.

Improvement in the method of production is the creation of social advancement. The inventor borrows his ideas, not only from contemporaries, but also from the genius of past centuries and lost ages. He appropriates the knowledge of a hundred minds, and the progress of a dozen generations. The author culls flowers from every tree in the broad field of literature. The sculptor studies the models of Grecian art, and becomes familiar with the works of mediaeval masters. The accumulated knowledge of the past is thus transmitted from age to age, as the heritage of the human race, and therefore it is common property. The indi-

vidual, as a member of society, is entitled to the advantages arising from the wealth of society.

But society has been spoliated by the vile and the cunning, and the common heritage has been used to create lords and dukes and money kings. The land is monopolized, and the instruments of production have passed into the hands of capitalists. Labor no longer reaps the fruit of its toils, but has become a commodity in the market, and is sold to the highest bidder. The value of labor is the wealth that it produces. The price of labor is the wages paid. The difference between the raw material of the article and the value of the manufactured article, is the value of labor performed. If the capitalist, however, would give that price for labor, he would make nothing. People must live, and as they are deprived of the means of production, they are willing to sell their labor for any price. The manufacturer goes into the labor market and finds a number of men seeking employment. The first endeavors to exact the full value of his labor, and his offer is treated with contempt and ridicule. The second says that he has a wife and family and must work, but it will require two dollars per day to support them, "and I can not work for less." A third says: "I have a wife, but no family, and I am willing to work for one dollar per day." The fourth is a single man, and can afford to work for fifty cents a day. The last is hired, and the others join the army of beggars and tramps. The laborer creates ten dollars of wealth and receives fifty cents in payment, and the nine dollars and fifty cents goes to the capitalist in profits.

With the growth of society, the division of labor and the multiplication of machinery, competition among the toilers is intensified, till wages is reduced to the lowest possible point upon which labor can live

and reproduce. This is Ricardo's law of wages, called by Lassalle the iron law of wages. As the wage-earner learns to economize, his standard of living becomes permanent, and his compensation is fixed accordingly. Owing to the dearth of laborers in England, in 1363, a statute was framed regulating the diet of workmen, and specifying the clothing that they must wear in order to reduce their expenses and diminish their wages. Four hundred years afterwards, Pitt, Fox and Whitbread, the mental giants of English statesmanship, defended this cruel and unjust doctrine, and claimed that wages must be proportioned to wants, and not to services. It is not necessary, now, to pass such laws, since competition in the reduction of wages is more potent than legislative decrees. In China laborers live on rats, and a dog is regarded as a great delicacy. In less than half a century the condition of the laborer in America will be as deplorable as the condition of the toiling class among the bronzed children of the Orient. I predict that the day is not far distant when the poor people of this land will live on roasted skunk and boiled cat.

The result of our economic system is seen in the growth of poverty among the toilers, and the amassment of wealth by the idlers and parasites of society. In England there are seven hundred thousand people constantly idle; eight hundred thousand paupers, and twenty million poor. More than half the national income belongs to ten thousand people. Thirty thousand people own fifty-five sixths of all the land and capital in the kingdom. The same conditions are being realized in America. In the census report of 1889 it was shown that New York had a population of one million five hundred thousand, and one million one hundred thousand lived in tenement houses. William Peffer stated on the floor of the National Senate that ten thousand farmers are annually losing

their farms in the State of Kansas, and statistics prove that there is a wonderful increase in land mortgages in Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa and Nebraska.

While competition is reducing the small farmers to a state of tenantry, the large land-holders are annually extending their domains. The Vanderbilts own two million acres. The Hamilton-Disston Company, of Philadelphia, own four million acres. A Dutch company owns two million acres. The Murphy brothers own two million acres, Lord Scully three million, the English aristocracy twenty million, and the railroads over two hundred million. On the large farms of the West wheat can be raised for twenty cents per bushel, whereas it costs forty-eight cents on the small farms of Kentucky and Ohio. In America four thousand families own twenty billions, and twenty-five thousand persons own more than half the national wealth. Ten men own two billions, and three men own six hundred millions. In a few years America will be a land of millionaires and paupers.

Mr. George K. Holmes, of the United States Census Department, classifies and illustrates the distribution of the national wealth and population. The working class, 6,504,796 families, or 52 per cent. The middle class, 4,904,091 families, or 39 per cent. The capitalist class, 1,091,325 families, or 9 per cent. The working class own \$2,746,000,000, which is $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The middle class, \$14,550,000,000, which is $24\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Capitalist class, \$42,203,000,000, which is 71 per cent. The laboring people receive only 17 per cent. of the wealth which they produce, while 83 per cent. goes to capital, or is wasted in the struggle for business.

Give the laboring man the full value of his labor, and there will be no hard times, no stagnation of indus-

try, no strikes, no lock-outs, no crises, no failures, and, above all, the land will not be cursed with over-production, while millions are starving and in tatters.

When the laboring man has money and leisure, his wants are increased, and he will spend his earnings in the satisfaction of his desires. When the wage-earner gets eight dollars a day, he will use more tea, and this calls for more ships to transport the tea from China, more wood to make the ships, more iron and steel, more men to man the ships, more warehouses, more masons and carpenters to build these structures.

Again, we exchange our commodities for tea, and this requires more laborers to produce the commodities. Good wages signifies that the laboring man will have the best beef on his table. Now it needs more farmers to raise cattle, more corn and hay to feed the cattle, more butchers to slaughter the animals. The farmer and the butcher will spend their money in the grocery store; they will wear better clothes, have pianos for their daughters. The grocer and woolen manufacturer will have a larger trade, and thus the business activity of the nation is enhanced, and every one is comfortable and happy.

The capitalist is not to be censured, for he is the victim of circumstances. The system has created him, and he must adopt the methods of the system, or perish in the whirlpool of destruction. Five men are engaged in the manufacturing of cloth. They pay their operatives four dollars per day, and their profits are reasonable. All are satisfied, with one exception. This individual dreams of a palace, with liveried servants. He must mount the ladder of fame, his daughter's accomplishments must grace the halls of a castle, and his grand-children must inherit the blood of aristocracy. But his plebeian origin is an impediment to his social aspirations. He must surmount the obstacle

and triumph over the obscurity of his birth by the fascination of glittering gold. But his profits are not large enough to enable him to realize the dreams of his ambition. He attempts to reduce the wages of his employees one dollar per day, and as he has one thousand men in his establishment, this small theft will enhance his income \$300,000 annually. The men refuse to submit, and quote the wages paid in the other establishments. But the manufacturer is obstinate. The men strike, the mill is closed, and the trade of his competitors is increased. He finally succumbs to the force of circumstances, and re-opens his mill at the original wage scale.

One year later a machine is invented which will dispense with half the labor, and this ambitious individual takes advantage of the improvement to reduce his force and curtail expenses. He selects five hundred of his best men, and discharges the remainder. Competition produces the inevitable results. The discharged men offer to work for three dollars per day. They are retained, and the other five hundred are discharged. This army of employees moves on to the next factory, and to their dismay, they find the machine in operation, with the same consequences, and their ranks are swelled by another regiment. They now besiege the third factory, and the brigade is increased by another five hundred. The army moves on to the fourth and fifth establishments, and learn, to their sorrow, that their entire forces, including the proprietors of the mills, are ready to join their ranks, for competition has driven them from the field of industry and their mills are closed. This is the work of one ambitious individual. The only remedy for the evils is the abolition of the competitive system, and the introduction of Socialism.

Man has a right to his inheritance, a right to his

labor as an individual, and a right to his labor as a member of society. Therefore, let society assume ownership of the means of production and distribution, that every individual may enjoy his inalienable rights.

Leo XIII., in his "Encyclical on Labor," says that man is anterior to society, and government can not deprive him of his natural rights. By nature man owns his person and powers and faculties and the product of his labor, and no government on earth has a right to interfere with these natural gifts. Under our present system the government can not regulate wages, for in the uncertainties of trade allowance must be made for perils arising to commerce. Under Socialism, dangers of this nature would be obviated, and after paying for wear and replacement of machinery, and necessary expenses, the profits would go entirely to the producers of wealth.

Competition begets envy and hatred, creates struggles between class and class, destroys fraternal love, victimizes the weak on the altar of Mammon for the glorification of the strong, leads to adulteration, deceit, lying and dishonesty, bankruptcies, the ruin of small houses, and the establishment of monopolies. Twenty-four thousand small houses have perished in Chicago since the advent of the department stores, and nearly one million in various parts of the United States.

The hope of the nation lies in the abolition of the competitive system, and the introduction of co-operation. One hundred men are employed in a factory, and they are working ten hours per day. A machine is invented which disposes of fifty men. Competition forces the proprietor to discharge the supernumeraries, who are thrown on the charity of the world, or affiliate with the criminal class. Under Socialism, the hun-

dred men will be retained, and the hours of labor will be reduced accordingly, and thus the condition of the toilers, the wealth-producers, is ameliorated with the progress of society.

Socialism, as we teach it in America, is simply the substitution of the co-operative for the competitive system. We propose to make the government the sole capitalist, the agent of the people, to manage the industrial system for the benefit of all. American Socialism does not propose to interfere with the home, family, or religion. It does not propose to interfere with private property, or to make a new distribution of the national wealth. It simply intends that the government shall buy the means of production and transportation from private individuals and operate these for the benefit of the people at large.

American Socialism does not advocate violent methods. We advocate the gradual absorption of industries by the government. Socialism will be inaugurated by the municipal ownership of light, water, and street railways. The government will then purchase one of the many lines of the railroads of the nation. If these attempts are successful, another railroad will be nationalized, and finally the government will have complete control of its transportation. Every movement in this direction will be an object lesson, and will finally culminate in national collectivism. If the railroads, for instance, should refuse to sell, the government will build rival roads, and the immense profits now accruing to the stockholders will be used in the reduction of rates and the increase of wages, and thus the private roads will pass out of existence. There is no injustice in this action, for if the roads now operated by private companies can not compete with the national roads, according to the competitive system, they should succumb.

Would industries conducted by the government be advantageous to the public? There is not the slightest doubt. The usual fare paid on street cars in the United States is five cents. These street railways are generally capitalized at ten or twenty times their real value. In New York, the Third Avenue line is capitalized at \$526,000 per mile, and it pays five per cent. on five millions of bonds, and ten per cent. on ten millions of stock. This amounts to more than one hundred per cent. on the real value of the line. The Broadway cable car line is capitalized at \$1,152,000 per mile, and the dividends are therefore more than two hundred per cent. on the real value of the road. If these roads were capitalized at their real value, and five per cent. dividends declared, they could afford to double the wages of their employees, and reduce the fare to one cent.

In Savannah, Georgia, in 1894, two rival companies reduced the fare to one cent, and they were surprised to find the increase in passengers was so enormous that the net profits from each car was four dollars and fifty cents per day more.

In 1891, Toronto, Canada, bought a street railway for \$1,500,000, and in three months its net profits amounted to \$75,000. In five years the profits from the operation of the line would have paid for its purchase. But the city sold the annual rental of the franchise for \$1,600 per mile, with the stipulation that it should receive eight per cent. of the gross proceeds up to one million; ten per cent. up to one and one-half million; fifteen per cent. up to three millions, and twenty per cent. above that sum. The city of Baltimore keeps twenty per cent. of the profits from the street railways, and the revenue arising from this source is \$300,000 annually. These illustrations are

sufficient to prove the utility of the municipal ownership of street railways.

The history of gas companies is equally convincing. When the English people, under municipal ownership, were paying seventy-five cents for gas, private companies in America were charging one dollar and seventy-five cents. In 1870, Wheeling, West Virginia, was paying three dollars and seventy cents for gas. The city established a gas plant which furnished gas to consumers for seventy-five cents, and to-day the cost has been reduced to forty cents. The plant cost \$176,000, and now it is worth \$600,000. By the establishment of a municipal plant, the city of Hamilton, Ohio, has reduced the price of gas from two dollars to seventy-five cents. Birmingham, England, furnishes gas for fifty cents per nineteen hundred feet, and Widness for twenty-eight cents per one thousand feet. Why should the people enrich a few individuals when the same service can be rendered for one-half or one-third the price?

The national ownership of railways is another exemplification of the benefits derived from the institution of Socialism. According to the authority of Mr. Gordon, Vail, Miller, and ex-Gov. William Larabee, railroads can be built and equipped at \$25,000 per mile. The Utah Central was built for \$7,300 per mile, and the Missouri Pacific for \$10,000 per mile. In the United States the railroads are capitalized at five, and not infrequently ten, times their real value. This signifies that railroads are paying from thirty to fifty per cent. on the money invested in the construction and equipment of these roads. The New York Central & Hudson River Railroad stood on the books, in 1869, at forty-six millions. The next year it was capitalized at ninety millions, and since it has been watered up to one hundred and forty five millions. The profits

realized from the operation of American railroads are amply sufficient to redeem the money expended in their construction and equipment in four years.

New Zealand has built and operates twenty-two hundred miles of railway. The employes, with an eight-hour workday, with a half holiday every week, six whole holidays in the year, receive thirty per cent. higher wages than is paid by American lines; passenger and freight rates are very low, and yet the government realizes an annual profit of \$2,500,000.

The national railways of Germany were purchased at ninety-two thousand dollars per mile. Passengers rates are one and one-sixth cent per mile; commutation tickets, one-fourth of a cent per mile; employees receive one hundred and twenty per cent. higher wages than they receive on private roads, and thirteen men are employed per mile, whereas in America only four men are employed per mile. The profits from passengers in 1894 were eighty-five millions, and freight thirty-five millions, making a total of one hundred and twenty millions of dollars.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire owns and operates 11,300 miles of road, which cost \$93,000 per mile. The total income from these lines in 1898 was one hundred and eight millions of dollars. The total expenses were fifty-eight millions of dollars, and eight millions of this was paid to employees in sick benefits and pensions. Eleven men per mile are employed. Passenger rates for long distances are one-third of a cent per mile, and the government realized an annual profit of fifty millions. The German and Austrian roads were purchased at three times their real value.

The national ownership of railroads has been illustrated in fifty-four countries, and the results have surpassed the hopes of the most sanguine. The employes are better paid, the roads are kept in splen-

did condition, accidents are rare, discrimination in favor of certain corporations is impossible, rates have been vastly reduced, and the roads are a source of revenue to the government.

We could build and equip a double-track railroad from Boston to San Francisco, a distance of three thousand four hundred and fifty miles, for less than two hundred million dollars. The expenses of operating such a road would be twenty millions for wear, etc.; one hundred and fifty thousand employees, at four dollars per day, of eight hours' labor, three hundred and fifty days in the year, would be two hundred and nineteen millions; fuel, oil, etc., ten millions, making a grand total of two hundred and forty-nine millions.

To-day it costs nearly one dollar to haul a ton of freight one hundred miles. By reducing this cost to twenty-five cents, it would increase business enormously. There would be one hundred and fifty thousand cars on this road, and each car would move ten tons ten miles per day; this would create an annual revenue of one hundred and ninety-five million dollars. It is probable that it would be five times this sum. By conveying passengers across the country for one dollar each, we could depend on having one hundred and fifty millions, and perhaps five hundred millions. This would be one hundred and fifty million dollars, and we will say four millions from the express, which makes a grand total of three hundred and forty-nine millions, or an annual profit of one hundred millions. In two years the profits would pay for the construction and equipment of the line.

It has been estimated by several competent authorities, that the railroads in America waste annually \$750,000,000 in competition. The waste in other industries is enormous. Under a Socialistic form of

government all this would be saved for the benefit of the public.

Unproductive labor is supported by productive labor. One man is engaged in making shoes, another in making clothes. A merchant buys the shoes from the former at seventy-five per cent., and sells them to the latter at one hundred per cent., and vice versa. These two men are supporting the merchant. In our present industrial system every producer is supporting nineteen parasites. Abolish the system and the producer will get the full value of his labor.

The capitalists are the leeches of industry. Postmaster General Creswell, in 1871, and Wanamaker, in 1890, recommended that the government should buy the telegraph lines, but the company spent large sums to thwart the measure. In the report of 1890 Wanamaker said that an investment of one thousand dollars in the Western Union in 1858 would have realized, up to that time, stock dividends of \$50,000, and cash dividends of \$100,000, or three hundred per cent. each year.

The private companies in England charged sixty cents for a message, and to-day, under government ownership, twelve words can be sent for twelve cents. In France and Belgium a message of ten words can be sent for ten cents.

The Metropolitan Telephone Company in New York realized in six years \$2,800,000 on an investment of \$600,000. In 1885 they cleared 116 per cent.; in 1886 it was 147 per cent, and 145 in 1887. Elgin, Illinois, paid a private company \$242 for arc lights till midnight. Since 1890 the city operates its own arc lights, and pays only \$85 for the same service all night. Municipal ownership of arc lights in Detroit has reduced the cost from \$130 to \$75; in Bangor, Maine, it has been reduced from \$150 to \$53; in Jacksonville,

Florida, it has been reduced one-fourth the original cost; in Lewiston, Maine, it has been reduced from \$182 to \$55; in Peabody, Massachusetts, from \$185 to \$62; in Bay City, Michigan, from \$110 to \$58; in Huntington, Indiana, from \$146 to \$50; in Bloomington, Illinois, from \$111 to \$51. Who can doubt the advantages of public ownership when he reads these figures?

The post-office is another illustration of the beneficial results of Socialism. The government will carry a letter from Texas to Alaska, a distance of several thousand miles, for two cents, and the employees have an eight-hour working day, with an average salary of nine hundred and fifty dollars per annum. Capitalists claim that the post-office does not pay expenses, but they do not assign the reason for the deficiency. When postage was three cents, the government had a surplus of several millions coming from the mail service. Even with the two-cent postage, the post-office would have a surplus were it not for the unjust exactions of the railroad companies.

The government pays an annual rental of \$3,500,000 for the use of five hundred postal cars, whereas these cars can be built for \$2,000,000, and they will last for twenty years. Besides, the government pays, in addition to this, at the rate of one cent a pound for every fifty-six miles, which is eight times as much as the express companies pay, and fifty times as much as shippers pay for the transportation of merchandise. Thousands of tons of mail, sent by the different departments of the government, are carried free, such as agricultural seeds, books, and pamphlets. In the mail service, the railroads rob the government of thirty millions annually. Under a Socialistic regime all this would be saved, and if the franking service were abolished, we could have a penny postage and yet make

several millions annually. The British post-office makes a net profit of sixteen millions a year. Nearly all the postal systems of the world show a profit, even those in sparsely settled Australia.

Prof. Theodore Hertzka, of Vienna, Austria, author of "Social Laws of Evolution," says: "I have calculated how much labor and time are necessary, with the aid of the present mechanical appliances, to produce what is required to support in ease and comfort the twenty-six million inhabitants of Austria, viz.: food, clothing, and shelter, consisting of a five-room house to a family, and necessary fuel, medicine, furniture, and utensils. I find it would require twenty-six million acres of arable land, and eight million acres in pasturage, or one and one-third acre per capita, and six hundred and fifteen thousand workmen, working eleven hours per day, three hundred days in the year. These six hundred and fifteen thousand are but twelve and three-tenths per cent. of the population able to work, excluding the women, children below sixteen years of age, and men above fifty years.

"If, instead of these six hundred and fifteen thousand, the whole five millions of men able to work were engaged, they would need to work but thirty-seven days in the year, or if they were to work three hundred days in the year, they would need to work but one hour and twenty-two and one-half minutes per day.

"Again, if all the luxuries of life were included, it would require five millions of workmen, or twenty per cent. of the population able to work, two hours and eleven minutes per day, three hundred days in the year. With this working power, the twenty-six million Austrians would be supplied with all their hearts could possibly desire. But again, if the whole five million men were employed three hours and twelve

minutes per day, they would need to work but seven months in the year."

Some people say that competition is the life of trade, is the incentive to exertion, and its elimination from society means decay and death of the commonwealth. If competition is essential to the development of society, then it must be a factor in the development of vegetable and animal life. Why does the farmer plow his field! Why does he not let the corn compete with the weeds? Why does he improve the fertility of his land with manure and other substances? Why does he let his fields rest for a few years, or plant them with crops that do not exhaust the fecundity of the soil! Why does he preserve the breed of his stock? Why does the horticulturist protect his flowers from the chilly blasts of winter? Why not let the fragile plants compete with the biting frosts and withering snow? If the agriculturist allowed competition full sway, his meadows would be filled with a useless noxious growth that would soon destroy every blade of grass in the struggle for existence.

Democrats and Republicans speak of the harmony between labor and capital. There can be no harmony between the rights of the laborer and the usurpations of capitalism. The capitalist and the laborer are like two boys playing see-saw, one must go down when the other goes up. The Republican and Democratic papers are always on the side of labor before election, and always on the side of capital after election. When there is a strike, these papers show their real animus. They cry for the blood of the poor man, and call on the public to arm themselves and shoot down the strikers.

The other day a man asked me what I would do with tramps under Socialism. What do you do with tramps under the competitive system? You let them

starve. Under Socialism there would be no tramps. A large number of people are tramps because they can not get work. A vast number can not get work that they are able to perform. Some were clerks, or bookkeepers, or mechanics, and, having lost their positions, are unable to perform the hard labor of the railroad section hand. Some are tramps because they were discouraged by long hours of laborious toil, with insufficient remuneration. Some have become hardened by the asperities of the world. Some few are dishonest, but the public is not aware of the fact, and gives them a support. Some were born tired, because their mothers labored like galley slaves during gestation, and the unborn foetus has been impregnated with ennui and lassitude, and comes into the world cursed with physical debility. Under Socialism, the working day would be reduced to two hours, and there would be labor for all, with a just compensation, and your tramps would disappear from the nation.

But the capitalist says that there would be no emulation under a Socialistic form of government. When men have all they want, they will not exert themselves. The capitalists of the world have all they want, and a great deal more than they can use. In fact, their wealth is a burden to them, and still they do not cease to exert themselves. Public approval would be the incentive to exertion. The laborer would invent some machine which would reduce the hours of toil for himself and his fellowmen, and he would become the hero of his craft, a star in the galaxy of the nation's great men. He would be pensioned, and thus enabled to devote his genius to the promotion of mechanical skill, which would be utilized for the amelioration of the human race.

Machinery is now used for the advancement of capital, and the degradation of labor, and the inventor

is robbed of the fruits of his genius for the personal aggrandizement of his employer. The man who would invent a new method of conducting business, or would introduce some innovation that would enhance the wealth of society and redound to the glory of the nation, would be recognized as a public benefactor, and his statue would be enshrined in the temple of fame.

What interest would it be to the government to build a railroad? says the capitalist. What interest was it to the government to establish the postal system, the public school, the army and the navy—all Socialistic enterprises? Some one would agitate the building of a road through a certain section of the country. Others would take up the question, and soon it would assume national importance.

Socialism is opposed because it is a step forward. Progress has always been opposed by a very large percentage of the people known as the conservative element. Socrates was put to death, Anaxagoras was imprisoned, Aristotle was compelled to seek safety in flight, Gerbert was abhorred as a magician, Roger Bacon languished in a dungeon for many years, Virgilius was condemned for teaching the existence of the antipodes, Savonarola lost his life in trying to save Florence from moral putrefaction, and Columbus, after braving wind and wave, was brought back in chains as a criminal, and, having added a new world to the Empire of Spain, died in poverty and distress.

Socialism will give every man an opportunity. It will make all men free and equal. Under it there will be no privileged class, and this is why it has been so obstinately opposed.

My friends, civilization progresses with the preservation of mental energies, and mental energies are wasted by maintenance and conflict. Vast wealth on one side and degrading poverty on the other, engender

a class struggle. The rich are vitiated by luxury and the poor are demoralized by poverty. The rich spend their time in seeking pleasure and keeping down the poor, and the poor spend their time in supporting themselves and their masters, and fighting for their freedom. Vast inequalities beget conflict, and increase the burden of maintenance, and retard the wheel of progress and destroy civilization.

Look back into the shadows of the lost ages, and what do you behold? The tombs of fallen empires and extinct races. Behold the glory of ancient Syria. Behold the splendor of Babylon and Nineveh, with their massive walls and brazen gates and minarets and towers and pinnacles that glistened and glittered in the golden sheen of a tropical sky! And where are they to-day? When Babylon went down, two per cent. of her population owned all the wealth, and the masses were starved. When Persia fell beneath the sword of doom, one per cent. of her population owned all the land.

Let us leave the valley of the Tigris and go to the sands of the Nile, and behold the glory of ancient Egypt, with her schools and libraries and temples and pyramids that were swept by the wandering clouds. When Egypt perished, two per cent. of her population owned ninety-seven per cent. of her wealth.

The eagle of progress perched on the rocks of the Mediterranean, and the Phoenician Confederation became the sun and center of civilization, spreading the rays of light upon every country, from the land of frozen streams to the billows of the southern sea. But wealth and poverty led to her ruin; she now lives only in the song of the bard.

The star of genius arose like a goddess from the wild Aegian flood that swept the rocks of Attica, and covered every land and every wave with the glory of its

sheen. The harp of the muse mingled with the sigh of the winds and the wail of the woods, the whisper of the trees and the voice of the groves. O Greece! land of poetry and eloquence, of sages and heroes, hallowed by the sacred memories that cluster around thy fountains and glide along thy streams! O Hellas, consecrated by the song of Apollo, whose lyre filled the lonely mountain dell with echoes weird and dim, and charmed the rocks of wild Parnassus with the magic of the sound, and held the world entranced around Castalia's silvery brook nestled in the shade of Helicon! thy ancient glory is lost and thou hast vanished from the galaxy of nations, and inequality is the cause of thy ruin. The Imperial City arose on the borders of the Tiber, and the Roman Eagles swept every land and every sea till the throne of the Caesars ruled the world. In the days of her supremacy, one thousand eight hundred men owned the Roman Empire, and the City of the Twins fell beneath the iron-clad hoofs of the Northman's battle steed.

At the dawn of the sixteenth century, Spain was the dominant nation of the earth. Her ships had broken the waves on every sea, her sails had been unfurled beneath the blue of every sky, and the glitter of every star, and the sun in his course around the globe never set on the dominion of the Goth. But the wealth of the nation was monopolized by the aristocracy of the realm, and the masses were degraded by poverty, and the wing of the dark angel has cast the shadow of gloom over the glory of ancient Iberia, and ere long the nations of the earth will chant the requiem of the Spanish Empire.

Behold the Italian republics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries! Lord Macaulay writes that "Italian ships covered every sea, Italian factories arose on every shore. The tables of Italian money-changers were

set in every city. Manufactories flourished. Banks were established. The operations of the commercial machine were facilitated by many useful and beautiful inventions. We doubt whether any country of Europe, our own excepted, have at the present time reached so high a point of wealth and civilization as some parts of Italy attained four hundred years ago." (Essays, Vol. I., p. 199.) Florence alone had two hundred woolen factories and employed eighty thousand workmen. Eighty banks conducted the commercial operations not of Florence only, but of all Europe. The transactions of these establishments were sometimes of a magnitude which may surprise even the contemporaries of the Barings and the Rothschilds. Two houses advanced to Edward the Third of England a sum equivalent to fifteen millions of our money. (Ibid.)

It is doubtful whether all the banks in the State of Kentucky could advance that sum to-day. In art and science and literature Florence was the mistress of the globe. O City of Florence! I venerate thy name, for thou wert the glory of mediaeval Europe. Within thy hallowed walls poets and painters and sculptors have left the traces of their genius and made thee the Mecca of inspiration. "It is delightful to turn to the opulent and enlightened States of Italy, to the vast and magnificent cities, the ports, the arsenals, the villas, the museums, the libraries, the marts filled with every article of comfort or luxury, the factories swarming with artisans, the Apennines, covered with rich cultivation up to their very summit; the Po wafting the harvests of Lombardy to the granaries of Venice, and carrying back the silks of Bengal and the furs of Siberia to the palaces of Milan. With peculiar pleasure every cultivated mind must repose on the fair, the happy, the glorious Florence, the halls which

rang with the mirth of Pulci, the cell where twinkled the midnight lamp of Politian, the statues on which the young eye of Michael Angelo glared with the frenzy of a kindred inspiration, the gardens in which Lorenzo meditated some sparkling song for the May-day dance of the Etrurian virgins. Alas, for the beautiful city! Alas, for the wit and the learning, the genius and the love!" (Ibid, 202.)

The competitive system has produced its legitimate results. The means of production and distribution are monopolized. The wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few money kings. The masses are reduced to beggary, the bright galaxy of republics has vanished from the constellation of nations. The glory of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Sienna, Brescia, Milan, and Bergamo, has faded, and ere long the waves of the Adriatic and Mediterranean will chant the requiem of a dead kingdom, and the sunny skies of Italy will smile on the tomb of a buried race and a lost civilization.

A short time ago Umberto the First was assassinated by Bresci. The deed was horrible. But the government of Italy is responsible for the conditions which create anarchy. The poor Italians, laboring from early till late, live on the very lowest diet. Some of them prepare a cake made of nuts mixed with earth, which constitutes their food. It is not surprising that men goaded to desperation by hunger should rise in rebellion against their despots and slaughter those who have robbed them of their toil. Why should we express so much sympathy for Humbert, the oppressor of the masses, and have no word of compassion for the hundreds of men, women and children whom his soldiers slaughtered in the bread riots a few years ago? Bresci committed one murder, but Humbert,

and the system he represents, has killed thousands.

Every one who understands the evils of the competitive system is a cold-blooded murderer if he support this system, for his vote indorses and perpetuates the darkest iniquities that ever made the angels weep. The triumph of the Democratic or the Republican party means death and desolation to the toilers, and the assassin of Humbert is an angel of innocence compared with those who elect Bryan or McKinley. How long will the laboring people be deluded by false promises?

Economic individualism has transformed roses into thorns and flowers into thistles. Under the growth and domination of Competition joy and laughter are choked by sobs and sighs, and wreaths of smiles are drowned in floods of tears. Why should the toilers in the great city of Chicago invite Bryan and Roosevelt to address them on Labor Day? These demagogues offered no specific for the evils that afflict the laboring element. The Democrat and Republican platforms do not propose to give a four-hour working day with increased wages, because their parties are interested in the robbery of labor. They are vampires that prey on the heart's blood of the millions, and they will never cease till the masses sign their own emancipation. Yet these outraged, down-trodden, persecuted people will perpetuate their slavery by supporting capitalism. They will shout for Bryan and McKinley and denounce Socialist leaders as their enemies.

The Times-Star, commenting on Labor Day, says this government honors labor with legal recognition, and the people of this great country look with pride on the toilers. "The penniless boy of yesterday is the millionaire of to-day; the field is open to him who toils, and to him alone." Yes, this government honors la-

borers with its lips, but its heart is far from them. The triumph of the Democratic party means that the capitalist will get sixteen dollars and the laborer will get one; and the election of the Republican party means that the capitalist will get all, and the laborer will get none. One party claims that if we had money that would not wear out so quickly, everybody would be prosperous; and the other party says we should maintain the gold standard, because a small piece of that metal is very valuable, and the laboring people could easily carry their wages in their pockets without any injury to their constitution. But neither party comes out and says to the laboring people: "We have heretofore robbed you of eighty-three per cent. of your labor, but we are sorry for what we have done, and we propose to give you all that you make in the future, and restore to you what we have stolen in the past."

Let us examine the history of France during the century preceding the French Revolution. Louis the Fourteenth lived in Oriental pomp and magnificence. There were eighty thousand aristocratic families reveling in luxuries and spending their time in the pursuit of pleasure and vice, and twenty-four millions of subjects were kept in the most degrading state of poverty, giving the fruit of their toil to the supercilious nobles that looked upon the proletarian masses with contempt and aversion. Versailles was the rendezvous of vice, and those regal halls constantly rang with the mirth of a licentious court. Louis the Fifteenth improved upon the profligacy of his predecessor. At fourteen he married Marie, daughter of Stanislaus, King of Poland. She was discarded for the superior attractions of Madame de Mailby, until the latter was supplanted by her sister. Then the star of Madame Tournelle arose resplendently in the royal

court, and the other mistresses were dismissed. The beauty of Mademoiselle Valois and the Princess of Conti were rewarded with the embraces of the royal debauchee. Finally Madame Pompadour triumphed over all her adversaries in the regal bagnio, and, for many years, this vile bawd ruled France and shaped the policy of the nation. For half a century the land of Clovis and Charlemagne was governed by prostitutes, who lived in the most extravagant luxury.

While these iniquities were dishonoring the nation the people were dying from starvation. Offices were bought and sold, judges paid enormous sums for their places, and then sold their decisions. Titles were sold, and trades and professions became commodities in the market of corruption. These appalling iniquities were intensified with the passage of the decades, and covered the kingdom of the Franks with sorrow and desolation. The people were hungry, ignorant, naked, oppressed, and beautiful France, the land of art and science, learning and genius, was fast becoming a sepulcher for the Gallic race. But the weight of oppression became so stupendous as time rolled on, that the nerves of the nation were stretched to their utmost tension, and the masses, goaded to fury by the hydra-headed monster that preyed on their hearts' blood, rose like a giant against the despots and bathed the realm with their blood.

The Reign of Terror was the legitimate scion of unmitigated persecution, the culmination of wrongs engendered by the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, while the poor were enthralled, degraded, and starved to death. Had it not been for the Revolution, France would have taken her place among the fallen empires and defunct nations. In the havoc of battle, in the change of government, property was

again equalized, and the life of the kingdom was preserved from decay.

But we boast that there is no danger for the integrity and durability of the American Republic. So thought Rome and Venice and Florence and Genoa. When the Italian republics were the light of the world, cultivating every art and science, and conducting the commercial enterprises of Europe, England and Scotland were yet in swathing bands. When Leon and Castile were extending their dominions into the southern and western hemispheres, when Spanish warriors were carrying the emblem of their country to distant climes, and bringing the blessings of civilization to tribes beneath the light of foreign skies, the Netherlands and Scandinavia were in the childhood of national life. Progress has waned in the south and now flourishes in the north. The older countries have perished in the competitive struggle, the industrial system is seeking victims in new fields, and the doom of death is on the brow of nations that apparently are in the vigor of manhood.

When Caesar planted the Roman Eagles on the rocks of Britain, savage tribes roamed over the purple-robed vales of Kent, hunting the deer and the wolf, and lighted their camp-fires on the banks of the Thames to prepare their prey for the festive board. Time has changed. The Empire of Rome has fallen. The palaces of the Caesars are buried. The temples of the gods are in ruins. New peoples sprang up on the borders of the Adriatic and the Mediterranean. Young republics crowned the Umbrian hills and the rocks of the Maritime Alps, and the Roman name lives only in the history of the past, in the monuments of genius that have made the City of the Twins the cradle of western civilization. The Anglo-Saxon race has emerged from the obscurity of nomadic life to the

pinnacle of national glory, sweeping every sea, unfurling the banner of empire beneath every sky, and in the vast magnitude of its dominion, looking down with contemptuous pity upon those countries that once received the sanction of their laws from the shores of the Tiber.

The competitive system has produced the same results here as in other lands. History repeats itself, and political corruption in this country is more startling than it was in France in the reign of Louis the Fifteenth. Offices are bought. Votes are sold. Good men have retired from the political arena, because they can not conscientiously adopt the corrupt methods of office-holders, and they have no chance of being elected. Our municipalities are governed by saloon-keepers, gamblers, men of the darkest stamp and lowest type of character. Wealth is rapidly gravitating to the coffers of a privileged class. We speak of kings and emperors, dukes and barons, but all the countries on the face of the earth have not as many monarchs as the land of the free and the home of the brave. Rockefeller's income equals the salaries paid to all of the crowned heads of Europe. The wealth of the capitalists is doubling every three years, and before the first decade of the twentieth century has rolled away, a few thousand families will own the country from ocean to ocean, and from the Gulf to the Lakes.

The barbarians dwelling on the shores of the Baltic came down on the fair provinces of Roman civilization and swept away the work of centuries. The Vandals that shall engulf Columbia in the cyclone of destruction will not come down from the frigid zone, or move over the stormy waves from the gate of the Orient, or arise from the islands of the Southern Pacific; but they will emerge from the slums and the tene-

ment house, from the mill and the factory, from the forge and the furnace, and the goddess of liberty will fly from the halls of the nation, and seek refuge in the forest wilds of other lands.

Oh, my fair country! land of my nativity! I love thee! I love thy mountains and thy hills, thy meadows and thy groves. I love thy brooks and rills, and lakes and bays, and seas and streams! I love the pioneers who brought the blessings of civilization to the wilderness. I love the heroes who bore the starry banner from Bunker Hill till it waved in triumph above the flag of the Briton from the walls of Yorktown. I love the patriots who consecrated the temple of freedom and enthroned the goddess of liberty in the halls of the nation. I go back in fancy's flight to the early days of our history. I visit the mausoleums, where sleep the bones of the valiant dead. I summon the shades of the silent heroes from the dust of ages. I conjure the spirits of Washington and Jefferson to arise from their somber tombs and breathe upon the ebbing life of the nation and restore it to the bloom of health, that sons of freedom may be born to protect the rising generation from the thralldom of capitalism.

The capitalists say that under Socialism our powers of productivity would be multiplied twenty-fold, and that we would have too much, and that would be worse than starving. If men are not constantly employed, they will become inert and slothful, and civilization will retrograde. These people presume that man is actuated solely by corporal desires, and forget the existence of the human mind.

The sublimity of the human mind shines forth in all the works of the human race. It shines forth in the grand periods of Demosthenes, who electrified the statesmen of Greece, and in the eloquent flights of Cicero, who held in his hand the mighty heart of

Rome. It shines forth in the brush of Raphael and Angelo, who gave the canvas life and speech, and sketched the smile and frown. It shines forth in the chisel of Phidias and Praxiteles, who carved the tear and sigh and made the marble laugh and weep. It shines forth in the visions of Homer and the dream of Milton, in the lyre of Shelley and the harp of Byron. It shines forth in the strains of Mozart and Beethoven, who have thrilled the world with the waves of symphony and floods of harmony. The majesty of the human soul beams forth in all the works of art, in all the achievements of science, in all the trophies of progress, in all the thoughts and in all the dreams, in all the raptures and in all the ecstasies, in all the flights of fancy, and in all the visions of glory that have made the golden page of the history of the world.

The mind of man is not circumscribed by space or time. It lives in every age and roams through every world. It has flown on the wings of thought to these distant stars, whose rays have struggled through the long aeons to reach the atmosphere that envelops the earth. It has discovered that those faint specks of light that twinkle in the distant skies are glittering orbs and dazzling suns. It can sweep through all the boundless realms of space, and weigh all the globes, and measure all the spheres. It can touch all the worlds and planets and constellations that wander through those vast realms where no sound has ever broken the deep silence of premundane existence. The human mind can soar beyond flaming space, beyond etherial zones, beyond those dark regions where no sun has ever cast his golden beams, and where night, black and awful, has hung his sable curtains.

Let all the power of government, let all the forces of society, be utilized in the development of our national genius. Poverty has robbed the world of mil-

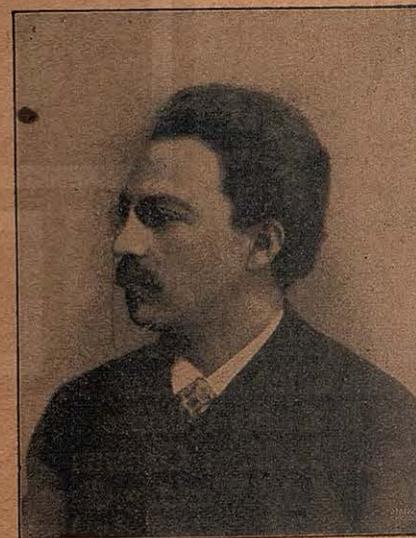
lions of great minds. Many a Homer has died in the furrow, and bequeathed no legacy to the human race. Many a Raphael has spent his days in the obscurity of rural life or has perished in the alleys of the world's great cities, and left no monuments to future ages. The development of genius depends on opportunities for thought and study, and our industrial system gives these advantages only to a favored few, and perhaps not to the brightest intellects of every age. Among the millions of men whose records are not written on the pages of history, there must have been some mighty minds.

Let us, therefore, emancipate the human soul from the bondage of incessant toil, and our country will be filled with philosophers and scientists, poets and orators, painters and sculptors. We will collect the glory of all past centuries; the genius of all the buried ages will be concentrated in our land. We will follow the eagle of progress in her flight beyond the glittering stars, bands of shining angels will sing the glory of our triumphs, and the smiles of God will light up all the realm, from the frozen banks of the St. Lawrence to the golden sands of the Southern Gulf.

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**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.

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2. To teach from the viewpoint of the working-class.

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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

Mrs. J. D. South
Mr. D. W. S.

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.

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By THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE

PERSONNEL OF COMMISSION

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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 106, 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 existence 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 28 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 UN-

DER 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 \$126,300,000 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 have the people's interest at heart. ("Il n'y a que vous et moi qui aimions 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 to 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.



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COURTS ARE CONTROLLED BY CAPITALISTS.

From Final Manly Report.

They 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 worker 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 native 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 them can use to frighten the corporations to cease 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.—114, 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 \$13,500,000, which is at least twice as great as the appropriations of the Federal Government for education and social service.—118, M.

Taxed and Under Autocratic Control.—The funds of these foundations are exempt from taxation, yet during the lives of the funders, 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 John D. 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.—63, 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

ected 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.—93, 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 rehanding 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 cooperation 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, 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.

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 superseas 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 militiamen 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.



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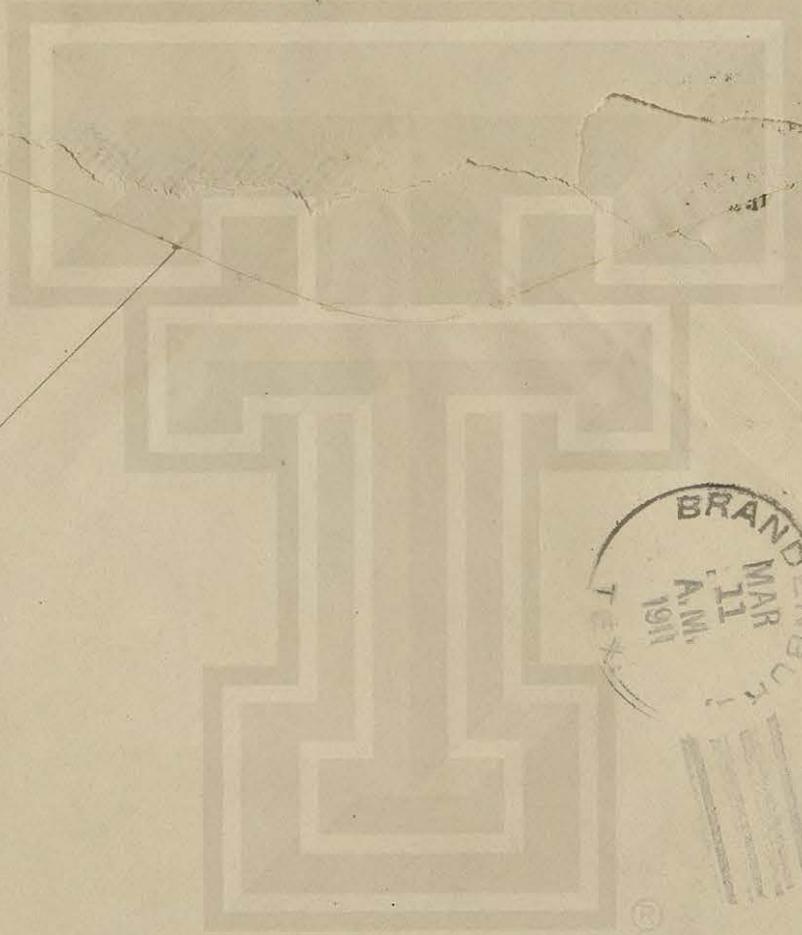
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OF OREGON,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Thursday, May 5, 1910.

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THURSDAY, MAY 5, 1910

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POPULAR & DELEGATED GOVERNMENT

THE GREAT QUESTION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE

SPEECH

OF

HON. JONATHAN BOURNE, JR.

On "popular" versus "delegated" government and the effect it has on legislation—

Mr. BOURNE said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: The justice of all laws rests primarily on the integrity, ability, and disinterestedness of the individuals enacting them, those construing them, and those administering them. On this assumption, I believe the remarks I intend to make have a bearing on all legislation, and hence do not hesitate to present them now while we have the interstate-commerce bill under consideration.

I think all will concede that the times seem awry. Unrest exists throughout the civilized world. People are speculating as to the causes. Daily uncertainty grows stronger as to future events.

In my opinion, the basic cause is that people have lost confidence in many of their public servants and bitterly resent attempted dictatorship by "would-be" political bosses and representatives of special interests who desire to direct public servants and legislation for their own selfish interests rather than assist in the enactment of laws guaranteeing justice to all and special privileges to none.

Successful and permanent government must rest primarily on recognition of the rights of men and the absolute sovereignty of the people. Upon these principles is built the superstructure of our Republic. Their maintenance and perpetuation measure the life of the Republic. These policies, therefore, stand for the rights and liberties of the people and for the power and majesty of the Government as against the enemies of both.

The people have been shocked by the number of business and political exposures which have been brought out in the last ten years.

At the time of Mr. Roosevelt's inauguration the tendency was to measure national prosperity by property rather than by personal liberty. The commercial force of society was rapidly throttling the police power of the Government. Political machines and bosses dictated the legislative and administrative destinies of many communities and States. Mr. Roosevelt, with his experience in practical politics, familiarity with governmental operations, inherent honesty, dynamic energy, and limitless courage, demonstrated that he measured up to the needs of the time and assumed leadership for reinstatement of the police power of the Government in supremacy over the commercial force of society. To him belongs credit for reestablishment of these two great forces in their proper relative positions. He awakened the public conscience, and the result is a struggle throughout the Nation between the advocates of what I would term "popular government" and the advocates of delegated government.

DIRECT SELECTION OF PUBLIC SERVANTS.

In many instances the people have lost confidence in their public servants, the same as many stockholders have lost confidence in corporation management. The remedy in government is the direct selection by the people of their public servants, with the resultant accountability of the public servant to the people, and not to a political machine or boss. I purposely use the word "selection" rather than "nomination," for to my mind it more clearly expresses the idea of the responsibility of good citizenship. Selection implies the careful investigation of all and the resultant choice of one. The remedy in corporation management is rigid responsibility to government; equal obedience to laws and equal accountability to stockholders, giving the Government and the stockholders the fullest publicity of its operations, including absolute honesty and simplicity of its accounts, thus protecting the rights of the people and insuring to all the stockholders proportional enjoyment in the fruits of successful management.

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Mr. President, I will endeavor to deal in my remarks with what I believe to be the great issue, not only in this country, but throughout the civilized world, namely, popular against delegated government.

Much has been said in favor of representative government. I believe in a truly representative government, but where the selection of public servants is left to a political machine or boss, as is frequently the case under our convention system, the tendency is toward misrepresentative, and not a truly representative, form of government, notwithstanding the election is supposedly by the people.

PEOPLE CAPABLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

There are doubtless some people who honestly believe that the people as a whole have not reached the stage of development qualifying them individually to participate in government. Others whom I credit with the intelligence which I have seen manifested by them in other directions assert the inability of the people to govern themselves as an excuse rather than a conviction; but I, Mr. President, from thirty years' experience in practical politics, am absolutely convinced not only that the people are fully capable of governing themselves, but that they are decidedly the best judges as to those individuals to whom they shall delegate the truly representative power.

Individual selfishness, cupidity, and ambition are minimized in the party or general electorate selections of public servants; good general service is demanded by the electorate, special service by the individual.

Hence my advocacy of popular government. By popular government I mean direct legislation as far as practicable, popular selection of candidates, and such regulation of political campaigns as will secure fair and honest elections. Popular selection under the present stage of evolution of our Government can be obtained only by direct primary laws and complete elimination of convention and caucus nomination of public officers.

Time was when a few self-constituted leaders in Oregon politics arrogated to themselves the prerogatives of government and made their assumption effective through illicit combinations and the use of money in any and every quarter where necessary to their purposes of control—that is, they commercialized conventions, legislatures, and the administrative branches of the city, county, and state government. It was not a condition peculiar to Oregon. It obtained, and I believe still obtains in a more or less flagrant degree, in every State in the Union; and it had its boldest, most unscrupulous executive genius in Boss Tweed, who, recognizing the opportunity of the crook in government by party through convention nominations, declared he did not care who elected the candidates so long as he had the power to nominate the ticket.

Revolting against these conditions, the State which I have the honor, in part, to represent, has evolved the best-known system of popular government, and, because of this conviction, I take this opportunity of presenting not only to the Senate, but to the country a brief analysis of the Oregon laws bearing upon this question, with my own deductions as to the improvement they show and the merits they possess.

AUSTRALIAN BALLOT LAW.

Oregon in 1891 adopted the Australian ballot, which insures secrecy, prevents intimidation, and reduces the opportunity for bribery. This, of course, is a prerequisite to any form of popular government.

REGISTRATION LAW.

Supplementing the Australian ballot law, Oregon enacted in 1899 a registration law applying to general elections and enlarged its scope in 1904 in the law creating a direct primary. This law requires registration prior to voting in either the general or the primary election, and provides that before voting in a party primary the voter must, under oath, register his party affiliation. Registration begins five months prior to the general election. Registration books are closed ten days prior to the primary election and opened again four days after the primary, and then kept open until about twenty days before the general election. A voter may register either by appearing at the office of the county clerk or by signing registration blanks before a notary public or justice of the peace.

Upon the registration books are entered the full name of the voter, his registration number, date of registration, his occupation, age, nativity, date and place of naturalization, if any, and his place of residence. In order to guard

against fraud, it is required that the voter shall give his street and number, and if he is not the head of the house he occupies, he must show that fact and give the number of the room he occupies and upon what floor of the building it is located. He must also sign the register, if he can write. If he is unable to write his name, the reason must be given. If his inability is due to a physical defect, the nature of the infirmity must be noted. If it is due to illiteracy, a physical description of the man must be noted in the register.

All these facts are entered in precinct registers which are placed in the hands of election judges and clerks on election day, so that illegal voting may be prevented.

Any registered voter may be challenged and every nonregistered voter is considered challenged. An unregistered person qualified as an elector may be permitted to vote upon signing an affidavit setting forth all the facts required in registration and also securing the affidavits of six owners of real property to the effect that they personally know him and his residence and believe all his statements to be true.

Thus the greatest boon of American citizenship, namely, the right to participate in government, is protected, and dead men, repeaters, and nonresidents can no longer be voted in Oregon.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Oregon's next step in popular government was the adoption of the initiative and referendum amendment to the constitution, which amendment was adopted in June, 1902, by a vote of 62,024 to 5,668. It provides that legislative authority shall be vested in a legislative assembly, but that the people reserve to themselves the power to propose laws and amendments to the constitution and to enact or reject the same at the polls independent of the legislative assembly, and also reserve power to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislature. An initiative petition must be signed by 8 per cent of the legal voters, as shown by the vote for supreme judge at the last preceding general election, and filed with the secretary of state not less than four months before the election.

A referendum petition need be signed by only 5 per cent of the voters and filed with the secretary of state within ninety days after final adjournment of the legislature which passed the bill on which the referendum is demanded. The legislature may itself refer to the people any act passed by it. The veto power of the governor does not extend to any measure referred to the people.

STATE PUBLISHES PUBLICITY PAMPHLETS.

In addition to the publicity incident to the circulation of the petitions, the law provides that the secretary of state shall, at the expense of the State, mail to every registered voter in the State a printed pamphlet containing a true copy of the title and text of each measure to be submitted to the people, and the proponents and opponents of the law have the right to insert in said pamphlet, at the actual cost to themselves of paper and printing only, such arguments as they see fit to make. These pamphlets must be mailed not later than fifty-five days before a general election and twenty days before a special election.

The initiative develops the electorate, placing directly upon them the responsibility for legislation enacted under its provision; the referendum elevates the legislature because of the possibility of its use in case of undesirable legislation. Brains, ideas, and argument, rather than money, intimidation, and logrolling govern the standards of legislation.

Corporation attorneys must exercise their mental activities along constructive rather than destructive and avoidance lines. Possibility of scandal is minimized, recipients of franchises freed from the imputation of secret purchase, and general community confidence is secured.

OREGON'S EXPERIENCE SATISFACTORY.

Since that amendment was adopted, the people of Oregon have voted upon 23 measures submitted to them under the initiative, 5 submitted under the referendum, and 4 referred to the people by the legislature. Nineteen measures were submitted at one election. That the people acted intelligently is evident from the fact that in no instance has there been general dissatisfaction with the result of the vote. The measures submitted presented almost every phase of legislation, and some of them were bills of considerable length.

Results attained under direct legislation in Oregon compare so favorably with the work of a legislative assembly that an effort to repeal the initiative

and referendum attempted.

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and referendum would be overwhelmingly defeated. No effort has ever been attempted.

It has been asserted that the people will not study a large number of measures, but will vote in the affirmative, regardless of the merits of measures submitted. Experience in Oregon has disproved this, for the results show that the people have exercised discriminating judgment. They have enacted laws and have adopted constitutional amendments in which they believed and have defeated those of which they did not approve.

CONCRETE ILLUSTRATIONS.

I will give several concrete illustrations:

Under the initiative in 1904 a local-option liquor law was adopted by a vote of 43,316 to 40,194. Two years later the opponents of the local-option law proposed an amendment in their interest, and this was defeated by a vote of 35,297 to 45,144. It will be noticed that in the first instance the issue was affirmatively presented and in the second instance negatively, with a view to befogging the people, but the popular expression was the same in both.

For many years city charters in Oregon had been made the trading stock of political factions in the legislature. The dominant faction amended city charters as a reward to political allies. Traffic in local legislation even went so far that it sometimes served as a consideration in election of United States Senators. But in 1906, having tired of this disregard of the interest of good municipal government, the people, acting under the initiative, adopted a constitutional amendment which took away from the legislature the power to enact or amend a city charter and vested that power in the people of the municipalities, thus establishing home rule. The amendment was adopted by a vote of 52,567 to 19,852.

* * * * *

In Oregon, as in many other States, there has long been a feeling that certain classes of corporations which own very little tangible property do not bear their proper share of the burden of taxation. Legislatures failed to provide a remedy. For the purpose of securing a more equitable distribution of the burden of taxation the state grange, proceeding under the initiative, proposed a law levying a gross-earnings tax of 3 per cent on sleeping car, refrigerator car, and oil car companies, which measure was adopted by a vote of 69,635 to 6,441. The grange also proposed a similar law levying a gross-earnings tax of 3 per cent on express and 2 per cent on telephone and telegraph companies, and it was adopted by a vote of 70,872 to 6,360. Each of these gross-earnings tax laws applied only to intrastate business.

That the people can and will study measures and vote with discrimination is shown by the record upon two appropriation bills passed by the legislature of 1907. One of these bills proposed to increase the annual fixed appropriation for the state university from \$47,500 to \$125,000. The other bill appropriated \$100,000 for construction of armories for the national guard. The referendum was demanded upon both measures, and both were submitted to a vote of the people at the general election in 1908. There was full and fair discussion through the press, at public meetings, and at sessions of the grange. The bill increasing the appropriation for the university was approved by the people by a vote of 44,115 to 40,535. The armory appropriation bill was defeated by a vote of 33,507 to 54,848.

I shall cite but one more of many instances which show the manner in which the initiative has been effective in Oregon. For a great many years there had been efforts to secure adequate laws for the protection of salmon in the Columbia River, but because of conflicting interests between the upper river and the lower river, legislatures could not be induced to enact laws that would protect the fish. As a consequence the salmon fisheries were being destroyed. At the election in 1908 the upper-river fishermen proposed under the initiative a bill practically prohibiting fishing on the lower river and the lower-river fishermen proposed a bill forbidding fishing on the upper river. There was wide discussion of both bills, and the suggestion was freely made that both bills should be adopted. The people, disgusted with the failures of the legislatures to enact suitable laws for the protection of fish, followed this suggestion, and both bills were enacted. With fishing practically prohibited on both sections of the river, the legislature in 1909 responded to the popular demand by enacting, in conjunction with the legislature of the State of Washington, a fishery law which

provided adequate protection. I believe I am safe in saying that this would not have been done but for the popular adoption of the two fishery bills.

I do not care to take the time of the Senate to discuss each of the measures that have been acted upon by the people of the State, but in order that those who desire may have the opportunity to observe the wide range the measures have taken and the attitude assumed toward them by the people of Oregon, I ask consent to have published in the Record in this connection a very brief summary of the titles of the measures, together with the vote upon each.

Popular vote upon measures submitted to the people of Oregon under either the initiative or referendum.

	Yes.	No.
1904.		
Direct primary law with direct selection of United States Senator ^a	56,205	16,354
Local-option liquor law ^a	43,316	40,198
1906.		
Omnibus appropriation bill, state institutions ^b	43,918	26,759
Equal suffrage constitutional amendment ^a	36,902	47,075
Local-option bill proposed by liquor people ^a	35,297	45,144
Bill for purchase by State of Barlow toll road ^a	31,525	44,527
Amendment requiring referendum on any act calling constitutional convention ^a	47,661	18,751
Amendment giving cities sole power to amend their charters ^a	52,567	19,852
Legislature authorized to fix pay of state printer ^a	63,749	9,571
Initiative and referendum to apply to all local, special, and municipal laws ^a	47,678	16,735
Bill prohibiting free passes on railroads ^a	57,281	16,779
Gross-earnings tax on sleeping, refrigerator, and oil car companies ^a	69,635	6,441
Gross-earnings tax on express, telephone, and telegraph companies ^a	70,872	6,360
1908.		
Amendment increasing pay of legislators from \$120 to \$400 per session ^c	19,691	68,892
Amendment permitting location of state institutions at places other than the capital ^c	41,971	40,808
Amendment reorganizing system of courts and increasing supreme judges from three to five ^c	30,243	50,591
Amendment changing general election from June to November ^c	65,728	18,590
Bill giving sheriffs control of county prisoners ^b	60,443	30,033
Railroads required to give public officials free passes ^b	28,556	59,406
Bill appropriating \$100,000 for armories ^b	33,507	54,843
Bill increasing fixed appropriation for state university from \$47,500 to \$125,000 annually ^b	44,115	40,535
Equal-suffrage amendment ^a	30,858	58,670
Fishery bill proposed by fish-wheel operators ^a	46,582	40,720
Fishery bill proposed by gill-net operators ^a	56,130	30,220
Amendment giving cities control of liquor selling, poolrooms, theaters, etc., subject to local-option law ^a	39,442	52,346
Modified form of single-tax amendment ^a	32,066	60,371
Recall power on public officials ^a	58,381	31,002
Bill instructing legislators to vote for people's choice for United States Senators ^a	69,668	21,162
Amendment authorizing proportional-representation law ^a	48,368	34,123
Corrupt-practices act governing elections ^a	54,042	31,301
Amendment requiring indictment to be by grand jury ^a	52,214	28,487
Bill creating Hood River County ^a	43,943	26,778

^a Submitted under the initiative.

^b Submitted under the referendum upon legislative act.

^c Submitted to the people by the legislature.

DIRECT LEGISLATION NOT EXPENSIVE.

Anticipating the objection that direct legislation is expensive to the State, I will say that the submission of a total of 32 measures at three different elections in Oregon has cost the State \$25,000, or an average of about \$781 for each measure. At the election in 1908 there were 19 measures submitted, at a cost to the State of \$12,362, or an average of about \$651 each. Five of these 19 measures were submitted without argument. Upon the other 14 measures there were 19 arguments submitted, for which the authors paid the cost, amounting to \$3,157.

I have no hesitancy in saying that the people of Oregon feel satisfied that they have received full value for the \$25,000 they have spent for the submission of measures under the initiative and referendum. The only persons who raise the question of cost are those who would be opposed to direct legislation

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if it were free of cost. I think I could cite numerous instances of laws passed by the legislature which cost the people much more than \$25,000 without any tangible return, and perhaps could cite a few measures which had been defeated by legislatures with resultant loss to the people of many times \$25,000. The cost of legislation can not always be measured in dollars.

PEOPLE INTELLIGENT AND FAIR.

The people are not only intelligent, but fair and honest. When the initiative and referendum was under consideration it was freely predicted by enemies of popular government that the power would be abused and that capitalists would not invest their money in a State where property would be subject to attacks of popular passion and temporary whims. Experience has exploded this argument. There has been no hasty or ill-advised legislation. The people act calmly and deliberately and with that spirit of fairness which always characterizes a body of men who earn their living and acquire their property by legitimate means. Corporations have not been held up and blackmailed by the people, as they often have been by legislators. "Pinch bills" are unknown. The people of Oregon were never before more prosperous and contented than they are to-day, and never before did the State offer such an inviting field for investment of capital. Not only are two transcontinental railroads building across the State, but several interurban electric lines are under construction, and rights of way for others are in demand.

I have mentioned all of these facts for the purpose of showing that the people of my State, and, I believe, the people of every other State, can be trusted to act intelligently and honestly upon any question of legislation submitted for their approval or disapproval.

The initiative and referendum is but one of the features of popular government in Oregon. It has been the means by which other reforms and progressive laws and constitutional amendments have been secured, for it has been found that the people can not always get the laws they desire through the legislature, but can get them through resort to the initiative.

DIRECT PRIMARY LAW.

The next step after the adoption of the initiative and referendum was the adoption, in 1904, by a vote of 56,205 to 16,354, of a direct primary law, which is designed to supersede the old and unsatisfactory convention system. The Oregon direct primary law provides for a primary election to be held forty-five days prior to the general election at the usual polling places and with the usual three election judges and three clerks in charge, appointed by the county courts. Not more than two judges or clerks can be members of the same political party. Two sets of ballots are provided, one for the Democratic party and one for the Republican party. Any party polling 25 per cent of the vote at the previous election is brought under the provisions of the direct primary law, but thus far only the Democratic and Republican parties are affected by it.

Any legal voter may become a candidate in the primaries for nomination for any office by filing a petition signed by a certain per cent of the voters of his party. If the nomination is for a municipal or county office, the petition must include registered electors residing in at least one-fifth of the voting precincts of the county, municipality, or district. If it be a state or district office and the district comprises more than one county the petition must include electors residing in each of at least one-eighth of the precincts in at least two counties in the district. If it be an office to be voted for in the State at large the petition must include electors residing in each of at least one-tenth of the precincts in each of at least seven counties of the State. If it be an office to be voted for in a congressional district the petition must include electors residing in at least one-tenth of the precincts in each of at least one-fourth of the counties in the district. The number of signers required is at least 2 per cent of the party vote in the electoral district, but not more than 1,000 signers are required for a state or congressional office nor more than 500 in any other case. Petitions must be filed for a state or district office at least twenty days before the primary election, and for county or municipal offices fifteen days before the election. Names of the candidates are arranged on the ballots in alphabetical order. The ballot for the Republican party is printed on white paper; that for the Democratic party on blue paper; and that for any other party on yellow

The initiative

Yes.	No.
56,205	16,354
43,316	40,198
43,018	25,758
46,902	47,075
45,297	45,144
41,525	44,527
47,661	18,751
42,567	19,852
43,749	9,571
47,678	16,735
47,281	16,779
49,635	6,441
40,872	6,360
49,691	68,892
41,971	40,868
40,243	50,591
45,728	18,590
40,443	30,083
48,856	59,406
43,507	54,848
41,115	40,535
49,858	58,670
47,582	40,720
47,130	30,280
44,442	52,346
47,066	60,871
47,381	31,002
46,668	21,162
48,868	34,128
47,042	31,301
47,214	28,487
47,948	25,778

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paper. The Australian ballot form is used in the primaries. No elector is qualified to vote at a party primary election unless he has registered and designated, under oath, his party affiliation, except that he may register at the polls on election day by filing an affidavit, verified by six freeholders of his precinct certifying to his legal qualifications, in which affidavit he must also designate his party affiliation.

PARTY INTEGRITY PROTECTED.

No voter is required to designate his party affiliation in order to vote at the general election, but registration of party affiliation is a prerequisite to participation in a party primary. This requirement prevents the participation of members of one party in the primaries of another party. The right of each party to choose its own candidates is thus protected, and an evil all too common where restrictive party primary laws are not in force is avoided.

Our direct-primary law further provides that the candidate in his petition shall, among other things, agree to "accept the nomination and will not withdraw;" and, if elected, "will qualify as an officer," implying, of course, that he will also serve. Each candidate is entitled to have placed in his petition a statement in not to exceed 100 words, and on the ballot, after his name, a legend in not to exceed 12 words, setting forth any measures or principles he especially advocates.

STATEMENT NO. 1.

In the case of a legislator's nomination, the candidate may, in addition to his statement, not exceeding 100 words specifying measures and principles he advocates, also subscribe to one of two statements, but if he does not so subscribe he shall not on that account be debarred from the ballot. It will be seen, therefore, that three courses are open to him. He may subscribe to Statement No. 1 as follows:

I further state to the people of Oregon, as well as to the people of my legislative district, that during my term of office I shall always vote for that candidate for United States Senator in Congress who has received the highest number of the people's votes for that position at the general election next preceding the election of a Senator in Congress without regard to my individual preference.

Or he may subscribe to Statement No. 2, as follows:

During my term of office I shall consider the vote of the people for United States Senator in Congress as nothing more than a recommendation which I shall be at liberty to wholly disregard if the reason for doing so seems to me to be sufficient.

Or he may be perfectly silent on the election of United States Senator. It is entirely optional with the candidate.

POPULAR VOTE FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR.

The law further provides that United States Senators may be nominated by their respective parties in the party primaries, and the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes thereby becomes the party nominee. Then, in the general election the party nominees are voted for by the people, and the individual receiving the greatest number of votes in the general election thereby becomes the people's choice for United States Senator.

Notwithstanding that our primary-election law embodying these statements, particularly Statement No. 1, was passed by a popular vote of approximately 56,000 for to 16,000 against, the opponents of the law charged that the people did not know what they were doing when they voted for it. Therefore, the advocates of the election of Senators by the people and of the enforcement of Statement No. 1 submitted to the people under the initiative in 1903 the following bill:

Be it enacted by the people of the State of Oregon:

SECTION 1. That we, the people of the State of Oregon, hereby instruct our representatives and senators in our legislative assembly, as such officers, to vote for and elect the candidates for United States Senators from this State who receive the highest number of votes at our general elections.

Although there was no organized campaign made for the adoption of this bill other than the argument accompanying its submission, while the opponents of the primary law assailed it vehemently, the basic principle of Statement No. 1 and the election of United States Senators by the people was again indorsed by the passage of the bill by a popular vote of 69,668 for it to 21,162 against it, or by nearly 3½ to 1.

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HOW A DEMOCRAT WAS ELECTED SENATOR.

Mr. President, in this connection I deem it proper to divert for a time from an explanation of our primary law and give a concrete illustration of its operation. Both my colleague, Senator CHAMBERLAIN, and myself were selected by the people and elected by the legislature under the provision of this law. Opponents of popular government, and especially of the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people, have bitterly assailed Statement No. 1 of our law because a legislature, overwhelmingly Republican, elected my colleague, who was a candidate selected by the Democratic party and nominated by the whole electorate of the State as the people's choice of our State for United States Senator. Upon reflection I think every intelligent man who is honest with himself must concede that this fact, instead of being the basis of a criticism, is the highest kind of evidence as to the efficacy of the law, and every advocate of the election of United States Senators by a popular vote must realize that Oregon has evolved a plan through its Statement No. 1, provision of its primary law, wherein, in effect, the people enjoy the privilege of selecting their United States Senators, and, through the crystallization of public opinion, the legislative ratification of their action.

The Oregon legislature consists of 90 members, 30 in the senate and 60 in the house, 46 making the necessary majority on full attendance for the election of United States Senator. Fifty-one members out of 90 of the legislature which elected my colleague, Senator CHAMBERLAIN, were subscribers to Statement No. 1, making on joint ballot a majority of 6 out of a total of 90 members. All of these 51 members subscribed to Statement No. 1 pledge voluntarily, and it was so subscribed to by them from a personal belief in the desirability of the popular election of United States Senators and for the purpose of securing for themselves from the electorate preferment in the election to the office sought; the consideration in exchange for such preferment was to be by them, as the legally constituted representatives of the electorate in their behalf, the perfunctory confirmation of the people's selection of United States Senator as that choice might be ascertained under the provisions of the same law by which the legislators themselves secured nomination to office.

To further illuminate the situation, I will state that in the primaries held in April, 1908, H. M. Cake received the Republican nomination for United States Senator, and my colleague, Senator CHAMBERLAIN, then governor of the State, received the Democratic nomination for United States Senator. At the general election in June Senator CHAMBERLAIN defeated Mr. Cake, notwithstanding the State was overwhelmingly Republican, thereby developing from the Democratic candidate into the people's choice for United States Senator. The normal Republican majority in Oregon, I think, is from 15,000 to 20,000. With full recognition of Governor CHAMBERLAIN's ability and fitness for the office, the fact that for nearly six years he made the best governor Oregon ever had, and considering that undoubtedly he is the most popular man in our State, I deem it but just to the law and a proper answer to the criticism of enemies of the law that it destroys party lines and integrity, to state that, in my opinion, Senator CHAMBERLAIN received the votes of several thousand Republican enemies of the law, who believed that in selecting Governor CHAMBERLAIN, a Democrat, they would prevent a Republican legislature from ratifying the people's selection, obeying the people's instructions, and electing as United States Senator the individual, regardless of party, that the people might select for that office. Thus they hoped to make the primary law and Statement No. 1 odious, and sought to create what they thought would be an impossible condition by forcing upon a Republican legislature for confirmation the popularly designated Democratic candidate for the United States Senate. They failed to realize that, greater than party and infinitely greater than any individual, the people's choice becomes a representative of the principle and of the law; that the intelligence and integrity of the whole electorate of the State, as well as the integrity and loyalty of the members of the legislature were at stake, and from any honorable view point the mere intimation of the possibility of the legislature or any member of the legislature failing conscientiously to fulfill his pledge or loyally obey the instructions of the people would not only be an insult to the individual members of the legislature, but an insult to the intelligence, independence, and patriotism of the Oregon electorate that they would permit such action to go unnoticed or without holding the culprit to a rigid responsibility for his treason.

NO OATH MORE SACRED.

Let us again consider the wording of this Statement No. 1 pledge, taken by 51 members of the Oregon legislature:

Statement No. 1.

I further state to the people of Oregon, as well as to the people of my legislative district, that during my term of office I will always vote for that candidate for United States Senator in Congress who has received the highest number of the people's votes for that position at the general election next preceding the election of a Senator in Congress, without regard to my individual preference.

No oath could be more sacred in honor, no contract more binding, no mutual consideration more definite, than is contained in this Statement No. 1 pledge, and no parties to a contract could be of more consequence to government and society than the electorate upon the one side and its servants upon the other.

Under the United States Constitution there can be no penalty attached to the law. The legislator breaking his sacred pledge can not be imprisoned or fined, hence he is doubly bound by honor to redeem his voluntary obligations. Failure to do so would not only brand him as the destroyer of a sacred trust, but as the most contemptible of cowards because legally immune from punishment for his perfidy.

Yet, Mr. President, there were efforts made to dishonor our State and our public servants. During the session of the legislature a former government official, an assistant to the chairman of the Republican National Committee, appeared in Oregon and, I am informed, promised federal appointments to legislative members if they would disregard their Statement No. 1 pledges to the electorate. The effort was made by the enemies of the law to create the impression that by reason of this person's relations with the chairman of the Republican National Committee during the national campaign he would be able to deliver these promised federal appointments in case Statement No. 1 subscribers sold their honor and betrayed their trust.

I mention these facts to show that the greatest possible strain was placed upon our law, and to the credit of the 51 subscribers of Statement No. 1 in that legislature he it said that every one of those subscribers voted in accordance with his solemn obligation. But I would call the attention of the Senate to the fact that notwithstanding the people of the State had passed under the initiative the bill I have referred to instructing all the members of the legislature to vote for the people's choice for United States Senator, not a single member of the legislature obeyed said instructions except the Statement No. 1 subscribers.

AN EVOLUTION OF PRACTICAL POLITICS.

Mr. President, Statement No. 1 was an evolution of many years' experience with practical and commercial politics. We doubtless all have found in individual cases that men's memories, pledges, and agreements were a negligible quantity, but I think we in Oregon have demonstrated that our direct primary law contains a pledge that will hold any sane man regardless of his cupidity, ambition, cowardice, or temerity.

OTHER PROVISIONS OF PRIMARY LAW.

Resuming consideration of the direct primary: The returns from a primary election are canvassed in the same manner as the returns from a general election, and the candidate receiving the highest vote for each office is declared the nominee of his party. Candidates of parties other than those polling 25 per cent of the total vote of the State may be nominated without participating in the direct primary, but by means of petition or mass meeting. No candidate nominated otherwise than in the direct primary can use either the word "Republican" or "Democrat" in any form; that is, the nominees of the direct primary are entitled to the party designation in the general election, and no opposition candidate can designate himself as an "Independent Republican" or "Progressive Republican," or use any other qualifying term which includes the word "Republican" or "Democrat." These provisions secure to the nominees of the direct primary the exclusive right to their party designation on the ballot in the general election. Each candidate in the direct primary is entitled to have placed in his petition for nomination a statement containing not to exceed 100 words, and on the ballot in the primary and general election a legend of not more than 12 words specifying any measures or principles he especially advocates.

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In my opinion the direct primary is the only practicable method of fully securing to the people their right to choose their public servants.

CONVENTION NOMINEE UNDER OBLIGATION TO A BOSS.

Under the convention system the members of a party delegate their power of selection of candidates to the members of a convention. To my mind this system is most pernicious, because the party electorate feels that its responsibility ceases with the selection of its convention delegates. Hence the responsibility of citizenship is weakened and shiftlessness encouraged.

As soon as the delegates to the convention are chosen, the power of selection of public servants becomes centralized in a few and opportunity is extended to individuals and interests who wish to use public servants for selfish or ulterior purposes. Influences adverse to the general welfare are immediately brought to bear upon this body of delegates. Factions are created, combinations effected, and party disruption frequently results. Often a convention nominates a man for public office who, prior to the convention, was never seriously considered as a probable nominee.

In my thirty years' experience in politics quite frequently have I seen this the case. This strengthens my conviction that the prevailing system of convention selections of party candidates is not representative, but misrepresentative, form of government. The people certainly have no voice in the selection of candidates when their temporary representatives had no idea of making a selection until occurrences transpiring during the convention determine their action.

Let us look at the system in vogue in the selection of delegates. In most cases where convention nominations are made we can trace back to the political boss and machine the preparation of a slate of delegates. In the selection of the individuals composing the slate the political boss has in mind the perpetuation of his own power, and selects individuals whose interests are identical with his or whom he thinks he can direct and control, though occasionally, if anticipating a struggle, he will select a few men whose standing in the community will bring strength to the slate he has prepared in order to carry out his purposes. Independent men are selected only where it is deemed necessary by the political boss to deceive the public and secure sufficient support from the personal influence of those few selections to carry through the slate made up chiefly of his willing tools. This system prevails not only in selection of delegates to county conventions, but in selection of delegates to congressional, state, and national conventions as well. The result is inevitable that the delegates nominate candidates whom the machine and political bosses desire, except in rare cases where a few independent men are able, by presentation of arguments against the qualifications of a machine candidate, to demonstrate to the convention the probability of the defeat of the man slated for the position. Frequently, of course, a case is presented where the boss has made promises to various aspirants for the same office, in which case he excuses himself to the disappointed aspirant by explaining that he was unable to control the convention. Thus mendacity and treachery are fostered by the convention system which by the primary system are absolutely eliminated.

Under the convention system the nominee realizes that his nomination is due chiefly, if not entirely, to the boss. With this knowledge naturally goes a feeling of obligation, so that the nominee, when elected, is desirous, whenever possible, of acceding to the wishes of the man to whom his nomination is due. Thus the efficiency and independence of the public servant is seriously affected and his duty to the public in many cases completely annihilated.

NOMINEE OF DIRECT PRIMARY RESPONSIBLE TO PEOPLE ALONE.

How different in its operation is the direct primary. The man who seeks a nomination under the direct primary system must present before the members of his party the policies and principles by which he will be governed if nominated and elected. He must submit to them his past record in public and private life. Promises made to political bosses or machine managers will have no beneficial influence in determining the result, and therefore the candidate is not tempted to place himself under obligations to any interests adverse to those of the general public. The members of a party have it within their power to determine which of the candidates best represents their ideas and wishes. After they have made their selections the candidates of opposing parties must stand before the people at the general election, when a choice will be made between them. A public servant thus chosen owes his election to no faction,

machine, or boss, but to the members of his party and the electorate of his State or district. He is accountable to them alone for his conduct in office, and has, therefore, every incentive to render the best possible public service. How different in all essentials from the position of the candidate who has received his nomination at the hands of a convention controlled by a political machine.

The great masses of the people are not only intelligent, but honest. They have no selfish interests to serve and ask nothing of their public officials but faithful and efficient service. Only the very few have interests adverse to those of the general welfare. The people therefore act only for public good when they choose between candidates for the nomination or candidates for election.

The direct primary encourages the people of the country to study public questions and to observe and pass judgment upon the acts of their public officials. This in itself tends very strongly to the building up of a better citizenship.

Honest selections mean honest government and better public servants.

Public servants who lack confidence in the intelligence or honesty of the people will find their feelings reciprocated.

PRIMARY LAWS PROTECT PARTIES.

Many claim that primary laws destroy party. In my opinion, they protect and cement parties. Party success depends, under primary laws, upon the ideas and principles advocated and the nominations made by the parties in their primaries. If a majority party fails to make proper nominations, or if the minority party has better material in its electorate, then a minority party would rapidly develop into a majority party, and rightly so. Under a direct primary law no individual can acquire a large personal following or build up a personal organization, except such a following as would support the individual on account of the principles advocated by him or the demonstration made by him as a public servant. But no man would be able to transfer such a following for or against another individual, though he might influence thousands or hundreds of thousands of voters to support his ideas, constructive suggestions, or proposed solution of pending problems. This does not destroy party, but elevates and strengthens it, and fortunate, indeed, is that party which possesses in its electorate one or more individuals who are able to advance new ideas or evolve solutions which appeal to the sound judgment of his fellow-men.

POPULAR SELECTION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

For years the desirability of popular selection of candidates for President and Vice-President has grown upon my mind. By adoption of such a plan, Presidents would be relieved of prenomination or preelection obligations, except the obligation of good service to all the people. Thus accountability to the people alone would be established and aspirants for the Presidency would be free from the necessity of consulting the wishes of men who make and manipulate conventions. To render good public service would be the sole desire, for reelection would depend upon demonstration of capability and fitness for office. Because of this conviction I have arranged to submit, under the initiative, to the people of Oregon at the next general election a bill further enlarging the scope of our present primary law. It provides for the direct primary election of delegates to national conventions, selections of presidential electors, and gives the opportunity to the elector in his party primary to express his preference for President and Vice-President.

I am confident that the people of Oregon will enact this law, and I hope that other States will follow her example, in which event, through the crystallization of public opinion, a method of popular selection of Presidents and Vice-Presidents would be secured without violation of the Federal Constitution.

NOT A REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE.

The declaration by each State of its choice for President would be in no sense a wider departure from the Constitution than was the transformation of the electoral college into a mere registering or recording board, yet no one now thinks such change in anywise revolutionary. The theory of the Constitution was that each State should choose a body of electors who should have choice—election—as to those for whom they should vote for President and Vice-President. This theory we find expressed in all the expository letters and pamphlets written by those who drafted the Constitution. The electors were to be free men, bound to no candidate, nor to any party. They were to meet and

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survey the whole country, choosing therefrom according to their own unhampered and wisest judgment the man best fitted to be the head of the Nation. This was the law in 1789, and it is the law to-day. Theoretically and legally the electoral college which cast its perfunctory vote for Mr. Taft and Mr. Sherman might have elected Mr. Bryan and Mr. Kerns. Had this been done, all the vast power of the Supreme Court could not have set the election aside or compelled a true registration of the popular decision as expressed at the polls. The Constitution of the United States was changed a hundred years ago by force of mere popular acceptance and general usage, so that its machinery to-day is used to effect an end which it does not in its letter express—and did not in its conception anticipate. We have made the constitutional machinery suit our idea of the way this Government should be conducted.

We have said that it was better that we should by means of political parties choose candidates and by moral force bind the electors whom we nominate to vote for such candidates than that we should leave the electors we might choose free to do as they saw fit. We have converted the elector into an agent—a messenger if you will—whose honorable duty it is to cast a ballot for one who may not be his personal choice for President or whom, indeed, he may regard as unfitted for the position of President. The constitutional theory has been abandoned and one more democratic has been substituted. We evolved a presidential election plan which, while departing from the philosophy of the makers of our national organic law, preserved its letter and made it subserve the purpose of a society more highly developed than that existent when the law was made. This is the history of all written law. There is nothing startling in the proposal that the Constitution or any other law shall be so interpreted as to meet modern needs and thought. We moved toward democracy when we abolished the elector as an elector and left him but a figurehead, and it will be a much less radical move to give instructions by popular vote to the delegate who names the party candidate. Indeed, it would appear that to follow the latter course would be to do no more than institute a procedure complementary to the former.

CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT.

The next step in popular government in Oregon after the adoption of the direct primary law was the adoption of a corrupt practices act, which the legislature had refused to enact, but which the people of the State adopted under the initiative.

The corrupt practices act was adopted under the initiative in 1908 by popular vote of 54,042 to 31,301. It provides that no candidate for office shall expend in his campaign for nomination more than 15 per cent of one year's compensation of the office for which he is a candidate, provided that no candidate shall be restricted to less than \$100.

PUBLICITY PAMPHLET.

The act provides, however, for the publication of a pamphlet by the secretary of state for the information of voters, in which pamphlet a candidate in the primary campaign may have published a statement setting forth his qualifications, the principles and policies he advocates and favors, or any other matter he may wish to submit in support of his candidacy. Each candidate must pay for at least one page, the amount to be paid varying from \$100 for the highest office to \$10 for the minor offices. Every candidate may secure the use of additional pages at \$100 per page, not exceeding three additional pages. Any person may use space in this pamphlet in opposition to any candidate, the matter submitted by him being first served upon the candidate and the space being paid for the same as in the case of candidates. The matter submitted in opposition to candidates must be signed by the author, who is subject to the general laws regarding slander and libel. Information regarding state and congressional candidates is printed in a pamphlet issued by the secretary of state, one copy being mailed to each registered voter in the State. Pamphlets regarding county candidates are issued by the county clerk and mailed to each voter in the county. These pamphlets must be mailed at least eight days before the primary election. The amount of money paid for space in the public pamphlet of information is not considered in determining the amount each candidate has expended in his campaign; that is, he is entitled to expend in his primary campaign 15 per cent of one year's compensation in addition to what he pays for space in the public pamphlet.

Prior to the general election the executive committee or managing officers of any political party or organization may file with the secretary of state portrait cuts of its candidates and typewritten statements and arguments for the success of its principles and the election of its candidates and opposing or attacking the principles and candidates of all other parties. This same privilege applies to independent candidates. These statements and arguments are printed in a pamphlet and mailed to the registered voters of the State not later than the tenth day before the general election.

Each party is limited to 24 pages, and each independent candidate to 2 pages, each page in this pamphlet being charged for at the rate of \$50 per page. In the campaign preceding the general election each candidate is limited in campaign expenditures to 10 per cent of one year's compensation.

For the purposes of this act the contribution, expenditure, or liability of a descendant, ascendant, brother, sister, uncle, aunt, nephew, niece, wife, partner, employer, employee, or fellow-official or fellow-employee of a corporation is deemed to be that of the candidate himself. Any person not a candidate spending more than \$50 in a campaign must file an itemized account of his expenditures in the office of the secretary of state or the county clerk and give a copy of the account to the candidate for whom or against whom the money was spent.

LEGITIMATE USE OF MONEY WITHIN LIMIT.

While the corrupt practices act limits the candidate to the expenditure of 15 per cent of one year's salary in his primary campaign and 10 per cent of a year's salary in the general campaign, in addition to what he pays for space in the publicity pamphlet, yet the law does not prohibit any legitimate use of money within this limitation. The act makes it possible for a man of moderate means to be a candidate upon an equality with a man of wealth.

Let us take a concrete example as a means of illustrating the operation of Oregon's corrupt practices act. The salary of the governor is \$5,000 a year. A candidate for the nomination for governor may take a maximum of 4 pages in the publicity pamphlet, and thus, at a cost of \$400, be able to reach every registered voter of his party in the entire State. In addition to that \$400 he may spend \$750, or 15 per cent of one year's salary, in any other manner he may choose, not in violation of the corrupt practices act. A candidate may purchase space in the advertising columns of a newspaper, but in order that this paid advertising shall not be mistaken for news the law requires that all paid articles be marked as such.

The law expressly provides that none of its provisions shall be construed as relating to the rendering of services by speakers, writers, publishers, or others for which no compensation is asked or given, nor to prohibit expenditure by committees of political parties or organizations for public speakers, music, halls, lights, literature, advertising, office rent, printing, postage, clerk hire, challengers or watchers at the polls, traveling expenses, telegraphing or telephoning, or the making of poll lists.

The successful nominee in the primary may spend in his general campaign 10 per cent of one year's salary, this expenditure, in the case of a candidate for governor, being \$500. In addition to this 10 per cent of a year's salary he may contribute toward the payment for his party's statement in the publicity pamphlet to be mailed by the secretary of state to every registered voter. In the publicity pamphlet for the general campaign each party may use not to exceed 24 pages, at \$50 per page, making the total cost to the party committee \$1,200, or about \$100 for each candidate.

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The candidate is therefore limited to an expenditure of \$600 in his general campaign, only \$100 of which is necessary in order to enable him to reach every registered voter. He could reach every registered voter in his party in the primary campaign for \$400. Under no other system could a candidate reach all the voters in two campaigns at a total cost of \$500.

IMPROPER ACTS PROHIBITED.

The Oregon corrupt practices act encourages and aids publicity, but prohibits the excessive or improper use of money or other agencies for the subversion of clean elections. Among the acts which are prohibited I may mention these:

Promises of appointments in return for political support.

Solicitation or acceptance of campaign contributions from or payment of contributions by persons holding appointive positions.

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Publication or distribution of anonymous letters or circulars regarding candidates or measures before the people.

Sale of editorial support or the publication of paid political advertising without marking it "Paid advertising."

Use of carriages in conveying voters to the polls.

Active electioneering or soliciting votes on election day.

Campaign contributions by quasi public or certain other important classes of corporations generally affected by legislation.

Intimidation or coercion of voters in any manner.

Soliciting candidates to subscribe to religious, charitable, public, and semi-public enterprises; but this does not prohibit regular payments to any organization of which the candidate has been a member, or to which he has been a contributor for more than six months before his candidacy.

Contribution of funds in the name of any other than the person furnishing the money.

Treating by candidates as a means of winning favor.

Payment or promise to reward another for the purpose of inducing him to become or refrain from becoming or cease being a candidate, or solicitation of such consideration.

Betting on an election by a candidate, or betting on an election by any other person with intent to influence the result.

Attempting to vote in the name of another person, living, dead, or fictitious.

PUBLICITY OF CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES.

There is no interference with such legitimate acts as tend to secure full publicity and free expression of opinion. Personal and political liberty is in no way infringed upon, the only purpose being to prohibit the excessive use of money, promises of appointment, or deception and fraud.

The corrupt practices act requires that every candidate shall file an itemized statement of his campaign expenditures within fifteen days after the primary election, including in such statement not only all amounts expended, but all debts incurred or unfulfilled promises made.

Every political committee must have a treasurer, and cause him to keep a detailed account of its receipts, payments, and liabilities. Any committee or agent or representative of a candidate must file an itemized statement of receipts and expenditures within ten days after the election. The books of account of any treasurer of any political party, committee, or organization during an election campaign shall be open at all reasonable office hours to the inspection of the treasurer and chairman of any opposing political party or organization for the same electoral district. Failure to file statements as required by law is punishable by fine.

The candidate violating any section of the corrupt practices act forfeits his right to the office. Any other person violating any section of this act is punished by imprisonment of not more than one year in the county jail or a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both. The candidate is also subject to the same penalties.

THE RECALL.

The final step in the establishment of popular government in Oregon was the adoption of the recall amendment to the constitution, which was adopted in 1908 by a vote of 58,381 to 31,002. Under this amendment any public officer may be recalled by the filing of a petition signed by 25 per cent of the number of electors who voted in his district in the preceding election. The petition must set forth the reasons for the recall, and if the officer does not resign within five days after the petition is filed a special election must be ordered to be held within twenty days to determine whether the people will recall such officer. On the ballot at such election the reasons for demanding the recall of said officer may be set forth in not more than 200 words. His justification of his course in office may be set forth in a like number of words. He retains his office until the results of the special election have been officially declared.

No petition can be circulated against any officer until he has held office six months, except that in the case of a member of the state legislature it may be filed at any time after five days from the beginning of the first session after his election. At the special election the candidate receiving the highest number of votes is declared elected. The special election is held at public expense, but a second recall petition can not be filed against an officer unless the petitioners first pay the entire expense of the first recall election.

THE BEST SYSTEM OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

Mr. President, I reiterate that Oregon has evolved the best system of popular government that exists in the world to-day.

The Australian ballot assures the honesty of elections.

The registration law guards the integrity of the privilege of American citizenship—participation in government.

The direct primary absolutely insures popular selection of all candidates and establishes the responsibility of the public servant to the electorate and not to any political boss or special interest.

The initiative and referendum is the keystone of the arch of popular government, for by means of this the people may accomplish such other reforms as they desire. The initiative develops the electorate because it encourages study of principles and policies of government, and affords the originator of new ideas in government an opportunity to secure popular judgment upon his measures if 8 per cent of the voters of his State deem the same worthy of submission to popular vote. The referendum prevents misuse of the power temporarily centralized in the legislature.

The corrupt-practices act is necessary as a complement to the initiative and referendum and the direct primary, for, without the corrupt-practices act, these other features of popular government could be abused. As I have fully explained, the publicity pamphlet provided for by the corrupt-practices act affords all candidates for nomination or election equal means of presenting before the voter their views upon public questions, and protects the honest candidate against the misuse of money in political campaigns. Under the operation of this law popular verdicts will be based upon ideas, not money; argument, not abuse; principles, not boss or machine dictation.

The recall, to my mind, is rather an admonitory or precautionary measure, the existence of which will prevent the necessity for its use. At rare intervals there may be occasion for exercise of the recall against municipal or county officers, but I believe the fact of its existence will prevent need for its use against the higher officials. It is, however, an essential feature of a complete system of popular government.

ABSOLUTE GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE.

Under the machine and political-boss system the confidence of sincere partisans is often betrayed by recreant leaders in political contests and by public servants who recognize the irresponsible machine instead of the electorate as the source of power to which they are responsible. If the enforcement of the Oregon laws will right these wrongs, then they were conceived in wisdom and born in justice to the people, in justice to the public servant, and in justice to the partisan.

Plainly stated, the aim and purpose of the laws is to destroy the irresponsible political machine and to put all elective offices in the State in direct touch with the people as the real source of authority; in short, to give direct and full force to the ballot of every individual elector in Oregon and to eliminate dominance of corporate and corrupt influences in the administration of public affairs. The Oregon laws mark the course that must be pursued before the wrongful use of corporate power can be dethroned, the people restored to power, and lasting reform secured. They insure absolute government by the people.

FEDERAL PATRONAGE

The issue before the country is whether popular government, with general welfare its vitalizing force, shall save and develop this Nation, or delegated government, with selfishness the destroying force, shall bring the Nation to inevitable anarchy.

Use of presidential patronage to influence Congress is in effect bribery or intimidation and should be prevented by a national corrupt-practices act.

Oregon's presidential preference law, generally adopted, will destroy the power of a President to dictate the nomination of his successor and will relieve him of obligations to political bosses and campaign contributors.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JONATHAN BOURNE, JR.

OF OREGON

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1911



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

1911

SPEECH
OF
HON. JONATHAN BOURNE, JR.

The Senate having under consideration the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 134) proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing that Senators shall be elected by the people of the several States—

Mr. BOURNE said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: On the 5th of last May I delivered in this body a speech entitled "Popular versus Delegated Government," in which I asserted that Oregon has the best system of government in the world to-day—the Australian ballot, registration of voters, initiative and referendum, direct primary, corrupt-practices act, and recall—an absolute government by the people.

The interest the Oregon story has created is demonstrated by the fact that already applications have been received for over 2,700,000 copies for the United States, over 10,000 copies in Canada, and several hundred copies for foreign countries.

It is not my intention to take the time of the Senate in giving a repetition of the subject matter contained in the speech referred to, but rather to show that recent and further demonstrations on the part of the electorate of Oregon corroborate the assertions and deductions made in that address.

The issue before the country is whether popular government, with general welfare its vitalizing force, shall save and develop this Nation, or delegated government, with selfishness the destroying force, shall bring the Nation to inevitable anarchy.

For decades we have directed our efforts toward improving the shingles on the roof of our national superstructure without realizing that the foundation is absolutely rotten because its cementation is one of selfishness instead of general welfare, legislation and public servants being directed by and accountable to the political boss and through him to his principal, the largest campaign contributor.

Thus selfishness instead of general welfare becomes the motive power of government. Subservience rather than independence is the doctrine taught by the political boss and temporary leaders. Party platforms are adroitly drawn for the purpose of catching votes rather than for the purpose of development and improvement of government and the conditions of humanity.

The country is to be congratulated upon the awakening it is now undergoing, and, from my viewpoint, the more general and greater the tumult now, the more honest and specific the discussion, the higher the plane of the new departure, and the longer the period of peace hereafter.

The day of party and individual platforms made up of verbal soufflé is passing, and the people will elect, whenever they have opportunity, individuals who stand for concrete improvements and remedies and will hold them rigidly responsible for specific performance of their pledges.

PUBLIC SERVANTS SHOULD BE ACCOUNTABLE DIRECTLY TO THE PEOPLE.

The success and duration of representative government depend upon responsibility and accountability—the responsibility of the people for their laws and selection of their public servants and the accountability of the public servant directly to the people.

To insure good service, responsibility and accountability must go together. Whatever an individual is responsible for he should to the same degree be accountable for. Under delegated government he is accountable to the political boss, who in most cases is but the agent of the largest campaign contributor, at best a shifting accountability, because of the relative fluctuations of contributions and contributors. Under popular government like the Oregon system, the accountability is always to the composite citizen—individual unknown—always permanent, never changing, the necessitated result being that the public servant must serve the composite citizen who represents general welfare or be recalled, where the recall exists, or fail of reelection where an efficient direct primary exists.

The greater the centralization of power the wider should be the distribution of accountability. Where accountability is to the individual, payment will be personal, meaning, necessarily, special privilege or serving a selfish interest. Where accountability in government is to the composite citizen—that is to say, the electorate or in corporate business to all the stockholders—the inevitable result is necessitated service for the general welfare of all, or the earliest possible elimination of the servant, whether public or corporate.

WHAT CONSTITUTES POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

These conditions can be established and perpetuated only through popular government, meaning, in its present evolution, the establishment in the several States of our Union, through the utilization of the State machinery, of the initiative and referendum, an efficient direct primary, the corrupt-practices act, and the recall, and providing nationally for the popular selection of candidates for President and Vice President and United States Senators, thus making general welfare the basis of every law and the goal of every public servant.

Popular government insures equal opportunity. It furnishes the same tools to every individual. The progress, advance, or success of the individual depends entirely on his limitations and not on special privilege. Realization of these conditions must stimulate and develop in humanity the innate desire for improvement.

Under delegated government, still in vogue in most States and in practice nationally, the people have no voice in their legislation, thus preventing the development of the electorate; nor have they any voice in the selection of their public servants, thus debauching public service, because of the direct accountability of the public servant to the delegates nominating him and through the delegates to the political boss and through the political boss to the real principal, the greatest campaign contributor.

This is a condition which must result almost necessarily in service by the public servant to the selfish interest governing the campaign contributor, who certainly is not actuated by patriotic motives, but dominated by expectation of receiving in return for his large contribution some special privilege against the general welfare.

In theory we have a Government in which certain public officials represent the wishes and promote the welfare of their States and districts. In reality, we have a Government in which many public officials secure their positions, always by consent and generally through the selection of a party boss, who maintains a political machine with funds contributed by individuals or corporations having selfish interests to protect or promote.

The widespread interest in the Oregon laws proves conclusively that the people of the entire country are awake to conditions that exist and are determined to improve their system of government, not by changing the existing form of government, but by making their representatives solely accountable to the people and by guaranteeing to public servants that demonstration of good service rather than subservience to a political boss, temporary leader, or special interests assures election or retention.

Citizens determined to substitute general welfare and equal opportunity for selfish interests and special privilege are fighting for the adoption of these reforms throughout the country. There may be delays, temporary failures, and disappointments, but the ultimate accomplishment is certain, and the onward sweep of the movement for the full measure of human liberty can not long be stayed.

VALUE OF THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

The initiative and referendum give the people the opportunity of securing and retaining such legislation as they desire. The initiative provides a limitless field for individual development, elevates the electorate, minimizes discontent, and destroys anarchy. The referendum permits popular defeat of unwise laws and absolutely insures retention of laws the people desire, for, without the referendum, the best and most efficient laws ever evolved might be repealed by a legislature actuated by selfish interest or influenced by beneficiaries of special privilege.

The referendum also develops and protects the legislative branch of government through the realization of the legislator that his action will be scrutinized by the people; and, if against general welfare, he will be censured by them and either recalled or defeated for reelection. Under the referendum corruption of members of the legislature is practically eliminated because of the knowledge on the part of the persons desiring special legislation that even though enacted by the legislature, defeat of such laws is within the power of the people.

Until the initiative and referendum amendment has been made a part of every State constitution, its adoption should be the chief issue in every campaign, for other issues sink into insignificance when compared with this.

The initiative and referendum does not destroy, but, on the contrary, insures truly representative government. Where the people of a State enjoy the sovereignty resultant from possession of this legislative power, they will rapidly secure enactment and insure retention of efficient direct primary and corrupt-practices acts and the recall. The legislature still retains and exercises its power, subject, however, to the control of the people, whose servant the legislature should be.

PLACE LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES ON RECORD.

Because of the fundamental importance of the initiative and referendum, I have urged that in all States direct-legislation leagues be organized and that all candidates for nomination or election to the legislature be compelled to declare unequivocally their attitude upon this subject.

Voters who value their sovereign citizenship and who have confidence in their own intelligence and their own capacity to think and act for themselves should take up the cause aggressively and let no candidate evade the issue. Voters should notify all candidates that they will support for legislative offices only those who pledge themselves to vote for the submission of an initiative and referendum amendment; and legislators in the several States should be notified that they will never again be supported for any office if they fail or refuse to vote for the submission of the initiative and referendum to the people for their adoption.

During the recent campaign I was asked to suggest a form of letter which voters might address to candidates for the legislature, and I suggested the following:

To _____
Member of _____ Legislature.

If elected a member of the _____ Legislature, will you pledge your honor not only to the people of your legislative district but to the people of the entire State to work and vote for the submission to the electorate of the State of an initiative and referendum amendment similar to the Oregon law? My vote goes only to the candidate replying in the affirmative. In my opinion, this issue overshadows all others.

(Signature of voter.) _____,
(Address.) _____.

In several States where the initiative and referendum was not made an issue in the last campaign, but where it is an issue before the legislature this winter, I have suggested that voters who advocate popular government address a letter in the following form to their State senators and representatives:

Hon. _____
Legislature,

DEAR SIR: In my opinion, the submission of the initiative and referendum is the most important question now before the Legislature of the State of _____. A resolution has been introduced proposing the submission of the amendment in the form in which it is now in force in the State of Oregon. I believe that form is best, because the Oregon law

has stood the test of practical operation and litigation in the courts. If submitted to popular vote in this State, the initiative and referendum will be adopted by an overwhelming majority, for by adoption of this amendment the people will gain power to control legislation by enacting desirable laws the legislature refuses to enact and by defeating unwise laws passed by the legislature.

I therefore urge immediate adoption of the initiative and referendum resolution in its original form and will regard any attempted change therein, or delay in adoption, as an indirect effort to defeat the measure.

Believing this issue to be the most important now before the legislature, I shall watch the vote thereon with personal interest and hereby give notice that regardless of party lines, I shall never support or vote for any man for any office if he has failed or refused as a member of the legislature of this State to vote for the submission of the initiative and referendum in the Oregon form.

(Signature of voter.) _____

PEOPLE VOTE WITH DISCRIMINATION.

In my address to the Senate on May 5, I submitted a list of 32 measures which had been voted upon by the people of Oregon, showing that the people had voted honestly and intelligently, had made no mistakes, but had secured desired legislation which they could not secure from the legislature and had defeated unwise laws passed by the legislature.

At the recent election the people of Oregon voted upon 32 measures and the manner in which they did so corroborates the previous evidence that they can and will vote upon these measures with discrimination and with due regard to the merits.

Certain it is that the people of Oregon are thoroughly satisfied with what is known as the "Oregon system," comprising the initiative and referendum, direct primary, corrupt-practices act, and recall, for by a vote of 23,000 for to 60,000 against they defeated a measure submitted by the legislature calling a constitutional convention. There was no general desire that a constitutional convention be held, but enemies of popular government, hoping by this means to eliminate the initiative and referendum from our constitution, secured the legislative passage of this act. Under our constitution no such convention can be held until the act authorizing it has been submitted to and approved by the people. This safeguard enabled the people to defeat the call of a constitutional convention, thus overcoming in its incipency the effort to eliminate the initiative and referendum from our system of government.

Enemies of popular government criticize the Oregon system because the people of the entire State were compelled to vote upon eight bills creating new counties or changing county boundaries, these questions being only of local interest. These critics lose sight of the fact that submission of these measures to the State at large was due to repeated failures of legislatures to enact laws prescribing the manner in which these questions may be voted upon locally. Some Oregon counties are larger than entire States of the East, and, with our rapidly increasing population, creation of new counties is necessary. However, the people defeated all of the eight county boundary bills, thus showing their disapproval of the submission of local questions to State-wide vote, and their purpose to vote in the negative when not entirely convinced of the desirability of a proposed law.

Of the 32 measures submitted, 9 were approved and 23 rejected. Seven measures were proposed by the legislature and six of these were defeated. I shall not undertake to discuss each of the measures submitted, but for the purpose of showing in briefest possible form the character of measures voted upon by the people of Oregon at the recent election, and the vote upon each, I ask permission to insert in the Record the following table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CURTIS in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

82656—9763

The table is as follows:

Popular vote on measures submitted to the people of Oregon Nov. 8, 1910.

	Yes.	No.
Amendment permitting female taxpayers to vote ^a	35,270	59,065
Act establishing branch insane asylum in eastern Oregon ^b	50,134	41,504
Act calling convention to revise State constitution ^b	23,143	59,974
Amendment providing separate district for election of each State senator and representative ^b	24,000	54,252
Amendment repealing requirement that all taxes shall be equal and uniform ^b	37,619	40,172
Amendment permitting organized districts to vote bonds for construction of railroads by such districts ^b	32,844	46,070
Amendment authorizing collection of State and county taxes on separate classes of property ^b	31,629	41,692
Act requiring Baker County to pay \$1,000 a year to circuit judge in addition to his State salary ^c	13,161	71,503
Bill creating Nesmith County from parts of Lane and Douglas ^a	22,866	60,951
Bill to establish a State normal school at Monmouth ^a	50,191	40,044
Bill creating Otis County from parts of Harney, Malheur, and Grant ^a	17,426	62,016
Bill annexing part of Clackamas County to Multnomah ^a	16,250	69,002
Bill creating Williams County from parts of Lane and Douglas ^a	14,508	64,090
Amendment permitting people of each county to regulate taxation for county purposes and abolishing poll taxes ^a	44,171	42,127
Amendment giving cities and towns exclusive power to regulate liquor traffic within their limits ^a	53,321	50,779
Bill for protection of laborers in hazardous employment, fixing employers' liability, etc. ^a	56,258	33,943
Bill creating Orchard County from part of Umatilla ^a	15,664	62,712
Bill creating Clark County from part of Grant ^a	15,613	61,704
Bill to establish State normal school at Weston ^a	40,898	46,201
Bill to annex part of Washington County to Multnomah ^a	14,047	68,221
Bill to establish State normal school at Ashland ^a	38,473	48,655
Amendment prohibiting liquor traffic ^a	43,540	51,221
Bill prohibiting sale of liquor, providing for search for liquors, and regulating shipments of same ^a	42,651	63,564
Bill creating board to draft employers' liability law for submission to legislature ^a	32,224	51,719
Bill prohibiting taking of fish in Rogue River except with hook and line ^a	49,712	33,397
Bill creating Deschutes County out of part of Crook ^a	17,592	60,486
Bill for general law under which new counties may be created or boundaries changed ^a	37,129	42,327
Amendment permitting counties to vote bonds for permanent road improvement ^a	51,275	32,906
Bill permitting voters in direct primaries to express choice for President and Vice President, to select delegates to national conventions, and nominate candidates for presidential electors ^a	43,353	41,624
Bill creating board of people's inspectors of government, providing for reports of board in Official State Gazette to be mailed to all registered voters bimonthly ^a	29,955	52,538
Amendment extending initiative and referendum, making terms of members of legislature six years, increasing salaries, requiring proportional representation in legislature, election of speaker of house and president of senate outside of members, etc. ^a	37,031	44,366
Amendment permitting three-fourths verdict in civil cases ^a	44,538	39,399

^a Submitted under the initiative.

^b Submitted to the people by the legislature.

^c Submitted under the referendum upon legislative act.

Mr. BOURNE. For further illumination of the subject and to refute the misrepresentation regarding the size of the ballot and length of time consumed in voting under the Oregon system, I have here a reprint of the official ballot in Multnomah County, Oreg. The city of Portland, with a population of 207,000, is in Multnomah County, and this is the largest ballot in the State. It is 18 by 24 inches. The time required for the elector to vote this ballot varied from 2½ to 6 minutes.

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE LAW.

Mr. President, the most important measure enacted or adopted by the people of Oregon at the recent election, and, in fact, next to the initiative and referendum the most important law enacted by any State in recent years, is the law permitting voters in party primaries to elect their delegates to national conventions and to instruct them through popular expression of choice for President and Vice President. This law, when enacted in all States, will absolutely destroy the power of a Federal machine to renominate a President or determine his successor. The "steam roller" will be relegated to the political scrap-heap and its operators to the shadow of things forgotten, while fourth-class postmasters will, as they should, cease to be a political asset for anybody or any party.

In the light of past experience it seems to me this plan should appeal to all patriotic citizens as well as to conscientious partisans. It is a well-recognized

fact that nominations by national conventions are the exclusive work of politicians, which the electorate of the whole United States is permitted only to witness in gaping expectancy and to ratify at the polls in the succeeding November. As unrepresentative as this feature of the national convention is, its flagrancy pales into insignificance in the presence of that other abuse against partisan conscience and outrage upon the representative system, which is wrought by the Republican politician in hopelessly Democratic States, and by the Democratic politician in hopelessly Republican States in dominating the national conventions with the presence of these unrepresentative delegations that represent neither party, people, nor principle.

With the presidential preference law in force throughout the United States the southern Republican delegations will no longer be the vest-pocket trading material of Republican bosses, nor will Democratic delegations from solid Republican States in the North be subject to the will of Democratic bosses. The voice of the people will be heard in the selection of candidates, and delegates will be made, as they should be, mere messengers, conveying the expressed wish of the people whom they profess to represent.

MEANS GREAT INDUSTRIAL SAVING.

Popular selection of candidates for President and Vice President would mean the saving of hundreds of millions of dollars, now wasted through industrial inactivity due to unsettled conditions incident to a change of administration.

In every presidential campaign there is a long period of waste or diminution of full efficiency of brains, muscle, and money due to the uncertainty as to who the presidential nominees will be, then who will be elected, and, last, what the policies of the successful candidate will be after election.

Under the general adoption of my presidential preference bill the people will select in both the great parties the men who by public and private life have demonstrated themselves as best qualified for the highest office in our Nation. Generally, I believe the selections will be from governors of States who have made good executives. Occasionally some man may arise who solves some great problem or originates some new idea improving general welfare, in which event he would be selected and elected. The party electorates would select for their nominees the individuals possessing the confidence of the greatest number, and the general electorate would elect the man in whom they had the greatest confidence. Confidence in our Government is a prerequisite for full business efficiency.

PRESIDENT HAS POWER TO NOMINATE SUCCESSOR.

Three years ago we had a convincing exhibition of the power of a President to dictate the selection of his successor. At that time three-fourths of the Republican voters of my State were in favor of the renomination of Mr. Roosevelt, and, believing that their wishes should be observed, I endeavored to secure a delegation from that State favorable to his nomination for a second elective term. But through the tremendous power of the Chief Executive and of the Federal machine the delegates selected by our State convention were instructed for Mr. Taft. After the delegates were elected and instructed a poll was taken by one of the leading newspapers in Portland, which city contains nearly one-third of the entire population of the State. The result indicated that the preference of the people of the State was 11 to 1 in favor of Mr. Roosevelt as against Mr. Taft.

Impressed by this demonstration of the power of the President to thwart the will of the people, I realized that such power in the hands of any man is a serious menace to a truly representative government. Consequently, I tried to evolve a plan to destroy such power, and after much thought conceived the idea of enlarging our direct-primary law so that each voter may directly express his choice for President and Vice President. Accordingly I had a bill for such a law prepared and submitted to the people under the initiative. In order to make the system complete, the bill also provided for direct election of delegates to national conventions and direct nomination of candidates for presidential electors. It provided that the State shall pay the actual traveling expenses of delegates to national conventions, not exceeding \$200 for each delegate, thus removing the handicap which practically permits only men of wealth or leisure to attend national conventions.

910.

No.

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41,504
59,97454,252
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62,712

61,704

46,201

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The initiative bill, incorporating these provisions, was opposed by almost every prominent newspaper in the State and by all the machine politicians. In order to deceive the people and prejudice them against the bill, one of the papers of largest circulation represented that its chief purpose was to compel the State to pay the traveling expenses of delegates to national conventions. This feature and the idea of needless expense was kept before the voters, and the real issue—extension of popular government—was concealed. Nevertheless, the measure was adopted by the people, and since its adoption it has been praised by some of those who fought it during the campaign.

* * * * *

DESTROYS POWER OF FEDERAL MACHINE.

Mr. President, as previously indicated, whenever this law becomes nation-wide in its application it will absolutely destroy the power of the Federal machine; prevent a President renominating himself, except by demonstration of good service; destroy the possibility of any President naming his successor, and relieve him of any obligations to political bosses, campaign contributors, national committeemen, or national delegates, thus transferring the obligation from any known individual to the composite citizen, where it belongs.

Mr. President, the charge that the President of the United States has used his appointing power to coerce Members of Congress is the most serious of all attacks made by the press. The accusation was made in recent months that in an effort to dictate to Members of Congress in what manner they should exercise their legislative power, the President had granted them the privilege of recommending persons for Federal appointment in their respective States if the Members voted in Congress as he desired, and had refused them this privilege if they voted upon measures in such a manner as to displease him. In other words, it was charged that the President of the United States engaged in a systematic trading of patronage for votes in Congress.

Reduced to its simple element, the charge was, in effect, bribery or intimidation—bribery if patronage was extended as a reward for voting in accordance with the wishes of the Executive, and intimidation if patronage was withheld as punishment for refusal to yield unwilling obedience. The charge was a direct attack upon the honesty of the Executive, and indirectly a reflection upon the intelligence, independence, and courage of Members of Congress. It would be difficult to believe such a charge without positive proof.

EVIDENCE OF MISUSE OF PATRONAGE.

According to the New York Evening Post of September 15, 1910, the following letter was sent by Secretary Norton to a Republican leader in Iowa whose name was not disclosed:

BEVERLEY, MASS., September 15, 1910.

Your letters of the 9th are at hand, and I have delayed replying until after the primary elections. The President directs me to express to you and to your friends his deep appreciation of the work which you have done, and the powerful assistance which you have extended to the administration from the beginning—an assistance that has contributed much to the legislative and other successes which have been secured. The President recognizes that your efforts have been wholly disinterested, that you have fought sturdily and generously for what you believed to be his interest and the welfare and success of the party.

While Republican legislation pending in Congress was opposed by certain Republicans, the President felt it to be his duty to the party and to the country to withhold Federal patronage from certain Senators and Congressmen who seemed to be in opposition to the administration's efforts to carry out the promises of the party platform. That attitude, however, ended with the primary elections and nominating conventions, which have now been held, and in which the voters have had opportunity to declare themselves. The people have spoken, and, as the party faces the fall elections, the question must be settled by Republicans of every shade of opinion, whether the differences of the last session shall be perpetuated or shall be forgotten.

He recognizes the danger that in certain cases expressions of feeling were so intense as to make it difficult in some instances for factions to come together and work loyally for the party; but, as he stated in his letter to the Republican congressional committee, he believes it can be done and should be done. The President is confident that you will yourselves meet your local and State situation in this spirit, and that you will write to your friends and ask them to do likewise.

The President feels that the value of Federal patronage has been greatly exaggerated, and that the refusal to grant it has probably been more useful to the men affected than the appointments would have been. In the preliminary skirmishes in certain States, like Wisconsin and Iowa and elsewhere, he was willing, in the interests of what the leaders believed would lead to party success, to make certain discriminations, but the President has concluded that it is his duty now to treat all Republican Congressmen and Sena-

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tors alike, without any distinction. He will now follow the usual rule in Republican congressional districts and States, and follow the recommendations made by Republican Congressmen and Senators of whatever shade of political opinion, only requiring that the men recommended shall be good men, the most competent, and the best fitted for the particular office.

Sincerely, yours,

CHARLES D. NORTON,
Secretary to the President.

Since this letter was signed by the Private Secretary to the President, purports to have been written by his direction, and although five months have elapsed, has not been repudiated, must it not be accepted as stating the facts?

LEGISLATIVE POWER VESTED IN CONGRESS.

Before entering upon the duties of his office the President of the United States took an oath, pledging himself to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. Section 1, Article I, of that Constitution declares:

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Yet we have the charge that the President exercised legislative power by coercing Members of Congress through distribution of patronage.

The entire spirit and letter of the Constitution shows clear intention that Congress shall be free from intimidation—that it was the purpose that Congress should make the laws and that the President should execute them. Indeed, section 6 of Article I declares that for any speech or debate in Congress Members shall not be questioned in any other place. While it is not permitted that Members be punished by fine or imprisonment for speech or debate in Congress, it has been charged that the President of the United States rewarded them or punished them through the distribution of patronage.

VIOLATION OF SPIRIT OF BRIBERY STATUTE.

I have said that the charge against the President is, in effect, either bribery or intimidation. I would not be understood as saying that it is a charge of technical violation of the bribery statute, but rather a violation of its spirit. In order that this phase of the subject may be clear, I wish to quote the section of the Revised Statutes upon the subject of bribery of Members of Congress. It is section 5450, and reads as follows:

SEC. 5450. Every person who promises, offers, gives, or causes or procures to be promised, offered, or given, any money or any other thing of value, or makes or tenders any contract, undertaking, obligation, gratuity, or security for the payment of money, or for the delivery or conveyance of anything of value, to any Member of either House of Congress, either before or after such Member has been qualified or has taken his seat, with intent to influence his vote or decision on any question, matter, cause, or proceeding which may be at any time pending in either House of Congress, or before any committee thereof, shall be fined not more than three times the amount of money or value of the thing so offered, promised, given, made, or tendered, or caused or procured to be so offered, promised, given, made, or tendered, and shall be, moreover, imprisoned not more than three years.

You will observe, Mr. President, that bribery consists in the delivery of "anything of value" and "with intent to influence his vote." Skilled lawyers, trained to "divide a hair twixt south and southwest side," would find no difficulty in proving by unquestionable logic that Federal patronage is not a thing of value, notwithstanding it is so highly prized by operators in commercial politics. What Members of this body may think of the question whether Federal patronage is a thing of value is perhaps beside the question, for they will not be called upon to decide it unless the House should some time exercise its power to impeach a President for delivering patronage with intent to influence the action of Members of Congress.

The natural inference from the Norton letter is that the President of the United States used Federal patronage to influence the action of Members of Congress. This is a charge which no citizen can discuss without regret, yet the whole subject is of such vital importance in the preservation of representative government that I would feel remiss in my duty if I failed to call it to the attention of the country and place in available form such information relating thereto as may have come to my attention. The denied statement indicates a deplorable and despicable subservience upon the part of the legis-

lative branch and a dangerous and demoralizing usurpation upon the part of the Executive.

If democratic government in the United States is yielding place to dictatorship, then the people should be informed of the transition and aroused to the necessity for prompt exercise of that eternal vigilance and courageous self-assertion which are the price of continued liberty.

The manner in which Federal patronage shall be used is of greatest concern, not to Members of Congress, but to the people of the United States, whose Government this is. Senators and Representatives come and go. It is of comparatively little importance whether any one of us shall be here six years hence or two years hence. Individuals are of little consequence. But fundamental principles of justice and equality under law are of utmost importance. Disregard and defiance of law is the beginning of anarchy, and the law-respecting, liberty-loving people of this country will not tolerate it.

EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW.

Our Government was founded upon the proposition that all men are equal before the law, civil or criminal. I would have as much respect for a common ward heeler who buys votes at the polls as for a President of the United States who uses his appointing power as a means of forcing or persuading Members of Congress to determine or change their course of action. One transaction is as dishonest, as corrupt, and as depraving as the other, but the latter is more dangerous, more insidious, more pernicious than the former, because it strikes at the very foundation of free institutions, sets a precedent for corrupt methods in all official life, and marks the beginning of dictatorship and decadence of the Nation.

It is interesting to note that the truth of the charge of corruption, in high places as well as low, has been established not so much by external proof as by the confessions of parties thereto. The purchase of votes in the Illinois Legislature was not proven by testimony of outside parties, but by confessions of bribe givers and bribe takers. In Ohio, where thousands of voters have been punished for selling their votes, and where punishment of vote buyers will doubtless follow in due time, convictions have been based almost entirely upon confessions. And the same is true with regard to the charge of purchase of votes in Congress through distribution of patronage. The charge was practically unproven, whatever the general understanding may have been, until the issuance of the famous Beverly letter, in which, if authentic, it is confessed that the President had given the privilege of controlling patronage to those Members of Congress who voted upon legislation in accordance with his wishes and has withheld it from those who did not.

PRESIDENTIAL OATH FORBIDS COERCION.

Legislative power is vested in a Senate and House of Representatives, and if that power is to be exercised honestly and intelligently the members of the two Houses must be free to vote in accordance with their own best judgment, being held accountable only to the people of their own States. Any interference with the free expression of the opinions of Members of Congress by their votes upon measures is a direct attack upon that section of the Constitution which declares that—

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

This quotation is part of that Constitution which every President of the United States has taken an oath to "preserve, protect, and defend." No President can interfere with the exercise of legislative power by Congress without violating his oath of office, a violation as direct and as complete as any other unlawful act by any other officer of the Government. To bribe a Member of Congress by means of Federal patronage is not different in principle from bribery by means of cash or other valuable consideration. Intimidation by threats of loss of prestige incident to withdrawal of patronage is not different in principle from intimidation by threats of violence or business injury. But this species of bribery and intimidation is more vicious than any other, because it assumes a character of gentility, due to the patriotic reverence for the office of President,

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not enjoyed by the common ward heeler when he indulges in similar practices. It is too base to be called a crime. It is so far below the conception of lawmakers that no statute has been enacted directly prohibiting it. Nothing in our Constitution or laws expressly prohibits the President from trading Federal appointments for votes in Congress. The special-privilege seeker trying to influence legislation by offers of reward to Members of Congress must be fined or imprisoned. The bribe giver is the greatest enemy of good government, and experience has so strongly demonstrated the need for untrammelled official action that many of the States are regulating the activities of paid lobbyists. An honest ballot, whether at the polls or in State legislatures or in the Halls of Congress, is absolutely necessary to free government.

The possible corruption of Congress through the misuse of the presidential nominating power was never contemplated by the framers of the Constitution nor national legislators. It would indeed be a most humiliating admission of the weakness of representative government if disclosures necessitate legislative action to prevent a repetition of such an evil.

One remedy would be the enactment of a Federal corrupt-practices act, punishing by forfeiture of office and imprisonment any Federal official who promises or bestows patronage for votes or support in either legislation, primaries, conventions, or elections.

CREATES MACHINE FOR SELF-PERPETUATION.

But, Mr. President, the use of the appointing power to influence the action of Members of Congress is only one means by which this power may be abused. Federal patronage is also an effective and dangerous power when wielded for the creation or maintenance of a political machine with the purpose of forcing renomination of an Executive or the nomination of a man of his choice.

The President of the United States, through his power of nominating Federal appointees, is the head of the greatest political machine the world has ever seen. Whether the President be a shrewd politician directing the machine himself or entirely ignorant of politics and delegating the power to another, the system is most pernicious.

GOVERNMENTAL AND CORPORATE EFFICIENCY.

Actuated by a desire to submit to the country authoritative figures showing the number of Federal officeholders and employees subject to the nominating and removal powers of the President of the United States, I introduced in the Senate, on December 21, 1910, a resolution which was adopted by the Senate and which reads as follows (S. Res. 312):

Resolved, That the President of the United States is hereby requested to furnish to the Senate for its use, if he does not deem it incompatible with public interest, the following information, with departmental classifications of the same:

First. The total number of appointments which are made by the President upon nomination to and confirmation by the Senate.

Second. The total number of appointments which are made by the President, but which do not require nomination to and confirmation by the Senate.

Third. The total number of officers and employees of the Government subject to civil-service regulations, specifying classification and number of postmasters.

Fourth. The total number of officers and employees subject to removal by the President without action on the part of Congress.

Fifth. The total number of officers and employees of the United States Government, exclusive of enlisted men and officers of the Army and Navy.

I assumed that the governmental system of accounts would make this information readily obtainable, but 65 days elapsed before the information was transmitted to the Senate, being received the evening of February 24, 1911, after I had prepared this address.

On February 9, desiring to ascertain from some of the largest business organizations in this country the length of time necessary to secure information of this nature for the purpose of comparison with governmental efficiency, I sent the following letter to Mr. John D. Archbold, of the Standard Oil; Mr. Elbert H. Gary, of the United States Steel; and Mr. Robert C. Clowry, of the Western Union Telegraph Co.

DEAR SIR: Some time ago I introduced in the Senate, and the Senate adopted, a resolution requesting the President to furnish to the Senate the following information, with departmental classifications of the same:

First. The total number of appointments which are made by the President upon nomination to and confirmation by the Senate.

Second. The total number of appointments which are made by the President, but which do not require nomination to and confirmation by the Senate.

Third. The total number of officers and employees of the Government subject to civil-service regulations, specifying classification and number of postmasters.

Fourth. The total number of officers and employees subject to removal by the President without action on the part of Congress.

Fifth. Total number of officers and employees of the United States Government exclusive of enlisted men and officers of the Army and Navy.

The President referred this request to the head of each department with a request that the information be supplied.

I think that in number of employees one of the departments would correspond very closely to your company. In order to determine the relative efficiency in organization, I would like to ask you how long it would take you to supply similar information regarding persons employed by your company.

You will note that the resolution does not call for information regarding compensation, but merely the number and classification.

I shall thank you for your kindness in giving this information.

Very sincerely, yours,

JONATHAN BOURNE, JR.

CORPORATIONS REPLY.

On February 14 Mr. Archbold replied as follows:

I have your favor of the 9th. Answering your query as nearly as I can: If it means our force of officers, managers, and clerks—the force receiving not less than \$50 per month—it could be supplied in three days. If it means the entire list of employees down to the laboring men, it might take three weeks, owing to the Standard's world-wide foreign branches.

On February 17 Mr. Newcomb Carlton, vice president of the Western Union Telegraph Co., replied as follows:

Replying to your inquiry of the 9th instant, addressed to Mr. Robert C. Clowry, the former president of this company, I beg to say that the time required for supplying information of the character mentioned respecting Western Union employees of various grades, would depend entirely upon whether the classifications under which the information was called for agreed with the classifications under which our record of employees is kept.

We keep at division headquarters (each division corresponding to one of the Federal departments in so far as organization is concerned), a classified list of all employees, and each divisional chief officer could supply the information required in a few minutes if the classification fitted. If, however, the classification contemplated in the inquiry were different from our record, making it necessary to go down the line of our 25,000 offices to get at the information, I should judge that in an ordinary case it would take several weeks to collect and arrange the information if the mails were used. If the inquiry were conducted by telegraph it could, of course, be done in a few days at the outside.

As yet I have received no reply from Mr. Gary.

In view of the ability of the Standard Oil and the Western Union to furnish promptly statistics regarding their organizations, the failure of the administrative branch of the Government to earlier furnish the requested information indicates that the Government's departments were either unwilling to give the Senate the statistics desired or their organization must be inefficient.

It is hardly conceivable that the administrative branch of our Government would refuse or delay compliance with this request coming from the United States Senate, hence the deduction that some of the large business corporations of the country enjoy far greater efficiency than the administrative branch of our Government.

I take this opportunity of publicly expressing to Mr. John D. Archbold and his company, the Standard Oil, and to Mr. Newcomb Carlton and his company, the Western Union Telegraph, my appreciation of their courtesy in so promptly replying to my letter of inquiry. I also commend the efficient and intelligent method under which their business is conducted, as evidenced by their ability to ascertain so quickly facts similar to those the administration was so long in securing or in imparting to the Senate.

Mr. President, my inability to earlier obtain through the President the information requested in the Senate resolution previously quoted prevents my giving the clear presentation I had hoped to do on the subject. However, by next session of Congress I expect, judging from present indications, that the country itself will have far more data, and I shall then probably take opportunity to make further remarks on this subject.

MAGNITUDE OF THE MACHINE.

Statistics compiled by the Civil Service Commission, but acknowledged to be incomplete, show that on June 30, 1910, the number of employees in the executive civil service was 384,088. This does not include officers or enlisted men of

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the Army or Navy, nor clerks in fourth-class post offices, the latter numbering about 64,000.

Although approximately 222,000 of this number are on the classified list under civil-service regulations, yet the presidential power of nomination or direct or indirect appointment of nearly 68,000 not on the classified list under the civil-service regulations, and his power of promotion, demotion, or removal, either of minor employees or the heads or subheads of departments, makes the whole number of 384,000 directly or indirectly responsive to his will. While authentic information is not at hand, I believe the average wage in the Government service is at least \$900 per annum, making a total Government pay roll of more than \$345,000,000.

The utilization of this force along selfish lines would be most dangerous, pernicious, and demoralizing. An Executive desiring to misuse this power would, in effect, start with a campaign contribution of \$345,000,000 per annum and an organization of 384,000 individuals, all directed toward selfish interest, namely, perpetuation of the power of the Executive and of the individuals owing their position and advancement to this power.

While the President is the actual head of the Federal machine, the chairman of the national committee or a Cabinet officer, or both in one, is usually his chief agent for its operation. Backed by the presidential power to distribute Federal patronage, he starts his organization with the committeemen from Districts and Territories having no votes and from those Southern States that always deliver delegates, but never deliver electoral votes to the Republican Party. In fact, under the operation of this machine electoral votes are not desired, because if obtained and Republican Senators and Congressmen were elected from Southern States these Members of Congress would apparently have to be consulted regarding the distribution of Federal patronage in their respective States, and the "referees" in those States would lose their power.

INEQUALITY IN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

The Republican national committee consists of 53 members, one from each State, Territory, District, and island possession. The Territory of Alaska, with no electoral vote and but two delegates in the convention, has the same representation and power in the national committee as the great State of New York, with 39 electoral votes and 78 delegates. The committee elects its own chairman and perfects its organization. It decides on place and time of convention. It recommends how many delegates shall be admitted from each State and Territory, how the delegates and alternates shall be chosen in the various States, how the delegates from Territories shall be selected, and recommends who shall serve as temporary chairman of the national convention. The chairman of the national committee calls the convention to order and generally directs the campaign.

In the Republican national convention committees on credentials, permanent organization, and resolutions are composed of one delegate from each State and Territory. Each State selects its own representative on these committees and offers them to the convention. The committee on permanent organization recommends the permanent chairman and confirms the other officers who are recommended by the national committee. Control of the national committee by the administration gives tremendous power, which is made absolute if combined with control of the committee on credentials. If the operators of the machine find that, even with the advantage of control of delegations from the Democratic States and the Territories, they will not have enough votes in the convention to control its action, contesting delegations will appear from a number of States, by seating some of which the necessary additional strength may be secured.

CONVENTIONS NOT TRULY REPRESENTATIVE.

National conventions are not representative of the wishes of the members of the party who are depended upon to cast the votes to elect the ticket. In the 1908 Republican national convention 980 delegates were admitted under the terms of the national committee's call; 491, or a majority, were necessary for a nomination. The Southern States and Territories, giving no electoral votes, with the exception of Maryland, which gave Taft and Sherman 2 out of 8, had 338 votes, leaving 153 to be secured to give a majority. Thus, it will

be seen that under such circumstances any candidate controlling the delegations from Southern Democratic States and the Territories would have to secure only 153 votes, while any other candidate would have to secure 491 votes from those States which give electoral votes as well as delegates.

Under the referee system in the South and the patronage system in the Territories and insular possessions a President, through his nominating power and the Federal machine, can, if he desires, practically control the votes of these delegations in a convention. Then with his power in other States, and the tremendous influence of the Federal machine, it requires but little other influence to give him the 153 additional votes necessary for his renomination or the nomination of the man he selects. The Southern States and Territories, giving no electoral votes to the Republican Party, are under the domination of the machine through the referee system, and have greater influence in naming the Republican nominees for President and Vice President than have the combined States of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Massachusetts, Indiana, and Iowa, which collectively have 334 delegates.

EXISTENCE OF THIS POWER IS UNDEMOCRATIC.

Possession of such power as I have outlined (the existence of which can not be disputed) violates the fundamental principles of a government established and maintained by all the people. Avoidance of dictatorial power was the chief purpose of division of the Government into three branches. Yet men who profess reverence for the founders of the Government give silent or express consent to usurpation and misuse of that power for self-perpetuation.

It was the intention of the framers of the Constitution that Congress, within the limitations of that instrument, should represent the will of the people; that the Supreme Court, taking the Federal Constitution as the standard, should determine the validity and meaning of laws enacted by Congress, and that the President should be the instrument to carry out the will of the people as expressed through Congress.

Though the power of each branch was defined and Congress was declared the lawmaking body, yet for years we have seen the power of the Executive steadily increasing and the power of Congress correspondingly diminishing. The means by which this has been accomplished is the nominating power of the President of the United States. This steadily increasing power of the Executive and decreasing power of Congress is the greatest menace to the perpetuation of free government and general welfare of our people.

Extension of the power of the Executive is the beginning of dictatorship. The remedy is to make Presidents directly accountable to party and general electorates by enacting laws for presidential primary votes, thereby destroying the power of political bosses and their backers, the campaign contributors. The people can be trusted. The composite citizen knows more and acts from higher motives than any single individual, however great, experienced, or well developed. While selfishness is usually dominant in the individual, it is minimized in the composite citizen.

COMPOSITE CITIZEN IS UNSELFISH.

The composite citizen is made up of millions of individuals, each dominated in most cases by selfish interest. But because of the difference in the personal equations of the individual units making up the composite citizen, there is a corresponding difference in the interests dominating said units, and while composite action is taking place, friction is developed, attrition results, selfishness is worn away, and general welfare is substituted before action is accomplished.

I therefore assert that it is of greatest importance to this Government and Nation that Congress, made up of hundreds of different individuals representing different sections of our great country, especially when made responsible under the general establishment of popular government laws to the party and general electorates of their districts and States, knowing no single individual or interest to whom they owe their selection or election, should be the untrammelled legislative branch of our Government, as most responsive to the composite citizen and possessing collectively more knowledge, experience, reason, and unselfishness than any single individual.

CONCRETE REMEDIES SUGGESTED.

The presidential preference law, generally enacted, will destroy the power of the President to build a Federal machine.

The misuse of Federal patronage in coercing Congress can be prevented by an efficient national corrupt-practices act, which I expect to introduce in the next Congress, or by constitutional amendment transferring the presidential power of nomination to a permanent nonpartisan commission to be created, or putting the responsibility for such selections upon Senators and Congressmen. Until legislative action be taken or a constitutional amendment be adopted, my own idea would be for the Senate to decline to confirm presidential nominations in any State if unsatisfactory to Senators from the State in which the appointment is made. This action by the Senate would absolutely destroy the existing referee system in the South, for the delegates to national conventions from Southern States would realize that the referee's promises of patronage in return for their votes for the administration's candidate for President could not be fulfilled without the Senate's assent and cooperation.

As long as I remain in the Senate I shall never vote for the confirmation of any executive nominee who is objectionable to the Senators in the State where the nominee is to serve.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES SHOULD DECLARE ATTITUDE.

Mr. President, I hope the crystallization of public opinion against the misuse of this power will force presidential candidates in both parties to publicly announce, prior to their nomination or election, that if elected they will place upon Senators and Congressmen the responsibility for making selections of all Federal appointees in their respective States. Such a plan would be based on the assumption that Senators and Congressmen are better qualified to judge as to the efficiency and fitness of citizens in their States than the President himself or any delegated agent could possibly be. This arrangement, from every viewpoint, would give better service. The possibility of the Senators and Congressmen misusing such a power would be minimized by the realization that they would be held more strictly accountable by their constituents, in case of making poor selections, than would the President. If this nominating power is to be misused, it is infinitely less menace to the country to have it divided among 92 Senators and 391 Congressmen than to have it centralized in one man, as it now is in the President, or delegated by him to a member of his Cabinet or the chairman of the national committee, or both in one.

THE SYSTEM, NOT AN INDIVIDUAL, CRITICIZED.

Mr. President, in view of my well-known advocacy of the largest possible power in the hands of the people and in view of the manner in which I have discussed this subject, it seems hardly necessary to assert that my criticism is aimed not at an individual, but at a system, the existence of which is heralded by an individual's proclamation. I care not who is the originator or promulgator of an idea, a fundamental, or a law, or who its opponents, if, upon mature deliberation, it appears to be for the general welfare, I shall support it, while if it seems to be against the general welfare I shall oppose it.

Due respect for the high office of President of the United States is becoming to every citizen, but higher than that office and vastly higher than any temporary incumbent is the Constitution of the United States, and above and beyond that the eternal principles of human liberty and justice. I am no worshiper of men or offices, nor do I believe constitutions can not be improved. If men interrupt the progress of society, their sphere of activity must be changed; if offices become an injury rather than a help to government, the powers incident thereto must be altered; if constitutions fall in their purpose to promote the general welfare, new provisions must be written therein. All these are but temporary and shifting instruments, no more fit for human worship than the Penates of ancient Rome.

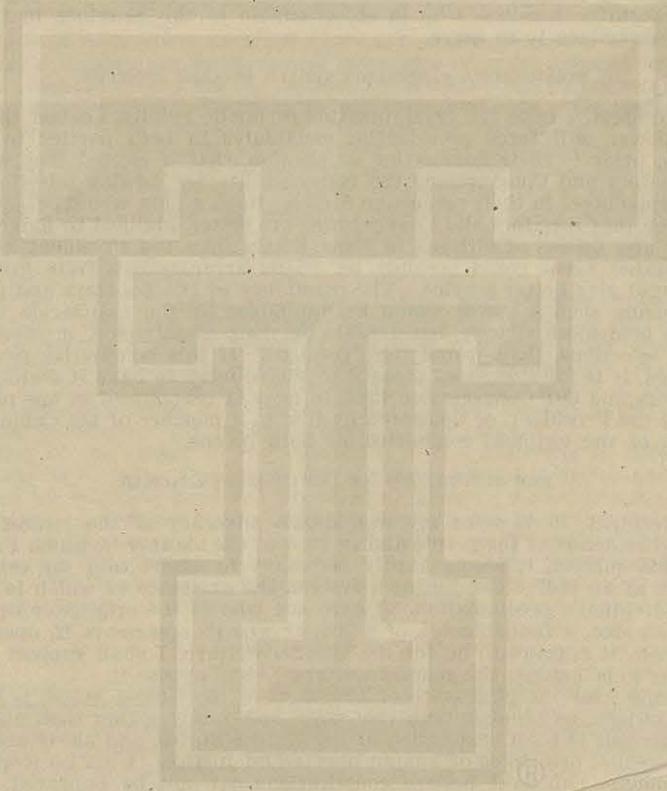
PEOPLE WILL SOLVE PROBLEM.

Proud of American institutions and of every page of history that records their progress, I have been loth to point to evils that exist. Preferring peace to controversy, I have long delayed public utterance of views frequently expressed

to Members of this body. But putting aside personal inclinations and placing public welfare above all else, I have endeavored to present what appear to be facts regarding gross abuse of the presidential appointing power.

I have confidence in the intelligence and honesty and resourcefulness of the American people. They have capacity to judge whether trading of Federal patronage for votes in Congress or in convention is either constitutional or wise. They have the honesty and the courage to make their opinions known, and they have the resourcefulness to find means to express their views. We will leave the subject to the judgment and conscience of the American people, knowing that in their own time and in their own way they will voice their desire and enforce their will.

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American Verdict on the War: A

REPLY TO THE APPEAL TO THE
CIVILIZED WORLD OF
93 GERMAN PROFESSORS

BY

SAMUEL HARDEN CHURCH,

President Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh

TOGETHER WITH THE APPEAL
AND THE NAMES OF THE SIGNERS

This letter has been printed in nearly all the principal languages of the world and circulated broadcast throughout the neutral countries of Europe, and among the allied nations; while a special edition in the German language is now being distributed by British aviators among the German people in peaceful flights across the German borders. Innumerable requests for the pamphlet by Americans, who have, in some cases, expressed the desire for hundreds of copies for circulation among friends, have led to its publication in America.

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FOREWORD

I was moved to write my letter on the German War because "The Appeal to the Civilized World," to which it is a response, had been sent to me by a valued friend, Dr. Fritz Schaper, of the University of Berlin. In making this reply I felt it to be a duty to place before Dr. Schaper, and before the German people, an expression of the views which were almost overwhelmingly entertained by the American people, in order that public opinion might exercise its largest influence in the restoration of peace. I have not yet received a reply from Dr. Schaper, although General von Dickhuth, Governor of the German province of Thorn, in East Prussia, has written to me that my letter duly reached its destination in Dr. Schaper's hands; and other German friends have assured me that they, too, have read it.

I can only add now that if the safeguards of the World's peace and dignity are indeed ultimately to be found in an International Court, and in an International Military Power which shall be charged with the enforcement of that Court's decrees, then it seems high time that the neutral Governments of North and South America, including of course our own, should unite with those of Italy, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Switzerland in a mighty League of Peace, and constrain the warring nations to stop the conflict, the German armies to retire at once from the violated soil of Belgium and France, and the guilty nations to be assessed due penalties. Such a League of Peace, to be joined later by all the nations now at war, would forever end the encroachment of powerful states upon weaker ones, and we would then see human rights placed above the arrogance of nations.

S. H. CHURCH.

Pittsburgh, February 20, 1915.

Reply to the German Professors

BY

SAMUEL HARDEN CHURCH,

President Carnegie Institute, Pittsburg.

Author of "The Life of Oliver Cromwell."

NINETY-THREE of the most prominent men of Germany, distinguished in various branches of science, art, education, and literature, have recently circulated broadcast throughout America a letter entitled, "An Appeal to the Civilized World," in which they attempt to change public opinion in the United States on the subject of war. In this letter they state that Germany was not responsible for the outbreak of the war; that she did not violate the neutrality of Belgium; that she did not destroy Louvain; that her soldiers have not oppressed the Belgian people nor committed any atrocities; and that militarism is the only safeguard of German civilization. Mr. Church, the President of the Carnegie Institute, at Pittsburg, and author of a book that has won distinction in America and Europe, has made reply to the German appeal, as follows:

PITTSBURGH, U.S.A., November 9, 1914.

PROF. DR. FRITZ SCHAPER,
Berlin, Germany.

My Dear Doctor Schaper:

I have received with your compliments and autograph a printed letter addressed "To the Civilized World," and signed by ninety-three of the most distinguished names in German art, science and literature, your own among them, and I assure you that a communication so endorsed will receive my most profound consideration. To me those ninety-three names are tremendously potent and influential. I have the honor of a personal acquaintance with some of these gentlemen, yourself and Prof. Adolf von Harnack, and a few others, while many of these men have done their work with such universal scope that they must not count themselves as Germans only, because they belong to the whole world, and the whole world esteems and reveres them for their eminent services to humanity. The plays of Hauptmann and the music of Humperdinck are, I am sure, as well known in America as in Germany. Many of us have sat at the feet of Ehrlich and Eucken as Paul sat at the feet of Gamaliel. In our great institutions of science, art, and learning, such as our Carnegie Institute, we look upon Bode as a source of final judgment in his field of work. Max Reinhardt is at the head of a new movement in theatrical production which has reached the American stage. Siegfried Wagner is a precious name to us all by inheritance. Röntgen, Wassermann, Behring, and the other signers have promoted learning and ameliorated human suffering. You yourself have, through the suggestion made by your Emperor, been a guest in Pittsburgh at the dedication of the new building of the Carnegie Institute,

amidst a group of illustrious men gathered here from all over the world, the German section, as I remember with feelings of deep friendship, having included General von Loewenfeld, General Dickhuth, Dr. von Ihne, Dr. von Moeller, Dr. Koser, and yourself, all of them, in response to our urgent request, bringing with them, as our most precious guests, their wives or daughters, except alas! General von Loewenfeld, who, winning his way to the head of armies, told me he had not yet been able to win a wife. But I have reminded him that while there is life there is hope.

Need I say more to prove to you how deep is the sympathy, affection, and gratitude which I and all my countrymen cherish towards the people of the German Empire? Need I say how our hearts bleed for them in this time of dreadful calamity, or how much we hope and pray that peace may soon return to the troubled bosom of the Fatherland? Why, the very texture of our nation would make us true to Germany in all her moral rights, because we have at this moment eight million people of German birth or German parentage in our population, and these citizens are among the very best in this country. Therefore, in a peculiar sense, we hold Germany in our heart of hearts, for she is bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. But in the same way we cherish the people of all other races, except, alas, those from Asia, and one day, in God's own time, we shall grow big enough in a spiritual sense to receive the children of Asia with equal hospitality. But we are a cosmopolite nation, and besides having those eight million Germans we have absorbed thirteen millions from Great Britain, 300,000 from France, 3,000,000 from Russia, 2,000,000 from Austria, 25,000 from the Balkans, and 100,000 from Belgium. All told we have 32,000,000 of foreign birth and foreign parentage in our 100,000,000 population,

so that our blood and fibre comprises the whole human family.

Could we be lacking in sympathy for Germany, then, in this awful war? And could we take sides unjustly or from prejudice when all those who are engaged in the terrible conflict are our veritable brothers in the one family of God's children? Our excellent President Wilson, beloved and esteemed by our whole people, has charged us all to maintain an impartial neutrality, and that I believe we are earnestly striving to do; but we are, at the same time, in like manner, earnestly striving to find the right and to condemn the wrong, because neutrality can never mean indifference. You will remember that Dante, in the *Inferno*, found a hell beneath all other hells prepared for those timid beings who insisted on being neutral in the everlasting fight between good and evil. This war is a fight between those forces of good and evil, and I believe that the American people, having divested themselves of prejudice, are devoting themselves to a study of the evidence in order that public opinion may conform to the facts. In the course of this study your letter "To the Civilized World" becomes a substantial part of the testimony.

In your letter you say that your enemies, "by their lies and calumnies, are endeavoring to stain the honor of Germany in her hard struggle for existence—in a struggle which has been forced upon her."

It gives me a feeling of pity to note the importunity with which the people of Germany are seeking the good opinion of America in this strife. It is greatly to their credit that they wish to stand right in the judgment of this nation. But Germany need have no fear that American public opinion will be perverted by the lies and calumnies of her enemies. We are all going deeper than the surface in our search for the truth. Your letter speaks of Germany

as being in a struggle "which has been forced upon her." That is the whole question; all others are subsidiary. If this struggle was forced upon Germany, then indeed she stands in a position of mighty dignity and honor, and the whole world should acclaim her and succor her, to the utter confusion and punishment of the foes who have attacked her. But if this outrageous war was not forced upon her, would it not follow in the course of reason that her position is without dignity and honor, and that it is her foes who should be acclaimed and supported to the extreme limit of human sympathy?

I believe, dear Doctor Schaper, that the judgment on this paramount question has been formed. That judgment is not based upon the lies and calumnies of the enemies of Germany, nor upon the careless publications contained in the newspapers, but upon a profound study of the official correspondence in the case. This correspondence has been published and disseminated by the respective Governments concerned in the war; it has been reprinted in full in our leading newspapers, and with substantial fullness in our magazines, and has been republished in a complete pamphlet form in one hugh edition after another by the "New York Times," and again by the American Association for International Conciliation; and the public demand for this indisputable evidence has not yet been satisfied, although many millions of our people have read it. These documents are known officially as (1) The Austro-Hungarian note to Servia. (2) The Servian Reply. (3) The British White Paper. (4) The German White Book. (5) The Russian Yellow Book. (6) The Belgian Grey Book. They contain all the letters and dispatches which each government desired to publish to the world as its own justification for being at war. And, by the way, every man who studies these papers will regret two things: first, that Ger-

many has not dared to publish her correspondence with Austria, and, second, that Austria has not dared to publish her correspondence with Germany. If the world were in possession of this suppressed evidence, its judgment on the question of guilt would doubtless be greatly facilitated. But, in so far as they have been printed, all of these documents are before me as I write this letter. I cannot help wondering whether they have been circulated in Germany; I cannot help wishing that the German people might have the opportunity which my countrymen have had of reading these state papers in their fullness.

Was this war forced upon Germany? What do the official documents prove?

Well, we all know that Austria, away back in 1908, made seizure of the two provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. A thing like that enrages the human spirit; and the brains of some men will not act normally under such extreme provocation. In May, 1914, the Austrian Crown Prince went into these provinces. The people looked upon him as an invader, a usurper, a conqueror, a tyrant, and he was assassinated. It was a detestable act, condemned and abhorred by just men everywhere. I condemn it, detest it, and abhor it. But it was the penalty which any man would pay who would flagrantly invade a conquered province under like circumstances. There is always a hot-head ready to murder a tyrant, and a tyrant is one who makes himself a conqueror for his own aggrandizement. In the eyes of those subjugated people, the Crown Prince was a tyrant. Austria at once assumed to hold Serbia responsible for this murder, and dispatched an ultimatum containing ten drastic conditions which were more exacting upon the dignity of Serbia than any demand that was ever before made by one nation upon another. Yet Serbia yielded to all except in

part as to Articles 5 and 6. In Article 5 the Imperial scheme of Pan-Germanism was developed—insidiously broached, it is true, but still it was put before Serbia as a definitive part of the plan of Austro-German expansion. Serbia was required “to accept the collaboration in Serbia of representatives of the Austro-Hungarian government in the suppression of the subversive movement directed against the territorial integrity of the (Austrian) monarchy.”

This brief clause is full of hidden meaning. The phraseology is so elastic that its acceptance by Serbia would have given Austria the opportunity to extend its purport so that it would cover practically any kind of interference in Servian affairs for the ostensible purpose of suppressing any “subversive movement.” Already Austria had ravished Serbia of two of her precious jewels, and was laying her plans now to despoil her of more. In Germany’s “White Paper” we read an undisguised acknowledgment that the main object of Austria’s war on Serbia was to assert a control in Serbia over all policies which Austria might regard as having any inimical effect upon such territory as should now belong to Austria or would hereafter be annexed.

It would be difficult to conceive of anything that would be a more fatal impairment of the sovereignty of Serbia than for her to yield to this harsh demand. Yet she replied with patience and dignity, consenting “to admit such collaboration as agrees with the principle of international law, with criminal procedure, and with good neighborly relations.”

It is well that we should keep in mind the avowed object of Germany and Austria in making this significant demand upon Serbia, in order that we may be able to avoid the error of assuming that the Austrian war on Serbia was merely a punitive expedition on account of the assassination of the Crown Prince of Austria. When these minatory

conditions were published, Russia, as one of the great powers of Europe, naturally felt that she had a historical basis to claim, and she did emphatically claim, a right to a voice in determining whether the sovereignty of the kingdom of Serbia should be permanently impaired. Germany well knew that an insistence upon this condition would make a general war inevitable; yet she proclaimed her insistence from the house-tops, and defied Russia to interfere.

Again, Article 6 contained the unprecedented condition that Austrian jurists should sit in the Servian court before which the assassins were to be tried, and even here Serbia agreed to submit in effect, although calling attention to the extremely reasonable fact that such participation by Austria was contrary to the laws of Serbia. If her replies on any part of the ultimatum were not satisfactory to Austria, Serbia candidly offered to hold further conversations on the subject, or to refer the matter to The Hague Court, or to the great powers of Europe. In this transaction Serbia showed a disposition towards reparation and towards peace, which the civilized world has been trying for many years to inculcate into the foreign relations of all nations. Serbia had just passed through two wars, and her strength was exhausted. But Austria, conscious all the time that good faith would have enabled her to reach an agreement in a conversation of thirty minutes, was resolved to make war, and in this resolve the German Emperor and the military party in Germany upheld her, as candidly acknowledged in their official declarations.

The German White Book is very frank on this subject. It says: "We were able to assure our ally (Austria) most heartily of our agreement with her view of the situation, and to assure her that any action that she might consider it necessary to take in order to put an end to the movement

in Serbia directed against the existence of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy would receive our approval."

You will see, my dear Doctor Schaper, that it never entered into the minds of the Emperor and his advisers to refer the question to The Hague Court or to discuss it in a concert of the powers of Europe. What we are trying to do, you will remember, is to find out who began the war. So the German statement proceeds: "We were fully aware in this connection that warlike moves on the part of Austria Hungary against Serbia would bring Russia into the question, and might draw us into a war in accordance with our duty as an ally."

I hope you will read that last quotation with extreme care. Does it not prove by German declaration alone that all these myriad thousands of good German working men who have been slaughtered in their invasion of other lands have died, not because the Fatherland was in peril, but because ambitious schemes of the dynastic houses of Hapsburg and Hohenzollern demanded the sacrifice?

In the English White Paper we have all the telegrams which were exchanged between the English Foreign Office over the signature of Sir Edward Grey and the diplomatic officials of the other powers, including the Imperial Chancellor of Germany. These telegrams to and from her own foreign office are, curiously enough, not included by Germany in her presentation of the case. On July 24th Sir Edward Grey, through the British Ambassador at Berlin, proposed a conference between Germany, Italy, France and England in the event of the relations between Austria and Russia becoming threatening, and he repeated this suggestion the next day to the German Ambassador at London. The Emperor returned suddenly to Berlin on July 26th (he was not "away on his vacation when the war broke out," as has been stated by his defenders in America time

and time again), and Sir Edward Grey repeated his urgent appeal for a conference of accommodation. So on the next day the English Ambassador at Berlin telegraphed Sir Edward Grey "Secretary of State says that conference you suggest would practically amount to a court of arbitration, and could not, in his opinion, be called together except at the request of Austria and Russia. He could not, therefore, fall in with your suggestion, desirous though he was to cooperate for the maintenance of peace. I said I was sure that your idea had nothing to do with arbitration, but meant that representatives of the four nations not directly interested should discuss and suggest means for avoiding a dangerous situation. He maintained, however, that such a conference as you proposed was not practicable."

Was Germany anxious to avoid war? Did she make the slightest effort to avert it? Do we see her being attacked? Were her "jealous neighbors" oppressing her? On the contrary, Germany stood steadfastly upon her assurance that Austria was justified in making war on Serbia, and that if Russia interfered, she would fight Russia. Then who began the war? And once again, why did these German husbands, sons and fathers die? And all this time England and France and Russia and Italy were striving mightily to hold back Austria from beginning a conflict which they all knew, as Germany knew, would destroy the peace of the world. They all pleaded for further conference, but Austria was obdurate, being upheld to her uncompromising attitude by Germany, and on July 27th she began her war on Serbia.

Returning to the German White Book, we read that after Austria had attacked Serbia, Russia began to mobilize her army, as she had all along declared that she would do, for action against Austria if it became necessary. We then come upon one of the most extraordinary communications

which has ever been written. It is a telegram from the German Emperor to the Czar, and says: "The unscrupulous agitation which has gone on for years in Serbia has led to the revolting crime of which Archduke Francis Ferdinand was the victim. . . . Undoubtedly you will agree with me that we two, you and I, as well as all sovereigns, have a common interest in insisting that all those morally responsible for this terrible murder shall suffer deserved punishment."

We begin to see now why those German soldiers have died, and why those German women are weeping. A prince, no matter whether he was a usurper and an invader, has been shot. Therefore let all Hell break loose in Europe! And those of us who have been shocked when bombs have been hurled at emperors, are now astounded to behold that emperors, in emulation of the most despicable anarchists, have themselves hurled bombs at defenseless women and children in Antwerp and in Paris.

The Czar replied: "A disgraceful war has been declared on a weak nation; the indignation of this, which I fully share, is immense in Russia. I foresee that soon I can no longer withstand the pressure that is being brought to bear upon me, and that I shall be forced to adopt measures which will lead to war."

The Emperor answered thus: "I cannot consider Austria's action a disgraceful war. Austria knows by experience that Serbia's promises, when they are merely on paper, are quite unreliable."

I cannot help asking you, dear Doctor Schaper, if the world has not come to know that there are other promises which, when they are merely on paper, are quite unreliable? Does not one such paper bear your Emperor's signature? Has not your Emperor declared that his solemn and sacred

guarantee of Belgium's neutrality is nothing but a scrap of paper?

England now asked whether Germany, in the event of war, would guarantee that she would not despoil France of her territorial possessions, and Germany replied that she could not give such guarantees. And in answer to a last effort on the part of England to protect France from dismemberment and spoliation, the Emperor sends this amazing telegram to the King of England: "My mobilization cannot be countermanded because I am sorry your telegram came so late. But if France offers me neutrality, which must be guaranteed by the British fleet and army, I shall of course refrain from attacking France and employ my troops elsewhere. I hope that France will not become nervous. The troops on my frontiers are in the act of being stopped by telegraph and telephone from crossing into France."

"My mobilization!" It is the Emperor, then, who has mobilized. The time may come, dear Doctor Schaper, and you and I ought to hope that it will come soon, when there will be neither Kings nor Emperors with power to mobilize armies as a child plays with toy soldiers! In a certain event, says the Emperor, "I shall refrain from attacking France"—and mark what follows! "— and employ my troops elsewhere." The Emperor is determined to make war, either on France, or "elsewhere." And then: "I hope France will not become nervous." Now what should make France nervous? "The troops on my frontiers are in the act of being stopped by telegraph and telephone from crossing into France." There we have it all! The telegram from England came too late; the German Emperor has mobilized; his armies are already crossing the French Frontiers, but France must not become nervous! Poor France! already shaking with the tread of a million invaders, she must not get nervous!

The final step, then, appears to be an ultimatum, on July 31st, from the Imperial German Chancellor giving Russia twelve hours to cease her mobilization. But Russia continued to make her preparations, and the war broke out on August 1st.

Who began it? Was it England? Scarcely so, for England, in so far as her army is concerned, had yielded to the popular plea for arbitration; she was not ready for war and will not be ready for another six months. Was it France? Was it Russia? Not one of the ninety-three distinguished men who have sent me this letter, if they will read the evidence, will say so. Nominally it was Austria, who, by her unreasonable and inexorable attack on Servia, began the War, but Austria was supported, controlled and guided at every step by Germany, who, in her turn, gave notice to the powers of Europe that any interference with Austria would be resented by Germany to the full limit of war.

For what, then, have these brave German soldiers died? Alas! Not one of all those among her slaughtered battalions could answer that question, in the last moment of his agony. The men who have fallen among the allies have died on their own soil, defending their countries against invasion, but all your sons have died in a foreign land without a cause.

The next point in your letter reads thus: "It is not true that we trespassed in neutral Belgium." Have these ninety-three men studied well the letter they have signed? Could intellects so superbly trained deliberately certify to such an unwarranted declaration? Once again I ask, are the people of Germany being supplied with the evidence which is given to the rest of the world? Has any one of my ninety-three honored correspondents read the guilty statement made by Imperial Chancellor von Bethman-Holl-

weg in the Reichstag on August 4th? I fear not, for in that statement the Chancellor said:

"We were compelled to override the just protests of the Luxemburg and Belgian governments. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and perhaps are already on Belgian soil. Gentlemen, that is a breach of international law. It is true that the French government has declared at Brussels that France is willing to respect the neutrality of Belgium, so long as her opponent respects it. France could wait, but we could not. The wrong—I speak frankly—that we are committing we will endeavor to make good as soon as our military goal has been reached."

Again, I am impelled to wonder whether any of you gentlemen are aware of the fact that your Imperial Chancellor himself made an appeal for the good opinion of the American people, which was published in the American newspapers on August 15th, in which he again acknowledges this crime against Belgium in the following words:

"Necessity forced us to violate the neutrality of Belgium, but we had promised emphatically to compensate that country for all damage inflicted."

What will the good conscience of the German people say when, in spite of its passion in the rage of war, it grasps the awful significance of the confession of its Imperial Chancellor? What necessity? Who would ever have attacked you if your Emperor had not marched his troops across the frontiers of his peaceful neighbors? "The wrong that we are committing." The wreck and ruin of a country that has done you no injury, the slaughter of her sons, the expulsion of her King and government, the blackmail of her substance, the destruction of her cities, with their happy homes, their beautiful monuments of historic times, and the priceless works of human genius!

"The wrong that we are committing." Worst of all, when the desperate and maddened populace, seeing their sons slain and their homes in flames, fired from their windows in the last instinct of nature, your troops, with barbaric ferocity, put them to the sword without distinction of age or sex! The wrong! Why do you deny it against the shameful acknowledgment of the official voice of Germany? Oh, Doctor Schaper, if these conditions should ever be reversed and these foreign soldiers should march through the streets of Berlin, would not you, would not all of my ninety-three correspondents, if they saw their homes battered in ruins and their sons dead in the streets, would not they, too, fire from their windows upon the merciless invaders? I am sure I would do so! When our American troops were recently dispatched to Mexico, not to conquer, not to make war, but to restore peace and good order and the authority of law, some of the people of Vera Cruz fired at them from their windows, and twenty-three of our young soldiers were killed. At last they fired back at the sharpshooters, but they did not destroy the city, nor kill the innocent, and even those among the sharpshooters who were captured were not executed, but were admonished to good behavior, and set free. I almost wish that America had the power and the will to go into Belgium and France, to thrust back these wicked invaders, and restore peace and good order and the authority of law there. Such a power is surely going to be organized, one of these days, by the humane people of all the world, and after that a nation which undertakes to prepare death and hell for all mankind, as your nation has done during these past twenty-five years, will be restrained as a public enemy. Yet the gross savagery that took us to Mexico is mild indeed when we compare it with the barbaric destruction and murder that is being pursued by your troops in those two countries.

If Germany is not guilty, then, Doctor Schaper, in God's name, why are your armies in Belgium? Why are they in France? If you had waited until you had been attacked, you would never have found your nation at war. Your Imperial Chancellor says that you have violated international law and that you will endeavor to make good the wrong you are committing. Why, Doctor Schaper, all the gold you could give to France and Belgium in a thousand years, and all the penitential prayers you could utter in every hour of a thousand years, together with the contrition of a shamed and broken heart, would not repair your ruin of two nations by fire and slaughter, nor dry up the ocean of human tears which have accompanied your hideous invasion. People sometimes ask us: "Would you rather have the Slav than the German?" And the reply is always to the same effect: "Yes, since we have seen the German at war, we would rather have the Slav, rather the Turk, rather the Hottentot!"

Your communication makes other denials, that you "have not injured the life and property of a single Belgian citizen without the bitterest self-defense having made it necessary," and that your troops "have not treated Louvain brutally." The judgment here also must rest upon the facts, and the facts are too well known to justify their repetition, and argument would be wasted. I do, however, bring one witness against you on this charge, and one only. It is your Emperor. Hear him! "My soldiers have destroyed Louvain because of the trespass of the people, and the lives and property of many innocent persons have been sacrificed. My heart bleeds for Louvain!"

You likewise make denial of atrocities, not justified by warfare. Well, here in Pittsburgh, we have received a letter from one of our Red Cross nurses who is serving in Belgium. Among those under her care is a boy who, brave

lad, fired from his window at the troops who were ravaging his country, and had both hands cut off by your soldiers. And was not the Burgomaster of Termonde slain because he defended his daughter against the attack of a German officer—a guest in his own house? Another story reaches me to-day from one of my own business correspondents formerly living at Brussels but forced to flee to Nantes, who tells me that your soldiers shot the Cashier of the National Bank of Belgium and his two sons, because he refused to give them the combination of his safe. Common tales like these seem only too well authenticated. But why make denial of individual atrocities when we have them in such wholesale instances as those at Louvain, Alost and Termonde? Our people look upon war itself as an atrocity, debasing a nation that provokes it as much as private murder debases the criminal who instigates it. Your Emperor was admired as one of the greatest men in the world. But what will be the fame that he leaves to posterity? Oh, what a fall is there! His inexcusable provocation of war has stung humanity to the innermost depths of its soul. Besides drenching Europe with human blood, he is giving her a new population of weeping widows and bereft mothers, of fatherless children, and of men without arms and legs. A heritage of hate!

And then you conclude your letter by defending German militarism. Well, that would bring us back again to the question of how the war began. No candid mind can doubt that the responsibility for the war rests entirely upon Germany because of her encouragement of Austria to attack Servia, knowing, as Germany knew, that a European conflagration would result. For Austria is only a ramshackle empire, bound together by a rope of sand, not able to assimilate various races into one homogeneous nation, as we assimilate them in America, because her government is not a government of equal rights, and she could never do

anything either good or bad, on her own initiative, in a masterful way. But there are causes back of this.

Your reference to German militarism brings to mind the conviction that this war began potentially twenty-five years ago, when Emperor William II. ascended the throne, declared himself Supreme War Lord, and proceeded to prepare his nation for war. His own children were raised from their babyhood to consider themselves soldiers and to look forward to a destiny of slaughter; and here in America we know even his daughter only by her photograph in a colonel's uniform. And as with his own children, so all the youth of his empire were brought up. Compulsory military service made every man a soldier. I have been in Germany and have everywhere noted the lack of national tranquility, for the streets were at all times full of soldiers; the eye caught nothing but the flash of shining helmets and polished breast-plates; the ear heard nothing but the clanking of sabres and the jingling of spurs. Horses were chafing their bits and beating the air with impatient hoofs. And all this constant noise and panoply of war has poisoned the imagination of the German people, and the surging spirit of conflict has got itself into their blood.

A man wearing the Kaiser's uniform became at once a member of an exclusive class. A waiter questioning a score with a drunken officer was stabbed to the heart, the soldier's uniform making the act a good defense. A lame shoemaker, living in a conquered province, who muttered words against the Kaiser's troops, was cut down with a sabre, and the officer who committed the cowardly assault was effusively praised by the German Crown Prince. A man in humble station, who sought to greet with familiar approach a former friend now in officer's uniform, was killed for his impudence, the murderer even writing a letter to his victim's mother justifying the crime. I have myself

seen German officers elbow gentle women on the street to make more room for themselves. I have seen others of them raise their glasses to the day when they would be at war.

And in every day of every year of the twenty-five the Emperor has, by his incendiary speeches, inflamed the public ardor for this potential war. Men who proposed substantial ways of peace were sneered at for their interference. When the working classes of the world began to stagger under the taxation for prospective war (about 75 per cent. of the revenues of all governments going into these wasted expenditures) the English cabinet proposed a cessation of further preparation for one year, but the Emperor's answer to this humane suggestion was to add four battleships to his fleet and three hundred thousand men to his army, immediately requiring France to lengthen out her term of service from two years to three.

Your General von Bernhardi said: "Efforts to secure peace are extraordinarily detrimental to the national health." The very professors in your universities have helped instil into the minds of your young men this doctrine that war was inevitable. Going far away from your great philosopher, Kant, who, in his Categorical Imperative, has taught us all a new golden rule, the national spirit of Germany has been fed on the sensual materialism of Nietzsche, on the undisguised bloodthirst of General von Bernhardi, on the wicked war dreams of Treitschke, and on the weak morality of von Bülow; and in every scrap of evidence that we can gather from your Emperor, his children, his soldiers, his statesmen, and his professors, we behold that Germany held herself a nation apart from the rest of the world and superior to it, and predestined to maintain that superiority by war. In contrast to this narrow and destructive spirit of nationalism, we in America have learned

the value of humanity above the race, so that we cherish all mankind in the bosom of our country.

And right here, dear Doctor Schaper, may I say that the statesmanship of Germany has been constructed upon one false principle which is mainly responsible for all the woes that this German war has brought upon the world? Your military rulers have inculcated in the hearts of your people the belief that the German flag must follow Germans in their emigration. Hence you claim to require colonies. Then your Emperor tells his people that Germany is above all—have you not a song to those words?—he teaches them that they are above the rest of our poor humanity, and they believe it. Well, there are, as I have said, eight million Germans in America who do not require the German flag in order to insure their utmost felicity. There are other thousands of them in Canada, in Brazil, in Argentina, and elsewhere around the globe, always safe and happy without the German flag. When Americans adopt other countries they do not carry our flag with them. Is it not absurd and mischievous, then, to hold to the doctrine that Germans henceforth must continue to live under the German flag, wherever they go? Is not the wild dream of Pan-Germanism at the bottom of this great crime? Is there not a higher destiny, to be born, perhaps, out of this war, that humanity is greater than any race, and that governments in conflict with that destiny must perish?

Then, again, your military class, desiring to hold the government in their own hands, are promulgating the idea that the common people of Germany are incapable of what English and Americans call self-government. "No people," says your General von Bernhardt, "is so unfitted as the Germans to direct their own destinies." Well, I cannot help wondering what the reckoning will be between the German people and their rulers when this war is over. There is a

fine line in Bulwer's play, "Richelieu," which fits this case: "Oh, if men will play dark sorcery with the heart of man, let them who raise the spell beware the fiend!"

These war dreams, this German solidarity, this Pan-Germanism, this mendacious diplomacy, this policy of being armed to the teeth, this false principle of the state above the individual, the still more fallacious sentiment of Germany above humanity, the contempt of your military rulers for human life, their eager wish to destroy the whole body of property which marks the progress of mankind—all this has made the world afraid of you. Your insatiate spirit has terrified us all. Your General Staff have even published a plan for attacking America. If you beat down the British Empire, why will not our turn come next?

And so, at last, my dear Dr. Schaper, we find ourselves shocked, ashamed, and outraged that a Christian nation should be guilty of this criminal war. When I say that we hate this conflict and that we execrate the German militarists who made it, I am uttering the opinion of the great majority of the American people, including hundreds of thousands of our German-American citizens. There was no justification for it. Armed and defended as you were, the whole world could never have broken into your borders. And while German culture still has something to gain from her neighbors, yet the intellectual progress which Germany was making seemed to be lifting up her own people to better things for themselves and to an altruistic service to mankind. Your great nation floated its ships in every ocean, sold its wares in the uttermost parts of the earth, and enjoyed the good favor of humanity, because it was trusted as a humane state. But now all this achievement has vanished, all this good opinion has been destroyed. You cannot in half a century regain the spiritual and material benefits which you have lost.

Oh, that we might have again a Germany that we could respect, a Germany of true peace, of true progress, of true culture, modest and not boastful, forever rid her of war lords, and her armed hosts, and turning once more to the uplifting influence of such leaders as Luther, Goethe, Beethoven and Kant! But Germany, whether you win or lose in this war, has fallen, and the once glorious nation must continue to pursue its course in darkness and murder until conscience at last bids it withdraw its armies back to its own boundaries, there to wait for the world's pardon upon this inextinguishable damnation.

I believe you will forgive me for suggesting that, if the ninety-three men who have written me this letter would exercise their great influence upon the conscience of their own countrymen to stop the war, recall your armies, and plead for peace upon terms which would take full cognizance of the wrongs your Emperor and your Imperial Chancellor have confessed—then would you be doing a real service to humanity surpassing all the achievements of your lives.

Many good things are sure to come out of this wicked war. The best of all will be peace. I belong to all the peace societies, and have observed that the men of peace used to speak with bated breath and walk with timid step, fearful of the glance of fighting men. But from this time forward, I predict that peace is going to be the most militant thing on this earth, enforcing law and order with the high hand of authority, and trampling under foot the petty majesties who would ever again try to develop great empires upon the dead bodies of poor working men and simple peasants. Then shall we find humanity greater indeed than any part of it which may be called a nation.

I desire, in closing this very candid response to your letter, to express my profound sympathy for the German

people. I mourn with you for the good and brave men whose lives have been needlessly thrown away in an international debauch of murder and robbery; I weep, as you do, with the precious women whose hearts have been broken by an insupportable loss; I pity the poor little children, a million and more of them, who must grow up without the love and care of a father. I wish that I might do or say something that would help to assuage the grief of the German people, but no human hand can lighten such a staggering burden of affliction.

With my thanks for your letter, and my compliments to the other gentlemen whose names are signed to it, with a profound wish that permanent peace may soon come to this troubled world, and assuring you of my unshaken friendship and esteem, I am, dear Doctor Schaper,

Always faithfully yours,

S. H. CHURCH.

TO THE CIVILIZED WORLD

As representatives of German Science and Art, we hereby protest to the civilized world against the lies and calumnies with which our enemies are endeavoring to stain the honor of Germany in her hard struggle for existence—in a struggle which has been forced upon her.

The iron mouth of events has proved the untruth of the fictitious German defeats, consequently misrepresentation and calumny are all the more eagerly at work. As heralds of truth we raise our voices against these.

It is not true that Germany is guilty of having caused this war. Neither the people, the government, nor the "Kaiser" wanted war. Germany did her utmost to prevent it; for this assertion the world has documental proof. Often enough during the 26 years of his reign has Wilhelm II. shown himself to be the upholder of peace, and often enough has this fact been acknowledged by our opponents. Nay, even the "Kaiser," they now dare to call an Attila, has been ridiculed by them for years, because of his steadfast endeavors to maintain universal peace. Not till a numerical superiority which had been lying in wait on the frontiers, assailed us, did the whole nation rise to a man.

It is not true that we trespassed in neutral Belgium. It has been proved that France and England had resolved on such a trespass, and it has likewise been proved that Belgium had agreed to their doing so. It would have been suicide on our part not to have been beforehand.

It is not true that the life and property of a single Belgian citizen was injured by our soldiers without the bitterest self-defense having made it necessary; for again, and again, notwithstanding repeated threats, the citizens lay in ambush, shooting at the troops out of the houses, mutilating the

wounded, and murdering in cold blood the medical men while they were doing their Samaritan work. There can be no baser abuse than the suppression of these crimes with the view of letting the Germans appear to be criminals, only for having justly punished these assassins for their wicked deeds.

It is not true that our troops treated Louvain brutally. Furious inhabitants having treacherously fallen upon them in their quarters, our troops, with aching hearts, were obliged to fire a part of the town as a punishment. The greatest part of Louvain has been preserved. The famous Town Hall stands quite intact; for at great self-sacrifice our soldiers saved it from destruction by the flames. Every German would of course greatly regret, if in the course of this terrible war any work of art should already have been destroyed or be destroyed at some future time, but inasmuch as in our love for art we cannot be surpassed by any other nation, in the same degree we must decidedly refuse to buy a German defeat at the cost of saving a work of art.

It is not true that our warfare pays no respect to international laws. It knows no undisciplined cruelty. But in the east the earth is saturated with the blood of women and children unmercifully butchered by the wild Russian troops, and in the west, Dum-Dum bullets mutilate the breasts of our soldiers. Those who have allied themselves with Russians and Servians, and present such a shameful scene to the world as that of inciting Mongolians and Negroes against the white race, have no right whatever to call themselves upholders of civilization.

It is not true that the combat against our so-called militarism is not a combat against our civilization, as our enemies hypocritically pretend it is. Were it not for German militarism, German civilization would long since have been

extirpated. For its protection it arose in a land which for centuries had been plagued by bands of robbers, as no other land had been. The German army and the German people are one, and to-day this consciousness fraternizes 70 millions of Germans, all ranks, positions and parties being one.

We cannot wrest the poisonous weapon—the lie—out of the hands of our enemies. All we can do is to proclaim to all the world, that our enemies are giving false witness against us. You, who know us, who with us have protected the most holy possessions of man, we call to you:

Have faith in us! Believe, that we shall carry on this war to the end as a civilized nation, to whom the legacy of a Goethe, a Beethoven, and a Kant, is just as sacred as its own hearths and homes.

For this we pledge you our names and our honor.

Adolf von Baeyer,
Professor of Chemistry, Munich.

Prof. Peter Behrens,
Berlin.

Emil von Behring,
Professor of Medicine, Marburg.

Wilhelm von Bode,
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"Our excellent President Wilson, beloved and esteemed by our whole people, has charged us all to maintain an impartial neutrality, and that I believe we are all earnestly striving to do; but we are, at the same time, in like manner, earnestly striving to find the right and to condemn the wrong, because neutrality can never mean indifference. You will remember that Dante, in the Inferno, found a hell beneath all other hells prepared for those timid beings who insisted on being neutral in the everlasting fight between good and evil. This war is a fight between those forces of good and evil."

S. H. CHURCH

YUCATAN FARMERS ROUT MONOPOLY

HENEQUEN MARKET
IS OPENED TO
INDEPENDENT BUYERS

AN ACHIEVEMENT OF MEXICO'S REVOLUTION
FOR FREEDOM

ORIGIN OF BINDER TWINE

THE HENEQUEN PLANT, from which comes the fibre used in the manufacture of binder twine, is a member of the agave family. In appearance it is like the Spanish Bayonet, which grows wild in some parts of the United States and which American farmers once used for stringing-up hams, shoulders and "sides" of meat in the old-fashioned "smoke-houses" of earlier days. The henequen plant is larger, however, and develops a short, stubby trunk which makes it resemble a large growing pineapple. The leaves average 30 inches in length. From a width of 4 inches at the base they taper to a sharp point. The leaves are cut from the body and put through a shredding machine, after which the fibre, of a straw color, is dried and then baled for shipment. The fibre of the henequen is stronger than that produced by any other hemp plant and lends itself more readily than does any other similar fibre to the manufacture of twine and rope.



Laborers cutting henequen in the field in Yucatan.

A STORY OF PROGRESS

One of the principal objects of the great revolution in Mexico—now happily nearing a triumphant termination, with glowing prospects for permanent peace and an era of unexampled prosperity—was to free the country's industries and its working people from the machinations of the privileged few. An object lesson, showing how well this purpose has been accomplished, has been witnessed in the abolishment of slavery in Yucatan and the liberation of that State's great henequen industry from the monopolistic grip of a band of foreigners whose control enabled them to fix the market price to the producer as well as to the American consumer.

Not only was human slavery abolished in Yucatan, but the new government has assumed to guarantee the right of the peon to a reasonable compensation for his labor, and otherwise assist him, in order to make it easier for him to grasp the new opportunities that are offered for social uplift, thus quickening his rise from Serfdom.

FARMERS WERE SLAVES OF MONOPOLY

Before the revolution, the farmers of Yucatan also were the victims of slavery—of another, and worse, form. Worse, because a continuation of their slavery would result in robbing the peon of the fruits of his social and political freedom by depriving him of just compensation for his labor. The

farmers were the slaves of a monopoly which operated in the interest of two powerful American corporations. Henequen, the principal product of the soil in Yucatan, was sold by the planters at a price arbitrarily fixed by the representatives of the monopoly. Independent manufacturers of rope and twine in the United States paid tribute to this monopoly; they paid the price fixed for the product in this country.

Millions of dollars were swallowed up annually by this middleman-monopoly, which pocketed the difference in the prices arbitrarily fixed for the Yucatan producer and the American consumer.

Under the power of this monopoly, the henequen crop of Yucatan has been sold by the growers for less than one-half the amount which was exacted from the American grain growers—the ultimate consumers—for the manufactured product. In other words, the Yucatan farmer, who produced henequen, and the American farmer, who consumed it, were at the mercy of the unnecessary middleman whose monopolistic manipulations enabled him to fatten off the necessities of both.

Not even in the days when the greed of monopolies was allowed the widest latitude in the United States was any commodity of this country dominated with such absolutism as has been the henequen industry in Yucatan.

The liberation of the laboring man from slavery made necessary the liberation of the employer from the yoke of the monopolistic speculators.

Instead of dealing with slaves, working for a bare existence, the henequen grower had to deal with free men who demanded, and were entitled to receive, a living wage. Slavery would still exist, in fact if not in name, if the farmer was forced to continue to sell his product at the low price arbitrarily fixed by those who had him in their control.

THE PLAN OF REDEMPTION.

Governor Alvarado and his advisers decided to eliminate the economic waste represented by the millions which annually poured into the coffers of the middleman-monopoly. This could be accomplished only by direct dealing between the American manufacturers, without favoritism, and an organization which represented the interests of the growers. The henequen growers agreed to use as a selling agency the Comision Reguladora del Mercado de Henequen, a public institution operating under the supervision of the Governor. The latter undertook to make financial arrangements in the United States which would enable it to borrow money at reasonable rates of interest and avoid the necessity of the farmer selling his product at prices arbitrarily fixed by the monopoly. The Comision also arranged to open offices in the United States and to establish direct relations with American manufacturers. Plans also were perfected for storing henequen in bonded warehouses at New Orleans and other United States ports in order to enable the Comision to meet promptly the demands of the American manufacturers for fibre.

Recently satisfactory financial arrangements were concluded between the Comision Reguladora del Mercado de Henequen and American bankers. After a thorough investigation of the henequen situation and the political and economic conditions in Yucatan, and acting in full sympathy with the purpose to free the farmers from the manipulations of speculators, two of the South's biggest bankers, Messrs. Sol. Wexler and Lynn H. Dinkins, of New Orleans, acting in concert with other American bankers and financiers, obligated themselves to make advances up to \$10,000,000 on warehouse receipts covering henequen stored in selected and bonded warehouses in the United States. These gentlemen and their

associates have effected the organization of "The Pan-American Commission Corporation," with offices in New York and New Orleans, through which the henequen growers will be enabled to get the necessary advances on the products of their soil and labor, and *thus free themselves forever from the monopoly.*



Street scene in Merida, Yucatan

INDEPENDENT STEAMSHIP SERVICE

Formerly even the transportation facilities from Yucatan's port, Progreso, were partially controlled by the old monopoly. Governor Alvarado's plan of redemption embraced arrangements for the establishment of independent steamship service and to-day such an independent line of steamers is in operation between Progreso and New Orleans. The establishment of this independent steamship service, together with the warehousing and financial arrangements, makes it possible for the planters to ship their henequen as soon as it is harvested. Thus the uncertainties of transportation will be avoided and the raw product will be stored at American ports, where it will be available for prompt shipment to the manufacturers.

The state-owned concrete and steel warehouses at New Orleans, recently erected by the State of Louisiana through its Board of Port Commissioners, will be utilized principally for the storage of henequen. The fire-proof construction of these great terminal facilities at New Orleans affords a



Gov. Alvarado (right) and Dr. Victor A. Rendon (left)

minimum insurance charge on stored products; numerous labor-saving devices and the employment of the most modern equipment for loading and unloading from ships or cars make possible a minimum charge for handling, and the fact that the warehouse receipts have an official character make them readily acceptable by banking institutions as collateral for loans.

This loan agreement with the American bankers was signed in New York by Dr. Victor A. Rendon, general attorney for the Comision^a Reguladora del Mercado de Henequen. It has the approval and endorsement of the national government of Mexico as well as of Governor Alvarado of Yucatan. It has the approval of the henequen farmers because it is the final link in the chain which was welded to rescue them from the clutches of the monopoly. *It is welcomed by the laboring people because the stoppage of the flow of unearned millions into the pockets of the middleman and its diversion to its rightful channel means that living wages can and will be paid by the farmer.*

THE MONOPOLY'S BITTER FIGHT

The accomplishment of this long-desired result has not been effected without overcoming great obstacles, among them *rebellion, encouraged by some of those who fattened off the old monopoly*; efforts to force intervention by the American government; hounding by scores of detectives hired

by one of the powerful American corporations interested; threats against bankers who dared to aid in the plan to give financial assistance to the henequen planters, and even threats from enemies of the henequen farmers to set in motion against the plan the great machinery of the national administration at Washington.

The old monopoly is dying hard. Reluctant to see the henequen industry slip from its control and to record the loss of future millions, the fast-drowning monopoly is grasping for straws on the surface. **It is too late, for the day of special privilege and monopoly in Mexico is gone.**

The abolishment of slavery in Yucatan and the liberation of the henequen growers from the grip of the price-fixing monopoly constitute one of the distinctive achievements of the revolution for Mexico's freedom. There are other similar accomplishments which prove that the bloodshed and the innumerable hardships suffered by the people in the long struggle to attain **real freedom** and the ideals of democracy have not been in vain. While the revolution has sealed the doom of Special Privilege, it has opened the door of opportunity to legitimate endeavor.

The enemies within have been conquered; the enemies without will not be troublesome unless they can manage to hoodwink Mexico's neighbors.

Although representatives of the old monopoly have striven to defeat the plans of the government and farmers of Yucatan, principally by the exertion of efforts to induce the Washington administration to take action in their behalf, Dr. Rendon and his associates who came to the United States to effect the necessary financial arrangements were greeted with a spirit of friendly co-operation from officials, business men and the press of this coun-

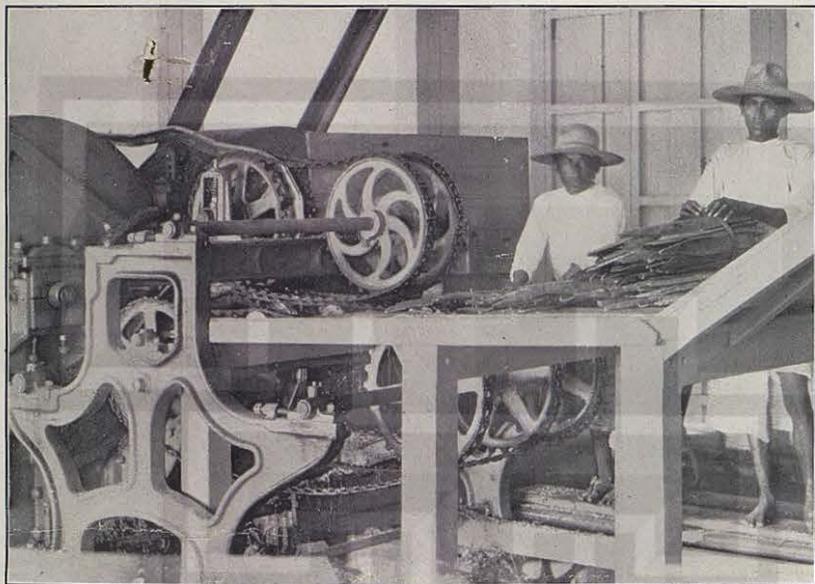
try. This manifestation of sympathetic support in the United States has been gratefully received by the government and the people of Yucatan.

DIRECT DEALING—NO FAVORITISM

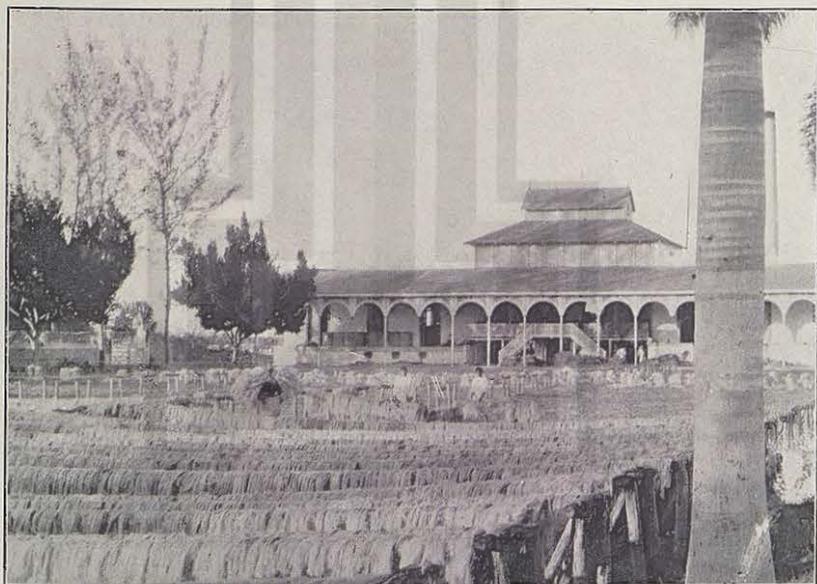
The "Comision Reguladora del Mercado de Henequen" is intended to do just what its name implies. An English translation is: Commission for the Regulation of the Henequen Market. It means to regulate the price of henequen in accordance with the law of supply and demand—to stabilize the market; to protect the planter and the laborer; to eliminate speculation and price manipulation and to put the independent manufacturer on an equal footing with the big corporation. Its purpose is not to raise the price of henequen arbitrarily, and the best proof of this is witnessed by the fact that notwithstanding the shortage of the Manila hemp crop and the cutting off of the supplies of other hems in consequence of the European war the slight advance in the price of henequen is not in proportion to the advances in the market prices of other hemp fibres.

American manufacturers may now purchase henequen in any quantity direct from the Comision Reguladora del Mercado de Henequen. Its offices are at 120 Broadway, New York, and at Merida, Yucatan, and New Orleans, La. ®

HENEQUEN SCENES IN YUCATAN



Shredding
Henequen
Leaves.



Drying the
Shredded
Fibre.

SOME REFORMS WROUGHT BY THE REVOLUTION

The Constitutionalist Government in Yucatan, presided over by Governor Salvador Alvarado, has accomplished many reforms which augur for the social, political and economic welfare of the people and for their general moral uplift. While slavery was abolished during the Madero regime, this reform was not made really effective until the present government adopted measures to insure the payment of living wages to the working people. The stamping out of the henequen monopoly has made it possible for the planters to pay living wages. Instead of working for a mere pittance, the peon now gets about 75 cents a day.

Other reforms include: abolishment of the lottery; modern sanitary regulations; laws regulating prostitution and providing heavy penalties on male and female alike for the spreading of contagious diseases; re-drafting of the civil code so as to prevent congestion of dockets and lessen the expense of litigation; institution of a modern system of primary and rural schools; equalization of taxes; encouragement of labor organizations; recovery of huge sums stolen from the public funds; elimination of useless office holders; inauguration of direct passenger and freight steamship service with New Orleans, and, not least, the putting of the State Government on a cash basis.



Loading baled henequen on lighters at Progresso wharf for shipment to the United States.

The Strength of the Strong



BY JACK LONDON

PRICE 10 CENTS

The Strength of the Strong

By JACK LONDON

Author of "The Call of the Wild," "White Fang," etc.

Illustrations by Dan Sayre Groesbeck

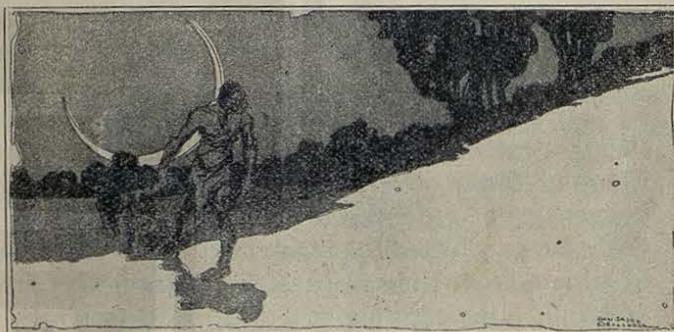
Parables don't lie, but liars will parable.—*Lip-King.*

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“DAYS AND NIGHTS THE EYES OF THE TRIBE WATCHED.”



The Strength of the Strong

OLD Long-Beard paused in his narrative, licked his greasy fingers and wiped them on his naked sides where his one piece of ragged bearskin failed to cover him. Crouched around him, on their hams, were three young men, his grandsons, Deer-Runner, Yellow-Head and Afraid-of-the Dark. In appearance they were much the same. Skins of wild animals partially covered them. They were lean and meager of build, narrow-hipped and crooked-legged, and at the same time deep-chested with heavy arms and enormous hands. There was much hair on their chests and shoulders, and on the outsides of their arms and

legs. Their heads were matted with uncut hair, long locks of which often strayed before their eyes, beady and black and glittering like the eyes of birds. They were narrow between the eyes and broad between the cheeks, while their lower jaws were projecting and massive.

It was a night of clear starlight, and below them, stretching away remotely, lay range on range of forest-covered hills. In the distance the heavens were red from the glow of a volcano. At their backs yawned the black mouth of a cave, out of which, from time to time, blew draughty gusts of wind. Immediately in front of them blazed a fire. At one side partly devoured, lay the carcass of a bear, with about it, at a respectable distance, several large dogs, shaggy and wolflike. Beside each man lay his bow and arrows and a huge club. In the cave-mouth a number of rude spears leaned against the rock.

"So that was how we moved from the cave to the tree," old Long-Beard spoke up.

They laughed boisterously, like big children, at recollection of a previous story his words called up. Long-Beard laughed, too, the five-inch bodkin of bone thrust midway through the cartilage of his nose leaping and dancing and adding to his ferocious appearance. He did not exactly say the words recorded, but he made animal-like sounds with his mouth that meant the same thing.

"And that is the first I remember of the Sea Valley," Long-Beard went on. "We were a very foolish crowd. We did not know the secret of strength. For behold, each family lived by itself and took care of itself. There were thirty families, but we got no strength from one another. We were in fear of each other all the time. No one ever paid visits. In the top of our tree we built a grass house, and on the platform outside was a pile of rocks which were for the heads of any that might chance to try to visit us. Also, we had our spears and arrows. We never walked under the trees of the other families, either. My brother did, once, under old Boo-oogh's tree, and he got his head broken and that was the end of him.

"Old Boo-oogh was very strong. It was said he could pull a grown man's head right off. I never heard of him doing it, because no man would give him a chance. Father wouldn't. One day, when father was down on the beach, Boo-oogh took after mother. She couldn't run fast, for the day before she had got her leg clawed by a bear when she was up on the mountain gathering berries. So Boo-oogh caught her and carried her up into his tree. Father never got her back. He was afraid. Old Boo-oogh made faces at him.

"But father did not mind. Strong-Arm was another strong man. He was one of the best fishermen. But one day, climbing after sea-gull

eggs, he had a fall from the cliff. He was never strong after that. He coughed a great deal, and his shoulders drew near to each other. So father took Strong-Arm's wife. When he came around and coughed under our tree, father laughed at him and threw rocks at him. It was our way in those days. We did not know how to add strength together and become strong."

"Would a brother take a brother's wife?" Deer-Runner demanded.

"Yes, if he had gone to live in another tree by himself."

"But we do not do such things now," Afraid-of-the-Dark objected.

"It is because I have taught your fathers better." Long-Beard thrust his hairy paw into the bear meat and drew out a handful of suet, which he sucked with a meditative air. Again he wiped his hands on his naked sides and went on. "What I am telling you happened in the long ago, before we knew any better."

"You must have been fools not to know better," was Deer-Runner's comment, Yellow-Head grunting approval.

"So we were, but we became bigger fools as you shall see. Still, we did learn better, and this was the way of it. We Fish-Eaters had not learned to add our strength until our strength was the strength of all of us.

But the Meat-Eaters, who lived across the divide in the Big Valley, stood together, hunted together, fished together, and fought together. One day they came into our valley. Each family of us got into its own cave and tree. There were only ten Meat-Eaters, but they fought together, and we fought each family by itself."

Long-Beard counted long and perplexedly on his fingers.

"There were sixty men of us," was what he managed to say with fingers and lips combined. "And we were very strong, only we did not know it. So we watched the ten men attack Boo-oogh's tree. He made a good fight, but he had no chance. We looked on. When some of the Meat-Eaters tried to climb the tree, Boo-oogh had to show himself in order to drop stones on their heads, whereupon the other Meat-Eaters, who were waiting for that very thing, shot him full of arrows. And that was the end of Boo-oogh.

"Next, the Meat-Eaters got One-Eye and his family in his cave. They built a fire in the mouth and smoked him out, like we smoked out the bear there today. Then they went after Six-Fingers, up his tree, and while they were killing him and his grown son, the rest of us ran away. They caught some of our women, and killed two old men who could not run fast and several children.

The women they carried away with them to the Big Valley.

"After that the rest of us crept back, and somehow, perhaps because we were in fear and felt the need for one another, we talked the thing over. It was our first council—our first real council. And in that council we formed our first tribe. For we had learned the lesson. Of the ten Meat-Eaters, each man had had the strength of ten, for the ten had fought as one man. They had added their strength together. But of the thirty families and the sixty men of us, we had had the strength of but one man, for each had fought alone.

"It was a great talk we had, and it was hard talk, for we did not have the words then as now with which to talk. The Bug made some of the words long afterwards, and so did others of us make words from time to time. But in the end we agreed to add our strength together and to be as one man when the Meat-Eaters came over the divide to steal our women. And that was the tribe.

"We set two men on the divide, one for the day and one for the night, to watch if the Meat-Eaters came. These were the eyes of the tribe. Then, also, day and night, there were to be ten men awake with their clubs and spears and arrows in their hands, ready to fight. Before, when a man

went after fish or clams or gull eggs, he carried his weapons with him and half the time he was getting food and half the time watching for fear some other man would get him. Now that was all changed. The men went out without their weapons and spent all their time getting food. Likewise, when the women went into the mountains after roots and berries, five of the ten men went with them to guard them, while all the time, day and night, the eyes of the tribe watched from the top of the divide.

"But troubles came. As usual, it was about the women. Men without wives wanted other men's wives, and there was much fighting between men, and now and again one got his head smashed or a spear through his body. While one of the watchers was on the top of the divide another man stole his wife, and he came down to fight. Then the other watcher was in fear that some one would take his wife, and he came down likewise. Also, there was trouble among the ten men who carried always their weapons, and they fought five against five, till some ran away down the coast and the others ran after them.

"So it was that the tribe was left without eyes or guards. We had not the strength of sixty. We had no strength at all. So we held a council and made our first laws. I was but a cub at the time, but I remember. We said that in order to be

strong we must not fight one another, and we made a law that when a man killed another, him would the tribe kill. We made another law that whoso stole another man's wife, him would the tribe kill. We said that whatever man had too great strength, and by that strength hurt his brothers in the tribe, him would we kill that his strength might hurt no more. For if we let his strength hurt, the brothers would become afraid and the tribe would fall apart, and we would be as weak as when the Meat-Eaters first come upon us and killed Boo-oogh.

"Knuckle-Bone was a strong man, a very strong man, and he knew not law. He knew only his own strength, and in the fullness thereof he went forth and took the wife of Three-Clams. Three-Clams tried to fight, but Knucle-Bone clubbed out his brains. Yet had Knucle-Bone forgotten that all the men of us had added our strength to keep the law among us, and him we killed, at the foot of his tree, and hung his body on a branch as a warning that the law was stronger than any man. For we were the law, all of us, and no man was greater than the law.

"Then there were other troubles, for know, O Deer-Runner and Yellow-Head and Afraid-of-the-Dark, that it is not easy to make a tribe. There were many things, little things, that it was a great trouble to call all the men together to have a council about. We were having councils morning, noon

and night, and in the middle of the night. We could find little time to go out and get food, what of the councils, for there was always some little thing to be settled, such as naming two new watchers to take the place of the old ones on the hill, or naming how much food should fall to the share of the men who kept their weapons always in their hands and got no food for themselves.

"We stood in need of a chief man to do these things, who would be the voice of the council and who would account to the council for the things he did. So we named Fith-Fith the chief man. He was a strong man, too, and very cunning, and when he was angry he made noises just like that, *fith-fith*, like a wildcat.

"The ten men who guarded the tribe were set to work making a wall of stones across the narrow part of the valley. The women and large children helped, as did other men, until the wall was strong. After that, all the families came down out of their cave and trees and built grass houses behind the shelter of the wall. These houses were large and much better than the caves and trees, and everybody had a better time of it because the men had added their strength together and become a tribe. Because of the wall and the guards and the watchers, there was more time to hunt and fish and pick roots and berries; there was more food, and better food, and no one went hungry. And Three-

Legs, so named, because his legs had been smashed when a boy and he walked with a stick, Three-Legs got the seed of the wild corn and planted it in the ground in the valley near his house. Also, he tried planting fat roots and other things he found in the mountain valleys.

“Because of the safety in the Sea Valley, which was because of the wall and the watchers and the guards, and because there was food in plenty for all without having to fight for it, many families came in from the coast valleys on both sides and from the high back mountains where they had lived more like wild animals than men. And it was not long before the Sea Valley filled up, and in it were countless families. But before this happened the land, which had been free to all and belonged to all, was divided up. Three-Legs began it when he planted corn. But most of us did not care about the land. We thought the marking of the boundaries with fences of stone was a foolishness. We had plenty to eat, and what more did we want? I remember that my father and I built stone fences for Three-Legs and were given corn in return.

“So only a few got all the land, and Three-Legs got most of it. Also, others that had taken land gave it to the few that held on, being paid in return with corn and fat roots and bearskins and fishes which the farmers got from the fishermen in

exchange for corn. And the first thing we knew, all the land was gone.

“It was about this time that Fith-Fith died, and Dog-Tooth, his son, was made chief. He demanded to be made chief anyway, because his father had been chief before him. Also, he looked upon himself as a greater chief than his father. He was a good chief at first, and worked hard, so that the council had less to do. Then arose a new voice in the Sea Valley. It was Twisted-Lip. We had never thought much of him, until he began to talk with the spirits of the dead. Later we called him Big-Fat, because he ate overmuch and did no work and grew round and large. One day Big-Fat told us that the secrets of the dead were his, and that he was the voice of God. He became great friends with Dog-Tooth, who commanded that we build Big-Fat a grass house. And Big-Fat put taboos all around his house and kept God inside.

“More and more Dog-Tooth became greater than the council, and when the council grumbled and said it would name a new chief, Big-Fat spoke with the voice of God and said no. Also, Three-Legs and the others who held the land stood behind Dog-Tooth. Moreover, the strongest man in the Council was Sea-Lion, and him the landowners gave land to secretly, along with many bearskins and baskets of corn. So Sea-Lion said that Big-Fat's voice was truly the voice of God and must be

obeyed. And soon after Sea-Lion was named the voice of Dog-Tooth and did most of the talking for him.

"Then there was Little-Belly, a little man, so thin in the middle that he looked as if he never had enough to eat. Inside the mouth of the river, after the sandbar had combed the strength of the breakers, he built a big fish trap. No man had ever seen or dreamed of a fish trap before. He worked weeks on it, with his son and his wife, while the rest of us laughed at their labors. But when it was done, the first day he caught more fish in it than could the whole tribe in a week, whereat there was great rejoicing. There was only one other place in the river for a fish trap; but when my father and I and a dozen other men started to make a very large trap, the guards came from the big grass house we had built for Dog-Tooth. And the guards poked us with their spears and told us begone, because Little-Belly was going to build a trap there himself on the word of Sea-Lion, who was the voice of Dog-Tooth.

"There was much grumbling, and my father called a council. But when he rose to speak, him the Sea-Lion thrust through the throat with a spear, and he died. And Dog-Tooth and Little-Belly and Three-Legs and all that held land said it was good. And Big-Fat said it was the will of

God. And after that all men were afraid to stand up in the council, and there was no more council.

"Another man, Pig-Jaw, began to keep goats. He had heard about it among the Meat-Eaters, and it was not long before he had many flocks. Other men, who had no land and no fish traps and who else would have gone hungry were glad to work for Pig-Jaw, caring for his goats, guarding them from wild dogs and tigers and driving them to the feeding pastures in the mountains. In return Pig-Jaw gave them goat meat to eat, and goat skins to wear, and sometimes they traded the goat meat for fish and corn and fat roots.

"It was this time that money came to be. Sea-Lion was the man who first thought of it, and he talked it over with Dog-Tooth and Big-Fat. You see, these three were the ones that got a share of everything in the Sea Valley. One basket out of every three of corn was theirs, one fish out of every three, one goat out of every three. In return, they fed the guards and the watchers, and kept the rest for themselves. Sometimes, when a big haul of fish was made, they did not know what to do with all their share. So Sea-Lion set the women to making money out of shell—little round pieces, with a hole in each one, and all made smooth and fine. These were strung on strings, and the strings were called money.

"Each string was of the value of thirty fish, or

forty fish, but the women who made a string a day were given two fish each. The fish came out of the shares of Dog-Tooth, Big-Fat and Sea-Lion, which they three did not eat. So all the money belonged to them. Then they told Three-Legs and the other landowners that they would take their share of corn and roots in money. Thus, a man who had nothing worked for one who had and was paid in money. With this money he bought corn and fish and meat and cheese. And Three-Legs and all owners of things paid Dog-Tooth and Sea-Lion and Big-Fat their share in money. And they paid the guards and watchers in money, and the guards and watchers bought their food with the money. And because money was cheap, Dog-Tooth made many more men into guards, and because money was cheap to make, a number of men began to make money out of shells themselves. But the guards stuck spears in them and shot them full of arrows, because they were trying to break up the tribe. It was too bad to break up the tribe, for then the Meat-Eaters would come over the divide and kill them all.

"Big-Fat was the voice of God, but he took Broken-Rib and made him into a priest, so that he became the voice of Big-Fat and did most of the talking for him. And both had other men to be servants to them. So also did Little-Belly and Three-Legs and Pig-Jaw have other men to lie in the sun

about their grass houses and carry messages for them and give commands. And more and more were men taken away from work, so that those that were left worked harder than ever before. It seemed that men desired to do no work and strove to seek out other ways whereby men should work for them. Crooked-Eyes found such a way. He made the first firebrew out of corn. And thereafter he worked no more, for he talked secretly with Dog-Tooth and Big-Fat and the other masters, and it was agreed that he should be the only one to make firebrew. But Crooked-Eyes did no work himself. Men made the brew for him and he paid them in money. Then he sold the firebrew for money, and all men bought. And many strings of money did he give Dog-Tooth and Sea-Lion and all of them.

"Big-Fat and Broken-Rib stood by Dog-Tooth when he took his second wife, and his third wife. They said Dog-Tooth was different from other men and second only to God that Big-Fat kept in his taboo house, and Dog-Tooth said so, too, and wanted to know who were they to grumble about how many wives he took. Dog-Tooth had a big canoe made, and many more men he took from work, who did nothing and lay in the sun save only when Dog-Tooth went in the canoe when they paddled for him. And he made Tiger-Face head man over all the guards, so that Tiger-Face became his

right arm, and when he did not like a man, Tiger-Face killed that man for him. And Tiger-Face, also, made another man to be his right arm, and to give commands and to kill for him.

"But this was the strange thing: as the days went by, we who were left worked harder and harder and yet did we get less and less to eat."

"But what of the goats and the corn and the fat roots and the fish trap?" spoke up Afraid-of-the-Dark. "What of all this? Was there not more food to be gained by a man's work?"

"It is so," Long-Beard agreed. "Three men on the fish trap got more fish than the whole tribe before there was a fish trap. But have I not said we were fools? The more food we were able to get, the less food did we have to eat."

"But was it not plain that the many men who did the work ate it all up?" Yellow-Head demanded.

Long-Beard nodded his head sadly. "Dog-Tooth's dogs were stuffed with meat, and the men who lay in the sun and did no work were rolling in fat, and at the same time there were little children crying themselves to sleep with hunger biting them with every wail."

Deer-Runner was spurred by the recital of famine to tear out a chunk of bear meat and broil it on a stick over the coals. This he devoured with smacking lips while Long-Beard went on.

"When we grumbled, Big-Fat arose and with the voice of God said that God had chosen the wise men to own the land and the goats and the fish trap and the firebrew and that without these wise men we would all be animals as in the days when we lived in trees.

"And there arose one who became a singer of songs for the king. Him they called the Bug, because he was small and ungainly of face and limb and excelled not in work or deed. He loved the fat marrowbones, the choicest fish, the milk warm from the goats, the first corn that was ripe, and the snug place by the fire. And thus, becoming singer of songs to the king, he found a way to do nothing and be fat. And when the people grumbled more and more, and some threw stones at the king's big grass house, the Bug sang a song of how good it was to be a Fish-Eater. In his song he told that the Fish-Eaters were the chosen of God and the finest men God had made. He sang of the Meat-Eaters as pigs and crows, and sang how fine and good it was for the Fish-Eaters to fight and die doing God's work, which was the killing of Meat-Eaters. The words of his song were like fire in us, and we clamored to be led against the Meat-Eaters. And we forgot that we were hungry and why we had grumbled, and were glad to be led by

Tiger-Face over the divide, where we killed many Meat-Eaters and were content.

“But things were no better in the Sea Valley. The only way to get food was to work for Three-Legs or Little-Belly or Pig-Jaw; for there was no land that a man might plant with corn for himself. And often there were more men than Three-Legs and the others had work for. So these men went hungry, and so did their wives and children and their old mothers. Tiger-Face said they could become guards if they wanted to, and many of them did; and therefore they did no work except to poke spears in the men who did work and who grumbled at feeding so many idlers.

“And when we grumbled, ever the Bug sang new songs. He said that Three-Legs and Pig-Jaw and the rest were strong men, and that was why they had so much. He said that we should be glad to have strong men with us, else would we perish of our own worthlessness and the Meat-Eaters. Therefore we should be glad to let such strong men have all they could lay hands on. And Big-Fat and Pig-Jaw and Tiger-Face and all the rest said it was true.

“‘All right,’ said Long-Fang, ‘then will I, too be a strong man.’ And he got himself corn and began to make firebrew and sell it for strings of money. And when Crooked-Eyes complained,

Long-Fang said that he was himself a strong man, and that if Crooked-Eyes made any more noise he would dash his brains out for him. Whereat Crooked-Eyes was afraid and went and talked with Three-Legs and Pig-Jaw. And all three went and talked to Dog-Tooth. And Dog-Tooth spoke to Sea-Lion, and Sea-Lion sent a runner with a message to Tiger-Face. And Tiger-Face sent his guards, who burned Long-Fang's house along with the firebrew he had made. Also, they killed him and all his family. And Big-Fat said it was good, and the Bug sang another song about how good it was to observe the law, and what a fine land the Sea Valley was, and how every man who loved the Sea Valley should go forth and kill the bad Meat-Eaters. And again his song was as fire to us, and we forgot to grumble.

“It was very strange. When Little-Belly caught too many fish, so that it took a great many to sell for a little money, he threw many of the fish back into the sea so that more money would be paid for what was left. And Three-Legs often let many large fields lie idle so as to get more money for his corn. And the women, making so much money out of shell that much money was needed to buy with, Dog-Tooth stopped the making of money. And the women had no work, so they took the places of the men. I worked on the fish trap, get-

ting a string of money every five days. But my sister now did my work, getting a string of money for every ten days. The women worked cheaper, and there was less food, and Tiger-Face said for us to become guards. Only I could not become a guard, because I was lame of one leg and Tiger-Face would not have me. And there were many like me. We were broken men and only fit to beg for work or to take care of the babies while the women worked."

Yellow-Head, too, was made hungry by the recital, and broiled a piece of bear meat on the coals.

"But why didn't you rise up, all of you, and kill Three-Legs and Pig-Jaw and Big-Fat and the rest, and get enough to eat?" Afraid-of-the-Dark demanded.

"Because we could not understand," Long-Beard answered. "There was too much to think about, and also there were the guards sticking spears into us, and Big-Fat talking about God, and the Bug singing new songs. And when any man did think right, and said so, Tiger-Face and the guards got him and he was tied out to the rocks at low tide, so that the rising waters drowned him.

"It was a strange thing—the money. It was like the Bug's songs. It seemed all right, but it wasn't, and we were slow to understand. Dog-Tooth began to gather the money in. He put it in

a big pile, in a grass house, with guards to watch it day and night. And the more money he piled in the house, the dearer money became, so that a man worked a longer time for a string of money than before. Then, too, there was always talk of war with the Meat-Eaters, and Dog-Tooth and Tiger-Face filled many houses with corn and dried fish and smoked goat meat and cheese. And with the food piled there in mountains, the people had not enough to eat. But what did it matter. Whenever the people grumbled too loudly, the Bug sang a new song, and Big-Fat said it was God's word that we should kill Meat-Eaters, and Tiger-Face led us over the divide to kill and be killed. I was not good enough to be a guard and lie fat in the sun, but when we made war Tiger-Face was glad to take me along. And when we had eaten all the food stored in the houses we stopped fighting and went back to work to pile up more food."

"Then were you all crazy," commented Dear-Runner.

"Then were we indeed all crazy," Long-Beard agreed. "It was strange, all of it. There was Split-Nose. He said everything was wrong. He said it was true that we grew strong by adding our strength together. And he said that when we first formed the tribe it was right that the men whose strength hurt the tribe should be shorn of their strength—men who bashed their brothers' heads

and stole their brothers' wives. And now, he said, the tribe was not getting stronger, but was getting weaker, because there were men with another kind of strength who were hurting the tribe—men who had the strength of the land, like Three-Legs; who had the strength of the fish trap, like Little-Belly; who had the strength of all the goat meat, like Pig-Jaw. The thing to do, Split-Nose said, was to shear these men of their evil strength; to make them go to work, all of them, and to let no man eat who did not work.

“And the Bug sang another song about men like Split-Nose, who wanted to go back and live in trees.

“Yet Split-Nose said no; that he did not want to go back but ahead; that they grew strong only as they added their strength together; and that if the Fish-Eaters would add their strength to the Meat-Eaters, there would be no more fighting and no more watchers and no more guards, and that with all men working there would be so much food that each man would have to work not more than two hours a day.

“Then the Bug sang again, and he sang that Split-Nose was lazy, and he sang also the ‘Song of the Bees.’ It was a strange song, and those who listened were mad as from the drinking of strong firebrew. The song was of a swarm of bees, and of a robber wasp who had come in to live with the

bees, and who was stealing all their honey. The wasp was lazy and told them there was no need to work; also he told them to make friends with the bears, who were not honey stealers but only very good friends. And the Bug sang in crooked words, so that those who listened knew that the swarm was the Sea Valley tribe, that the bears were the Meat-Eaters, and that the Lazy Wasp was Split-Nose. And when the Bug sang that the bees listened to the wasp till the swarm was near to perishing, the people growled and snarled; and when the Bug sang that at last the good bees arose and stung the wasp to death, the people picked up stones from the ground and stoned Split-Nose to death, till there was naught to be seen of him but the heap of stones they had flung on top of him. And there were many poor people who worked long and hard and had not enough to eat that helped throw the stones on Split-Nose.

“And after the death of Split-Nose there was but one other man that dared rise up and speak his mind, and that man was Hair-Face. ‘Where is the strength of the strong?’ he asked. ‘We are the strong, all of us, and we are stronger than Dog-Tooth and Tiger-Face and Three-Legs and Pig-Jaw and all the rest who do nothing and eat much and weaken us by the hurt of their strength, which is bad strength. Men who are slaves are not strong. If the man who first found the virtue and

use of fire had used his strength, we would have been his slaves, as we are the slaves today of Little-Belly, who found the virtue and use of the fish trap, and of the men who found the virtue and use of the land and the goats and the firebrew. Before, we lived in trees, my brothers, and no man was safe. But we fight no more with one another. we have added our strength together. Then let us fight no more with the Meat-Eaters. Let us add our strength and their strength together. Then will we be indeed strong. And then we will go out together, the Fish-Eaters and the Meat-Eaters, and we will kill the tigers and the lions and the wolves and the wild dogs, and we will pasture our goats on all the hillsides and plant our corn and fat roots in all the high mountain valleys.

“‘In that day we will be so strong that all the wild animals will flee before us and perish. And nothing will withstand us, for the strength of each man will be the strength of all men in the world.’

“So said Hair-Face, and they killed him, because they said he was a wild man and wanted to go back and live in a tree. It was very strange. Whenever a man arose and wanted to go forward, all those that stood still said he went backward and should be killed. And the poor people helped stone him and were fools. We were all fools, except those who were fat and did no work. The fools were called wise and the wise were stoned.

Men who worked did not get enough to eat, and the men who did not work ate too much.

“And the tribe went on losing strength. The children were weak and sickly. And because we ate not enough, strange sicknesses came among us and we died like flies. And then the Meat-Eaters came upon us. We had followed Tiger-Face too often over the divide and killed them, and now they came to repay in blood. We were too weak and sick to man the big wall. And they killed us, all of us, except some of the women which they took away with them. The Bug and I escaped, and I hid in the wildest places, and became a hunter of meat and went hungry no more. I stole a wife from among the Meat-Eaters, and went to live in the caves of the high mountains, where they could not find me. And we had three sons, and each son stole a wife from the Meat-Eaters. And the rest you know, for are you not the sons of my sons?”

“But the Bug?” queried Deer-Runner. “What became of him?”

“He went to live with the Meat-Eaters and to be a singer of songs to the king. He is an old man now, but he sings the same old songs; and when a man rises up to go forward he sings that that man is walking backward to live in a tree.”

Long-Beard dipped into the bear carcass and sucked with toothless gums at a fist of suet.

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THAT
BLESSED WORD,
"REGULATION"

... By ...

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

Author of "The Greatest Trust of All," "Soldiers of the
Common Good," etc.

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THAT BLESSED WORD "REGULATION"

"**B**UT you Americans that are so clever and so smart, and have done so much, why do you endure such things in your country? We should not endure them in ours. Why don't you put an end to your Trust domination and huge swindles and gigantic robberies?"

Many a foreigner has asked me some such question, and as many times I have been obliged to admit that I knew of no answer and had never heard of anybody that knew anybody that knew of one. The strangest thing, the weirdest thing, the thing that most fills you with amazement and perplexity as you go around the world, is to see all other civilized nations striding swiftly towards a cure for the evils of modern conditions, while we cling desperately to the old ways and the old idols that the rest of mankind is scornfully flinging upon the junk-heap of forgotten things. It is absolutely true. You cannot name a nation in the civilized circuit that has not been confronted with such social diseases as plague us and is not ending them by attacking their origin and cause, while we continue to fiddle-faddle and dose the symptoms.

I can give you concrete illustrations, if you wish. Within the last few years, and apparently much against our will, we have awakened to the fact that the heart of the problem that besets modern nations is the question of transportation, and we begin to perceive the tremendous power that goes with the control of a country's transportation system. Foreign nations learned all about this years ago, and solved the whole difficulty and ended that phase of their troubles by making the highways instruments of the public welfare instead of aids to private greed. That, of course, might be well enough for the stupid Japanese and the thoughtless Germans and other unsuccessful and backward people, but it would not do for us. Regulation was what we wanted, not national ownership; the thieves must keep the railroads, but they must be regulated thieves, nice thieves, sweet, orderly thieves. "Government ownership of railroads? That is the greatest calamity that ever befell a nation," said the sacred President, and we all felt that he must be right. So we began to agitate for symptomatic regulation; that was the thing for us. The President sprang into the center of the arena and shrieked aloud for regulation, and the entourage of the press loyally took up the cry. "Above all, the highways of the nation must be kept open to all upon equal terms!" declared the President. So in Congress was brought in a bill to keep them open. It took two years to pass that bill, but at last we got it through,

and then we sat down with glad, proud smiles, and wiped our brows, and congratulated one another that we had vindicated the American principle of "regulation" and shown that we in this country know how to deal with monopoly without resorting to government ownership or interfering with the ancient and sacred right to gouge.

And now after all that gigantic struggle and all that eloquence and self-satisfaction, we discover that the whole measure is not worth the paper it is printed upon, that it is absolutely ineffectual, that it will not keep the highways of the nation open to all upon equal or other terms, that it will not remedy one of the abuses under which we have groaned so long, that it will not cure anything, help anything, nor change anything, and that the chief monopoly at which it was aimed, or we thought it was aimed, in reality drew up that very measure and from it will derive untold benefits.

Suppose that some other nation had made a similar hash of its affairs, what fun we should have now, to be sure. One of those low, inferior Latin countries, for instance. How we should jibe and jeer, and how our cartoonists would picture the alien incompetence, and our paragraphers jest about it! Our newspapers would prove again and incontestibly the vast superiority of the Anglo-Saxon intellect, and our editorial writers bubble over with wisdom and good advice, and then tell the unfortunate foreigners that the advice was quite wasted

because they did not know anything about government anyway, and could not learn. Ah, yes; it would have been a sweet time for us if only somebody else had made this ridiculous fiasco. But it was not somebody else; the thing was done by us of America. And few nations, I suppose, have ever cut a more absurd figure, with preparations so vast and noisy and performance so futile and infinitesimal. We went out with thirteen-inch guns; we returned without even killing a mule.

Yes, "regulation" is the thing for us. Observe how beautifully it works. For years we are told by persons that ought to know that a great part of our meat supply (controlled by a private monopoly for private greed) is prepared in unsanitary ways and is unfit and even dangerous for food. That is asserted so often that the foremost medical journal of Europe is moved to send over here and investigate the condition of our packing houses. It finds them to be unutterably bad and warns the world not to eat our meats. The warning is repeated from many sources until at last Mr. Sinclair writes a novel with descriptions of packing house conditions so vivid and convincing that the nation awakes in alarm and demands radical and sweeping improvement. Now, in Europe, where they prefer not to be inoculated with actinomychosis from lumpy jaw cattle, consumption from tubercular cows, and trichinae and typhoid fever from diseased hogs, they have abolished all these dangers by making slaughter houses govern-

ment institutions under government management and medical direction. None of that for us; what we want is regulation, symptomatic regulation. So we bring in a bill to regulate the packing houses, and the corporations that we so wisely establish and sedulously maintain to be our masters, they cut the heart out of the measure, and when it is passed we discover that this also will not regulate anything, cure anything, help anything nor change anything. Under it the same old swindle will go on in the same old way, the lumpy-jaw cattle will disappear in the same old mysterious manner, the tubercular cows will go the old route to the cannery, the diseased hogs will still find the path to our tables. But what of that? Let us be of good cheer. We have been loyal to our American methods, we have adhered to blessed regulation, we have dosed the symptoms. Let other nations remove the causes of disease if they will. As for us, it is better to have disease than to interfere with the sacred rights of a burglar to ply his trade.

Or take another illustration; take the insurance scandal. Ah, the wave of reform that swept over us from the wholesome revelations of that probe! It makes us feel good yet to remember how shocked and horrified we were at that awful story, and how firmly we resolved that there should be no more of such doings. We had reason to be shocked, for around the world the American name, American prestige and American credit have never received a blow so deadly.

This generation will not see our recovery from that huge disaster. There is hardly a branch of American trade abroad that has not felt it, and there were times and places when some courage was required for a man to acknowledge himself an American, so great was the world's scorn. Now, in a country like New Zealand no such scandal nor any part of it would be possible, because the government, recognizing the immense importance of insurance safety, has largely taken insurance out of the hands of private greed and has operated it for public need. In New Zealand the government does both life and fire insurance. None of that for us. We had rather be robbed and swindled, we had rather have the insurance reserves become the football of carousing millionaires or the corruption fund of corporations. What we wanted for our insurance troubles was regulation, symptomatic regulation. So we promised ourselves many kinds of regulation and reforms and this and that, and laws that would make the thieves be good. And now that the moral spasm is over, if you will merely take the trouble to glance over a list of the officers and directors of our great insurance companies you will see the net results of all this upheaval and how surely we have provided that the same old tricks shall go on as before, and how neatly the control of all this vast power and all these millions of the people has been kept in the hands that have had it heretofore. Humbugged, that was all,—just as with the railroad

rate bill and the meat inspection bill and all the rest of it.

But no matter how often it fails and covers us with confusion, and no matter how steadily we go from bad to worse in this our country, let no man talk to us of any other policy but our precious "regulation." Do our gas companies garrote us and charge us \$1 for gas that is worth 25 cents? Regulate them; that is the thing. All other countries may do away with the garroters; we must continue to cling to them as to our brothers. In England, city after city has abolished private gas supply, and turning to public ownership has secured better gas than we have, at from one-fourth to one-half the prices we pay. That is well enough for effete England; it will not do for us. If we had public ownership, what should become of the thieves?

Do our street railroad companies swindle us with watered stock and extortionate fares, while they steal franchises, seize the public streets, corrupt aldermen, and furnish the means by which our politics are made notoriously rotten? Never mind; that is the American system. All the cities of Europe, Australia, New Zealand, even Asia, may abolish these evils, and substituting public interest for private greed, secure better transportation at cheaper cost. None of that for us. For us, give us regulation—and theft.

Is it not strange? We can see without taking the slightest interest or drawing lessons, city after city in England, Scot-

land, Germany, France, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, India, that is now turning into the public treasury, to be used for the public good, profits from public utilities that formerly went to swell the hoards of a few fortunate individuals; and we do not care. Here are street-car services, gas-works, electric light works, telephones, telegraphs, railroads, mines, slaughter-houses, oil-wells, insurance enterprises, all around the world, wherever men think and observe the trend of evolution, passing from private to public control. Here is nation after nation recognizing the fact that the private ownership of public utilities means nothing in the world but extortion, robbery, bad and costly service, and the creation of a power stronger than the state. Here is Italy in one year converting a very bad private into a good public railroad system. Here is Japan in the same year, after long and exhaustive study of all the systems of the world, nationalizing her railroads. Here is the obvious and admitted situation, that our own railroad companies dominate Congress, control the legislatures, choose public officers, violate laws, evade taxes, corrupt public life and by means of fraudulent stock issues and excessive charges, practice highway robbery. But, resolutely we shut our eyes to all these matters and plunge along the old road. We can see with indifference the magnificent results of publicly-owned enterprises in London, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Liverpool, Cologne,

Coblentz, Munich, Vienna, Zurich, Bern, Sydney, Wellington, and even when we compare the efficient street railroad systems, let us say, in these cities with such indescribable horrors as the street railroads of Chicago and Brooklyn, we do not care; it is nothing to us. In London, Manchester, Birmingham, Sydney, and the rest of it, the people are not robbed, and what we want is to be robbed. We care not who robs us, so long as the job is well done. We learn without concern that our telephone and telegraph rates are monstrous, that we pay more for our light than any other people in the world, that our express system is merely a device to cover the most vulgar fraud, that on a basis of reasonable profit on actual investment all our railroad rates could be reduced more than one-half. We learn that refrigerator cars and coal companies and terminal railroads and switching charges merely disguise huge swindles that in any other country would land their perpetrators in jail. We learn that the results of all these conditions are slums and poverty on one hand and monstrous and useless fortunes on the other; and for all this we care not. What interests us is that we are piling up those great family fortunes of which we are so proud, and we think with satisfaction that Europe has no man getting rich from the sale of cancer germs and no Rockefeller extorting a billion-dollar fortune from public tribute. True, some of the conditions in our happy land do seem at times sus-

ceptible of improvement. It is, of course, undeniable from the census reports that we are ceasing to be a nation of land owners and becoming a nation of land renters. It appears further that while these glorious fortunes are being piled up by the happy few, the rest of us are becoming dependant. But the man that proposes to cure these things, instead of fooling with them, is a vile Socialist, and ought to be imprisoned; and as for us we heed him not.

It is strange, but it is perfectly true. Let all the rest of the world move towards honesty and decency and the public welfare if it will; as for us, give us robbery, or give us death. Mr. Bryan comes home from a trip around the world, deeply impressed, as every man must be that makes that journey, with the immense superiority of a system in which public utilities are conducted for the public benefit. It seems to him, as it must seem to every man that goes about the world, that the whole trend of the progress of the race is towards the substituting of public welfare for private greed. And at the first mention of what has impressed him as it would impress anybody else, being a fact as certain as addition, half of his following falls away with horror, and he is informed that he should have kept his impressions to himself. You can explain it in any way you please, but here is the fact that the rest of the world is finding public ownership a potent remedy for the evils that beset us, and when a man goes abroad and

returns to tell of such developments, he is denounced as an anarchist. You can hear for the Trust evil and the private car evil and the railroad monopolies all kinds of remedies advocated except the only remedy in this world that would do the slightest good. You can hear men denouncing railroad rebates, for instance, and talking about this measure or that as the means to stop them, when you can no more have privately owned railroads without rebates than you can have a railroad without rails. Such a thing does not exist anywhere on this earth as the private ownership of railroads without rebates, and you cannot have rebates without monopolies, gouging, unfair advantage and the accumulating of abnormal fortunes at public expense. In England, where they still have railroad corporations like ours, and where law enforcement is generally much more strict than with us, every kind of a measure has been tried that ingenuity can suggest, and the rebates go on unimpeded. The mind of man cannot devise a law that will stop rebates so long as railroads are owned and operated for private gain.

As to why we continue to lag in this matter at the far end of the world's procession, why we cling to ways and methods regarded elsewhere as obsolete, why all the experience of all other men seems to mean nothing to us, I cannot pretend to say. But one thing every man knows that has been in the Orient. Let us continue for only a few years longer to keep the good old way, and Japan, with her

government railroads, her government steamers, her government-made transportation rates, her government factories and her government trading, will make a ghost of our commerce on the Pacific. That is as certain as the shining of the sun. We have seen or might have seen if we had cared to look, how Germany, with only a part of the equipment and advantages in these respects of Japan, is gathering to herself the trade of South America. In the same way, but with greater resources and more government ownership, Japan is crushing our Pacific interests. We are a trading nation; the only thing that appeals to us, we are told, is trade and business. Well, then, here is something for traders to consider. Do we want to keep up or do we want to go under? If it is keep up, then there is not a trust nor corporation nor combination in all our blessed list that has a show of any kind against the government enterprises of Japan, for the simple reason that Japan has her railroads, her transportation facilities, and she is conducting her enterprises for the general welfare of Japan and not for the aggrandizement of any family. In these days nations cannot neglect and scorn the trend of the world's development without getting hurt. If we are determined to keep to the rear, well and good; but when we discover our position we ought not to complain about it, for it will be our own fault. And another thing. If we find then that this old man of the sea is too strong upon

us to be thrown off, that again will be our own doing, for we placed him and kept him upon our necks. A power that now is strong enough to choose our public officers, dictate public policies, control legislation, pack conventions, select party candidates and corrupt every legislative body it desires to corrupt, from the town council of Shohokus to the Congress of the United States, would seem to be a good power to suppress in its early stages. When we stop to think of what it has already shown itself able to do, the idea of opposing such a power by making "regulations" seems to be a good subject for humor, but without value for adults.



REBELLION

Made Up of
Dreams and Dynamite

VOL. I. FEBRUARY, 1916. NO. 8.

How About
CONSCRIPTING
Plutocratic Dollars
As Well As
Proletarian Lives?



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TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT WOULD-BE WAR LORD.

"Take down your sign! It should no longer hang,
You locoed leader of a locoed gang!"
You vain, swashbuckling, strident Steel Trust hack!
You, who shot a fleeing Spaniard in the back!
You, who raped Columbia of her lands,
You rave of "Belgian wrongs at German hands"!
You, you read men outside the law!—
You buffoon hero of a pirate war!
You striker-killing, union-hating snob,
You blust'ring, braggart, kakied, senile slob!
You two-by-four, tinhorn, blood-crazy yap,
Your brain-cells need a new supply of sap!—
Curst be the fools who serve Neroic hate!—
Death to your plutocratic Servile State!—
"Take down your sign! it should no longer hang,
You locoed leader of a locoed gang!"

Covington Hall.

"Armies were never gotten up to protect the people,
but to protect one government from another."

We are not to be expected to be transported from
despotism to liberty in a feather bed. What country
can preserve its liberties if its rulers are not warned
from time to time that the people preserve the spirit
of resistance.—Thomas Jefferson.

Never, while steel is cold and sharp,
Shall their kinglings sleep without dreaming.

—O'Reilly.

THE LAND TRAMPS OR, FARM RENTERS.

While land was cheap and plentiful, and the tools of agriculture were simple and inexpensive, the wage-workers who came to this country were constantly disappearing by becoming small farmers; that is, with sufficient property of their own to employ their own labor, but with neither the capital nor surplus labor at hand to enable them to become the capitalistic exploiters of the labor of others. Their property was the result of their own labor and saving, and was used for their own employment and support.

This is in strong contrast to the capitalist system where capital is the accumulation by the few of the products of the many, with the many wholly dependent on the few for the opportunity to create a living.

These free, self-employing farmers not only produced their own food, but for more than a hundred and fifty years they were practically the only manufacturers as well. They produced on their own farms their own clothing, boots, shoes, furniture and fuel, built their own homes, and in this way lived their own free life without paying rent to a landlord.

It is not disputed that for most of this time feudalism reigned on the Hudson and chattel slavery ruled in the South, but it is insisted that neither were in line of real American advance, and both were

broken to pieces, not only because neither was as profitable for the capitalist as the wage system, but for the added reason that the self-employing farmers revolted against the oppression of slavery, with even greater fierceness than capitalism did against its economic losses. It was the sons of the self-employing farmers from the Eastward who, seeking for new homes for themselves in the West, fought the battles for free soil as against the Southern planters and for free homesteads as against the Northern land-grabbers, and who at the same time waged the war as fiercely in one direction as they did in the other.

Since then the self-employing farmer has lost all his power. The city has arisen. The factory has come and household manufacturing has disappeared from the farm, so the farmer is made dependent for the larger share of his living on what he can sell in the market of his raw product, in order that he may again buy out of the market the things of his use, and he is even more unable to control the market, either when he sells, or when he buys, than is the wage-worker who sells his labor power or buys his bread.

All Under the Yoke—Capitalism has now taken the farmer as well as the carpenter, or any other wage-slave, and has set him to work under pressure of the iron law of wages, and, while his wages are paid in a different way and his dependence is enforced in a different manner, he is as helpless as the wage-worker. He is a victim of the same exploitation. He is given only a bare subsistence for his long hours of

toil, and the landlord takes the rest of his products and—under landlordism he has no way of escape.

Let us join the Clan and inscribe on our banner:
 "Abolition of Landlordism and Wages," for such was
 invented only to justify injustice. Jay Smith.

(To Be Continued)

—o—
Militarism: Brute force exalted over reason; the
 heels of uniformed thugs on the necks of the peo-
 ple and a gunman's pistol forever pressed against
 the heart of Progress.

—o—
SAID A "TRUE BLUE" REBEL

(In Memoriam, Joseph Hillstrom)

They spake to me of "justice" and they lectured me
 on "right,"
 And they said I must be "moral" and their system
 not indiet;
 And they claimed a "higher knowledge" and a "wis-
 dom" more divine
 Than the Oversoul of Nature gave this rebel soul of
 mine.

Then, when I would not worship as they said I should
 and must,
 They dragged me to the judges and a judgment most
 unjust;
 And they locked me in a prison and with gyves they
 sought to bind
 The glory of my spirit and the freedom of my mind.

When this had utter failed them then with blandish-
 ments they wrought.

To bribe me to the temples where the souls of men
 are bought;

But I went as rebel Lucifer to Javeth in the sky,
 For I was born a freeman and a freeman I would die.

Then they took me out and shot me in the morning's
 ghostly gray,

Thinking thus to kill our courage and the rebel spirit
 slay;

But my deathery was a signal-call for Rebels to unite,
 And their system lay in ashes ere the falling of the
 night!

Thus, thus thru all the bitter ages we have marched
 and fought and died,

We, the never-beaten Rebels, with the House of Have
 and Pride;

And the fight shall never slacken 'till the Race is
 free from dearth,

'Till the hosts of Toil awaken and expel them from
 the Earth. Covington.

—o—
DO YOU KNOW that we can turn the State of
 Louisiana over with a magazine like **Rebellion**? Don't
 you know that this State badly needs a revolutionary
 shake-up from Arkansas to the Gulf and back and
 across and again? Send us only **Three (3) Dimes** for
 a bundle of ten and scatter them far and wide. Quit
 the Socialism and despair and bankruptcy and join
 the **Live Ones**. Send us the 3 dimes and, get busy!

CLAN OF TOIL

Suggested amendments to By-Laws of the Clan:

DUES. The Dues of the Clan shall be not less than Five (5c) Cents a Week, one quarter (1-4) of which shall go to the General Office of the Clan.

The Initiation Fee shall be One (\$1.00) Dollar, which shall be used solely for organization and literature purposes by the General Office.

Phalanx. The local organization of the Clan shall be designated as a "Phalanx" instead of Local.

STRIKES AND STRIKE BENEFITS—No Phalanx or Council shall declare a strike until it has in its treasury a sum equal to ONE WEEK'S WAGES of all members in good standing. When, thereafter, it shall become necessary, the Phalanx or the Council may call on the General Secretary-Organizer to send out a strike assessment call to all Phalanxes and Councils within his jurisdiction, and he shall immediately issue said call. No assessment shall amount to, unless voluntarily, more than 50c in any one quarter. No member, Phalanx or Council shall be suspended or expelled from the Clan for neglecting or refusing to pay any strike assessment, but those so refusing or neglecting shall lose their right to make like calls and to strike benefits. No part of such assessments shall be retained by the General Office of the Clan, except for future use as strike benefits.

Question: Shall the Clan have two "Degrees" of membership, "Apprentices" and "Altrurians?"

—o—
SUBSCRIBE TO REBELLION.

WHO'D KEEP HOEIN'?

Watermillion, chicken, co'nbread en coon,
En de banjo plunkin neaf de silv'ry moon;
Mockin' birds singin' uv er jubilee,
En dis nigger's happy, happy ez kin be.

White folks 'lows Ah'm 'er loafer, alright,
But den dey don' kno' how dem fishes do bite!
Dey kno's er whole lot, but dis Ah'll be boun',
Dey's fergotten de trick uv lazin' eroun'.

When cotton's picked en de 'simmons am ripe,
Ah sho' enjoys de dreams een mah pipe;
When night falls down, den Ah goes ter de ball,
En Ah sho' swings de gals ter er fare-you-all!

Say, who'd keep wurkin', 'cep' or po' white man,
When de fiddler sways ter de bow een his han'?'
Who'd keep er-hoein' when de gals turns out,
En de bows makes de fiddles jes' fairly shout?

Darfo', Ah 'cludes, dat he bes' wurk terday,
Am de wurk dat leads you de short route ter play;
Kaze Gawd made de music, dancin' en song,
En all dis here wurkin' mos' sho'ly am wrong.

Covington.

—o—
In Al lthe Range of History you cannot count me
a hundred great men and women who came either
from palaces or slums, and this is so because ge-
nius is the child of labor, the offspring of industry.

SAWDUST RING'S SLAVES REVOLTING. In December 700 men walked out of a Sawmill in Mississippi for higher wages, and WON. On January 10th 600 men walked out of the Sawmill plant of the Ingham Day Lumber Co., at Gulfport, and signs were posted reading, "If you want to get killed, work in this mill," but, if they stick it out, these 600 men will WIN. Also in December, all demands of the Sweet Home Front, La., strikers were granted, this after a two years' fight. If the Forest and Lumber Workers of the South will ALL join the CLAN and make common cause with the Forest and Lumber Workers of the A. W. O. in the North and Northwest in a GENERAL STRIKE of the LUMBER INDUSTRY this Spring, the Lumberjacks will WIN Higher Wages, Shorter Hours and Better Treatment and Conditions thruout the Continent. NOW is the time to hit the Boss for a big raise in pay, NOW, when the World War has cut off his supply of surplus labor. Go to it, you Lumberjacks! You couldn't possibly suffer more than they have made you and your families suffer during the past two years, and now YOU HAVE EVERY CHANCE TO WIN. Quick! Get busy organizing in the Clan!

USURY: Interest is a charge made for the use of money or, today, of social credit; Rent is a charge made for the use of land, or rather on the social value thereof; Profit is a charge made for the use of the machinery of production and distribution, or on socialized labor.

Arise! Sons of the Clansmen, Arise!

TO THE REBEL CLAN

Rebellion is the ONLY journal in this section of the country making a fight for free thought and Industrial Democracy, the ONLY means whereby the Rebels can give voice to their demands, the ONLY publication standing foursquare for the Workers and the Common People as against the infamous Plutocracy that has so long ruled the Land of Dixie to its ruin.

Further, Rebellion and The Rebel are the ONLY papers in the far South standing day and night and all the time for Free Land, Free Labor and Human Liberty. The forces that fatten on the People's destruction are working overtime to silence every voice demanding right and justice.

Whyfore, O Rebels! I need and appeal for YOUR help. As one Clansman to another, I ask you to give it NOW.

Every subscription you can send will aid in keeping up the war for Free Land and Free Labor, and I appeal to YOU to do it now, today.

Yours in the Fight for Freedom, Covington.

Hallettsville, Texas, Jan. 17. Dear Covington: GOOD land work. Your best will be called for when we print our Land Anniversary Edition of The Rebel. Good luck from, T. A. Hickey and E. R. Meitzen.

Reb sure appreciates this postalful of praise from these two old warhorses of Free Land, Free Labor and Liberty. On with the fight! Organize! Get POWER!
C. H.

A NIGHT IN THE PINES

By W. H. Lewis.

Ragged, hungry, footsore and weary, one of millions of the army of the unemployed, is walking along a dim trail in one of the pine forests of the South.

He walks, and walks, and walks, and wonders, when shall he come to the end of his misery.

Night approaches and our man of the road stops in a thick cluster of pines, gathers up some wood, kindles a fire, and lies down, tired and hungry, to sleep.

The wind is blowing thru the pines, causing them to whisper strange and weird words to our wayfarer. What are the pines saying?

Far off in one of the great industrial hells of the East, his little girl lies on a tumble-down bed, sick, and the hectic flush on her cheeks announces that she is dying of consumption. And the pines whispered, "Death."

Across the hills he hears the plaintive hoot of an owl. It has lost its mate and little ones in the storm and, the pines whisper, "Death."

Far across the woods he hears the shrill whistle of a locomotive accompanied by a sudden grinding of the brakes, but alas, too late, for engine and cars plunge thru a rotten tressle. Amid the shrieks of the wounded and dying can be heard the weird whisper of the pines—"Death, death, death."

Nearby a light shines from a little cabin window where a famished woman lies on a primitive couch.

Her groans announce that a dying baby is coming into the world. One faint, gasping cry and the pines whisper—"Death."

Our friend of the road has been doing some hard thinking the last few hours, and now arises with a determined look on his face, and a light in his eyes that bodes ill to him who is not of the working class.

"Hark! What is that? Hear the whistles? Ah, yes, they are announcing the birth of the New Year. And the pines are no longer whispering "Death," but are screaming the words, "Life, Life, Life!"

Our friend takes up the cry and far across the hills he hears the Clan of his fathers answering in one mighty shout, "Life!"

So be it in the year 1916, the year of fate—and—Life!

—o—

To Whom It May Concern: Neither the I. W. W. nor the Socialist Party, nor any other organization is in any way responsible for the opinions expressed in *Rebellion*... It is purely a magazine of Free and Revolutionary thought; maintained and circulated by Rebels in all and no organizations. It is bound to no Ist, Ism or Ite. It has but one God, Liberty; it trusts in Nature alone; its religion is Industrial Democracy. If you like it, we Rebels ask you to join our Clan and help us on with the work for freedom; if you don't notify me and you will be cut off the list. It is not written for men with long ears or whose collars button where their pajamas should, behind.

He who will not war for his own is a slave in mind,
will, body and soul.

THE TOILER WAKES

By Cash "M." Stevens.

I've joined the Red Clan of the Rebels,
I'll grovel in meekness no more;
My ship's on the tide of Rebellion,
And sails for the Red Rebel shore.
And bright through the black night of bondage,
Love's beacon shall beckon to me,
And I'll anchor at last in Truth's harbor,
Where all of my brothers are free.

No more shall I kneel to the rulers,
That betray every honor and trust;
No more shall I cringe in submission,
Or bow with my head in the dust.
I will break every shackle that binds me;
A creed I shall make of my own;
With Justice the God that I worship,
And Reason the King on the Throne.

This oath of allegiance I've taken:
"I hereby forever defy,
All priesthoods and serpents of darkness,
And proclaim all their teachings a lie!"
Their goblins shall no more fright me,
Their \$ Gods \$ I forever deny;
And I spit in the face of their devil,
And laugh at their home in the sky.

I have wakened at last from my slumber,
I have wakened at last to rebel!
The tears I have shed in my bondage,
Have put out the fires of hell;
The phantoms of fear have departed,
And the demons of darkness have flown,
And I stand in the ranks of the Rebels,
'Till we win back a world for our own.

Away with my bondage forever!
I scorn both your curse and your crust;
Nevermore shall I serve when you summon,
And humble myself in the dust.
Your sneers and your curses are ended— — —
You shall reap of the seeds you have sown, — — —
I shall die in the ranks of the Rebels,
Or win back a world for our own!

THE MILITANT MINORITIES. There are always in society, or within any sort of social organization, two Minorities, both of which are fully conscious of what they are warring for—the Militant tRevolutionary Minority, seeking to change the existing order of things, and the Militant Conservative Minority, seeking to hold things as they are.

In Realty the Conservative Minority is always on the defensive, while the very life of the Revolutionary Minority depends on its aggressiveness. And this is so for the reason that the Conservative Minority controls, up to the hour of Revolution, the powers that rule society, has on its side the schools, churches, habits and customs of the people, and all

who are by property rights and other grafts interested in the maintenance of things as they are, so, except in the last days of the old order, it does not have to take violent offensive.

But not so with the Revolutionary Minority. Its task is to, by thought, word and deed, undermine the bases of the old order, to forever mine and sap its foundations, to ever spread against it discontent and dissatisfaction, and to keep this up until a breach is made wide enuf to justify an open assault upon its citadels, just as, in war, cannon fire is poured on the trenches and fortresses of an enemy to make way for the bayonet charge.

These Minorities, who are the only true Aristocrats, today represent Class interests—they are the most highly Class-conscious individuals of their class, men and women always ahead of the mass. It is they who carry forward or hold back the process of Social Evolution. It is their action that prohibits any such thing as a "peaceable revolution," whether "at the ballot box" or by the "might of folded arms" in a general strike. And this is true because the Minorities come to open war long before the masses of their Class are conscious that a Social Revolution is on.

From which it follows that those who expect the Ruling Minority to give way peaceably to a real Revolutionary Political Party or Union are dreaming dreams that have no historic foundation whatsoever, and that there is no reason to hope that the Commonwealth will be able to overthrow and supplant the Parliamentary State unless the Revolutionary Organizations are prepared to oppose force to force, for

entrenched **POWER** does not surrender its privileges except to superior **POWER**, to a greater **FORCE**. Look you: it is around the Industrial Union that the economic structure of the Commonwealth is raised and, so, the very existence of this Union is a menace to the State, for the State is of and is founded on the institution of **PRIVATE PROPERTY** in the common means of life and considers human life and welfare only as it tis related to the preservation of this institution; while, on the other hand, the Commonwealth can only consider property as it is related to the preservation of life and welfare: that is to say, not as an **end** but as the **means** of life. The Commonwealth is based on Man and Woman and Child, is a truly Social Organization, and is, therefore, the natural-born enemy of the State.

So always FORCE is the midwife of Social Revolutions, since they are brought to a head, not by any will of the **mass**, but by the Conscious Militant Minorities attacking each other and thus **FORCING THEIR RESPECTIVE CLASSES** and all other sub-divisions of society to take an open stand either **FOR** or **AGAINST** the existing order.

Even now the Industrial Despotism and the Industrial Democracy are lining up for a world-wide struggle to determine whether society shall be **FEUDALIZED** or **SOCIALIZED** and, in the Armageddon of the Class, **FORCE** will be the determining factor, as always,—**FORCE** backed by **INTELLIGENCE** and cohered into **POWER**. In this mighty struggle no true man or woman can be neutral. The day of

compromise is past gone forever. Where do YOU stand? The fight is on. Up with the crimson banner of Industrial Democracy! ORGANIZE! GET POWER!

—o—

PROHIBITION AND UNEMPLOYMENT. Look back of the Prohibitionists in Louisiana, behind the newspapers supporting it, lift the curtains veiling the interests that are backing this movement, and first and foremost you will see the snarling faces of the Sawdust Ring. Then ask yourself *why* and for *what reason* the Sawdust Ring is so deeply interested in the "morals" of the Working Class and Common People in general?

Did you ever know or hear of the Sawdust Ring passing up a nickel it could possibly swipe? If you did you are a wonder. If, then, you will look into the Sawdust Ring's benevolent interest in Prohibition you will have your thinking machinery considerably polished as to the whence and why of the Lumber and Steel Trusts' deep interest in this "moral movement."

In the first place, they are for it because it will cheapen the cost of their labor power, that is, will enable them to HOLD DOWN WAGES; in the second place, they are for it because THE MORE WORKERS there are LOOKING FOR JOBS the greater is the competition FOR JOBS, the WEAKER THE UNIONS and, therefore, the more at the mercy of the Plutocracy is the Proletariat. A HALF MILLION Brewery and Wine Workers thrown into the Labor Market by the destruction of these Industries, to say noth-

ing of the small Merchants and Farmers that will join them on the breadlines, families whose living depends on these Industries,—look at this intensification of competition among the Workers and, THERE you will see the One and Only Reason why these Trusts are boosting Prohibition. It PAYS—them. It makes for "efficiency" in all the best that word means to them, which is—THE WORKING CLASS TOO HUNGRY TO RESIST THEIR SLAVE-DRIVERS. For this is the main reason why the Plutocracy strives to keep the Labor Market flooded with Workers—CHEAP LABOR POWER, for Cheap Labor not only swells their PROFITS but at the same time enables the Trust Magnates to control and crush the Middle Class. And, so, the Plutocracy is for Prohibition—for the "Common People," for the more they can prohibit the "Common People" the more champagne THEY can get away with. It is merely "A matter of business" with them. If you, the Common People, attended to YOUR business one-half as well as they do to theirs, YOU WOULD NOT BE PEONS AND TENANTS TODAY.

I, for one, fail to see any morality in a movement that proposes to throw thousands of men and women out of work without making the least effort to guarantee them opportunity to support themselves and their babies, which is, or rather, should be one of the first duties of organized society. Wherefore forever I call upon the Workers to UNITE, ARISE and establish the Free Society—the glorious INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

THE STATE

Luke North in Everyman.

The strength of the State
Is the weakness of the people—
Its wealth is their poverty
Its dignity is their degradation.

Mighty State—
Little Manhood!
Rome reared its splendor
On sixty million slaves.

The pomp of the State
Is the servility of the People—
Its pride is their shame,
Its glitter is their gloom.

The State is a superstition,
Heartless, bloodless, beingless,
Save as it draws sustenance
From living creatures.

The palaces of the State
Are the hovels, the slums,
And the mortgaged homes
Of the People.

The richest State
Means the poorest People,
And the greatest cruelty
Of the few to the many.

THE POLICEMAN

Behold the Policeman, my son; the bold,
Strong hustler of the common herd, behold!
He is the law. Those hands are never raised
But what the head of crime is jarred and dazed.
He is the arbiter of wrong and right.
He hunts the hobo down the freezing night.
On vagrant out-of-works, swift falls his club.
Alike on Mister Block and Henry Dubb.
With body warm and belted belly full,
He charges on the hungry like a bull.
Those eyes, so eagle-like, steadfast and true,
Watch ever o'er the innocent and pure.
Where'er he goes stalks Nemesis for all
Wrong-doers; on big criminals and small
He wreaks the doom of justice. With his high,
Stern sense of duty none may hope to vie
Save angels. He is always on the job.
He loves the union but he hates the mob.
To see the strikers clubbed doth rile his ire —
(He says so himself. He sure is some liar).

Covington.

“Christ is my redeemer!”—

I heard men rave and shout,
But where is their “redemption?”

What is it all about?

—Redbeard.

The appearance of character makes the state unnecessary.—Emerson.

WITH MARX I CRY: "Expropriate the Expropriators!" After showing that the present Trust Magnates expropriated the slaves of the Southern slave owners and proving the confiscation was justified, the Appeal to Reason of December 18th, says: "It is not likely that Socialists in power would confiscate the property of the trust owners—they will probably buy it."

With what? For what? Why, whence and whither? to what end? That the workers be enslaved to the owners of national bonds? That the Race be placed in Bondage? That mankind groan under a burden of Usury instead of as now under Profit, Rent and Interest? Does changing the name of a thing change the thing itself? If so, when the words King and Emperor were changed to President, why was not democracy here?

Very sensibly the Capitalist Class EXPROPRIATED the property rights of the Pirates, the Feudal Lords and Slave Holders, for the Capitalists knew these "rights" could never be paid for without burdening their class with never-ending debts, charges that would forever hamper and perhaps defeat the rise of Plutocracy to place and power. They also knew that their power to take and hold **their own rights** depended absolutely on their ability to prove not waste any time worrying over the "rights" of all, but only usurpations of common rights. And this they proceeded to do with all the power at their command. And they won.

They won because they did not compromise, did not waste any time worrying over the "rights" of

Land Lords and Slave Holders. Won because they fought their enemies with ANY weapon that came best to hand, directly and indirectly, age on age until the final cataclysm, the French Revolution, unthroned the old Gods forever. It was with no "machinery of government" that they expropriated the Southern Slave Holders, either, but by the machinery of confiscation—rifles, swords and cannon—that they abrogated the "constitutional and biblical rights" of the Southern Aristocracy.

Then why should the Modern Working Class, the class that creates all and possesses nothing, stop for a moment to even consider buying out those who have looted all they have from others, especially from the Workers? For in the moment they do so consider, they are acknowledging the "rights" claimed by those who have dispossessed them and are thereby **legalizing their own subjection**... No class that ever hopes to rise to Freedom and Power can accomplish its purpose by accepting any such ethics, for, in acknowledging the property rights of the possessors as "rights" the disinherited by that very act deny their own right to liberty, for on property rights all other rights depend.

We will never win under such propaganda as is herein quoted nor by singing such songs as, "We promise no loot to the young recruit," for Marx was right when he shrieked: "The expropriators are expropriated and the human race is free!" and, when that act of long-delayed JUSTICE is performed, the young recruits of Labor's veteran armies will come into possession of loot such as no army in all his-

tory before them ever captured—the Earth and its fullness, the magician-like machinery of production and distribution, and treasures such as Monte Chris to never dreamed of will fall into their possession and into the possession of their mothers, wives, sweethearts and sisters when the Producers expropriate the Parasites of the World. And the best loot taken in this war on war will be the baby-slaves our young recruits expropriate from those who now drive their very souls to death.

Buy them out? Haven't we paid them enough already, over and over and over again, in gold and tears, in blood and death? And they can conscript Labor's boys to die in their horrent wars and we must not CONSCRIPT their RICHES to FREE THE RACE? We must pay them for the LANDS they STOLE, for the MACHINES they STOLE, for the WARS they made US fight, and then pay them USURY on all this stolen, blood-soaked debt? No! a thousand times, no!

With Marx I cry: "The ONLY way to FREEDOM is to Expropriate the Expropriators!"

MAIL us three (3) Dimes and we will send you a book of The Songs and Rebellion on trial for three (3) months.

REMITTANCES: In making remittances, send money or Post Office Money Orders. Please do not send stamps unless you must, then please send ONES.

"Before the clamor of the stomach, the soul is silent."—Donnelly.

LA. SOCIALIST SEC'S, ATTENTION!

I am figuring on making the March number of *Rebellion* a redhot campaign pamphlet. Will YOU and your LOCAL help? If so, how many copies will you take at only 3c a copy? Have some fine stuff for the issue on the issues.

Land Program. Has your Local acted on the "Land Program" submitted by Sec. Jones? If not, why not?

Let me hear from you at once. Send me the names of the nominees on your Parish Ticket. Now or never is the time to act. Send me some subs. Yours to win.

Covington Hall.

CLINE and Rangel, Schmidt and Caplan, Pat Quinlan and Margaret Sanger, and the Farm Workers and Tenant Farmers who are now being drumhead courtmartialled at New Madrid, Mo.—are you Workers going to allow these Rebels of your Class to be doomed to the infamous prisons of the Plutocracy without a struggle? Be a man and not a cur—don't take what the Rebels win for you and then be so cheap as to refuse to give a few cents for their defense. Damn your souls, wake up and do something to help win your own fight.

"Don't mourn—organize!"—Joe Hill.

Life is Strife. On, toward the light!

Republican: A natural horn thief; a Carpet-bagger; now merged with the Black Democrats, or Scalawags.

A LETTER TO "EGYPT"

I have burned your pictures, dearest, dearest girl,
 Watched them, Egypt darling, into smoke-clouds
 whirl,—

I have torn a glowing chapter from life's book—
 On your face, dear, I have taken love's last look.

I have left the temple that we wrecked, we two,
 Which not even Love herself can build anew;
 And its lights and vales and fountains to me seem
 But the shadow of the mem'ry of a dream.

Far apart our souls have drifted, and the snow
 Hides the Eden where we wandered, long ago;
 Every path, once passion-haunted, is to-night
 But a mark across a desert cold and white.

Ruined are the altars of our faith and trust;
 Fallen all the shrines we builded in the dust;
 Floats no more hope's fairy ensign o'er that world,
 And the flag of love is lowered, dear, and furled.

In the fields, once sweet with clover-honeyed dew,
 Now in vain the mocker, pleading, calls for you;
 Every day his music saddens, more and more,
 As the weeds creep close and closer round your door.

Fair the twilight is no longer, and the day
 Dies into a night-time shrouded, dull and gray—
 All the dreams have vanished, all the visions gone,—
 Beautiful and wondrous daughter of the dawn!

Elfin spirit, wild and tameless as the wind!
 What tho prudes and priesthoods, railing, say we
 sinned?

We have taught each other more than they can
 know—

We have seen the lights of hell and heaven glow.

I have burned your pictures, dearest, darling girl,
 Watched them melt to ashes, into smoke-clouds
 whirl—

I have torn the fairest chapter from life's book,
 On your face, dear, I have taken love' last look.

Covington.

PATRIOTIC MILITARISTS. Press dispatches from El Paso, Texas, of January 14, state that mobs composed of **Soldiers, Policemen** and **Citizens** ("Good Citizen Leaguers," we guess) assaulted the Mexicans resident in that City because of the killing of Americans in Mexico by Bandits. This is the true militarist spirit, alright, to punish the innocent for the guilty. But why is it a virtue for Texas Rangers and Poses to shoot down Mexicans, as they did in the "border raids" of last summer, like jackrabbits, and a "crime against civilization" when the Mexicans return the Rangers' compliments? Search me. I don't know, but I do know that this is the second time in the last few years that United States soldiers have organized and led mobs, and I'm wondering what would happen to the Common People of this nation if 500,000 of these armed pat-riots were turned loose in Usa?

PRIVATE PROPERTY was created by society and what society had the power to create,, it has the power to alter or take away entirely, as it wills. There is but one thing society cannot justly do—uphold any right of private property which closes a single man or woman out of the social industries or denies to them the use of land and natural resources; for these, by every law of our nature, are **Common Property**, and the denial of their free use denies to men and women their natural right to the full product of their labors; for, if men be not by right entitled to the full product of the toil of their hands and brains, or its full social equivalent, then are they denied the only right of property that can be upheld and defended under the laws of Nature.

For the machinery of production and distribution, nay! nor the Earth itself, produce no wealth until the brains and hands of men and women force from them the **FRUITS OF TOIL**. So that, the wealth and riches of the Plutocrats and Landlords do not come primarily from the ownership of these things, but because men have been educated to recognize private ownership of **Common Property**, which recognition simply enables the Plutocrats and Landlords to stand in between the Proletarianized Peoples and the tools, means and sources of life, and thus, by denying the right to live except on the terms they dictate, they filch from the Workers the wealth the Workers alone create and thereby they grow rich while the People at large sink steadily

ever deeper into dependence and poverty, into Peonage and Tenantry.

What they actually own, the Plutocrats and Landlords, is the **LABOR-POWER** of the **WORKING CLASS**. Let them once lose control of this power and **RICH** men will disappear from the world as snow before the sun and society will be free, for the **NATURAL LAW OF PROPERTY** will at last have reasserted itself, poverty will vanish and wealth increase by leaps and bounds. Seize the socialized machinery! Take back the land! Unchain the genius of the race!

—o—

The **Cotton States Bankers Conference** met in New Orleans during the early days of December. Object: To devise ways and means to build up a warehouse system to "protect" the Cotton Crop and aid the Farmers. God help the Farmers!

O! Doc Knapp and Clarence Ously laid all the blame of letting the South go to pellagra on the Farmers, as is usual with Pollies when addressing Plutocrats.

But the **FACT** still remains that the Farmers had no power to hold the crop of 1914—it was simply **STOLEN** from the Producers. It never was worth less than **FIFTEEN CENTS** a pound, the crop of 1914, and cotton is worth that today, and more.

Behold how God helps those who organize and help themselves!

—o—

"You cannot combat blood with ink." Ludwig Stein.

IS SOCIALISM BANKRUPT? Boast as you will, but the Old World is dead forever, and the methods, tactics and propaganda of the past are worse than useless in the living, REVOLUTIONARY present,—for the World IS in Revolution whether you see or wish it or not. The Plutocracy IS out to place the entire Race under tribute to the Servile State. The Industrial Despotism IS aiming at World-wide conquest, and there IS but ONE WAY to meet and whip it, and that is with a MILITANT INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

The Hour is fast approaching when the present Labor Unions and alleged Socialist parties are either going to take a clear-cut Revolutionary stand, demanding, HERE AND NOW, the establishment of the COMMONWEALTH, or they are going to be swept out of the way by new and more virile organizations. This will come, or else the MILITANT PLUTOCRACY will soon have the entire Race at its mercy,—for the Spirit of the Working Class will be the Spirit of the Living-Dead.

Down with the plea that "the time is not ripe" for the Industrial Democracy to take a clean-cut, revolutionary stand for Free Labor, Free Land and Human Liberty! Shall we be better prepared for freedom when there is a Plutocratic guard at every door? Down with Peonage! Down with Tenantry! Death to the Servile State! Long live the Militant Industrial Democracy!

—o—
President: A King wearing the mask of Democracy.

TO HELL WITH YOUR CHARITY! According to press dispatches of January 4th, Wilson's sonny-in-law, McAdoo, has "Asked Congress for a rush appropriation of \$100,000 for studies and demonstration work in rural sanitation, with a particular view to checking pellagra and typhoid fever." This reminds Reb of Tolstoy's famous observation that the "Ruling class will do anything for the Working class except get off their backs," for had the infamous traitors of the Democratic party valorized the cotton crop when the world war broke out, had they turned a finger to prevent the STEALING of the crop of 1914 from the Farmers who produced it instead of aiding and abetting the Plutocracy in putting across the most shameless and gigantic theft in history, a theft whereby the Producers of the South were robbed in a single year on a single crop of not less than THREE-QUARTERS of a BILLION DOLLARS, there would now be no need for McAdoo's "charity." We need no more curst hypocritical "investigations"—every man and woman in the South who has brains enuf left to revolt against the open, plain and cold-blooded treasons of the Democratic party to the Producers of the South knows that pellagra is nothing but another name for STARVATION and, so, we who are still MEN DEMAND JUSTICE—to hell with your "charity," governmental or otherwise.

—o—
Plutocrat and Pimp—the only difference between them is one of environment. Their egos are of the same soul-seed, if they ever had a soul.

ANOTHER PELLAGRA LIE. "Strange to relate," says Benjamin Brooks in the "Illustrated World," "pellagra is not caused by mouldy corn, bacteria, poverty, nor any of the agencies under suspicion. In order to have pellagra, you must, generally speaking, live on the ruins of very ancient and rapidly disintegrating mountains." Can you beat it? But whence and why this sudden and widespread effort to prove that PELLAGRA and POVERTY are not responsible for each other? This reminds Reb of the scientists' who laid the world-panic of 1893-6 on the "spots on the sun." Death to Tenantry! Death to Peonage! Death to the Black Democratic Party! Workers of Dixie, up and at them in the CLAN OF TOIL!

—o—

"WHITE SUPREMACY." The Judge was white, the Jury was white, the District Attorney was white, the Sheriff and his Deputies were white. All the "Machinery of Justice" (?) was white and elected by a "White Supremacy Party." Before such a court the "Nigger" had about as much show of acquittal as a snowbird has of flying across the Lake of Liquid Fire. But the "Supreme Whites" took the "Nigger" out and lynched him, and did it in the name of "White Supremacy." Can you beat it? It's no wonder, with such Donk brains as that running Dixie, that the Southmen are fast becoming a race of Pellagrins and that the Christian State of Mississippi votes so strong for "Preparedness," which simply means world-wide lynch-law, the reign of the Mob over Justice, of Superstition over Reason.

FREE LOVE. There never was a time when love was not free, for a man may buy a woman's body but her love goeth wheresoever calls her natural mate. Thru fire and flood, thru shame and hunger, thru good and evil she will follow with that mate and he wit hher. In revolutionary language, all that is meant by "Free Love" is to bring about an economic system that will release the women of the race from any necessity to sell themselves to the men of the race for food, clothing and shelter, and this whether the woman sell herself to many men in the open market or one woman be sold for life to one man, a judge, priest, rabbi or preacher acting as auctioneer, it is all the same. It is the Freedom of Love, as of all things else beautiful, that we, the Social Rebels, are striving to attain and, some day, not far, there will be a time when the man and woman, the mother and father, can face each other and truly say, "All that I give unto thee is free—there is no compulsion on my soul." In that day there will be no "illegitimate" children on the Earth, no helpless innocents carrying the burden of Society's sins upon their weak and weary shoulders. For the Freedom of Love will be the last and crowning glory Revolution will give the Race.

—o—

Said an old frontiersman: "If every feller what wanted to sting yeh gave yeh as fair warnin' as a rattler does, this 'ud be a heap safer and happier world. To my min' a rattler's a gen'leman an' a Christian compared with some humans."

IN 1880 IN TEXAS, 37 1-2 per cent of those who tilled the soil were tenants. In 1910 52 1-2 per cent were tenants and of the remaining 42 1-2 per cent who were home owners one-third had their farms mortgaged to within 20 per cent of their value.

In 1913, 91,000 white girls and boys who live on the farms in Texas were not even enrolled in the public schools. Forty-six out of every one hundred of the children of school age did not attend school at all. Only five out of every hundred ever went as far as the eighth grade. How long must the vicious circle run? Will the boys and girls growing up in ignorance, uneducated, and only half fed and half clothed and sheltered have the power to fight their way out of the quagmire?—People's College News.

COMMENT. In 1915 the proportion of Tenant Farmers in Texas had risen to over 70 per cent of those who tilled the soil. The United States Census shows that Tenantry and Peonage is rapidly increasing thruout the nation. The State of Louisiana is, as it were, in the fix of having an immense siphon attached to its wonderful natural resources and having all the tremendous wealth produced by its workers siphoned from their tables to the pockets of the Plutocracy. We Southmen are no longer MEN if we stand for this degrading serfdom, and we are worse than fools if we again fall for such fake reliefs as "rural credits," etc., at the hands of the traitorous Democratic party, for that unscrupulous organization is owned body, boots and breeches by the Plutocrats who have grown fat thru plundering every home in Dixie.

Praising God in verse for all the wondrous blessings he has seen fit to confer on the human race during the past few thousand years and months seems to have brought down on the devoted head of **Rebellion** the ire of several Rams of God and, in one instance at least, to have caused us to lose some badly needed cash. Well, Christians alone are justified in resorting to direct action, but I would that the alleged Freethinkers, Radicals and Revolutionists were as quick to butt in for us as are the Rams to butt against, and as substantially. Jesus wept. I don't blame Him. He must have caught a vision of the American Revolutionary Movement in action, still talking palliatives 2000 years after He was crucified, or beheld His self-confest followers lined up with Caesar and Caiaphas from one end of the earth to the other and doing their level best to bludgeon back into the slums all who seek to taste of the Fruits of the Trees of Life and Knowledge. Every Stoic was a Stoic, but in the Land of Liberty where are the Libertarians?

The Plutocrats of Usa do not speak without knowledge when they talk of "Our wheat, corn and cotton crops," for they owned them before the farmers sowed the seed or the harvest workers gathered them into barns.

Shakespeare uses the word "politician" five times, and each time it is synonymous with knave.

Free Land and Labor spells Full Life and Liberty!

HELP SPREAD REBELLION

Send us \$1.00 and the names and addresses of 3 of your friends and we will send each of them (except City or Foreign) **Rebellion** for One Year; or we will send it to 5 friends for 6 Months; or we will send it to 8 friends for 3 Months, as you instruct us. In this way you can please your friends and at the same time help spread the gospel of Free Land, Free Labor and Industrial Democracy.

If you cannot afford to do this just now, see your neighbors and send in a big Club on these terms.

If You Get **Rebellion** regularly, it is paid for and, if you do not want it, please advise. If you get a single copy, it is a sample and request for you to subscribe. Do it now.

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Dr. Fellows is a staunch Freethinker and Libertarian. His advertisement appeared for about a quarter of a century in *The Truth Seeker*, of New York City, and no complaint was made that his medicine was not as represented.

"WHAT is your 'civilization and progress' if its only outcome is hysteria and downgoing?

WHAT is 'government and law' if their ripened harvests are men without sap?

WHAT are 'religions and literatures' if their grandest productions are hordes of faithful slaves?

WHAT is 'evolution and culture' if their noxious blossoms are sterilized women?

WHAT is 'education and enlightenment' if their deadsea-fruit is a caitiff race, with rottenness in its bones?

In this arid wilderness of steel and stone I raise up my voice that YOU may hear.

To the East and the West I beckon. To the North and the South I show a sign.—

Proclaiming 'Death to the weakling, Wealth to the strong.'

Open your eyes and ears that you may hear, O! men of mildewed minds, and listen to me, ye laborious millions!—

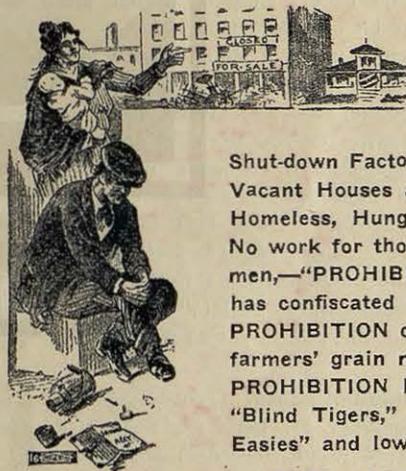
Gather around me,, O! ye death-defiant and the Earth itself shall be thine, to have and to hold!

Ragnar Redbeard in "Might Is Right."

Rent, Interest and Profit are the three persons of the capitalist godhead, whose names is Usury, whose religion is War, whose law is Death, whose order is Slavery, and whose sweetest paens of praise are the dirges sung by hessian soldiers and helot courtiers over the graves of Justice, Truth and Liberty.

Liberty for Dixie or death for us!

RESULTS of PROHIBITION!



Shut-down Factories;
Vacant Houses and Stores;
Homeless, Hungry Families,
No work for thousands of
men,—“PROHIBITION”
has confiscated their jobs!
PROHIBITION curtails the
farmers' grain market,
PROHIBITION breeds
“Blind Tigers,” “Speak
Easies” and low dives!

THESE ARE FACTS.

Do you wish to be guilty of such wrongs against
your fellowmen?

THINK IT OVER!

You will be convinced that PROHIBITION is a
MENACE to the COUNTRY.

**VOTE AND WORK
AGAINST PROHIBITION**

The Protest of the King-Emperor of Great Britain, the Czar of Russia and the Mikado of Japan against President Yuan abolishing the Republic and declaring himself Emperor of China is, to our mind, the most exhilarating bit of humor that has flashed across this insane world in many a moon. Can you beat it?

But, then, what's the difference between an Empire and a Republic, anyway? What difference does it make to you whether you are shot down by Nicholas' cossacks in Moscow or shot up by Citizen Rockefeller's or Parson Long's gunmen in Colorado and Louisiana? You're freed just the same, ain't you? What more do you want? But, perhaps, you want to be shot in America as in Russia—with a "Government-manufactured bullet?" That's the trouble with you workin' stiffs—you're "never satisfied."

Joan's Saintship Postponed. According to press dispatches of December 23, 1915, God's Vice Regent, alias the Pope of Rome, has declined to proclaim Joan of Arc a "Saint" until "after the war." This because the Keeper of God wants Jewhova to remain strictly "neutral" in the World Murderfest, which he can't do, because, up to date, the Kaiser has the box Moses put God in. In passing it may not be out of place to remark that it took the "infallible church" nearly 500 years to find out that Joan was a "Saint" and not a "Witch." Some "infallibility."

63 per cent alfalfa, 1 per cent opium, 3 per cent arsenic, 6 per cent fluid, 27 per cent tobacco—"Genuine Bull Durham."

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**If We Must
Prepare to Die
in the Trenches
Let Us
Prepare to Die
For
OURSELVES
And Not For
a Pimpish Plutocracy.
Long Live the Militant
Industrial Democracy!**

*Read, not to contradict and confute, nor to believe
and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse;
but to weigh and consider.*—FRANCIS BACON.

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ON TRUSTS, WAGES, COST
OF LIVING AND OTHER
QUESTIONS OF
THE DAY



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BOOKS ON LIVE QUESTIONS

History of the Great American Fortunes. By Gustavus Myers. Volume I. Conditions in Settlement and Colonial Times: The Great Land Fortunes. Cloth, 296 pages, 8 illustrations, \$1.50. The same, Volume II. The Great Railroad Fortunes. Cloth, 368 pages, 8 illustrations, \$1.50. The same, Volume III. The Great Railroad Fortunes, continued, with topical index to the three volumes. Cloth, illustrated, \$1.50.

Those who believe that the world is more wicked than it was a century ago will find much illuminating, and perhaps astonishing, information in this (the first) volume.—Boston Transcript.

While there are points over which many readers will be at odds with Mr. Myers, the work in so far as the first volume is concerned has the readability of a novel.—Newark Sunday Call.

We think it not too much to say of this work that it marks an epoch in the critical consideration of the sociological aspect of these phenomena.—New York Press.

In each and every case of great and unusual accumulation of wealth, the author succeeds admirably in showing that avarice, inhumanity and corruption were the ground work; that by honest industry no such fortunes could have been built up, and that each and all have their foundation on the sufferings of the unfortunate.—Oregon Sunday Journal.

Without rally of adjectives or flourish of phrases, Mr. Gustavus Myers in his "History of the Great American Fortunes" is patiently and plainly setting forth a curious story involving immense and far-reaching issues in our American annals, past, present and future. Mr. Myers whisks away some pleasant "Poor-Richard"-inspired delusions, to the effect that only industry and economy have whirled together these colossal fortunes, until we now have nine-tenths of the wealth of the nation centered in one-tenth

of the people. He shows that these monster aggregations of wealth, whose tens and hundreds of millions become mere algebraic formulae to us, are only the inevitable outgrowth of our sort of an industrial system. He demonstrates by records and reckonings that in the majority of cases special privilege—grant or grab or graft—were the beginnings of these abnormal million-mounts that are now the amazement of the globe.

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more extensive reading and stimulate the workers with the ambition to acquire more knowledge of the civilization in which they live and of the problems that are demanding a solution.—Amalgamated Journal.

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51. From Revolution to Revolution, Herron.
52. Where We Stand, by John Spargo.
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56. Economic Evolution, Lafargue.
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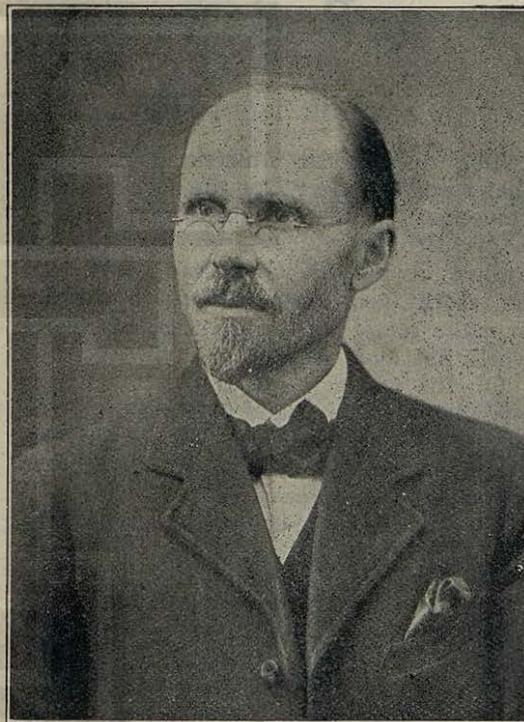
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WHAT TO READ ON SOCIALISM



COMPILED BY CHARLES H. KERR
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MARY E. MARCY

Associate Editor International Socialist Review

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For a detailed guide to the study of this literature, we refer our readers to an admirable little book by Joseph E. Cohen, of Philadelphia, entitled *Socialism for Students*, cloth, 50c.

In the following pages the books are grouped according to size and price, starting with the more expensive books. An alphabetical index by authors will be found on page 63.

TWO-DOLLAR VOLUMES.

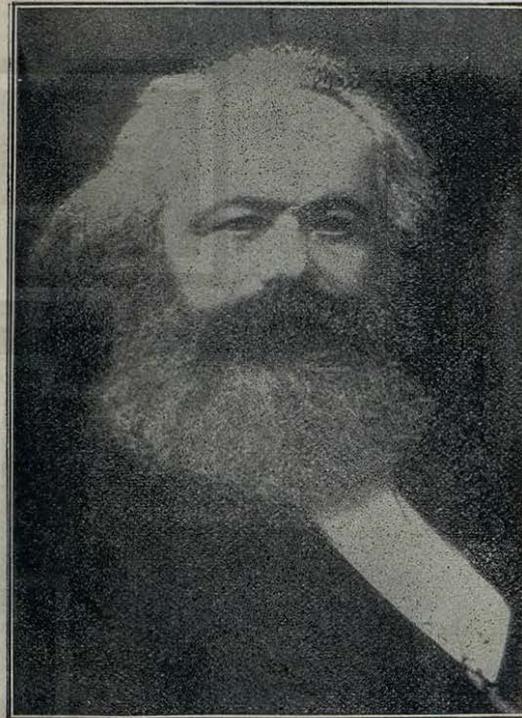
Capital: A Critique of Political Economy.

By Karl Marx. Volume I. *The Process of Capitalist Production*. Cloth, 869 pages, \$2.00.

The fact that half a day's labor is necessary to keep the laborer alive during 24 hours does not in any way prevent him from working a whole day. Therefore, the value of labor-power, and the value which that labor-power creates in the labor process, are two entirely different magnitudes; and the difference of the two values was just what the capitalist had in view, when he was purchasing the labor-power.—Page 215.

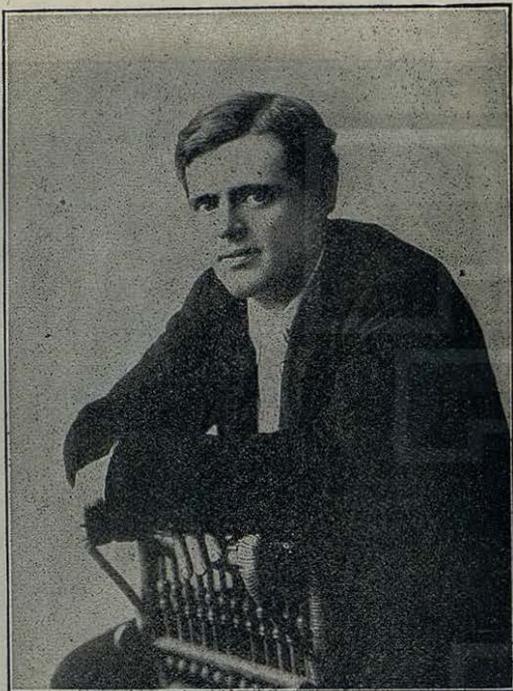
Capital. By Karl Marx. Volume II. *The Process of Circulation of Capital*. Cloth, 618 pages, \$2.00.

It is to be noted that the capitalist, to use the language of political economy, advances the capital invested in wages for different periods. But in reality the reverse takes place. The laborer advances his labor to the capitalist for one week, one month, or three months. If the capitalist were * * * to pay the laborer in



KARL MARX

For descriptions of his book see pages 6, 9, 28, 34, 42, 44, 52, 55



JACK LONDON,

the greatest novelist in the United States, is a contributor to the International Socialist Review. We can still supply a few copies each of the numbers containing his "Story of Child Labor," "Revolution," and "The Dream of Debs"—the latter in two installments. Ten cents each; the four numbers mailed for 35c.

advance for a day, a week, a month, or three months, then he would be justified in claiming that he advanced wages for those periods. But since he does not pay until labor has lasted for days, weeks or months, instead of buying it and paying for the time which it is intended to last, we have here a confusion of terms on the part of the capitalist, who performs the trick of converting an advance of labor made to the capitalist by the laborer into an advance of money made to the laborer by the capitalist.—Page 247.

Capital. By Karl Marx. Volume III. **The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole.** Cloth, 1048 pages, \$2.00.

The *value* contained in a certain commodity is equal to the labor-time required for its production, and the sum of this labor consists of paid and unpaid portions. But the *expenses* of the capitalist consist only of that portion of materialized labor *which he paid* for the production of the commodity. The surplus-value contained in this commodity does not cost the capitalist anything, while it cost the laborer his labor just as well as that portion for which he is paid, and although it creates value and is embodied in the value of the commodity quite as well as the paid labor. The profit of the capitalist is due to the fact that he offers something for sale for which he has not paid anything.—Page 55.

The Ancient Lowly: A History of the Ancient Working People from the Earliest Known Period to the Adoption of Christianity by Constantine. By C. Osborne Ward. Cloth, two volumes, 689 and 716 pages. Each volume sold separately at \$2.00.

Let all men take warning from the past, that the plans of those great aristocrats (Lycurgus,

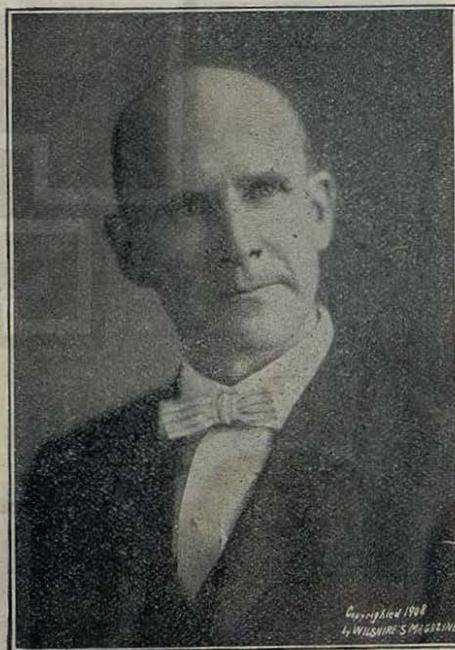
Numa, Solon, Plato, Aristotle) failed because they left the laborer out. * * * He rebelled, and in his crude numeric might, broke them up and killed them. He destroyed their governments at last, and is building a new era upon their ruins.

"Many years since, the earliest step of the writer of these pages, on determining to devote his life to the advocacy of labor's rights, was to visit the monarchs of the pulpit, in his simple, mistaken assumption that the Church was Christian. * * * To his surprise his cause was spurned. He was driven from the temples to lower zones; to truer Christianity; places of human sympathy; into dingy beer halls—and it was here, not in the churches, that open hearts and hands of welcome gave reception and incipency to a great movement."—Volume I, page 573.

Debs: His Life, Writings and Speeches;
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Every effort is put forth by the exploiting capitalist to prevent workingmen from seeing the class struggle. The capitalist insists that there is no such struggle. The editor in the employ of the capitalist echoes "no class struggle." The teacher, professor and the minister, all of them dependent upon the capitalist for the chance to make a living, agree that there are no classes and no class struggle. In unison they declaim against class agitation and seek to obscure class rule that it may be perpetuated indefinitely.

We insist that there is a class struggle; that the working class must recognize it; that they must organize economically and politically upon the basis of that struggle; and that when they do so organize they will then have the power to free themselves and put an end to that struggle forever.—Pages 380, 381.



EUGENE V. DEBS

For descriptions of his books see pages 10, 54



GUSTAVUS MYERS

Author of *History of The Great American Fortunes*. See page 13

History of the Great American Fortunes.

By Gustavus Myers. Volume I. *Conditions in Settlement and Colonial Times: The Great Land Fortunes*. Cloth, 296 pages, 8 illustrations, \$1.50.

They (the author is speaking of the "muck-rakers") do not seem to realize for a moment—what is clear to every real student of economics—that the great fortunes are the natural, logical outcome of a system based upon factors the inevitable result of which is the utter despoilment of the many for the benefit of a few. This being so, our plutocrats rank as nothing more or less than as so many unavoidable creations of a set of processes which must imperatively produce a certain set of results. These results we see in the accelerate concentration of immense wealth running side by side with a propertyless, expropriated and exploited multitude.—Author's Preface.

Volumes II and III of Mr. Myers' *History of the Great American Fortunes*, ready early in 1910, will deal with the great railroad fortunes of Gould, Vanderbilt, Harriman, etc., etc.

The Socialization of Humanity: An Analysis and Synthesis of the Phenomena of Nature, Life, Mind and Society Through the Law of Repetition. A System of Monistic Philosophy. By Charles Kendall Franklin. Cloth, 481 pages, \$2.00.

It is impossible for human beings to change a law of nature; but it is not impossible for society to modify the conditions of the expenditure of human energies (knowledge, ideals, institutions, laws, morality) so that human energy, feelings and emotions will act to social advantage; human nature being the variable ways human energy

expends itself in society. In each case there are two factors; energies and structures in which the energies expend themselves; and while the energies can not be changed as to their nature, the structure in which they act can be changed, and that is all that is necessary to make the individual the perfecter of nature and society the perfecter of the individual.—Page 99.

Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization. By Lewis H. Morgan. Cloth, 586 pages, \$1.50.

The idea of property was slowly formed in the human mind, remaining nascent and feeble through immense periods of time. Springing into life in savagery, it required all the experience of this period and of the subsequent period of barbarism to develop the germ, and to prepare the human brain for the acceptance of its controlling influence. Its dominance as a passion over all other passions marks the commencement of civilization.—Page 6.

A mere property career is not the final destiny of mankind, if progress is to be the law of the future as it has been of the past. The time which has passed away since civilization began is but a fragment of the past duration of man's existence; and but a fragment of the ages yet to come. The dissolution of society bids fair to become the termination of a career of which property is the end and aim; because such a career contains the elements of self-destruction. Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education, foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending. It

will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient gentes.—Pages 561, 562.

American Communities and Co-operative Colonies. Second Revision. By William Alfred Hinds, Ph. B. Cloth, 608 pages, besides 33 full-page illustrations. \$1.50.

Since the first edition of "American Communities" was published in 1878 new Communistic Societies have been established, some of the older ones have ceased to exist, others have been slowly sailing into their last harbor, while still others have undergone such changes that accounts of them written so long ago must be regarded as descriptive of their past rather than their present condition; hence the demand for its revision; and that it might better serve as a book of reference it has been enlarged to include accounts, not only of additional colonies, old and new, based on common property, of importance because of their numbers, principles or special peculiarities, but of many semi-communistic and co-operative societies.—Page 11.

The Economic Foundations of Society. By Achille Loria. Cloth, 399 pages. \$1.25.

It is true our present society carries an appearance of vigor and vitality which seems to defy assault, but if we put our ear to this exuberant life, we can hear the slow rumblings of death destroying it from within. A splendid mantle covers our civilization, but on looking more closely we see that it has already lost its sheen; its brilliant colors are beginning to fade, and ere long this splendid cloak will become the funeral shroud in which capitalistic society is to sleep its last.—Page 354.

**INTERNATIONAL LIBRARY OF
SOCIAL SCIENCE.**

- 1. The Changing Order: A Study of Democracy.** By Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph. D. Cloth, 300 pages. \$1.00.

Men belong to parties by tradition, accident, or according to locality, no longer by conviction, because there are no longer political questions at issue. The real problems of life in America are neither ecclesiastical nor governmental, they are industrial. What men are struggling for today is industrial freedom. We have still to make any genuine Declaration of Independence, or to write a Constitution adapted to the needs of a non-political community. Doubtless it has been well that those who were publicly inclined have had the bauble of government to play with. They have toyed eloquently with the surface of things and left the deeper forces opportunity to become conscious and gather for emergence.—Page 14.

- 2. Better-World Philosophy: A Sociological Synthesis.** By J. Howard Moore. Cloth, 275 pages, \$1.00.

- 3. The Universal Kinship.** By J. Howard Moore. Cloth, 329 pages. \$1.00.

* * * But Darwin has lived. Beings have come into the world, we now know, through the operation of natural law. Man is not different from the rest. The story of Eden is a fabrication, bequeathed to us by our well-meaning but dimly-lighted ancestors. There has been no more miracle in the origin of the human species than in the origin of any other species. And there is no more miracle in the origin of a species than there is in the birth of a molecule or in the breaking of a tired wave on the beach. Man was not made in the image of the hypothetical

creator of heaven and earth, but in the image of the ape. Man is not a fallen god, but a promoted reptile.—Page 107.

- 4. Principles of Scientific Socialism.** By Charles H. Vail. Cloth, 237 pages, \$1.00.

In economic evolution there is no retrogression. It is only in universal combination that a complete consummation can be attained. Trusts must combine into a great trust, the Nation. There is no more possibility of our re-entering any of the past eras of production from which we have evolved than there is of the butterfly re-entering the chrysalis. The stage of handicraft and manufacturing, and even the competitive stage of modern mechanical industry has passed, or is rapidly passing, into innocuous desuetude. As slavery gave way to feudalism and feudalism to capitalism, so capitalism must give way to Socialism.—Page 25.

- 5. Some of the Philosophical Essays on Socialism and Science, Religion, Ethics, Critique-of-Reason and the World-at-Large,** by Joseph Dietzgen. Cloth, 362 pages, \$1.00.

Not only philosophy but science in general has left its official mouth-pieces behind. Even where there are materialistic professors in the professional chair, there adheres to them some unscientific religious nuisance in the form of an idealistic remnant as pieces of egg-shell to the unfledged bird. Furthermore, one swallow does not make a summer, and the really scientific conception of one professor cannot take off the blot which sullies his whole class. As long as the middle classes and their leaders had to fulfill a civilizing mission, their academies were nurseries of learning. Since then, however, history has

moved forward, and the struggle for a higher civilization has been devolved on the working class.—Page 131.

6. Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History. By Antonio Labriola. Cloth, 246 pages, \$1.00.

The laboring mass already knows, or it is beginning to understand, that the dictatorship of the proletariat which shall have for its task the socialization of the means of production cannot be the work of a mass led by a few and that it must be, and that it will be, the work of the proletarians themselves when they have become in themselves and through long practice a political organization.—Page 59.

Ideas do not fall from heaven, and nothing comes to us in a dream.—Page 155.

7. Love's-Coming-of-Age. By Edward Carpenter. Cloth, 162 pages, \$1.00.

In conclusion, it is evident that no very great change for the better in marriage-relations can take place except as the accompaniment of deepening changes in society at large. * * * With the rise of the new society, which is already outlining itself within the structure of the old, many of the difficulties and bugbears, that at present seem to stand in the way of a more healthy relation between the sexes, will of themselves disappear.—Page 109.

8. Looking Forward: A Treatise of the Status of Woman and the Origin and Growth of the Family and the State. By Philip Rappaport. Cloth, 234 pages, \$1.00.

The new mode of production and distribution will not only produce a higher form of government but also a higher form of the family. The



ANTONIO LABRIOLA

For descriptions of his books see pages 18, 21



ARTHUR M. LEWIS

For descriptions of his books see pages 43, 44, 45

highest form of the family can only evolve under economic conditions which make husband and wife economically independent of each other, so that no consideration of an economic nature will enter into the holiest and most intimate relations between two human beings.—Page 218.

9. The Positive Outcome of Philosophy.

By Joseph Dietzgen. This volume also contains *The Nature of Human Brain Work and Letters on Logic*. Cloth, 444 pages, \$1.00.

A law which would presume to be absolutely right would have to be right for every one and at all times. No absolute morality, no duty, no categorical imperative, no idea of *the good*, can teach man what is good, bad, right or wrong. That is good which corresponds to our needs, that is bad which is contrary to them. But is there anything which is absolutely good? Everything and nothing. It is not the straight timber which is good, nor the crooked. Neither is good, or either is good, according to whether I need it or not. And since we need all things, we can see some good in all of them.—Page 146.

10. Socialism and Philosophy. By Antonio Labriola. Cloth, 260 pages, \$1.00.

History is like an inferno. It might be presented as a somber drama, entitled "The Tragedy of Labor." But this same somber history has produced out of this very condition of things, almost without the conscious knowledge of men, and certainly not through the providence of any one, the means required for the relative perfection, first of very few, then of a few, and then of more than a few. And now it seems to be at work for all. The great tragedy was unavoidable. It was not due to any one's fault or sin,

not to any one's aberration or degeneration, not to any one's capricious and sinful straying from the straight path. It was due to an immanent necessity of the mechanism of social life, and to its rhythmic process.—Page 109.

11. The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals. By M. H. Fitch. Second Edition, with numerous additions and emendations. Cloth, 414 pages, \$1.00.

Society is in constant process of transformation, caused by material, not sentimental motives beyond the real control of men. I assume, therefore, that reason has had little to do with it, except to follow the impulses given it by material conditions. It was an evolution through, not by, psychical processes called ideas, and the ideas were formed by sensations from the objective environment.—Page 64.

12. Revolutionary Essays in Socialist Faith and Fancy. By Peter E. Burrowes. Cloth, 320 pages, \$1.00.

We do not tell the world that man's salvation rests upon the benevolent impulses of good men, or that its disasters have flowed from the malignant influence of unfriendly spirits. We do not attribute the revolutions which have come upon nations to the crimes of the ambitious or to the strenuous virtues of heroes; but we declare these great events of history to be always and obviously traceable to the master-fact—the system of economic production, the way the people were getting their living before the revolution was forced into history.—Page 115.

13. Marxian Economics: A Popular Introduction to the Three Volumes of Marx's Capital. By Ernest Untermann. Cloth, 252 pages, \$1.00.

The modern working people rise up against the

idea, inherited from ancient and mediæval rulers, that work is an inferior and degrading activity, that another thing, called capital, is the superior of labor, that the producing class should be compelled to yield the largest and best part of their product to the idle owners of the thing called capital. They demand that work shall be shared by all, and that the thing called capital shall cease to exist.—Page 25.

14. The Rise of the American Proletarian. By Austin Lewis. Cloth, 213 pages, \$1.00.

The employer is bound to give educational opportunities to the proletarian that he may institute and manage the machines, and thus the education of the proletarian has changed from that which was appropriate to the production of individual small commodities, to the education which fits him for the management of great social economic instruments. So, out of the very class of the proletariat itself, are provided the officers who will be competent to manage the economic arrangements in the event of that class, by a political revolution, obtaining possession of the instruments of production.—Page 48.

15. The Theoretical System of Karl Marx in the Light of Recent Criticism. By Louis B. Boudin. Cloth, 286 pages, \$1.00.

It is the class of the proletarians that has the historic mission of tearing down the capitalist system of society. Remember well: not the poor man, nor the workingman, but the proletarian, is going to do this work. There were poor men before, so were there workingmen. But they were not proletarians. So may there be poor now, and even poor workingmen, who are not proletarians. The modern proletarian is not *merely* a poor man, nor is he necessarily a poor man

in the ordinary sense of the word. Nor is he *merely* a workingman, although he necessarily is one. He is a workingman—usually poor at that—under peculiar historic conditions. Those conditions are that he is not possessed of any property, that is, the only property that counts socially, means of production. By reason of this condition he is placed in certain social relations, both as to his own kind and to his social betters, as well as to the social machinery. Through this he acquires certain characteristics of mind and body, a certain mentality and psychology which make him particularly fitted for his historic mission.—Page 183.

16. Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Anti-Duehring). By Frederick Engels. Translated and edited by Austin Lewis. Cloth, 266 pages, \$1.00.

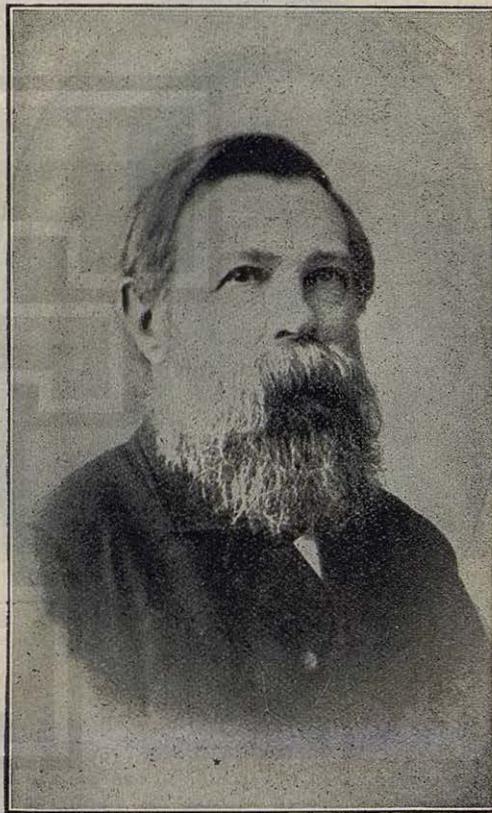
Modern socialism is in its essence the product of the existence on the one hand of the class antagonisms which are dominant in modern society, between the property possessors and those who have no property and between the wage workers and the bourgeois; and on the other, of the anarchy which is prevalent in modern production.—Page 36.

17. The Republic: A Modern Dialog. By N. P. Andresen. Cloth, 282 pages, \$1.00.

Whoever controls the economic powers controls all powers. The government and all the economic powers are at the disposal of those who possess the economic powers. Hence the trusts run the government.—Page 229.

18. God and My Neighbor. By Robert Blatchford. Cloth, \$1.00.

Which is worse, to be a Demagogue or an Infidel? I am both. For while many professed



FREDERICK ENGELS

For descriptions of his books see pages 24, 32, 33, 34, 54



N. A. RICHARDSON

If we were asked to recommend **one book** to an inquirer who proposed to take his stand for or against socialism according to what he found in it, we should select **INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS**. See pages 27, 52, 53.

Christians contrive to serve both God and Mammon, the depravity of my nature seems to forbid my serving either.—Author's Preface.

19. The Common Sense of Socialism: A Series of Letters Addressed to Jonathan Edwards, of Pittsburg. By John Spargo. Cloth, 184 pages, \$1.00.

There is one thing the workers can never do, except by destroying capitalism; they cannot get wages equal to the full value of their product. That would destroy the capitalist system, which is based upon profit-making. All the luxury and wealth of the non-producers is wrung from the labor of the producers.—Page 110.

20. Socialism and Modern Science. By Enrico Ferri. Cloth, 213 pages, \$1.00.

It is impossible not to see the direct causal connection between Marxian socialism and scientific evolution, since it must be recognized that the former is simply the logical consequence of the application of the evolutionary theory to the domain of economics.—Page 91.

21. Industrial Problems. By N. A. Richardson. Cloth, 229 pages, \$1.00.

The laborer works a day and averages to produce what retails at \$10. He is paid a wage that will buy in the market one-fifth of what he produces, because his subsistence requires that much. He sells his commodity, labor-power, and receives its equivalent in other commodities. There are \$8 worth of his product left. * * * Its distribution among those who live upon it is a matter foreign to his interests. What does concern him is, first, that the surplus-product exists and that its sole function is to feed parasites; and, second, what must be done to obviate all necessity for supplying the wants of this industrially useless horde of humanity; or, in other

words, what is the best method of doing away with the system of industry that exploits labor. Nor, in the long run, does the matter of prices concern him. If they rise or fall the change may temporarily affect him advantageously or otherwise; but a corresponding change must soon occur in his wage, for his fifth he must have and assuredly he will get no more.—Pages 27, 28.

22. The Poverty of Philosophy: Reply to Proudhon's "Philosophy of Poverty."
By Karl Marx. Cloth, 220 pages, \$1.00.

Let us sum up: Labor being itself a commodity, measures itself as such by the labor-time necessary to produce this labor-commodity. And what is necessary to produce this labor-commodity? Exactly that amount of labor time which is necessary to produce the objects indispensable to the constant subsistence of labor; that is to say, to enable the workers to live and to propagate their race. The natural price of labor is nothing but the minimum wage. If the current price of wages rises above the natural price it is precisely because the law of value, postulated in principle by M. Proudhon, finds itself counterbalanced by the consequences of the variations in the relation between supply and demand. But the minimum wage is, nevertheless, the center towards which the current price of wages constantly gravitates.—Page 55.

OTHER DOLLAR BOOKS.

The American Esperanto Book: A Compendium of the International Language. Compiled and Edited by Arthur Baker. Cloth, 327 pages, \$1.00.

The purpose of Esperanto is to be a *second* language for those persons who have relations

with people whose native languages they do not know. * * * The aim of this book is to provide, in one volume, the means of acquiring a thorough, practical knowledge of Esperanto.—Editor's Preface.

A Labor Catechism of Political Economy. By C. Osborne Ward. Cloth, 304 pages, \$1.00.

Walt Whitman, the Poet of the Wider Selfhood. A Study. By Mila Tupper Maynard. Cloth, 145 pages, \$1.00.

It is truly puzzling to tell how he gained his grasp of evolutionary conceptions. Darwin did not publish the "Origin of Species" until 1859. Spencer's first elaboration of any phase of his doctrine was published in the same year in which "Leaves of Grass" appeared. In 1852 Spencer had issued a general statement, but it seems hardly credible that Whitman could have come into contact with so obscure a book. Nevertheless, had he been fully cognizant of every scientific fact and theory discovered or projected up to the moment of publication, his work would be quite as marvelous, so completely has the evolutionary universe become absorbed into his unconscious thought.—Page 33.

Thoughts of a Fool. By Evelyn Gladys. Cloth, 258 pages, \$1.00.

When the wise speak of the non-interference with speech, press, assembly, and the like, they refer to these liberties as rights. Yet the thought of so thinking of them would never have occurred to any one had no invasion of these liberties ever been undertaken under the name of "rights."

* * * * *

A fool does not claim the right to laugh at the wise. It is enough to know that the wise have no rights against being the subjects of the laughter of fools.—Page 125.

When Things Were Doing. A Story of the Proletarian Revolution. By C. A. Steere. Cloth, 282 pages, \$1.00.

The telegraphers held the key to the situation. They were Socialists almost to a man, their communication with headquarters was uninterrupted and they alone, as a class, could grasp and analyze the significance of the movement as a whole and keep in touch with the pulse of the nation at its mighty heart and through its myriad arteries. * * * The captains of industry were mystified and helpless, as was the general public, but they did not dare cut the wires. They had a horror of any further isolation and waited and hoped for the news they could not get, the relief that was not in sight, the messages that never came.—Page 90.

Rebels of the New South. A Novel by Walter Marion Raymond; Illustrations by Percy Bertram Hall. Cloth, 294 pages, \$1.00.

The Recording Angel. A Novel by Edwin Arnold Brenholtz. Cloth, 287 pages, \$1.00.

The "angel" is an automatic graphophone which unbares a conspiracy of capitalists against the life of an officer of a labor union.

Perfecting the Earth: A Piece of Possible History. By C. W. Wooldridge, M. D. Cloth, 326 pages, \$1.00.

Since nations first began they have been wont to tax the energies of their people to the utmost in wars. * * * If now, turning such energy to constructive instead of destructive purposes, nations shall marshal and unify their spare energy to useful ends, the works to which the con-

tinuous energy of their millions should thus be given would necessarily be colossal. * * * It seems to me a perfectly rational, sane and legitimate exercise of the imagination, to picture such colossal works and study the effect which can be accomplished by them.—Page 19.

STANDARD SOCIALIST SERIES.

1. **Karl Marx: Biographical Memoirs.** By Wilhelm Liebknecht. Cloth, 181 pages, 50c.

Marx's passion for cigars had also a stimulating effect on his talent for political economy, not in theory, but in practice. He had smoked for a long time a brand of cigars that was very cheap according to English ideas—and proportionately nasty—when he found on his way through Holborn a still cheaper brand. * * * That brought forth his political-economic talent for saving: with every box he smoked he "saved" one shilling and sixpence. Consequently, the more he smoked the more he "saved." If he managed to consume a box a day, then he could live at a pinch on his "savings."—Page 153.

2. **Collectivism and Industrial Evolution.** By Emile Vandervelde, Member of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies. Cloth, 199 pages, 50c.

It can not be repeated too often that it is a stupid error to regard collectivism as an extension pure and simple of the present public domain. As long, in fact, as the social reign of the bourgeoisie continues, the public enterprises necessarily remain capitalist enterprises, exploited by the State as an employer, if not for the exclusive interest of the ruling classes, at least

taking the largest account of that interest.—Page 122.

3. The American Farmer. By A. M. Simons. Cloth, 214 pages, 50c.

The first step must be political union of the farmers and wage-workers for the purpose of electing their own class into power. When this is done, they will have control of their own government, and can enact measures in their own interests. This does not mean the substitution of one class tyranny for another. When the laborers secure power there will be no "others" for them to rule over, for all will be members of the producing "ruling class." All classes will have been merged in a co-operative society.—Page 174.

4. The Last Days of the Ruskin Co-operative Association. By Isaac Broome. Cloth, illustrated, 183 pages, 50c.

5. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. By Frederick Engels. Cloth, 217 pages, 50c.

The state is the result of the desire to keep down class conflicts. But having arisen amid these conflicts, it is as a rule the state of the most powerful economic class that by force of its economic supremacy becomes also the ruling political class and thus acquires new means of subduing and exploiting the oppressed masses. The antique state was, therefore, the state of the slave owners for the purpose of holding the slaves in check. The feudal state was the organ of the nobility for the oppression of the serfs and dependent farmers. The modern representative state is the tool of the capitalist exploiters of wage labor.—Page 209.

6. The Social Revolution. By Karl Kautsky. Cloth, 189 pages, 50c.

A social reform can very well be in accord with the interests of the ruling class. It may for the moment leave their social domination unchecked, or, under certain circumstances, can even strengthen it. Social revolution, on the contrary, is from the first incompatible with the interests of the ruling class, since under all circumstances it signifies annihilation of their power.—Page 10.

7. Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. By Frederick Engels. Cloth, 139 pages, 50c.

The modern State, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head.—Page 123.

As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection; as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon our present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these, are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a State, is no longer necessary.—Page 128.

8. Feuerbach: The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy. By Frederick Engels. Cloth, 133 pages, 50c.

Feuerbach's idealism consists in this, that he does not simply take for granted the mutual and reciprocal feelings of men for one another, such as sexual love, friendship, compassion, self-sacrifice, etc., but declares that they would come to their full realization for the first time as soon as they were consecrated under the name of reli-

gion. The main fact for him is not that these purely human relations exist, but that they will be conceived of as the new true religion.—Page 78.

9. American Pauperism and the Abolition of Poverty. By Isador Ladoff. Cloth, 230 pages, 50c.

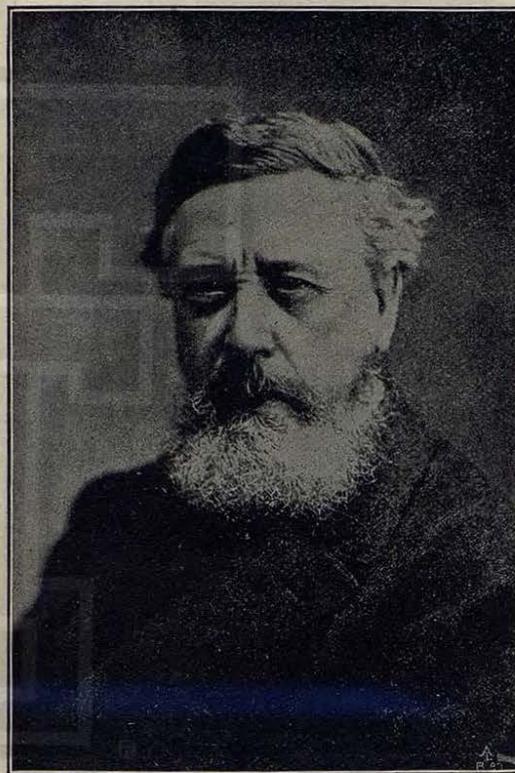
Middle-class reformers, as a rule, do not seem to realize the immense complexity and strict lawfulness of social economic life and activity. They believe in the miracle-working power of paper legislation. They fail to see that it is futile to even attempt to introduce legislative measures (however apparently salutary to the oppressed classes) which are out of joint with the entire system of the prevailing social-economic institutions; they fail to realize that such measures, even if introduced and passed, would have necessarily to remain either inoperative or even injurious to the very class they were intended to benefit.—Page 202.

10. Britain for the British. By Robert Blatchford. Cloth, 177 pages, 50c.

11. Communist Manifesto. By Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Cloth, 64 pages. Also, in same volume, **No Compromise, No Political Trading.** By Wilhelm Liebknecht, 64 pages. Cloth, 50c.

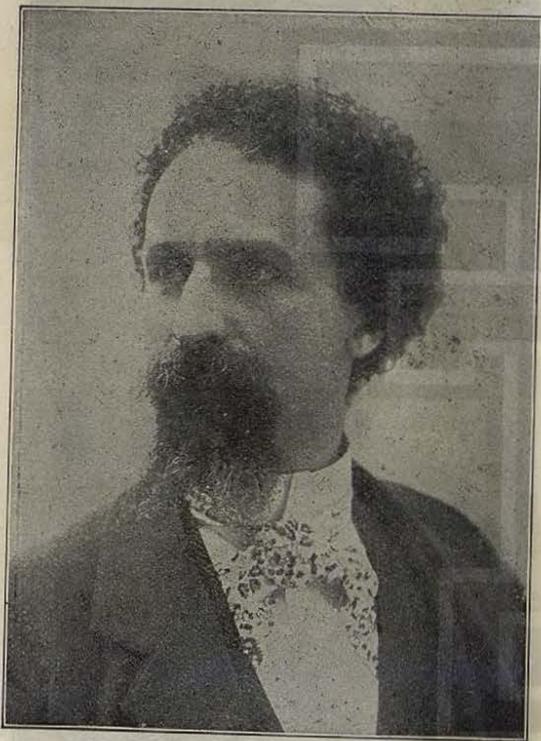
The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!—Manifesto, page 64.

Pity for poverty, enthusiasm for equality and freedom, recognition of social injustice and a desire to remove it, is not socialism. * * * Modern socialism is the child of capitalist society and its class antagonisms. * * * Whoever conceives of socialism in the sense of a sentimen-



WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

For descriptions of his books see pages 31, 34, 55

**ENRICO FERRI**

For descriptions of his books see pages 27, 37

tal philanthropic striving after human equality, with no idea of the existence of capitalistic society, is no socialist in the sense of the class struggle, without which modern socialism is unthinkable. Socialism and ethics are two separate things.—No Compromise, page 35.

12. The Positive School of Criminology.

By Enrico Ferri. Cloth, 125 pages, 50c.

If modern science has discovered the universal link which connects all phenomena through cause and effect, which shows that every phenomenon is the result of causes which have preceded it; if this is the law of causality, which is at the very bottom of modern scientific thought, then it is evident that the admission of free will is equivalent to an overthrow of this law, according to which every effect is proportionate to its cause. In that case, this law, which reigns supreme in the entire universe, would dissolve itself into nought at the feet of the human being, who would create effects with his free will not corresponding to their causes!—Page 39.

13. The World's Revolutions. By Ernest Untermann. Cloth, 176 pages, 50c.

What the Christian proletariat dreamed, what the revolutionary serfs coveted with yearning hearts, what the heroes of the early proletarian battles in the nineteenth century consecrated with their blood, that will be triumphantly accomplished by the proletarian revolution of the twentieth century.—Page 168.

14. The Socialists: Who They Are and What They Stand For. By John Spargo. Cloth, 147 pages, 50c.

Socialism is essentially a movement of the working class, and the interest of that class is its vital principle.—Page 94.

15. Social and Philosophical Studies:
 Causes of Belief in God; Origin of
 Abstract Ideas. By Paul Lafargue.
 Cloth, 165 pages, 50c.

The labor of the mechanical factory puts the wage-worker in touch with terrible natural forces unknown to the peasant, but instead of being mastered by them, he controls them. The gigantic mechanism of iron and steel which fills the factory, which makes him move like an automaton, which sometimes clutches him, mutilates him, bruises him, does not engender in him a superstitious terror as the thunder does in the peasant, but leaves him unmoved, for he knows that the limbs of the mechanical monster were fashioned and mounted by his comrades, and that he has but to push a lever to set it in motion or to stop it. * * * The practice of the modern workshop teaches the wage-worker scientific determinism, without his needing to pass through the theoretical study of the sciences.—Pages 49, 50.

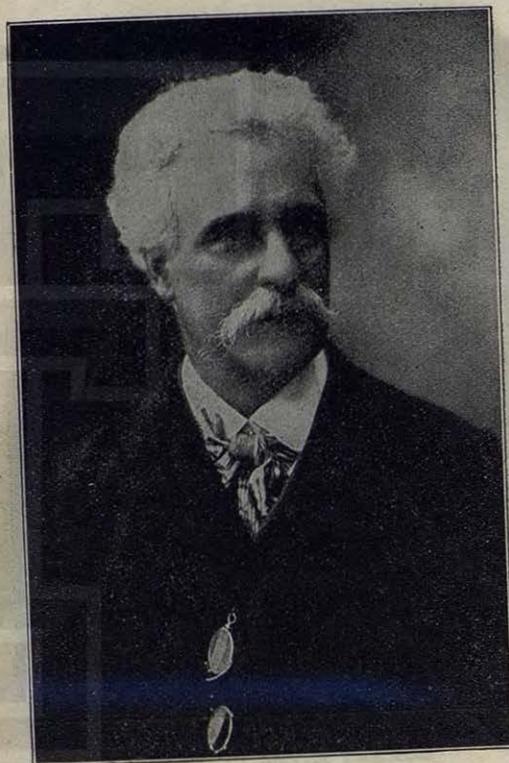
16. What's So and What Isn't. By John
 M. Work. Cloth, 156 pages, 50c.

No, socialism is not paternalism.

Capitalism is paternalism.

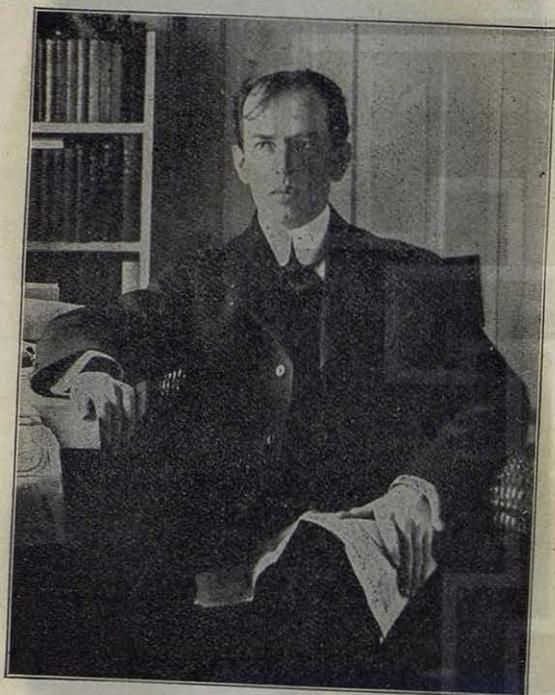
We have had paternalism for many centuries and we have it now.

Paternalism is the rule of the few. It is a man or a clique of men governing the people. * * * Socialism will accomplish industrial emancipation by abolishing industrial paternalism and introducing industrial fraternalism; in other words, by abolishing private monopoly and introducing the public ownership and the popular management of the industries now used to exploit the people out of the bulk of the product of their honest toil.—Pages 29, 31.



PAUL LAFARGUE

For descriptions of his books see pages 38, 42,
 46, 50



ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE

Author of *Socialism, Positive and Negative*. See page 41.

17. Ethics and the Materialistic Conception of History. By Karl Kautsky. Cloth, 206 pages, 50c.

The content of the new moral ideal is not always very clear. It does not emerge from any scientific knowledge of the social organism, which is often quite unknown to the authors of the ideal, but from a deep social need, a burning desire, an energetic will for something other than the existing, for something which is the opposite of the existing. And thus this moral ideal is fundamentally only something purely negative, nothing more than opposition to the existing hypocrisy.—Page 195.

18. Class Struggles in America. By A. M. Simons. Cloth, 120 pages, 50c.

Previous class struggles in America have ever been waged in the interest of a minority, but that minority * * * always represented the forces of social progress. * * * Today it is the working class which represents social progress, and which embraces all that is essential within our industrial process. * * * The working class is today in an overwhelming majority and has but to make plain the facts of history to its membership to be assured of victory.—Pages 119, 120.

19. Socialism, Positive and Negative. By Robert Rives La Monte. Cloth, 150 pages, 50c.

Irreverence is ever a sign of a narrow intellectual horizon and a limited vision. The scoffer is the product of the limited knowledge characteristic of what Engels called "metaphysical materialism." Unfortunately the mental development of many in the past has been arrested at this Ingersoll-Voltaire stage. But with the growth of modern Socialism the tendency is for the metaphysical materialist to grow into socialist or dia-

lectic materialism with its Hegelian watchword, "Nothing is, everything is becoming."—Page 141.

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Mankind would rather be free to walk, even though the pathway chosen be full of stones and thorns, than be led in paths of others' choosing, even though these be strewn with flowers. If freedom and beauty in life are ever to be realized by the people, the realization must come from their common experience; it cannot be handed down to them.—Page 71.

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The intellectuals, if they understood their own real interests, would come in crowds to socialism, not through philanthropy, not through pity for the miseries of the workers, not through affectation and snobbery, but to save themselves, to assure the future welfare of their wives and children, to fulfill their duty to their class. They ought to be ashamed of being left behind in the social battle by their comrades in the manual category. They have many things to teach them, but they have still much to learn from them; the workingmen have a practical sense superior to theirs, and have given proof of an instinctive intuition of the communist tendencies of modern capitalism which is lacking to the intellectuals.—Page 101.

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ters to a serious crisis, there the shop-keepers stood aghast at the dangerous situation created for them; aghast at the people who had taken their boasting appeals to arms in earnest; aghast at the power thus thrust into their own hands; aghast, above all, at the consequences for themselves, for their social positions, for their fortunes, of the policy in which they were forced to engage themselves.—Page 169.

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If in a class society the acme of happiness is found in the hopeless social conditions which force the tender-hearted to take refuge in philanthropy, so much the worse for class society and the literature it produces; for this benevolence is exercised without affecting the prime source of wretchedness, class subjection.—Page 93.

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It was not Lubbock or Tylor or Spencer, but Marx, who proclaimed the economic and social

origin of all moral beliefs and ethical codes. Every new economic system brings with it new problems, and as it develops, its social processes impress themselves on the consciousness of those living within it. These problems call for new ethical concepts, and the moral codes of a past epoch will not serve.—Page 63.

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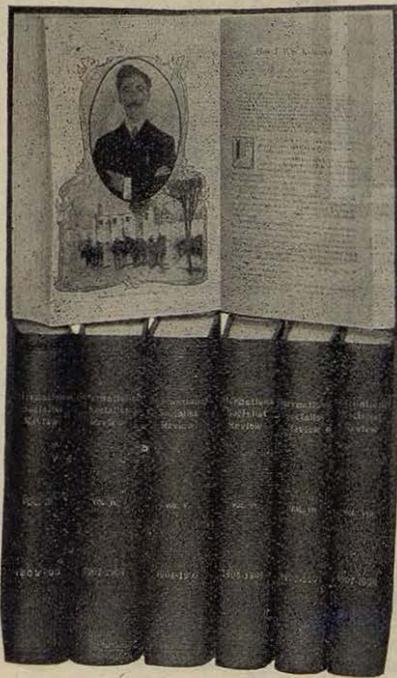
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The publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company was established in the year 1886. It was incorporated under the laws of Illinois in 1893. It took up the work of publishing socialist books in 1899, and in the following year it started the International Socialist Review.

The growth of the publishing house during the next eight years was steady but slow. In 1908 radical changes were made in the editorial staff and policy of the Review, and since that time the work of the publishing house has been expanding rapidly. In December, 1908, an agreement was reached with the Appeal to Reason of Girard, Kansas, the greatest socialist weekly newspaper in the world, by which it turned over its book publishing business to us.

The publishing house is owned by over 2,000 socialists, nearly all of whom have invested just \$10.00 each, the price of a single share. The stock draws no dividends, but it carries with it the privilege of buying books at a discount of forty per cent, postage prepaid. A share may be obtained by remitting ten dollars with the blank on the opposite side of this sheet properly filled out.

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