

The Gateway to Freedom

The Llano del Rio
Co-operative
Colony

The Gateway to Freedom

Co-operation In Action

A Story of the Endeavor and Achievements
of the Llano del Rio Co-operative
Colony at Llano, California

This colony is situated in the Antelope Valley, Los Angeles
County, California. It opens the gateway to freedom for
those who are willing to join their comrades and
fellow workers who have already borne
the brunt of the early pioneering

It solves the problem of disemployment and eases the burden
of those who are plunged in the maelstrom of the struggle
for existence. It offers a way to provide for the fu-
ture welfare of the workers and their families.



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JOB HARRIMAN, Founder of the Llano del Rio Colony

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*"That which is not for the interest of the whole swarm,
is not for the interest of a single bee."*—MARCUS AURELIUS

The Story of the Llano del Rio Co-operative Colony

MODERN SOCIETY conducts its affairs under conditions which create and maintain an ever increasing burden on all humanity.

The average man is sustained through youth and early manhood by the illusion that ability or good fortune ultimately will reward him with a large share of wealth. Disillusionment comes when he awakens to the futility of his efforts. Frequently this comes after a struggle that has broken him in body and spirit before he has reached middle age.

Years of unceasing toil result at best in only a few material rewards at the end of life. No one is secure against the hazards of possible financial failure. No one has a guarantee against unemployment, poverty and suffering for their loved ones.

In the turmoil of life the modern city is a battlefield where the fierceness of competition crushes, maims and kills. Men and women gather day after day in such strife that only those whose instincts and training fit them for successful trickery, or whose natures render continual vigilance possible, meet with any degree of success. For the masses failure is inevitable.

The continued centralization of wealth, the seizure of the land, the tools and the machinery for production, the monopoly of the sources of life all go to make the struggle for existence more and more acute as the years pass.

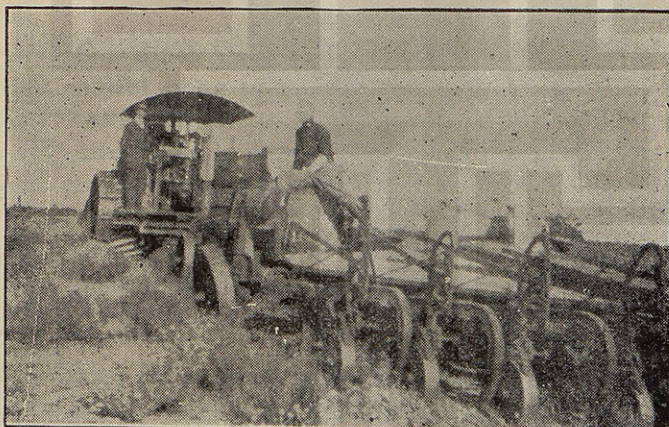
In the heart of nearly every man is the instinctive desire to get on the land, or at the source of production of the means of life.

Millions of Americans have this land hunger but with it the hopelessness in the realization that all the free land has been seized and that it would require more money than they could raise to put them on

purchased land and carry them to a point where success would reward their efforts.

Again, an obstacle arises in the knowledge of the hardships and the long and difficult struggle that is nearly always entailed by pioneering adventures.

Those who have knowledge of cultivation of the land in California have uppermost in mind the difficulties of obtaining that necessary combination—land and water. In addition to this is the realization that a tremendous amount of labor is necessary where land must be cleared by individual effort, without the aid of machinery, water obtained and diverted to the soil. Those who contemplate attempting this on an individual basis find the obstacles too great and they retire after bitter disappointment.



*Plowing with
large tractor*

Another great obstacle has been the lack of social life and the opportunity of education of the children and the utter dearth of the comforts and conveniences of city life such as medical and hospital facilities, access to libraries, lectures and educational gatherings.

To all of those who have investigated the possibilities of deliverance from the struggle and the turmoil of city life has not come the vision of the possibilities of a great co-operative group undertaking to do what is impossible of achievement for the individual. To some, however, has come the realization that by collective effort the greatest obstacles may be overcome and that with the force of numbers by centralizing their aims and by use of modern scientific methods and the adoption of the latest means of production, by use of power-driven

agricultural machinery and practical management, success can be made where otherwise failure would be inevitable.

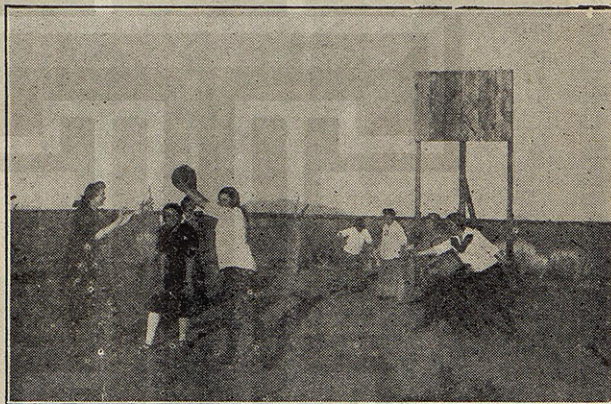
Method of Organization

The Llano del Rio colonization enterprise was conceived with the co-operative end in view. The company is incorporated under the laws of the State of California. All business is transacted upon the lines of other corporations. The corporation laws of this state have been well tested and construed and by organizing in this manner the company has the advantage of well established rules by which it will be guided and which leaves it free from experiment.

The entire management of the enterprise is conducted in the same businesslike manner as other corporations. The general management of the affairs of the company is in the hands of the board of directors



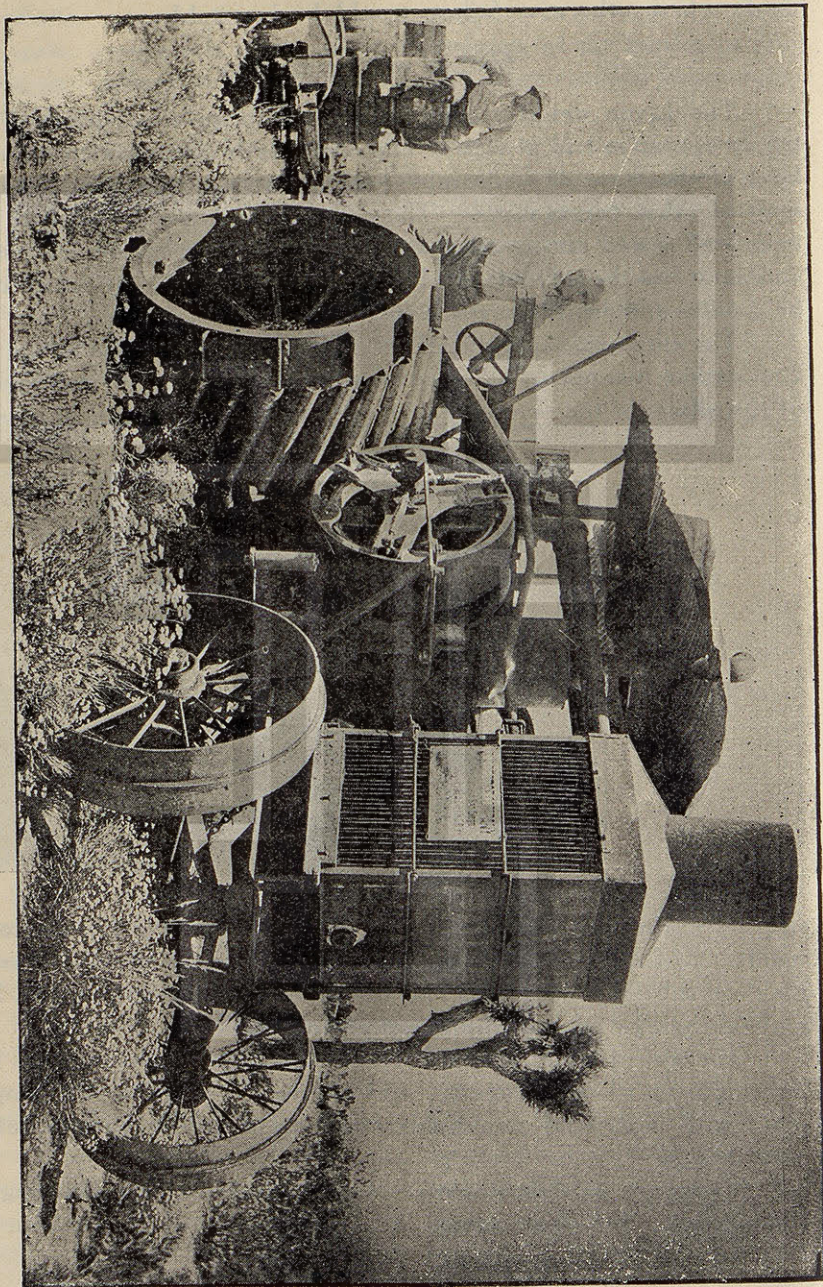
*Some Llano Girls
at Basket Ball*



who select the men best qualified to take charge of the various departments. Members of this board are elected by the stockholders and they are subject to the rules laid down by the state corporation laws, and the bylaws adopted by the stockholders.

The board of directors has control of the acquisition of land, development of the property, and makes all contracts for employment with individual stockholders and transacts all business of the corporation.

There are six departments: (a) Agriculture, (b) Building and Engineering, (c) Commerce, (d) Industry, (e) Education, (f) Finance.



This irresistible tractor is clearing ten to twenty acres a day

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A manager for each department is appointed by the board of directors. The manager of department A acts as superintendent and has the control of the working of all ranch departments. This manager was first appointed and the remaining appointments were made on his recommendation and with his approval.

Each manager serves subject to a recall by two-thirds majority of the workers in his department and at the will of the board of directors. Vacancies in the departments are filled by the directors on advice of the superintendent. Departments are divided into divisions with foremen appointed by the manager of a department and removable by him.

Upon entering the colony members are assigned to a department subject to transfer at the direction of the superintendent.

The agricultural department covers farming, horticulture, irrigation and stockraising. Managers of departments are responsible for the work done in their departments, and they are held accountable for all implements and material assets of the department.

The manager of the educational department has within certain restrictions charge of the social welfare of the colony and is ex-officio president of the Social Welfare organization.

The foregoing is a brief outline of the working plan. Since it has been in operation it has proven an excellent working system.

Community Constitution

A new organization plan has been completed and a constitution adopted by the community commission of the colony. Under this plan a community commission of nine is elected quarterly by the general assembly. In this assembly the franchise is extended to all residents over 18 years of age.

The commissioners have charge of all the affairs of community life and act as an initiative legislative body. They hold sessions weekly, and once a month sit in council with the directorate.

There is a tribunate consisting of five members. This body is elected by the general assembly and members serve five months. To this body is referred all differences that may arise. The directorate is the place of appeal. The community commission does not handle any of the business affairs of the colony, as that is left in the hands of the directors.

None of the members of any of the legislative, executive or judicial bodies interlock and none serves on more than one commission board.

The entire colony is thus placed on a basis of broadest democracy and freest expression.

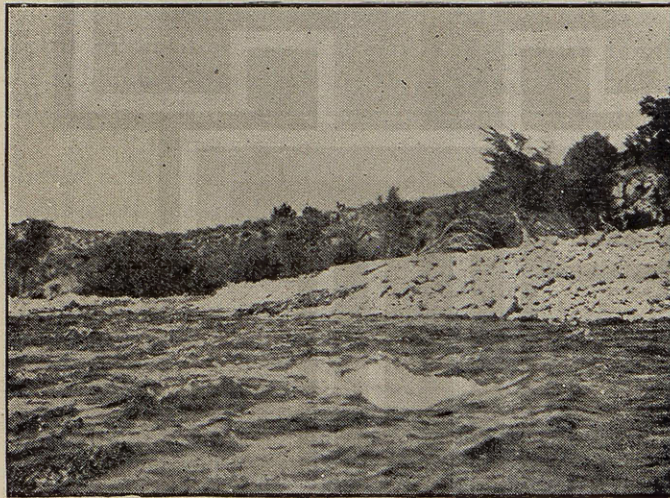
The declaration of principles in the preamble of the constitution contains the following paragraphs:

Things which are used productively must be owned collectively.

The rights of the community shall be paramount over those of any individual.

Liberty of action is only permissible when it does not restrict the liberty of another.

Law is a restriction of liberty and is only just when operating for the benefit of the community at large.



**View of Big
Rock Creek**

*These snow-
made waters
form a large
part of the
Llano supply*

To live without labor is to impose an unjust burden upon all workers.

Values created by the community shall be vested in the community alone.

The individual is not justly entitled to more land than is sufficient to satisfy a reasonable desire for peace and rest. Productive land held for profit shall not be held by private ownership.

Talent and intelligence are gifts which should rightly be used in the service of others. The development of these by education is the gift of the community to the individual, and the exercise of greater ability entitles none to the false rewards of greater possessions, but only to the joy of greater service to others.

Only by identifying his interests and pleasures with those of others can man find real happiness.

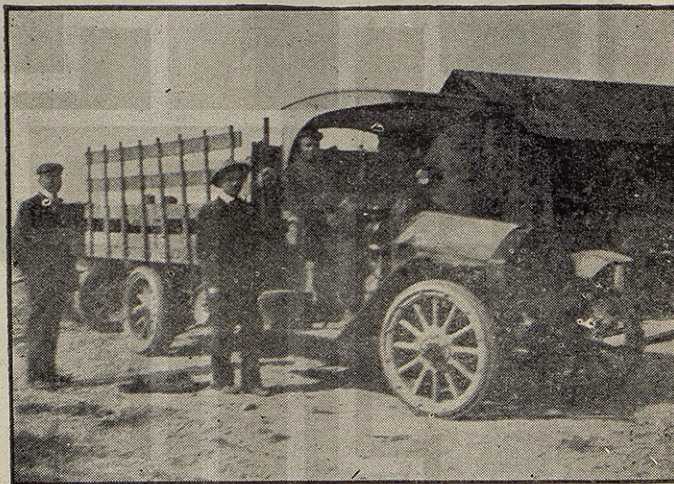
The duty of the individual to the community is to develop ability to the greatest degree possible by availing himself of all educational facilities and to devote the whole extent of that ability to the service of all.

The duty of the community to the individual is to administer justice, to eliminate greed and selfishness, to educate all and to aid any in time of age or misfortune.

Location of the Colony

Llano del Rio co-operative colony is situated in the Antelope

*Auto trucks
play a
great part
in the
development
of the Colony*



Valley, Los Angeles county, California. This valley lies to the north of the Sierra Madre range of the San Bernardino mountains. The land on which the colony is located is about 40 miles from Los Angeles in a direct line and about 80 miles by the present automobile road, and the same distance by train. The nearest railway station is Palmdale, about 18 miles from the center of the land.

Transportation between Palmdale and the colony is principally by automobile. Auto trucks run between the station and the colony and usually make several trips a day. By automobile it is about one hour's ride from the colony to the railroad station.

The Antelope valley is bounded on the north by the Tehachapi range of mountains, the highest elevation of which is 9,214 feet.



Group of Colonists at the Clubhouse, Christmas 1914

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Standing on a point in the foothills of Llano del Rio and looking toward the west and northward the eye reaches out and across the great valley below and finally rests on the skyline of the blue mountains of the Tehachapi more than 200 miles away.

To the northeast are the Lovejoy buttes which rise like huge sugar loaves out of the level plain below. These points are 3,528 feet above sea level. On the south and west of the llano lies the Sierra Madre range of which the highest and most prominent elevation is Mt. San Antonio, better known as "Old Baldy," which has an elevation of 9,931 feet. It is from this latter range that the Mescal and Rio del Llano, known also as Rock creek, draw their snow-made waters during the entire year.

Nature of the Land

The soil of the llano is formed by the decomposition of granites, feldspars and limes from the mountain range, giving a deep, light soil that never bakes. It contains potash, soda, carbonate of lime and magnesia, sulphides and oxides of iron, etc., etc., in fact, all the minerals necessary to sustain plant life, requiring only the oxidizing influence of water and air, obtained by irrigation, plowing and cultivation to render them soluble and easily assimilated by plant growth as food.

Much of the land now held and yet to be obtained by the company is uncleared and is covered by a light growth of chapparal, grease-wood, light sage, yuccas and, in the higher lands, juniper.

Climate Is Delightful

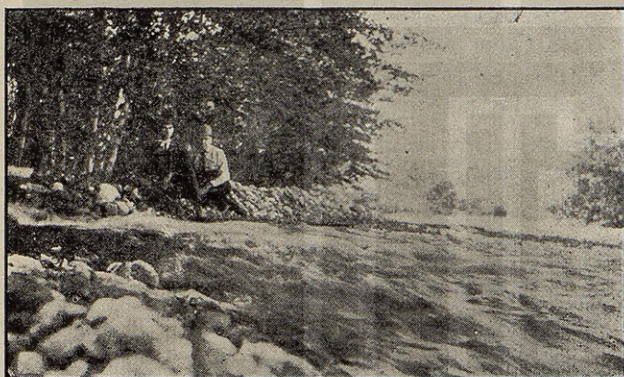
The average elevation of the Llano del Rio (plain of the river) country is 3,500 feet. The elevation, combined with the close proximity to the mountains, give a healthful climate where the extremes are not so noticeable as they are on the southern slope of the range. The summers are not excessively warm and the contour of the section shelters this part of the valley from the high winds that prevail during certain seasons of the year in the northern and central parts. The winter months are as a rule pleasant, varied at times by a slight snow fall and sometimes cold enough to form ice on still water one-quarter to one-half inch in thickness.

The Water Supply

In semi-arid countries the water supply is the most important thing to be considered. Water for this valley is dependent upon the fall of rain in the mountains. During the winter months there are

occasional light rains in the valley, but the heavy and dependable rains are confined to the mountain area.

Day after day during the winter the valley is wrapped in warm sunshine while the mountains are lost to view, smothered in clouds of rain and snow. These snows fall on the mountain tops, in the timberland below, and fill deep canyons and narrow granite gulches where it lies for months, slowly but steadily sending down its supply to the beds of the creeks and rivers below. As late as August 1, 1914, snow on the north side of North Baldy was still visible to those in the colony at Llano del Rio. Part of the water from the rain and snow is lost by evaporation, part is absorbed by the mountains and part is carried by the streams to the valley where it disappears. That which is absorbed irrigates and nourishes the heavily timbered mountain sides and part of it reaches the stream beds and makes a steady summer flow.



*Big Rock
Creek flow
in July,
1914*

The company has secured the exclusive rights to the waters of Mescal creek, Jackson's lake and Boulder creek and has rights to a large portion of the surface flow of Big Rock creek, and we control the Big Rock irrigation district by means of which practically all of the flow of Big Rock creek can be controlled.

Water Control—Conservation

The colonists have constructed a diversion dam on Mescal creek at a point where the canyon widens out into a high mesa which in turn broadens and sweeps down to the plain below. From this dam water will be diverted to two reservoir sites to the east and west where a small amount of work on the natural basins will complete reservoirs of large holding capacity.

The chief engineer of the colony in an informal report says:

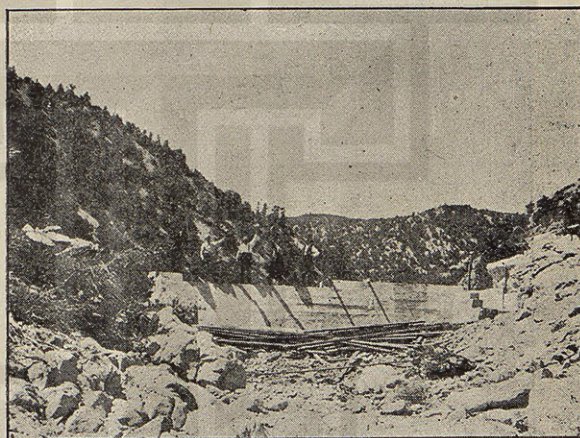
"The area of watersheds adjoining these lands is approximately 80 square miles, which, with 40 inches rainfall per annum, should yield about 70,000 acre feet of water that could be used if it could all be saved—enough water with the character of probable crops, to maintain 40,000 to 50,000 acres of land under cultivation.

"Under present conditions, however, the first work to be done is to make use of the minimum flow of water from this water-shed by putting it on as much land as it will serve—and this is what is now being done.

"The minimum flow of both Mescal and Rock creeks probably will take care of some 8,000 to 10,000 acres by the construction of small diverting dams in the foothills, and leading the waters therefrom by ditch and pipelines to the land being cleared and planted.



*Mescal diversion
dam built by
the Colonists*



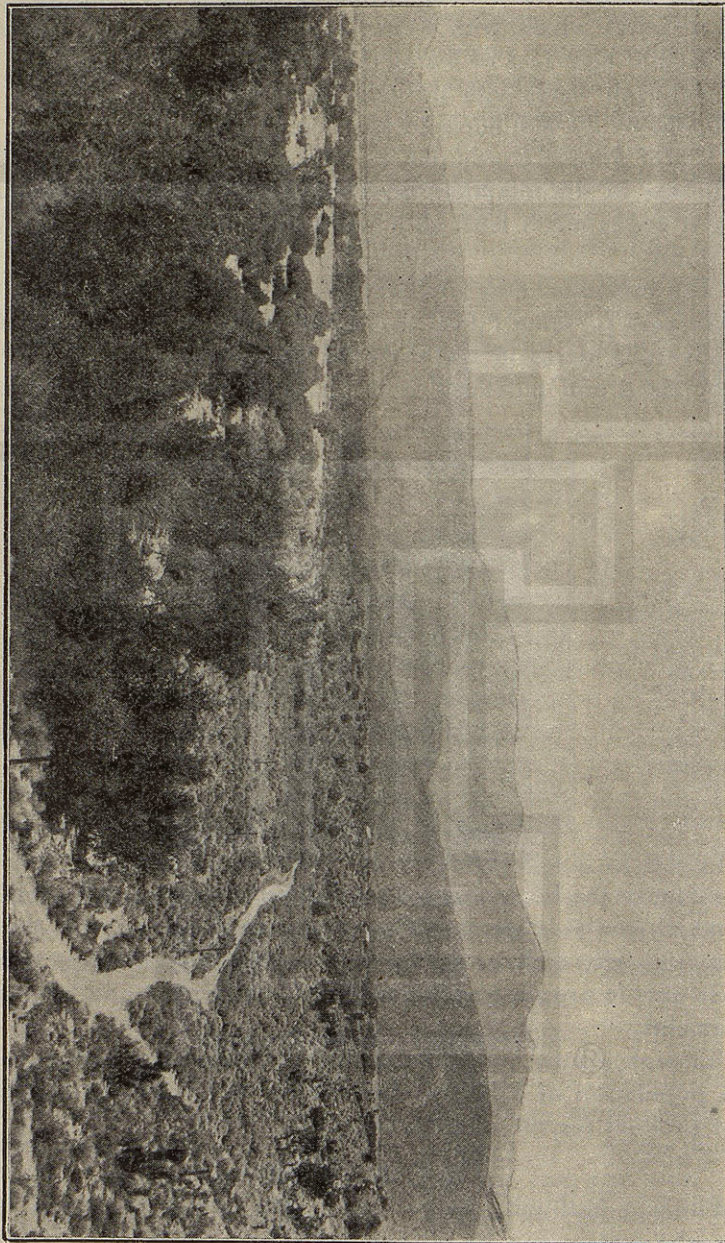
This will make the beginning and foundation from which to enlarge to the limit of available water. There are four such reservoir sites with the total capacity of between 30,000 and 40,000 acre feet, and surveys are now in progress to define their actual extent and construction requirements.

"Enough is now known to assure an irrigated area that will support a population of 5,000 souls or more and have an unusual surplus of product for the open market."

The Power Projects

Within a half mile of Jackson's lake, which is owned by the colony, the waters can be so conducted around the mountains that

View from the Dansite on Big Rock Creek



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they may be dropped through a penstock a distance of 500 feet. A ditch or flume may be continued from that point for about another mile and the water again dropped through pen-stocks for another 500 or 600 feet. The same may again be repeated at the mouth of Mescal canyon. This water, thus conducted and utilized, will develop all the power the company will need for years to come. There are other power possibilities in the mountains nearby of which the company is endeavoring to gain control.

Some Wonderful Possibilities

Looking into the future for the colony one can see the wonderful possibilities at the time of maturity of deciduous trees and other permanent crops.

Much of the raw land acquired by the colony costs less than \$10 per acre. This is as rich soil as was ever plowed. It will be cleared, cultivated and planted in deciduous trees.

The elevation of this land especially adapts it to the growing of deciduous fruits, notably berries, pears, apples, peaches, plums, cherries, olives, figs and walnuts.

The fame of the Antelope valley as a pear growing district is widespread. Within a few miles of the colony are pear orchards that are bringing large returns to the owners. Pear trees begin bearing on a paying basis at about the fifth year, when they bring in returns of from \$25 to \$50 an acre. The sixth year runs from \$50 to \$100 an acre; the seventh from \$150 to \$300 an acre. The increase in income is rapid from this time on, running to \$1,250 the twelfth year. Some 19-year-old trees in the vicinity are reported as having paid at the rate of \$2,000 per acre.

Alfalfa is grown to a good profit and will yield five or six crops each year. Kaffir corn, milo maize, barley and other small grains also produce an excellent crop. All kinds of berries and small fruits can be grown. Potatoes, sweet potatoes, excellent tomatoes and all kinds of garden truck thrive and mature fully on this land.

It is not the intention, however, to sell such products as alfalfa, hay or garden produce. The aim of the colony is to put the products into the most concentrated form possible. Instead of selling alfalfa it will be fed to livestock and poultry. Hogs, cattle, dairy and poultry products will be marketed.

The products of other departments are depended on to support the colony and carry out construction and extension and show a clean

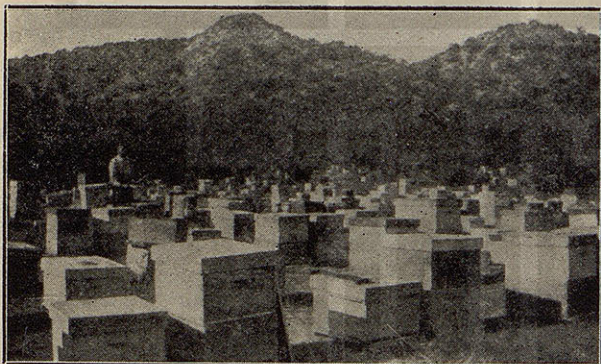
earning. When the land is cleared, plowed, irrigation provided and trees planted, the value of each acre has been increased more than ten fold. Each year the value of such land is vastly enhanced and its earning capacity made greater.

Colonists to Feed Themselves

Gardening as it is now conducted is for the purpose of use of the product on the colony. It is the aim to produce the vegetables, fruits, dairy and poultry products, meats and at least a portion of the cereals that the colonists will need for their own use. This forms a large percentage of their expenses for food.

To End Exploitation

Under working conditions today the producer receives a small percentage of the wealth he produces. The remaining large percent-



*Among the Bees--
True Co-operators*

age goes to his employer, and over this he ceases to have control. The large percentage, now going to his employer, will, under the colony plan, go into the property of the company in which the worker ultimately will become an equal sharer with all other stockholders.

Many Lines of Activity

In addition to agriculture, horticulture, stock raising, gardening, poultry production and dairying there is a diversity of other lines of profitable activity contemplated in the plans made by the company.

Among these are: A trout hatchery on the upper waters of the streams; a department devoted to canning fruits, vegetables and meats; a shoe factory, (which is already producing in Los Angeles and which is ready to go into the colony as soon as hydro-electric power shall

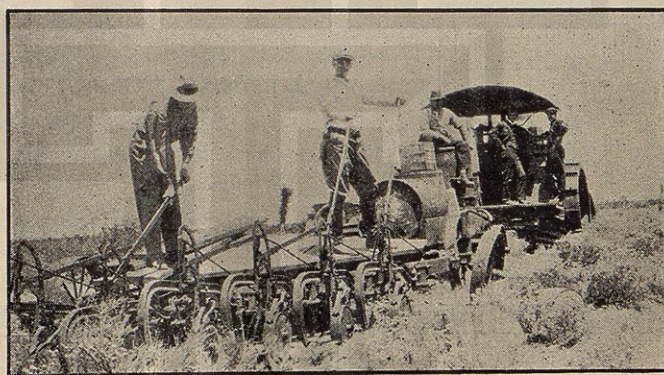
have been developed); steam laundry, knitting mill, tannery, bee-keeping, a motion picture production company, silk manufacturing, printing and engraving plant and a number of other productive enterprises. There is scarcely a useful occupation that will not furnish capable workers to the colony.

Scientific Methods Used

Hitherto the approved custom in agricultural and horticultural pursuits has been to spend a large amount of human energy on a small amount of land, such method being known as intensive cultivation. In recent years, however, horticulturists and agriculturists have been able to continue intensive cultivation on a large scale by employing the best modern machinery, and have attained even better results with far less human energy expended. This policy will be followed by the company in all its operations.



*Modern
Agricultural
Machinery
at work*

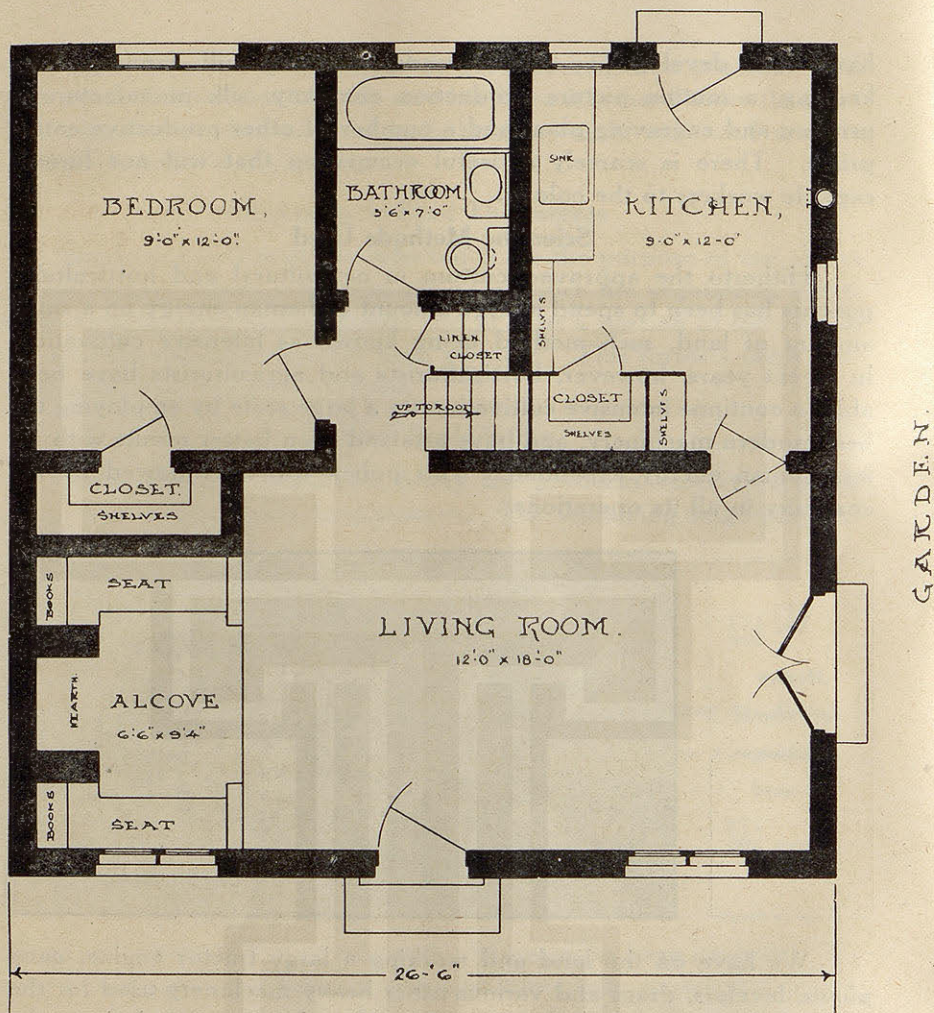


We have on the land and working a large tractor engine, gang plows, levelers, drags and various other heavy machinery used for the purpose of clearing and preparing land for planting on a large scale.

Plans for the New City

A section of land, a mile square, on the mesa, where the view reaches from the snow-capped mountains to the southward down across the magnificent plain to the buttes to the eastward and the blue mountain range to the far north, has been selected as the site for the ideal city.

According to the plan the city will be hexagonal in form and the residential portion will consist of six sections divided by parkways and by the great inner or central court which will contain the immense



Tentative Plan for Colonist Residence

This plan is for a brick residence, 26 feet 6 inches square, with ceilings 8 feet 6 inches high. The building will have flat concrete roof, and stairs leading thereto. The roof will be inclosed by a wall or railing three feet high, where arrangements may be made for sleeping purposes. All the woodwork is to be properly stained or painted. The bathroom to be fitted with bath tub, lavatory and toilet. All plumbing to be modern, and all labor to be performed in a first class workmanlike manner.

This plan may be exchanged at any time for the plans of any of the other houses that may be offered for sale by the Llano del Rio Company, at a price not in excess of the price of this house. Should a more expensive house be desired, arrangements can be made to suit the purchaser.



GARDEN.

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civic and social center. This center will be surrounded by parks in which there are six school groups and six lakes with two open streams of running water flowing to the north.

The main building in the civic center also will be hexagonal in form and will surround an immense forum in the form of a big theatre capable of seating several thousand persons. The building will contain administration offices, library, theatres, gymnasium, art gallery, conservatory of music, hall of science, departments of industry, agriculture, economics, commerce, public service and social service. These departments are expected to cover all branches of activity in the colony.

Factories, garages, electric transformer station, laundry, store-houses and large public dining halls will be located at six selected sites near the outer circle of the city. All of these buildings, according to plans, will hold to lines of greatest artistic beauty outwardly and greatest utility inwardly.

The architects have virtually agreed that dwellings shall all be detached and each surrounded by an enclosed garden; that all construction shall be of the white hydraulic lime Roman bricks, with green or red tile roofs, all of which material is available on the lands of the colonists.

The streets, according to the plan, will be parked and ornamental shade trees grown in great profusion. Rose pergolas and concrete grape arbors will cover most of the walkways. A remarkably simple plan of transportation will enable a person to reach any given point in the city from any other point, no matter how remote, within a period of ten minutes.

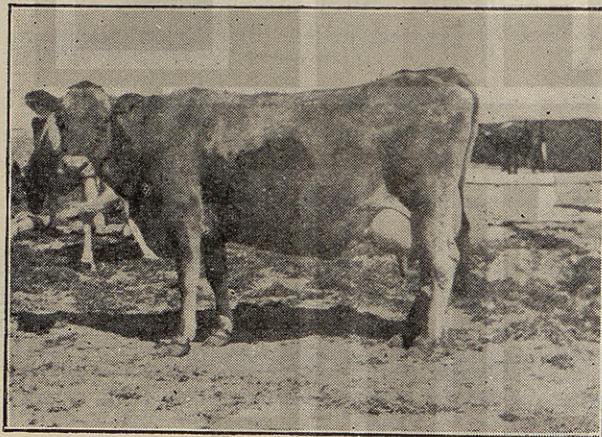
The plans contemplate furnishing each dwelling or apartment from a central distribution point with water, electricity for lighting, heating and cooking purposes; telephone connection, refrigeration and cooled air; vacuum for cleaning purposes and every other connection and device for comfort and convenience of the dwellers in the city. The aim is to abolish household drudgery and give the women and the men an opportunity for leisure for social life, education and amusement.

Value of Social Centers

The plans contemplate the establishment of athletics fields where there will be golf links, baseball diamonds, football grounds, tennis courts, and running tracks. There will be large outdoor swimming

plunges and, in fact, every facility for amusement, sports and pastimes.

There are fundamental reasons for this plan; one is that those who engage in labor must have some means of enjoyment at hand or they will become dissatisfied and unhappy. Then, too, the mind will not develop unless the brain is rested with enjoyment and relief from all care, which comes best through the struggle for supremacy in sports. Also the brain develops to a higher degree and is more healthy when it is absolutely relieved occasionally from care, and enjoys an intense excitement when such excitement results only in pleasure. The playground has settled more family and neighborhood differences than all the courts of all our cities; for man will never quarrel with those with whom he finds his keenest delight.



*One of the Colony
Workers
An Ideal Jersey
Cow*

Natural Advantages

The material for all this construction, with the possible exception of the structural steel needed for the administration building and the machinery for equipment, is to be found on the land all within close proximity and readily available. This, combined with the fact that the colonists will have an abundance of skilled labor to put on this construction work, will vastly reduce the cost and place it at a low figure as compared with similar achievement in the competitive world. This is but a brief outline of the plans of those working on this feature of the great enterprise.

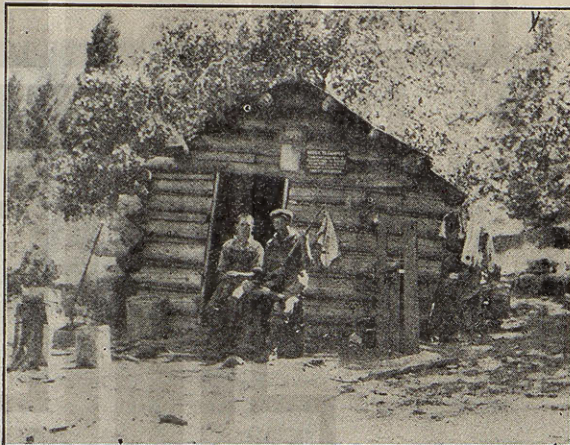
These plans may be elaborated on, changed or curtailed upon the judgment of those who may later become interested.

Education Facilities

Schools of a character that will be a vast improvement over the average institutions is the aim of the Llano del Rio colonists. The first school is planned along the lines of the provisions of the state law. The school has over 50 pupils and more are being added each week. It would require much space to tell of the school plans. Two teachers are having all they can do to handle the school at present. A woman of wide experience in kindergarten and Montessori work will take charge of that department within a short time. The new \$5000 school building will be erected before the fall term. With the growth of the colony and the establishment of factories and various industries, the building of the city with its great social center,



*Hunters' camp
at
Jackson's Lake*



schools will be vocational, as well as classic in character. Here the opportunity will be given to each child to pursue such play, and such vocation as his or her own happiness indicates that he or she is best adapted to.

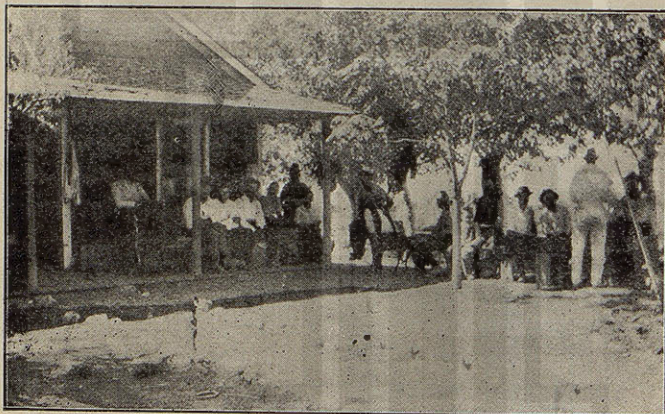
The various industries and the school will be so connected that the children will be permitted to follow the lines of investigation and the activities to which their inclinations lead them. The administration of the affairs of the company will be conducted in such a manner as to bring its affairs constantly before the school in such a way that the children will learn the various arts and industries as well as the nature and habits of plant and animal life, under the most intelligent direction.

The first year in high school work has been begun. The school

is receiving supplies from the county. A reference library is supplied by the county. The school furniture is made by colonist cabinet makers and they keep up with the steadily increasing demand. Vocational classes will soon be established. The upper-grade pupils have organized a literary society and a debating team will quickly be developed.

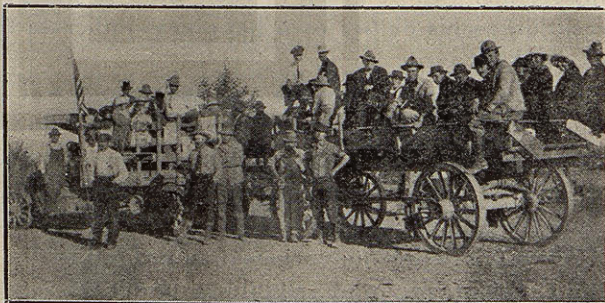
The school has grown from nothing to its present size and importance in one term, and it is still growing and is considered by all as the most important feature of the colony life.

Night schools are planned and some classes have already been started. Men and women of all ages will attend these classes and lectures. Technical training is proving most popular. There will be classes in engineering and other professions.



*Waiting for the
Dinner Bell*

*Some of the Colonists
Going Out for
the Day*



Co-operation In Action

SOME ACHIEVEMENTS

Workers at the Llano del Rio Co-operative Colony are making such rapid progress in so many departments that it is difficult to keep up with them. Since the adoption of the department plan there has been greater enthusiasm and activity than ever before.

A rancher of several years' experience, who knows California ranching in all its phases, is in charge of the agricultural department.

The colony started May, 1914, with no members and no assets. Before the end of the month there were five members—working men. They possessed four horses, one cow and sixteen hogs. Now there are more than 350 residents in Llano. There are 400 members, many of whom will go to the colony in the next few months. Applications are coming from all parts of the United States, and the correspondence shows "prospects" from every English-speaking country. California ranchers predominate in number.

The lonely milch cow has been joined by 100 of her kind. A herd of fine Jersey and Holstein dairy cows, numbering about eighty-five, forms one of the important features of the colony. There are about 115 hogs in pen and pasture and there are many good brood sows in the drove. The colonists now have about 50 horses.

The first half-dozen hens are a small part of the poultry department, as there are now 600 laying hens—white Leghorns—and several hundred pullets and fowls. Several thousand spring chicks were put into brooders in April. There are a number of blue-ribbon geese and some turkeys of excellent stock. The colony boasts the champion tom turkey of Southern California and will make a specialty of turkeys. There are about 400 Belgian hares in the rabbitry and they are the most remarkable multipliers.

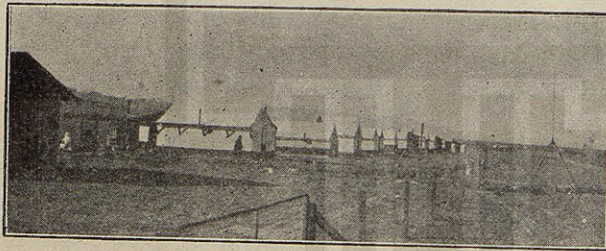
The apiary department, as all other divisions, is in the charge of an expert. This department will henceforth supply honey for the colonists and ultimately run the number of stands of bees up to the thousands.

Two experienced gardeners are in charge of the garden department and have sixty acres for truck gardening.

The colony's giant tractor is plowing every day, and a large crew is sowing grain and doing other planting. The tractor is clearing the new land, preparing 160 acres for an apple orchard and about the same amount for additional pear orchards. This will be under the care of an expert horticulturist. Several thousand grape cuttings have been planted. These will be used as table grapes and to manufacture grape juice.

The new dairy building is of stone and concrete construction, 150 feet long, and is of the latest model and will make the colony one of the best equipped in the state. The dairy products are all contracted for and are bringing good prices. The Llano del Rio creamery butter has already gained the reputation of being the best in the great valley.

The new chicken coops are 60 by 18 feet and each have a ca-



*A row of
temporary houses*

capacity of 500 hens. To these will be added others of a similar type designed along the latest scientific lines.

It is expected that by midsummer the colony will be producing 90 per cent of all the food it consumes.



By the use of the tractor, two men can plow thirty acres a day. This machine, pulling a large lister plow, digs ditches at a rate that makes it do the work of 100 men in that sort of construction. This machine has dug a ditch two feet deep, two feet wide, and thrown the dirt three feet, for a distance of half a mile and completed it in twenty minutes.

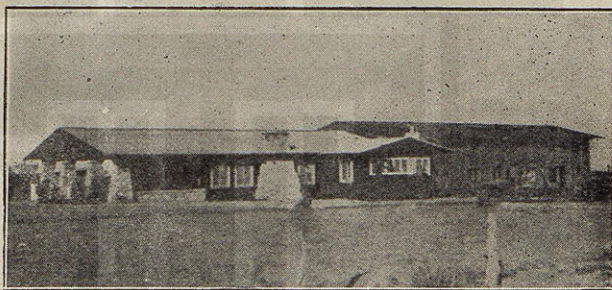
A complete modern steam laundry is on the ground and soon will be installed at the colony and with it steam for the dairy and the laundry. This steam will supply power to generate electricity to light the houses and power for the printing plant, the planing mill, window, sash and door mill, the shoe machinery and all other appliances.

One lime kiln is running and another of a more modern type has just been completed. These will furnish material for the brick machine and the power mixer. With the white Roman cement bricks made at this plant on the colony land, the permanent houses in the colony will be built, including the large administration building that is projected.

The Clubhouse

The colonists have built a large clubhouse—50x150 feet, and in this building most of the single men are housed. Families are housed in small wooden bungalows and California tent houses and at ranch houses where ranches have been purchased. The building of the beautiful white bungalows with red and green tiles will relieve the situation and enable the colonists to more comfortably house the incoming members.


*The Clubhouse
and
New Dormitory*




The clubhouse forms the civic and social center at this time. In the large assembly hall, 50x50 feet square, the dances are held and here the children have their dancing classes.

The Saturday night dances attract young people from all over the valley and have done much to popularize the colony with the younger set of the district.

The United States Government has recognized the importance of the colony and Llano postoffice has been allowed and a postmaster has been appointed.

The Big Rock Creek Irrigation District has been established and at an election of the district recently held, five members of the colony were elected directors and other members were elected tax assessor and tax collector and treasurer. Thus the first election held in that part of the valley saw a clean sweep for the colonists, who elected every officer on the ticket.

The Llano del Rio Public Library is supported by the county and state and there will ultimately be several thousand books contributed to this department.

An expert, formerly in charge of important departments of the Canadian fisheries, will have charge of the colonist trout fishery. The hatchery will be situated at the Luckel Camp, where the colony will also establish its motion picture factory. The studio will be near the industrial center of the valley.

The foregoing is but a brief outline of the achievements of seven months. Such progress is being made in all departments and divi-



*Romantic Scenery
near the
Fish Hatchery*

sions that news grows stale in the printing. Colonists are joining daily and it is believed the thousand memberships will be taken before the end of the year. The white city will be the most unique and beautiful in the world. It will house 6,000 persons.

If you think this is an exaggeration in any way, that a miracle has not been wrought in this valley, the colonists will do their best to convince you. You are invited to be their guest and to see for yourself.

How to Become a Colonist

An application is made for 750 shares of stock at \$1.00 per share, accompanied by a remittance of \$10.00. If application is rejected, the money will be returned promptly. If accepted, the applicant will be enrolled as an installment member of the Colony, to pay at least \$10.00 per month, and a contract will be executed providing for continuous employment at \$4.00 per day of eight hours' work, to take effect when \$750.00 shall have been paid.

The contracts provide that in addition to the \$750 to be paid in cash \$1750 shall be paid in labor by deducting \$1 per day, or more if desired by the colonist, from the \$4 daily wage, for which the colonist receives 1250 additional shares of the capital stock, at the par value of \$1.00 per share, and a deed to a lot 50 x 100 feet, with a residence to be erected thereon.

The Company will not sell any one person more than 2,000 shares of stock. Ninety days grace will be allowed if for any reason the applicant should not be able to make any payment when due.

The cost of food, clothing and any private service, or materials, is deducted from the wages, and any surplus over and above the cost of living and the amount applied on the membership accumulates to the credit of the member, to be paid in money out of the surplus profits of the Colony. In addition to supplies purchased and services rendered by the Colony, each member, should they so desire, may draw as much as \$75.00 per year in cash to be used outside of the Colony.

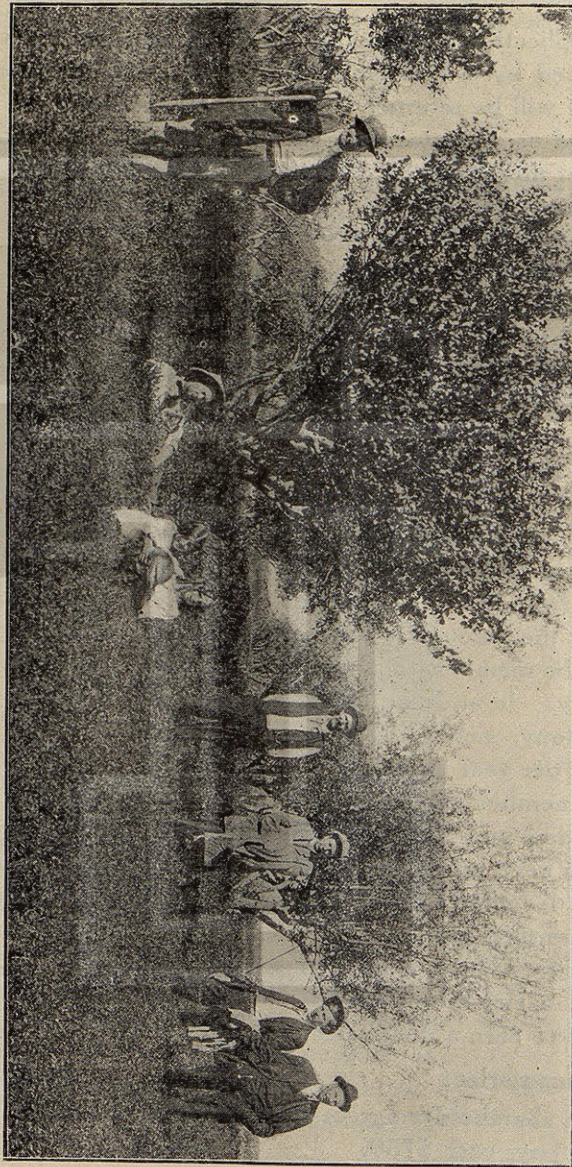
Any member desiring board at the Colony Club is charged 75 cents per day, and the amount is deducted from his wages. Members desiring to keep house secure their supplies at the commissary and the amount is deducted from their wages. Children large enough to work will be furnished employment when they and their parents desire, at wages commensurate with their services, and the amount is credited to the account of their parents. In this way it is possible for children to be able to earn a membership in the Colony.

To summarize:

Each shareholder agrees to buy 2,000 shares

Each pays cash \$750.

Each pays in labor \$1,750.



In a Colony Orchard. Some of the Pioneers

How to become a Colonist
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Each receives a daily wage of \$4.

Deferred payments are made by deducting \$1 from the daily wage.

Out of the remaining \$3 a day, the colonist gets the necessities and comforts of life.

The balance remaining to the individual credit of the colonist may be drawn in cash out of the surplus profits of the enterprise.

A certain agreed per cent in cash may be drawn during each year.

Continuous employment is guaranteed.

Provisions are made for vacations at the option of the colonist.

Each member holds an equal number of shares of stock as every other shareholder.

Each member receives the same wage as every other member.

All payments—cash, drafts, checks and money orders—must be made payable to Llano del Rio Company. Not responsible for payments made otherwise.

Co-operation a Necessity

No co-operative enterprise that has ever been launched has failed.

Every effort at communal ownership has been of value

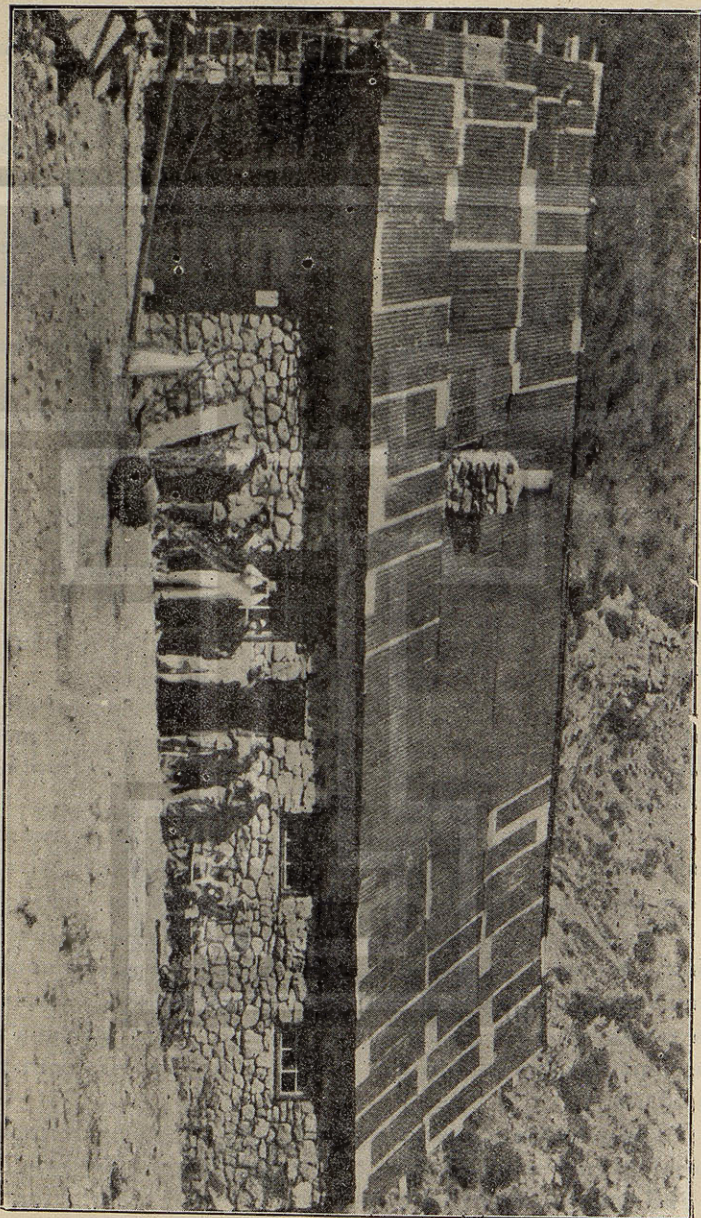
Each attempt to solve the problem of collective ownership has proven a valuable addition to the sum total of knowledge on this important subject.

Co-operation finds friends most readily among persons educated along lines of understanding of the great radical movement of the world. A contributor to the Western Comrade in writing on the urgent need of co-operation says:

"For the mass of working people the problem grows ever more serious as they are driven near to or even over the line of subsistence and are threatened by the imminence of poverty and dire want.

"The social reasons for co-operation are no less urgent and compelling. Along with the growth of democratic institutions, there is an increasing demand for men and women with the Social instinct. Such workers are in demand everywhere to build up the state that is to be and to guide aright the efforts of the people to manage their own affairs. * * *

"The growing demand for social service, the development of a sense of human solidarity and the recognition of the value of associative and community effort constitute the social reasons for the notice co-operation is attracting."



Trout Hatchery in Big Rock Canyon. 60,000 trout were hatched in the first installment.
The motion-picture factory will be established here.

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The Officers of the Company

The officers of the Llano del Rio Company are as follows:

PRESIDENT, JOB HARRIMAN, attorney, for thirty years a prominent leader in the Socialist and labor movement of America.

VICE-PRESIDENT, FRANK P. McMAHON, former president of Los Angeles Central Labor Council (two terms); former president Los Angeles County Building Trades Council; president Labor Temple Association (two years); secretary Los Angeles Bricklayers' Union for five years; former president of California State Conference of Bricklayers and 27 years in trade union and Socialist movements.

TREASURER, A. F. SNELL, cashier of First National Bank of El Monte, California. For twenty years a Socialist.

SECRETARY, G. P. McCORKLE, a banker of 20 years' experience and a Socialist of several years' standing. Has charge of books and accounting system of the colony and city office.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY, FRANK E. WOLFE, editor. First editor of California Social-Democrat; many years' experience as editor daily newspapers; Socialist writer and playwright. Former member National Committee Socialist Party. Present editor Western Comrade and in charge of publicity and correspondence department of colony.

DIRECTORS: W. A. ENGLE, former president Los Angeles Central Labor Council and secretary-treasurer of that body for five years. Formerly vice-president of California State Federation of Labor. Has been for many years active in Labor organizations and Socialist movement.

L. A. COOKE, architect of wide experience in group planning on large scale. State licensed architect. Had extensive training in European centers. Has built many of highest class residences of Pasadena and Santa Barbara. Has charge of building operations at the colony. A Socialist and student of long standing.

D. J. WILSON, for 25 years in flour mill and mercantile business. Took a prominent part in labor movement in New York in early 80's as organizer of Knights of Labor. Has been a Socialist since 1896. He now has charge of purchasing and real estate department.

W. S. ANDERSON, formerly a locomotive engineer and member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Has had much experience in farming in the East and has been ranching in California ten years, where he has been most successful. Thoroughly understands agriculture and stock raising. Has been a Socialist for many years. He has taken out a membership in Llano del Rio Colony for five members of his family.

Your Gateway to Freedom

Are you tired of the struggle in the cut-throat competitive system? Have you fought long enough in the uneven and all but hopeless battle?

Are you not ready now to join forces with these comrades, the men and women who have gone into this co-operative movement with the determination of making a collective effort to reach the goal of freedom and happiness and to show the world the possibilities and desirability of co-operative action?

Nearly all the desirable land in America has been seized. Almost all the water rights are held by the greedy capitalist.

Here is almost the last remaining chance for an opportunity where the land is cheap and the water plentiful.

The colonists have secured an abundance of water and land, and can secure more land, as their control of the water gives them a commanding position in their district.

This land and water need but the application of human energy to develop a principality in the beautiful Antelope valley. It may be the last opportunity of the sort ever given to the workers of America.

But a limited number of memberships in the colony will be available.

Do you want to secure a membership now and plan to join us as early as possible?

Write today and tell us your age and occupation. Do not allow any small or imagined obstacle to stand in your way. We may be able to assist you.

Don't delay. The step you take today may be the opening of the gateway to your freedom.

Address your communication to

The Llano del Rio Company

C. V. Eggleston Co., Fiscal Agents

924 Higgins Building, Los Angeles, California

All Payments—checks, cash, and money orders—must be made to the Llano del Rio Company. Not responsible for payments made otherwise.

File

The Western Comrade

Devoted to the cause of The Workers. It stands for co-operation, direct action and political action. Its ideas of co-operation are not to deal in abstractions, but to get into action and demonstrate what can be achieved by determined workers.

This monthly magazine is illustrated by the use of pictures that make people think. It has for contributors some of the keenest writers on economic and industrial problems. It is brimful of good stories, red hot squibs, fiction, poetry and art.

To keep posted on the rapid strides made at Llano del Rio you should subscribe for *The Western Comrade* which is owned by the colonists, and contains an illustrated story of the development of this great enterprise.

The Western Comrade

924 Higgins Building, Los Angeles, Cal.

Send Your Subscription Today

One Dollar a Year

Clara Bowen - Sugarland Texas.

1909.

SOCIALISM

By

**P. G. Zimmerman, Organizer Socialist
Party of Jones County**

Anson, Texas.

Price, 25c.

C. E. Boever.

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Texas.

Socialism

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SOCIALISM means the country for the people. It means the making of a thing for use instead of for profit. It believes that the God-given mission of the machine was to lighten the burden of the labor-world and not to enable a certain class to accumulate riches beyond the dreams of avarice. It does not believe that it is right that ten men should toil and deny themselves and families, that one man may live in luxury and indulge his family. It does not believe it is right for one man to create wealth while the second, third and fourth live off that which he has created. It believes that common sense will teach any man that for a thing to be publicly used, demands that it should be publicly owned. And having been taught by reason and common sense, the Socialists demand the public ownership of the means of production and distribution.

Capitalism believes in trusts, combination and consolidation as the means of wringing profits from those who with hungry stomachs, weary backs and aching hearts, produce the whole of the world's wealth.

Capitalism, by developing and consolidating the social machines, have made it possible to create the whole world's

wealth at a cost of less than one-fifth the value of the whole product when created. The creators of this wealth are paid the one-fifth of their product back as wages, and these wages not being sufficient to buy back but a small portion of the wealth by labor created, forces our economic masters to seek foreign markets for their exploited products, and forces the laboring masses to deny themselves and their little ones of the things that little wages cannot buy, and while capitalism, in order to gain a market for these products, is instigating the destruction of a battle ship at Havanna and fanning the patriotism of America into a fevered heat, through the medium of her press. I see economic slaves rising up in the name of God and humanity, marching into foreign lands, and with the sword and flame I see them pulling down upon the brow of their fellow sufferers the iron crown of Slavery. Our capitalist masters know that the sons of America are noble hearted and brave. They know that there is an inherent desire in their hearts to help the weak and down trodden, and for this reason they appeal to us in the name of suffering humanity.

And with a noble intention we rally around their false standards, and in the name of freedom and equality proceed to perpetuate on earth a Hell of economic bondage.

Capitalism pretends to believe that Capital is the greatest essential to the creation of wealth. And that it has done more to develop the country than all else. This is a right nice guise for the old corpse to shroud itself in, but any man filled with half the spirit of investigation that animated the heart of the apostle Thomas will readily see through it.

Capitalism works for profit, and profit is its capital. All profits rightly considered represent unpaid labor. It is actually the other four fifths that justly and rightly belongs

to the laborer. It is wealth that is forfeited, the

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to the labor that produced it, and which has been wrongfully, immorally, and legally stolen from those who have created it. A thing can not of right be worth more than the cost of producing and distributing it. All the additions of price to a thing after its creation is but the legislating of pauperism. It is wealth taken which leaves no equivalent behind it. It is forfeits, the father of poverty.

Life was once an individualistic affair, and the machines of production and distribution were rude and simple and were operated by each individual. Under these primitive conditions Socialized ownership would have been impractical and impossible. A whole nation of people could not have rode in and operated the same mule cart, nor could they have driven shoe pegs with the same hammer. But still even then the means of production and distribution were carried on by the whole people, for the reason that the machines were equally distributed among the whole people.

The mule car had not then become a train of reclining chairs; the peg hammer was not then a massive shoe factory, and if they had of been, what primitive individual was there who lived then who could have individually owned, controlled and operated the car? What one of these ancient fellows could have put a modern shoe factory under his kitchen table!

The very nature of the machine is Social. The inventions in steam and other things have forced us from an independent to an interdependent mode of living. Everything, from the cradle in which we are rocked to the nails in our coffins are today made by a machine.

We eat bread, drink whisky, chew tobacco, smoke cigars, wear clothes and actually walk, talk, sing, whistle, ride, see and hear by the machine. The machines have come in between us and the natural resources of the earth. Their mis-

sion is to aid man in developing and appropriating those resources. And since these machines are not the product of any one age, nor any one man, or race of men, but are the product of all past ages and races, they then very naturally become the inheritance of all men.

If the rights of life and the pursuits of happiness are among the enalienable rights of man, then to be sure the rights to the means of life and happiness are also inalienable, and to be sure if the machines (the means to life and happiness) are owned and controlled by capitalists, our lives will become controlled by these men, and we will be no more than slaves. Capitalism has about finished its course. Competition is in its death agony and cannot be maintained much longer. The trusts foretell the final collapse of Capitalism, as well as the triumph of Socialism. In the organization of the first trust was laid the foundation of the Socialist cooperative commonwealth. And the only trust which can live in the future is a national trust in which every citizen is a member. In the course of time all countries will become as trust-ridden as the United States, and then the pyramids that capitalism have built will totter and fall.

The Socialists are those who believe that they can see this tragic termination of Capitalism and who desire to avert it, and who as a means to this end, propose the cooperative commonwealth.

Socialism is a substitution of the cooperative principles instead of those of competition. We have already tried some of these principals, for instance, the post office. The post office being a public utility, is owned and operated by the public, and we can send a letter to New York for two cents, and if it was individually owned and controlled it would cost us a dollar and a half. If the mails were trans-

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ported upon the competitive plan, the writing of letters would become only a luxury in reach of the rich. Yet the mails are no more a public utility than are the tram ways, railroads, steam ships, telegraph lines, canals, factories, and many other things that through the competitive system have proved a curse instead of a blessing to the masses.

Capitalism means cooperation, trusts, and combinations for the mutual benefit and enrichment of the few. Socialism means cooperation for the mutual benefit of all.

Today the nation owns the ships of the navy, the forts, arsenals, public buildings, government factories and some other buildings. Today the government for the people makes some of the clothes and arms for the navy and army, builds some war ships, and oversees the prisoners and schools. Socialists want the people to own all the buildings, factories, lands, rivers, ships, schools, machines, and goods, and to manage all their business and work, and to buy and sell and make and use all goods for themselves. Socialists want all the gas and water supplied to the cities, as in Glasgcow and Manchester. Socialism is an extention of the various corporation and civil service. There is nothing in Socialism to destroy a home, and there is nothing in it to foster vice, but there is something in it to kill ignorance and to destroy vice. There is something in it to close the jails, do away with prostitution, reduce crime and drunkenness, and to wipe out the slums and sweat shops, and banish forever from our vocabulary that abomnable English phrase: "the deserving poor." There is something in it to eliminate the beggar, and the idle fop, the useless fine ladies and lazy lords. There is something in it to make it possible for willing and honest workers to live honest, happy, and honorable lives. We live today in a machine age, and the queen of this age is capital, and if

capital wishes to be loved and honored by the American people let her place her machines at the disposal of all the people. Let her mission be to emancipate and not to enslave. Not until that glad day will the genius of the inventor and mechanic have served its mission on earth, and the world have been blessed. Let us give labor an interest in the machine. Drive it not to its heartless task with the wreaking lash of hunger and cold. Make the interests of all men the same that their hearts may be the same also. On that glad day the sons of men shall labor in joy. On that day the temples that labor has builded at last shall protect her from the storm. The smoke stacks and the walls of the factory will not then be looked upon as the towers and gloomy columns of a prison. It will cease to be a place where armies of poor condemned wage-slaves continually toil for the enrichment of their keeper. The Egyptian task masters will have ceased to sing to the slaves from Israel. And the whirr of cog and the buzz of band will be to the ear of toil as sweet music, and for the first time in the world's history we will have learned the mission of the machine.

Socialism is love because it is life, and to live is to love. Socialism is progress because to live is to grow. Socialism is radical and among the stagnant ponds of society it creates an unrest. It is natural for it to do so. Life never moves upon the mountain top without creating a commotion in the valley of dry bones. Life is a separation from that which is old, and a development for that which is new, for a thing to be in harmony with that which is old, must itself be old. And for a thing to be in harmony with the laws that matured and developed the new, the thing must of itself be new. The spirit of Christ was the spirit of progress. If socialism had not been live enough, good enough, and true enough, to excite the

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contempt of fools, and the derision of the vulgar, I for one should have considered it worthless, and would never have espoused it, for until a man or a cause has excited the enmity of the established order, that man or that cause likes the best proof of his or its truth and sincerity. Suppose the ideas of Plato, Galileo, Newton, Capernacus, Harvey, Servatus, Mosart, Morse, Stevenson, and Edison, had all been in accord with the ignorance of the age in which they lived, where would the world have been to day. Suppose that Dermont were to listen to those who to day are declaring the impossibility of air navigation. When would the world have a successful air ship?

The truth has always been radical. Its messages have ever been startling. It was so in the time of Columbus, in the time of Christ and in the time of Socratese. The most common inventions and the simplest discoveries have in their time been shrouded in mystery and considered impossible. In consideration of these facts what can Socialists expect but to meet with ridicule and contempt, for it to be otherwise would be proof that Socialism was rotten and worthless.

Love has never built an ark of bullrushes and set it adrift in the Nile, but there were in waiting human hands anxious to devour the precious cargo. Truth and justice descending from the stars has never met anything but the brutality of the world. Wisdom and intelligence have ever been flowers to adorn a cross or a dungeon. But thanks be to God that the love that was strong enough to fashion the ark, was also strong enough to ride upon the waves lest they over-power it. And I am glad that truth's sweet aroma irresistably rising from the caves and prisons of earth has so eternally and indelibly imprinted itself upon the conscience of men that it can never be erased. You might as well try to stop the

sun as try to stop the growth of Socialism. It comes up like the rosy dawn. Ignorance, superstition, avarice and tyranny like the foul mists of a mirky marsh, flee away before its brilliant beams of penetrating light. The world is waking up. The transition is here. The poor children whom God turned adrift by the ancient Euphrates are wandering safe home again. An ark is descending the Nile and a babies voice is heard. The golden beams which now but faintly kiss the top of the pyramids are destined to descend until they dazzle the world with light.

Socialism comes to take its place in the natural development of civilization. Cooperation is bound to describe the next stage of human development. The departure from old customs and traditions foretell it. Crumbling thrones demand it. All the different systems of worlds wheeling through space are whispering harmony is sweet, and love is law. Socialism is harmony, Socialism is love, Socialism is practical because love and brotherhood are practical. The only place where Socialism is not practical is where there is no love and, the only place that love will not stay is in the hearts of tyrants, butchers, extortioners, bigots, demagogues and usurers.

Socialism is not a church or religious organization, but it is a political organization that is in perfect harmony with christianity. Jeffersonian Republicanism was not a religious organization, yet what saint or sinner but says that it was good and can goodness and christianity be adverse? I think not. Socialism is christianity applied. Its ultimate is the golden rule, or equality of opportunity and justice to the whole human race. And since these principals are the same as advocated by the carpenters son, it becomes hard for me to think upon them, or write about them without getting Christs name mixed up in them. In fact it is hard for us to have kind

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thought or to say sweet loving words without the memory of this man stealing into them and shedding a kindly influence upon them. The spirit of Christ, or the memory of Christ, seems to like to get into good things, and Socialism does not try to keep it out, and I am glad of it. Socialism would stay the hand of the tyrant and make unnecessary the flight into Egypt. It would light up the dark and gloomy stable, put warmth and comfort in the manger so that the sons of God and brothers of Christ could be born heirs to the worlds pleasure and not slaves to its degredation and misery.

Let the blossoms of love and truth adorn our own firesides. Give them a place in our homes. Drive them not into the wilds and caves of the earth, save them from the dungeon, the stake, and the cross. This is some of the work of Socialism and it is good and Christ-like—it is grand.

Now the writer of this article does not claim to be an incarnation of the Christ spirit, nor does he lay claim to a very large per cent of the virtues of that man. But there are times when he (like others) can partially bury the hatchet, put away prejudice and strife and live a little more in love, and it is at such times that he finds himself in closest touch with the Socialist doctrine, and I believe that if the spirit of Christ is in any one thing on earth, that thing is the Socialist movement. Christ lies not in the cold manger at Bethlehem but nestles in the warm folds of the human heart, and in whatever heart his spirit dwells, love, justice and brotherhood abound. And though the tyrants may seek to kill the vulgar, deride the proud disdain, still those universal prerogatives of God shall burst forth from that heart and shall shine on for the

uplifting and ennoblement of man.

I shall not reflect upon Christianity because I believe it to be beyond the criticism of man. I believe that christianity or Godliness is forgiving, loving, and merciful in all its relations with men. It does not seek to rule by force; nor does it hate that which it cannot rule by love. It comes to man in the hour of temptation, and blesses him on the evening of reflection. The messages that it brings are always those of peace. It appeals to the God within him—to his liberality, to his better self. It seeks to become the language of his soul and to make its wishes his ideals. Its loudest words are loving deeds. It is not vain nor puffed up. It seeks not to be seen or heard, but to be felt and loved. Under its gentle influence the soul of man is lifted up and becomes superior to his physical nature. He rises above the storms, enmities, and hatreds of this life and lives in close communion with God, and is at peace with his fellow-man.

I hold that religion and politics are not two distinct and separate forces, but are only different manifestations of the same force and that Christianity is that underlying principal, that universal law of love, the salt of the earth, and when it is found in politics they are good politics; and when in religion it is good religion. It acts upon society like leaven in bread. Christianity, in order to be Christianity, is not compelled to appear in the garb of religion. It might be a man's religion to gamble, rob and steal, but such men could hardly be called christians, nor such conduct Christianity. Christianity is uplifting and it matters not what a man's avocation in life may be his christianity will display itself in that avocation. If he is a politician he will be seen no less in his politics than in his religion. I believe that a great deal more Christianity

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can be shown in a good political policy than in a bad religious policy, and contemptable indeed is the political policy that is not worthy of being advocated from the pulpit. And the politician upon the stump who sulks and does not show his colors concerning God, is not worthy of the lowest office within the gift of his country, and the depravity of such a man is only out-stripped by the hypocrite "the whited sepulcher" who pretends to love God along the most popular lines, and who uses Christianity as a cloak under which to practice all the inventions of hell.

Now I am aware that there are many men who differ with me, or who pretend to differ with me in regard to the meaning of Christianity—they are those who believe Christ to be a fiend, a murderer, one who glories in human wretchedness and misery, one who is never so well pleased as when he looks down on this planet and sees great armies marching in his name, cutting each other's throats, laying to waste peaceful villages, and desecrating the fire-sides of the world. They actually believe that the spirit of the humble Christ must conquer the world on a powder cart and believing this the different religious sects train up their followers in the arts of war, send them forth in God's name to murder. The modern religionists hoot at the Jews, and say that the fools thought that Christ's was to be a temporal kingdom, and was to be set up by physical force, and at the same time the efforts of all the different religions to consummate that kingdom have in the past nineteen hundred years been in perfect accord with that blunder of the Jews. Down from the remotest ages echoes the tramp of armies. I behold the glare of ten thousand burning cities, the mournful wails of the weeping millions die unheeded beneath the pitiless sky. The gory banners stream, the

swords drip with innocent blood and above all the wreck and ruin, in letters of blood, I read this inscription: "In the name of our God." The history of the world is a conflict of religions and in such conflicts Christ can have no part. It was to still this tempest that Christ came to the earth, and was by the religionists put to death. Religion has always been and is today the greatest enemy of Christianity. If religion was Christianity there could be no war and the world would be at peace. There is as much difference in religion and christianity as there is in politics and good government. The Choctaw, the Eskimo and the Hottentot all have religions, but have they they the spirit of Christ? Constantine and the early fathers of the Christian church would not have had any use for christianity had it been of such a nature as to prevent their using it to support their infamous institutions. Constantine merely reorganized his old paganism and gave to it the name of christianity. The things against which Christ led his crusade still went on, the difference being that before they came they were practiced without his name, and since he has gone they have been practiced in his name, and if anything the storms have been more fierce and the days more dark than ever before. Religious zealots, demagogues and fanatics have in the name of Christ ascended the stations of power and cast the world into outer darkness; these storms breaking forth in the days of Luther, again and again swept over Europe, devastating and saddening the land. Their savage mutterings were heard in the rattling chains and the flames of the inquisition. And in the conquest of Mexico and Peru, even quite recently, the armies of the United States have in the name of God and humanity been spreading the religion of sword and flame. Religious hosts led by fiends go to war,

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and Christianity in horror cries out against it. The conflict of religions is heartless; it is uncompromising. There is no place so holy but it will enter and leave its slimy track. There is no act of violence, no deed of infamy to which it will not stoop. There is no love so pure, or life so noble but it will confine in a dungeon or consume with flame. There is no hell so black as it has made—there is no loving Jesus but it has crucified.

In the conflict of religions the commands of God are as vain as the cry of a goose. And of what use is mercy and love on a battle field where men at any moment may rise up to cut each others throats? It is these cold, heartless conditions to which Socialism is opposed and it is preposterous to say that in opposing these things that it opposes Christianity. Socialism does not seek to tear down but to build up. It does not wish to take people out of the churches, but wishes to make practical the truths that are taught in them. The mission of every church is (or should be) to get people to be good. The mission of Socialism is to make it so that people can be good. "Make me good and I will be happy," is a very true saying, but "make me happy and I will be good," is still better.

I am not much in accord with the idea of sleeping upon a wood pile in this world in order that we may the more appreciate the feather beds in the next. I am not willing to withhold hunger needed morsel, and lay a staggering load upon the backs of humanity in order to cause them to yearn for and strive to reach a place where such infamies do not exist. I believe that the more soft the beds on which we sleep,

the sweeter and brighter will be our dreams and the sweeter and brighter will be our lives and the lives of those around us. God would have it so, and Socialism would have it so. We should have it so that for a man to keep out of hell, he would not be forced to take the pit next to the place. If I have a soul in this world I must have a body, the soul to be a soul must have root in the earth, and we cannot have a great soul if we starve the body, and on the day when men shall save the poor bodies of men, God will save their souls, and not until then. God created the world and in it he placed all the requirements of life and happiness. On the other hand God created a race of people who were to live by developing and appropriating that worlds resources. And since it is necessary in order for a man to live that he have access to the means of life, it becomes also necessary that he have access to that in which those means are confined. It is not necessary to the happiness of the people that a few money kings buy up the earths resources, and by controlling the means of life and happiness force the great mass of the people to labor for a mere pittance. This system is only necessary to the enslavement and degradation of God's children, and Socialists realize that it is the case; hence, they propose to organize the whole of society upon a systematic, cooperative plan and to economically and thoroughly develop the worlds resources and justly and rightly to distribute its products. The bringing about of such conditions cannot but help find a response in every christian heart and to enlist the service of every industrious, honest and energetic man or woman, while at the same time it is bound to excite the enmity of the ignorant and lazy.

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the drunkard, thieves, libertines, swindlers, blackmailers, hoboes, gamblers, interest mongers and tyrants, it would not meet with the opposition that it does. Socialism stands for the elimination of such interests, and for this reason she numbers her bitterest enemies from among the above named classes.

In reference to freedom this is no peculiar age. In all ages and countries the dark clouds of despotism have gathered. The insidious forces that tend to destroy equality and liberty have ever crept forward. In the days of Caesar, Napoleon, Washington and Lincoln, it was so. Why should it not be so today? The people of Boston once beheld with consternation the British ships of war that darkened her seas. Why should the people today not shudder at the onslaught of capitalism and monopolistic greed, when we see the very souls of men and women being coined into gold and on our horizon behold the lowering clouds of economic slavery, why should we not feel that a crisis is coming? Why should we not remonstrate with a tyrant or petition a king? Are not these the natural outbursts of a wronged and angered people? Is it the part of wise men to smother their convictions and cover up danger. Who that loves the old ship but would seek to point out the brakers and guide it through the fury of the storm. The real traitors are those who speak not. If a hostile army was marching through our border, capturing and condemning our men to a life of bondage, as soon as the country was aroused and enlightened, it would meet the foe and he would be vanquished. Today capitalism stalks abroad in our land, clad in the funeral rags of the competitive system. A hundred standing armies stand ready to charge at

her command. She feasts not off the strong alone, but under her rigid discipline little children never learn to laugh. Millions of women are forced into trenches and sweat shops and compelled to compete with negroes, Chinese, brothers, sisters and even their own offspring for an opportunity to live. Capitalism knows no love except the almighty dollar, no standard of morality except that of wealth. It knows no virtue upon which it has not set a price, it gives no alms without strong securities. The profit system is the father of lies, adulterated foods and drinks. It is the despoiler of homes and fire sides. It has driven seven million American people shelterless to live beneath the open sky, and fifty-three million to live in homes not their own. Under the hallowed influence of this divine system we have almost forgotten the old song: "O, Where is my Wandering Boy Tonight," but we have learned another a thousand times more forlorn, and filled with more wierd and melancholly beauty, and it begins like this: "O Where is my wandering girl to night." Fifty thousand of them are in the city of New York to night. Five hundred thousand more of them are scattered abroad over a divinely appointed government that has licensed them to run public houses, and you might say like wise licensed preachers to tell them and all the rest of the people the evils of prostitution.

It is not against the day of ignorance that I would warn the powers that be. If the sons of America were the offsprings of idiots, imbeciles and fools, there would be no need of warning. Slavery could last forever. It is against that day of intelligent awakening that I would warn them. Capitalism in a persistent effort to force upon an intelligent people all its train of evils is sure at some time to meet with re-

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sentment, and it is this that Socialists fear and seek to avert. It may be too late when the people are heard in the streets crying, "No more bastille, no more bastille!"

Bring the Flowers Today, or, the Soul of Socialism.

How can my cold and palid brow
 Feel the kisses when I'm dead—
 How can my dull and clammy ear
 Catch the loving words that are said?

How can I see, when I'm asleep
 And my spirit gone to rest—
 The eyes that or'e me tenderly weep
 Fold my hands upon my breast?

How will I know that some loving hand
 Has stolen a lock of my hair?
 How can my cold, chilly heart expand
 To the token of love given there?

Will I know when my friends shall come
 And quietly sitting within my room
 Shall whisper of some loving deed I've done
 That lifted from their heart the gloom?

How can I feel the joys that come
 When kind, loving words are said—
 When the temple of my soul is vacant and dumb
 And all that can be enraptured has fled?

How can I breath the sweet-sented flowers
 That on my bosom are laid?
 Oh! how can roses brighten death's bowers
 When life has its exile made?

Let us bestow our gifts upon the living
 And banish hollow forms from the funeral day,
 For of what avail is all our giving
 To the hideous temples of inanimate clay?

'Tis sweet to honor those gone home,
 By living tributes to their memory bestowed.
 But sweeter still to help those who roam
 And need our solace along life's road.

How oft to soothe our conscience,
 And kill the burning sense of wrong
 We loudly prate of the virtue and patience
 Of our fellow-men when they are gone.

Ye Gods! how small must be the conscience
 That would relieve itself with a tear
 And offer the dead such rotten incense
 In return for abusings here.

Brave Bruno we consumed with flame,
 Socratese with prison's dark cell;
 And no tribute of praise can hide our shame,
 Our ignorance and our infamy known too well.

And until we have quenched the relentless fires
 And opened with mercy the door of the cell,
 Our tributes of praise and memorial piles
 Are but the savage guildings of hell.

Scatter the blossoms on the graves of the living
 Is the gospel of love I would preach.
 Don't wait to give them by hopelessly grieving
 When flowers of love stand thick on the beach.

What is the value of a goodly deed
 Unless it help some one yet living,
 For when we die we escape all need
 And are dumb unto gifts and grieving.

So let's gather flowers for souls not fled,
 Whose bodies are toiling along the way.
 The only way we can garland the dead
 Is to cover the living with flowers today.

Spoils the Home.

On the 22nd day of last May the Stamford News contained an article entitled "Socialism." It was evidently intended as an attack upon the Socialist party, but in reality it was only a feint against what the writer supposed to be Socialism. On the perusal of this article I could not help but be struck with the profound valor with which its writer displays his ignorance of economic conditions and of the Socialist philosophy, the absurdity of which is only excelled by this same writer's opinion of what it takes to make a Christian civilization, and of what rights we should term as Sacred, to one inclined to a sarcastic view of things. This ultimatum of the News might be compared to the goose cackle that saved the city of Rome. We not only find the writer of this crucifixion of Socialism complaining that we attack the fundamental principles of his Christian civilization but also that we strike at his sacred rights of property and that the distinction of the sex will be lost and the home destroyed, and after a close summing up of this Socialist Waterloo, we find the total of its argument to be, that in any community where Socialism shall prosper to any great extent, its baleful effects will be such as to cause the Socialists themselves to rise up and suppress it. Now had those accusations come from men like Gladstone, Wallace, Huxley and others, they would no doubt have been accompanied by proof sufficient to have sustained them, and if not, they would have at least had the honor of coming from men not inferior to the fathers of Socialism. But for such an unknown quantity as the "Stamford News" to ruffle its feathers and fly right into the teeth of the cyclone sitting in judgement on, and condemning the ideas of a Marx, an Ingels or a Liebknecht,

makes a picture that is embarrassingly grotesque. Not in the hyperbole of Mark Twain, Dosticks, or even the undaunted Barron Munchauson do we find its equal. The News stands alone. Now if the Stamford News knows that Socialism is wrong, that knowledge came by a careful investigation. There have been certain facts deduced from the history of our race which prove its immorality and impracticability, and justifies these accusations. We call on the News to display those facts. We are anxious to see them that we may arrive at a correct conclusion of the matter. And if they are not given we will be free to conclude that the News has fallen into a position that neither its intelligence or its reason can defend.

Now we do not wish to be harsh or insulting, but the slurs and ridicule to which the Socialists are daily subjected are such as to demand a reply, clothed in a spirit of unmistakable plainness. We hold no ill will toward anything except what we believe to be erroneous ideas, and have cited the News article merely to show how little the average mind knows of the Socialist sentiment and the significance of the movement. We do not wish to personate, and if we did, the worst thing we could say of the editor of the News is that we like him very much and have always found him a kind and good man. But as all men in assuming any position concerning anything, are apt to get up against things they know nothing about, so we feel it has been thus with the News. And in order to justify our feelings and maintain our position we propose to cite a few facts and make a few comparisons, and in doing so, no doubt, we too, will be brought against things we know nothing about and will be forced to draw our conclusions without consulting some very important items.

Now to the facts: Within the United States are 16,200,000 families, and there are 14,000,000 dwellings. This means that nearly 2,000,000 have no dwelling, no home. But listen! Still within the same census, the net profits made by the owners of the great sacred machines of production was \$1,800,000 000. This means \$1,000 for each family. Under Socialism that one thousand dollars per family would be used to build one thousand cottages, and this would hurt the people who already have homes. Is it possible that a christian can not enjoy a warm bed without some poor wretch is shivering on his door step? Is it possible that food is never so sweet to him as when he knows some one is starving on the street? Are these the conditions that are essential to christian happiness? Again, out of 14,000,000 dwellings, 8,000,000 families live in rented houses, and 2,000,000 in houses that are mortgaged. Would you call a rented or mortgaged house a home? I think not, yet it is the only kind that 12,000,000 families—60,000,000 persons, know. So after one hundred years of stupendous prosperity, we find that 75 per cent of the population are living in rented or mortgaged homes, and are ready to thank God that we are no more prosperous than what we are. These are some of the abominable fruits of capitalism, the great home-destroyer. And this infernal system is the one that the News sees fit to uphold. This old emaciated, mortgaged, shackled home, the one that trembles lest Socialism destroy. These are the malicious principles that it sees fit to clothe in the garb of sacred rights, and complain that we attack them.

Socialists are opposed to the profit system. They are opposed to that system which robs the producer of five-sixths of his product. And they propose to maintain their position


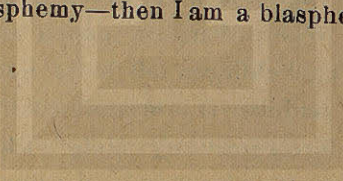
with facts and figures, and not by a catalogue of accusations or puerile assertions. If our conservative friends wish to attack Socialism, why do they not take our platform, single out just one item and show where it is wrong, and why Socialism is a menace to society. If such is the case they shirk their duty in not disclosing it to the public.

The News speaks of christian countries and the principles that have governed in those countries. If by the term Christian countries, it means the constant care of every man, woman and child, how they may best serve each other, and do each other the least possible injury, we might locate one of the greatest christian countries in the north of British America among the Eskimo. But if it means a country where the constant care of every man is how he may best injure his fellow man and escape the penitentiary, it means a country where negroes and hobos can vote and women can not, and where preachers and prostitutes do business without license—where we have a man in congress with three wives and a thousand in the penitentiary for having two wives. It means a country where congressmen get drunk and engage in muscular interview. Where senators punch each others faces and where the school children tell more lies on an average than a Hindoo or Buddhist. If it means a country that sends its missionaries to a foreign country along with a cargo of bad whiskey, and makes long guns and big ships for the purpose of acquiring a market for its exploited products, then of course the heathen Eskimo are not in it, and it will probably require some time yet to pervert their minds and make them into a thoroughly christian civilization—a civilization in which they may feel the moral influence of polygamy and the divorce laws, and learn 40,000 new curse words and prayers, as well as

how to adjust their virtues to the dollar mark and receive their convictions along with their salaries.

No, the traducers of Socialism are continually branding it as anarchy and infidelity, and saying that it will destroy the home. This howl of the Stamford News is no new thing. It's a piece of the same old rot that has gone the rounds in Europe. It has merely been dressed up in a new robe, but it is a corpse just the same.

Now it is the first element of life, the inherent desire of every man, woman and little child to have a home. And would they if they had the opportunity deny themselves of the blessings of a home? I think not. And Socialism, by protecting every worker in his inalienable rights to the full product of his toil, would provide a means whereby every father and husband would be enabled to provide a home for his family. If to believe that men may live and should live by the sweat of their brow, and their willingness to render unto society good, useful, creative service, and that this service should always be a guarantee to all the pleasures of life. If to believe that a man who renders society no benefit, is entitled to no benefit from society—if to believe such things as these are blasphemy—then I am a blasphemer.



The Bugles' New Song.

How little does it wreck with me
 That the bugles trill of victory—
 Victory gained through blood and strife,
 Since in their jubilant sound
 So many horrors abound
 That banish love from life!

If the nation to arms should call,
 To please a despots whim, must I fall,
 Or struggle in the blood and dust
 Unto deeds that are profane
 For interests that exist in shame
 Am I to follow the bands of lust?

Must we banish freedoms' sweet dreams
 Forever from the sunny Philippines
 And give instead chains and slavery
 Because our comrades one and all
 Have rushed forth at the bugles call
 Dupes to political tricks and knavery?

From brave Cubas' flower-spangled land
 To South Africa and even far off Japan
 Tramp the mighty legends of death
 And even the pretended Christian world
 The missiles of hell are eager to hurl
 That not a vestage of love be left.

O! hasten the day when I shall hear
 No longer the clash of sword and spear
 But with olive garlands adorn my shield
 Honors that come through pain and blood
 And bathe the world in a crimson flood
 Are not the charms to which I yield.

Let's make our motto forever to be
 That love alone can make men free
 And bless the world with a nobler life,
 For surely the works of hell will ever prevail
 And the deeds of love always fail
 While we feed the fires of strife.

So let our battle flags be furled
 That love and mercy may rule the world
 And the hearts of men be one together
 That the bugles of peace may sweetly trill—
 To God all praise, to man good will,
 And let it last forever and ever.

Then at last our hearts shall know
 A home where joys unbounded flow
 Where war's alarms can ne'er assail;
 But where each soul will be free to bloom
 And send forth its richest perfume
 To temper life's ordurous gale.

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" 14

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This my friends is the bugles new song
 Which from day to day, swells more strong—
 Forcing the furies of Mars to cease;
 And as I catch the gleam of this brighter day
 The smoke from the vale is lifted away
 And I hale with joy an endless roll of peace.

ERRATA.

- Page 3** Profits, and not forfeits.
 “ 5 Prisons, and not prisoners.
 “ 14 Helps but find, and not ‘but help find.’
 “ 22 And would this hurt the people who all ready have
 homes, and not ‘this would hurt’
 “ 23 If by the term christian countries, it means a country
 where the constant care of every man, woman and
 child is how they may best serve, etc.
 “ 23 And where it is against the rules for preachers and
 prostitutes to do business without license.

NO. 3

PRICE 5 CENTS

1904

THE
SOCIALIST PARTY
AND THE
WORKING CLASS



By **EUGENE V. DEBS**

OF INDIANA

**CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY FOR
PRESIDENT**

NOTE:—In New York and Wisconsin the Socialist Party is known officially as the Social Democratic Party, and in Minnesota as the Public Ownership Party.

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The Socialist Party and the Working Class

Opening address delivered by

EUGENE V. DEBS

candidate for President of the Socialist Party,
Indianapolis, Ind., September 1, 1904.

Mr. Chairman, Citizens and Comrades:

There has never been a free people, a civilized nation, a real republic on this earth. Human society has always consisted of masters and slaves, and the slaves have always been and are today, the foundation stones of the social fabric.

Wage-labor is but a name; wage-slavery is the fact.

The twenty-five millions of wage-workers in the United States are twenty-five millions of twentieth century slaves.

This is the plain meaning of what is known as

THE LABOR MARKET.

And the labor market follows the capitalist flag.

The most barbarous fact in all Christendom is the labor market. The mere term sufficiently expresses the animalism of commercial civilization.

They who buy and they who sell in the labor market are alike dehumanized by the inhuman traffic in the brains and blood and bones of human beings.

The labor market is the foundation of so-called civilized society. Without these shambles, without this commerce in human life, this sacrifice of manhood and womanhood, this barter of babes, this sale of souls, the capitalist civilizations of all

lands and all climes would crumble to ruin and perish from the earth.

Twenty-five millions of wage-slaves are bought and sold daily at prevailing prices in the American Labor Market.

This is the

PARAMOUNT ISSUE

in the present national campaign.

Let me say at the very threshold of this discussion that the workers have but the one issue in this campaign, the overthrow of the capitalist system and the emancipation of the working class from wage-slavery.

The capitalists may have the tariff, finance, imperialism and other dust-covered and moth-eaten issues entirely to themselves.

The rattle of these relics no longer deceives workingmen whose heads are on their own shoulders.

They know by experience and observation that the gold standard, free silver, fiat money, protective tariff, free trade, imperialism and anti-imperialism all mean capitalist rule and wage-slavery.

Their eyes are open and they can see; their brains are in operation and they can think.

The very moment a workingman begins to do his own thinking he understands the paramount issue, parts company with the capitalist politician and falls in line with his own class on the political battlefield.

The political solidarity of the working class means the death of despotism, the birth of freedom, the sunrise of civilization.

Having said this much by way of introduction I will now enter upon the actualities of my theme.

We are en campaign. Th is not between upon the surf death strugg classes, the o working class.

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THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

We are entering tonight upon a momentous campaign. The struggle for political supremacy is not between political parties merely, as appears upon the surface, but at bottom it is a life and death struggle between two hostile economic classes, the one the capitalist and the other the working class.

The capitalist class is represented by the Republican, Democratic, Populist and Prohibition parties, all of which stand for private ownership of the means of production and the triumph of any one of which will mean continued wage-slavery to the working class.

As the Populist and Prohibition sections of the capitalist party represent minority elements which propose to reform the capitalist system without disturbing wage-slavery, a vain and impossible task, they will be omitted from this discussion with all the credit due the rank and file for their good intentions.

The Republican and Democratic parties, or, to be more exact, the Republican-Democratic party, represents the capitalist class in the class struggle. They are the political wings of the capitalist system and such differences as arise between them relate to spoils and not to principles.

With either of these parties in power one thing is always certain and that is that the capitalist class are in the saddle and the working class under the saddle.

Under the administration of both these parties the means of production are private property, production is carried forward for capitalist profit purely, markets are glutted and industry paralyzed, workmen become tramps and criminals, while injunctions, soldiers and riot guns are

brought into action to preserve "law and order" in the chaotic carnival of capitalistic anarchy.

Deny it as may the cunning capitalists who are clear-sighted enough to perceive it, or ignore it as may the torpid workers who are too blind and unthinking to see it, the struggle in which we are engaged today is a class struggle, and as the toiling millions come to see and understand it and rally to the political standard of their class, they will drive all capitalist parties of whatever name into the same party, and the class struggle will then be so clearly revealed that the hosts of labor will find their true place in the conflict and strike the united and decisive blow that will destroy slavery and achieve their full and final emancipation.

In this struggle the workingmen and women and children are represented by the Socialist party and it is my privilege to address you in the name of that revolutionary and uncompromising party of the working class.

ATTITUDE OF THE WORKERS.

What shall be the attitude of the workers of the United States in the present campaign? What part shall they take in it? What party and what principles shall they support by their ballots? And why?

These are questions the importance of which is not sufficiently recognized by workingmen or they would not be the prey of parasites and the servile tools of scheming politicians who use them only at election time to renew their master's lease of power and perpetuate their own ignorance, poverty and shame.

In answering these questions I propose to be as frank and candid as plain-meaning words will allow, for I have but one object in this discussion

and that object I shall state alone.

But I shall have my allegiance to the Socialist party, the party of the workers and women who will not compromise with votes that can be bought by any false pretense.

The Socialist party is the only proletarian party that has the forces of industry and the working class on its side.

The Socialist party has no offices. No salaries. No cigars. It is the voluntary party of the workers and sympathizers.

What other party can we have? Ignorance and success. The workers and use their votes from seeing the light.

Intellectual slavery.

Capitalist party. The Socialist party is the only party that is for the workers and the oppressed.

Capitalist party. The Socialist party is the only party that is for the workers and the oppressed. The Socialist party is the only party that is for the living issue: Death to V. When industry

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alone.

But I shall not stand alone for the party that
has my allegiance and may have my life, the
Socialist party, the party of the working class,
the party of emancipation, is made up of men
and women who know their rights and scorn to
compromise with their oppressors; who want no
votes that can be bought and no support under
any false pretense whatsoever.

The Socialist party stands squarely upon its
proletarian principles and relies wholly upon the
forces of industrial progress and the education
of the working class.

The Socialist party buys no votes and promises
no offices. Not a farthing is spent for whiskey
or cigars. Every penny in the campaign fund
is the voluntary offering of workers and their
sympathizers and every penny is used for educa-
tion.

What other parties can say the same?

Ignorance alone stands in the way of Socialist
success. The capitalist parties understand this
and use their resources to prevent the workers
from seeing the light.

Intellectual darkness is essential to industrial
slavery.

Capitalist parties stand for Slavery and Night.
The Socialist party is the herald of Freedom
and Light.

Capitalist parties cunningly contrive to divide
the workers upon dead issues.

The Socialist party is uniting them upon the
living issue:

Death to Wage Slavery!

When industrial slavery is as dead as the issues

of the Siamese capitalist parties the Socialist party will have fulfilled its mission and enriched history.

And now to our questions:

First, every workingman and woman owe it to themselves, their class and their country to take an active and intelligent interest in political affairs.

THE BALLOT.

The ballot of united labor expresses the people's will and the people's will is the supreme law of a free nation.

The ballot means that labor is no longer dumb, that at last it has a voice, that it may be heard and if united must be heeded.

Centuries of struggle and sacrifice were required to wrest this symbol of freedom from the mailed clutch of tyranny and place it in the hand of labor as the shield and lance of attack and defense.

The abuse and not the use of it is responsible for its evils.

The divided vote of labor is the abuse of the ballot and the penalty is slavery and death.

The united vote of those who toil and have not will vanquish those who have and toil not and solve forever the problem of democracy.

THE HISTORIC STRUGGLE OF CLASSES.

Since the race was young there have been class struggles. In every state of society, ancient and modern, labor has been exploited, degraded and in subjection.

Civilization has done little for labor except to modify the forms of its exploitation.

Labor has always been the mudsill of the social fabric—is so now and will be until the class struggle ends in class extinction and free society.

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Society has always been and is now built upon exploitation—the exploitation of a class—the working class, whether slaves, serfs or wage-laborers, and the exploited working class in subjection have always been, instinctively or consciously, in revolt against their oppressors.

Through all the centuries the enslaved toilers have moved slowly but surely toward their final freedom.

The call of the Socialist party is to the exploited class, the workers in all useful trades and professions, all honest occupations, from the most menial service to the highest skill, to rally beneath their own standard and put an end to the last of the barbarous class struggles by conquering the capitalist government, taking possession of the means of production and making them the common property of all, abolishing wage-slavery and establishing the co-operative commonwealth.

The first step in this direction is to sever all relations with

CAPITALIST PARTIES.

They are precisely alike and I challenge their most discriminating partisans to tell them apart in relation to labor.

The Republican and Democratic parties are alike capitalist parties—differing only in being committed to different sets of capitalist interests—they have the same principles under varying colors, are equally corrupt and are one in their subservience to capital and their hostility to labor.

The ignorant workingman who supports either of these parties forges his own fetters and is the unconscious author of his own misery. He can and must be made to see and think and act with his fellows in supporting the party of his class and this work of education is the crowning virtue of the socialist movement.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Let us briefly consider the Republican party from the worker's standpoint. It is capitalist to the core. It has not and can not have the slightest interest in labor except to exploit it.

Why should a workingman support the Republican party?

Why should a millionaire support the Socialist party?

For precisely the same reason that all the millionaires are opposed to the Socialist party, all the workers should be opposed to the Republican party. It is a capitalist party, is loyal to capitalist interests and entitled to the support of capitalist voters on election day.

All it has for workingmen is its "glorious past" and a "glad hand" when it wants their votes.

The Republican party is now and has been for several years, in complete control of government.

What has it done for labor? What has it not done for capital?

Not one of the crying abuses of capital has been curbed under Republican rule.

Not one of the petitions of labor has been granted.

The eight hour and anti-injunction bills, upon which organized labor is a unit, were again ruthlessly slain by the last congress in obedience to the capitalist masters.

David M. Parry has greater influence at Washington than all the millions of organized workers.

Read the national platform of the Republican party and see if there is in all its bombast a crumb of comfort for labor. The convention that adopted it was a capitalist convention and the

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only thought it had of labor was how to abstract its vote without waking it up.

In the only reference it made to labor it had to speak easy so as to avoid offense to the capitalists who own it and furnish the boodle to keep it in power.

The labor platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties are interchangeable and non-redeemable. They both favor "justice to capital and justice to labor." This hoary old platitude is worse than meaningless. It is false and misleading and so intended. Justice to labor means that labor shall have what it produces. This leaves nothing for capital.

Justice to labor means the end of capital.

The old parties intend nothing of the kind. It is false pretense and false promise. It has served well in the past. Will it continue to catch the votes of unthinking and deluded workers?

What workingmen had part in the Republican national convention or were honored by it?

The grand coliseum swarmed with trust magnates, corporation barons, money lords, stock gamblers, professional politicians, lawyers, lobbyists and other plutocratic tools and mercenaries, but there was no room for the horny-handed and horny-headed sons of toil. They built it, but were not in it.

Compare that convention with the convention of the Socialist party, composed almost wholly of working men and women and controlled wholly in the interest of their class.

THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES.

But a party is still better known by its chosen representatives than by its platform declarations.

Who are the nominees of the Republican party

for the highest offices in the gift of the nation and what is their relation to the working class?

First of all, Theodore Roosevelt and Charles W. Fairbanks, candidates for President and Vice-President, respectively, deny the class struggle and this almost infallibly fixes their status as friends of capital and enemies of labor. They insist that they can serve both; but the fact is obvious that only one can be served and that one at the expense of the other. Mr. Roosevelt's whole political career proves it.

The capitalists made no mistake in nominating Mr. Roosevelt. They know him well and he has served them well. They know that his instincts, associations, tastes and desires are with them, that he is in fact one of them and that he has nothing in common with the working class.

The only evidence to the contrary is his membership in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen which seems to have come to him co-incident with his ambition to succeed himself in the presidential chair. He is a full fledged member of the union, has the grip, signs and passwords, but it is not reported that he is attending meetings, doing picket duty, supporting strikes and boycotts and performing such other duties as his union obligation imposes.

ROOSEVELT ENDORSED CLEVELAND.

When Ex-President Grover Cleveland violated the constitution and outraged justice by seizing the state of Illinois by the throat and handcuffing her civil administration at the behest of the crime-stained trusts and corporations, Theodore Roosevelt was among his most ardent admirers and enthusiastic supporters. He wrote in hearty commendation of the atrocious act, pronounced it

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most exalted patriotism and said he would have
done the same himself had he been president.

And so he would and so he will!

How impressive to see the Rough Rider embrace
the Smooth Statesman! Oyster Bay and Buz-
zards' Bay! "Two souls with but a single
thought, two hearts that beat as one."

There is also the highest authority for the state-
ment charging Mr. Roosevelt with declaring about
the same time he was lauding Cleveland that if
he was in command he would have such as Alt-
geld, Debs and other traitors lined up against a
dead wall and shot into corpses. The brutal
remark was not for publication but found its way
into print and Mr. Roosevelt, after he became a
candidate, attempted to make denial, but the dis-
tinguished editor who heard him say it pinned
him fast, and the slight doubt that remained was
dispelled by the words themselves which sound
like Roosevelt and bear the impress of his war-
like visage.

Following the Pullman strike in 1894 there was
an indignant and emphatic popular protest against
"government by injunction," which has not yet
by any means subsided.

Organized labor was, and is, a unit against
this insidious form of judicial usurpation as a
means of abrogating constitutional restraints of
despotic power.

ROOSEVELT UPHOLDS "GOVERNMENT BY INJUNC-
TION."

Mr. Roosevelt with his usual zeal to serve the
ruling class and keep their protesting slaves in
subjection, vaulted into the arena and launched
his vitriolic tirade upon the mob that dared
oppose the divine decree of a corporation judge.

"Men who object to what they style 'govern-

ment by injunction',” said he, “are, as regards the essential principles of government, in hearty sympathy with their remote skin-clad ancestors, who lived in caves, fought one another with stone-headed axes and ate the mammoth and woolly rhinoceros. They are dangerous whenever there is the least danger of their making the principles of this ages-buried past living factors in our present life. They are not in sympathy with men of good minds and good civic morality.”

In direct terms and plain words Mr. Roosevelt denounces all those who oppose “Government by Injunction” as cannibals, barbarians and anarchists, and this violent and sweeping stigma embraces the whole organized movement of labor, every man, woman and child that wears the badge of union labor in the United States.

It is not strange in the light of these facts that the national congress, under President Roosevelt’s administration, suppresses anti-injunction and eight-hour bills and all other measures favored by labor and resisted by capital.

No stronger or more convincing proof is required of Mr. Roosevelt’s allegiance to capital and opposition to labor, nor of the class struggle and class rule which he so vehemently denies; and the workingman who in the face of these words and acts, can still support Mr. Roosevelt must feel himself flattered in being publicly proclaimed a barbarian, and sheer gratitude, doubtless, impels him to crown his benefactor with the highest honors of the land.

If the working class are barbarians, according to Mr. Roosevelt, this may account for his esteeming himself as having the very qualities necessary to make himself Chief of the Tribe.

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nounced organized labor as savages long before he was a candidate for president. After he became a candidate he joined the tribe and is today, himself, according to his own dictum, a barbarian and the enemy of civic morality.

The labor union to which President Roosevelt belongs and which he is solemnly obligated to support, is unanimously opposed to "Government by Injunction." President Roosevelt knew it when he joined it and he also knew that those who oppose injunction rule have the instincts of cannibals and are a menace to morality, but his proud nature succumbed to political ambition, and his ethical ideals vanished as he struck the trail that led to the tribe and, after a most dramatic scene and impressive ceremony, was decorated with the honorary badge of international barbarism.

How Theodore Roosevelt, the trade-unionist, can support the presidential candidate who denounced him as an immoral and dangerous barbarian he may decide at his leisure, and so may all other union men in the United States who are branded with the same vulgar stigma, and their ballots will determine if they have the manhood to resent insult and rebuke its author, or if they have been fitly characterized and deserve humiliation and contempt.

STRIKE BREAKERS IN ROOSEVELT'S CABINET.

The appointment of Judge Taft to a cabinet position is corroborative evidence, if any be required, of President Roosevelt's fervent faith in Government by Injunction. Judge Taft first came into national notoriety when, some years ago, sitting with Judge Ricks, who was later tried for malfeasance, he issued the celebrated injunction during the Toledo, Ann Arbor and North Michi-

gan railroad strike that paralyzed the Brotherhoods of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen and won for him the gratitude and esteem of every corporation in the land. He was hauled to Toledo, the headquarters of the railroad, in a special car, pulled by a special engine, on special time, and after hastily consulting the railroad magnates and receiving instructions, he let go the judicial lightning that shivered the unions to splinters and ended the strike in total defeat. Judge Taft is a special favorite with the trust barons and his elevation to the cabinet was ratified with joy at the court of St. Plute.

Still again did President Roosevelt drive home his arch-enmity to labor and his implacable hostility to the trade-union movement when he made Paul Morton, the notorious union hater and union wrecker, his secretary of the navy. That appointment was an open insult to every trade unionist in the country and they who lack the self-respect to resent it at the polls may wear the badge, but they are lacking wholly in the spirit and principles of union labor.

Go ask the brotherhood men who were driven from the C. B. & Q. and the striking union machinists on the Santa Fe to give you the pedigree of Mr. Morton and you will learn that his hate for union men is equalled only by his love for the scabs who take their places.

Such a man and such another as Sherman Bell, the military ferret of the Colorado mine owners, are the ideal patriots and personal chums of Mr. Roosevelt and by honoring these he dishonors himself and should be repudiated by the ballot of every working man in the nation.

Mr. Fairbanks, the Republican candidate for Vice-President, is a corporation attorney of the

first class and standing. He is a representative of the land m

In referring to the discussion we have seen that since its convention it has been ally to pass f

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The radical former Democrats seek other qu nuisance in the party. They the trusts hav

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first class and a plutocrat in good and regular standing. He is in every respect a fit and proper representative of his party and every millionaire in the land may safely support him.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

In referring to the Democratic party in this discussion we may save time by simply saying that since it was born again at the St. Louis convention it is near enough like its Republican ally to pass for a twin brother.

The former party of the "common people" is no longer under the boycott of the plutocracy since it has adopted the Wall street label and renounced its middle class heresies.

The radical and progressive element of the former Democracy have been evicted and must seek other quarters. They were an unmitigated nuisance in the conservative counsels of the old party. They were for the "common people" and the trusts have no use for such a party.

Where but to the Socialist party can these progressive people turn? They are now without a party and the only genuine Democratic party in the field is the Socialist party and every true Democrat should thank Wall street for driving him out of a party that is democratic in name only and into one that is democratic in fact.

The St. Louis convention was a trust jubilee. The Wall street reorganizers made short work of the free silver element. From first to last it was a capitalistic convocation. Labor was totally ignored. As an incident, two thousand choice chairs were reserved for the Business Men's League of St. Louis, an organization hostile to organized labor, but not a chair was tendered to those whose labor had built the convention hall, had clothed, transported, fed and wine-d the dele-

gates and whose votes are counted on as if they were so many dumb driven cattle, to pull the ticket through in November.

As another incident, when Lieutenant Richmond Hobson dramatically declared that President Cleveland had been the only president who had ever been patriotic enough to use the federal troops to crush union labor, the trust agents, lobbyists, tools and clackers screamed with delight and the convention shook with applause.

The platform is precisely the same as the Republican platform in relation to labor. It says nothing and means the same. A plank was proposed condemning the outrages in Colorado under Republican administration, but upon order from the Parryites it was promptly thrown aside.

LABOR LOBBIES THROWN OUT.

The editor of "American Industries," organ of the Manufacturers' Association, commented at length in the issue of July 15th, on the triumph of capital and the defeat of labor at both Republican and Democratic national conventions. Among other things he said: "The two labor lobbies, partly similar in make-up, were, to put it bluntly, thrown out bodily in both places." And that is the simple fact and is known of all men who read the papers. The capitalist organs exult because labor, to use their own brutal expression, was kicked bodily out of both the Republican and Democratic national conventions.

What more than this is needed to open the eyes of workingmen to the fact that neither of these parties is their party and that they are as strangely out of place in them as Rockefeller and Vanderbilt would be in the Socialist party?

And how many more times are they to be "kicked out bodily" before they stay out and

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join the party of their class in which labor is not only honored but is supreme, a party that is clean, that has conscience and convictions, a party that will one day sweep the old parties from the field like chaff and issue the Proclamation of Labor's Emancipation?

Judge Alton B. Parker corresponds precisely to the Democratic platform. It was made to order for him. His famous telegram in the expiring hour removed the last wrinkle and left it a perfect fit.

Thomas W. Lawson, the Boston millionaire, charges that Senator Patrick McCarren, who brought out Judge Parker for the nomination, is on the pay roll of the Standard Oil Company as political master mechanic at twenty thousand dollars a year, and that Parker is the chosen tool of Standard Oil. Mr. Lawson offers Senator McCarren one hundred thousand dollars if he will disprove the charge.

BRYAN COMPROMISES WITH PIRATES.

William Jennings Bryan denounced Judge Parker as a tool of Wall street before he was nominated and declared that no self-respecting Democrat could vote for him, and after his nomination he charged that it had been dictated by the trusts and secured by "crooked and indefensible methods." Mr. Bryan also said that labor had been betrayed in the convention and need look for nothing from the Democratic party. He made many other damaging charges against his party and its candidates, but when the supreme test came he was not equal to it, and instead of denouncing the betrayers of the "common people" and repudiating their made-to-order Wall street program, he compromised with the pirates that scuttled his ship and promised with his lips

the support his heart refused and his conscience condemned.

The Democratic nominee for President was one of the Supreme judges of the State of New York who declared the eight hour law unconstitutional and this is an index of his political character.

In his address accepting the nomination he makes but a single allusion to labor and in this he takes occasion to say that labor is charged with having recently used dynamite in destroying property and that the perpetrators should be subjected to "the most rigorous punishment known to the law." This cruel intimation amounts to conviction in advance of trial and indicates clearly the trend of his capitalistically trained judicial mind. He made no such reference to capital, nor to those ermined rascals who use judicial dynamite in blowing up the constitution while labor is looted and starved by capitalistic freebooters who trample all law in the mire and leer and mock at their despoiled and helpless victims.

DAVIS MATCHES FAIRBANKS.

It is hardly necessary to make more than passing reference to Henry G. Davis, Democratic candidate for Vice-President. He is a coal baron, railroad owner and, of course, an enemy to union labor. He has amassed a great fortune exploiting his wage-slaves and has always strenuously resisted every attempt to organize them for the betterment of their condition. Mr. Davis is a staunch believer in the virtue of the injunction as applied to union labor. As a young man he was in charge of a slave plantation and his conviction is that wage-slaves should be kept free from the contaminating influence of the labor

agitator and master.

Mr. Davis is as is Senator party and w in making th of plutocrats ingman will both and ca working clas voted to lab capital.

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agitator and render cheerful obedience to their master.

Mr. Davis is as well qualified to serve his party as is Senator Fairbanks to serve the Republican party and wage-workers should have no trouble in making their choice between this precious pair of plutocrats, and certainly no intelligent workingman will hesitate an instant to discard them both and cast his vote for Ben Hanford, their working class competitor, who is as loyally devoted to labor as Fairbanks and Davis are to capital.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

In what has been said of other parties I have tried to show why they should not be supported by the common people, least of all by workingmen, and I think I have shown clearly enough that such workers as do support them are guilty, consciously or unconsciously, of treason to their class. They are voting into power the enemies of labor and are morally responsible for the crimes thus perpetrated upon their fellow-workers and sooner or later they will have to suffer the consequences of their miserable acts.

The Socialist party is not, and does not pretend to be, a capitalist party. It does not ask, nor does it expect the votes of the capitalist class. Such capitalists as do support it do so seeing the approaching doom of the capitalist system and with a full understanding that the Socialist party is not a capitalist party, nor a middle class party, but a revolutionary working class party, whose historic mission it is to conquer capitalism on the political battlefield, take control of government and through the public powers take possession of the means of wealth production,

abolish wage-slavery and emancipate all workers and all humanity.

The people are as capable of achieving their industrial freedom as they were to secure their political liberty and both are necessary to a free nation.

CAPITALIST SYSTEM OUTGROWS PROGRESS.

The capitalist system is no longer adapted to the needs of modern society. It is outgrown and fetters the forces of progress. Industrial and commercial competition are largely of the past. The handwriting blazes on the wall. Centralization and combination are the modern forces in industrial and commercial life. Competition is breaking down and co-operation is supplanting it.

The hand tools of early times are used no more. Mammoth machines have taken their places. A few thousand capitalists own them and many millions of workingmen use them.

All the wealth the vast army of labor produces above its subsistence is taken by the machine owning capitalists, who also own the land and the mills, the factories, railroads and mines, the forests and fields and all other means of production and transportation.

Hence wealth and poverty, millionaires and beggars, castles and caves, luxury and squalor, painted parasites on the boulevard and painted poverty among the red lights.

Hence strikes, boycotts, riots, murder, suicide, insanity, prostitution on a fearful and increasing scale.

The capitalist parties can do nothing. They are a part, an iniquitous part of the foul and decaying system.

There is no remedy for the ravages of death.

Capitalism is dying and its extremities are

already decaying. The face shows it. The time is ripe for its removal and replacement.

In contrast to the conventions, of plutocrats consisted of their labors, ready to do the cause of humanity.

Proud indeed a body of men letarian stand do I endorse the party and eloquence country.

To my assistance my hand with the working mission and capitalist party

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already decomposing. The blotches upon the surface show that the blood no longer circulates. The time is near when the cadaver will have to be removed and the atmosphere purified.

In contrast with the Republican and Democratic conventions, where politicians were the puppets of plutocrats, the convention of the Socialist party consisted of working men and women fresh from their labors, strong, clean, wholesome, self-reliant, ready to do and dare for the cause of labor, the cause of humanity.

Proud indeed am I to have been chosen by such a body of men and women to bear aloft the proletarian standard in this campaign, and heartily do I endorse the clear and cogent platform of the party which appeals with increasing force and eloquence to the whole working class of the country.

To my associate upon the national ticket I give my hand with all my heart. Ben Hanford typifies the working class and fitly represents the historic mission and revolutionary character of the Socialist party.

CLOSING WORDS.

These are stirring days for living men. The day of crisis is drawing near and Socialists are exerting all their power to prepare the people for it.

The old order of society can survive but little longer. Socialism is next in order. The swelling minority sounds warning of the impending change. Soon that minority will be the majority and then will come the co-operative commonwealth.

Every workingman should rally to the standard of his class and hasten the full-orbed day of freedom.

Every progressive Democrat must find his way

in our direction and if he will but free himself from prejudice and study the principles of Socialism he will soon be a sturdy supporter of our party.

Every sympathizer with labor, every friend of justice, every lover of humanity should support the Socialist party as the only party that is organized to abolish industrial slavery, the prolific source of the giant evils that afflict the people.

Who with a heart in his breast can look upon Colorado without keenly feeling the cruelties and crimes of capitalism! Repression will not help her. Brutality will only brutalize her. Private ownership and wage-slavery are the curse of Colorado. Only socialism will save Colorado and the nation.

The overthrow of capitalism is the object of the Socialist party. It will not fuse with any other party and it would rather die than compromise.

The Socialist party comprehends the magnitude of its task and has the patience of preliminary defeat and the faith of ultimate victory.

The working class must be emancipated by the working class.

Woman must be given her true place in society by the working class.

Child labor must be abolished by the working class.

Society must be reconstructed by the working class.

The working class must be employed by the working class.

The fruits of labor must be enjoyed by the working class.

War, bloody war, must be ended by the working class.

These are the principles and objects of the So-

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cialist party and we fearlessly proclaim them to
our fellowmen.

We know our cause is just and that it must
prevail.

With faith and hope and courage we hold our
heads erect and with dauntless spirit marshal the
working class for the march from Capitalism to
Socialism, from Slavery to Freedom, from Bar-
barism to Civilization.



Eugene V. Debs

A Biographical Sketch

Eugene V. Debs, Socialist Party candidate for President, was born in Terre Haute, Ind., in 1855, and at the age of 15 years began work as a railroad employee in the Vandalia railroad car shops. Afterwards he worked as fireman on a freight engine for several years and became a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. He was made editor of the Brotherhood magazine in 1877, and three years afterwards he was chosen general secretary and treasurer, a position which he occupied for thirteen years, resigning in 1893 to organize the American Railway Union, which was intended to unite the railway workers of America in one great organization.

Within a year the Great Northern Railway strike was fought and won. Through this contest the wages of thousands of workers from St. Paul to the Pacific coast were saved from reduction and the railway managers awoke to the fact that they had a new power to grapple with.

In May, 1894, the famous Pullman strike occurred. Unable to effect a settlement by arbitration, the A. R. U. took up the matter in the national convention in session at Chicago in June. As a result a boycott was declared against the Pullman cars. Within a few days the entire railroad system of the country, extending from Chicago west and south to the Gulf and Pacific coast was tied up and the greatest labor war in the country's history was on.

On July 2, 1894, Judges Woods and Grosscup, at Chicago, issued a sweeping "omnibus" injunction.

tion. Debs attempted of course to resist the injunction. They were arrested. Woods did not believe in imprisonment and was carried off. Debs retained the love of imprisonment in fact. His term expired on November 1, 1895. The expiration of that term was a deception in Chicago. Debs had never seen the inside of a prison.

Debs and his friends were placed on trial. The trial continued until the end of the year. All had been heard. Debs began to test the temporary arrangement. He was nominated in a caucus to have it called. The General Assembly and show the destruction of the system, presumed, preserved upon substantial grounds which they have been fighting.

On January 1, 1895, the members of the Conditions Committee viewed the conditions, and other things. Capitalism. humanity.

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tion. Debs and associates were arrested for con-
tempt of court, on alleged violation of the injunc-
tion. They were tried in September, but Judge
Woods did not render a verdict until December,
when he condemned Debs to six months' impris-
onment and his associates to three. The case
was carried to the Supreme Court, which sus-
tained the lower court, and in May, 1896, the im-
prisonment in Woodstock Jail began. The term
expired on November 22, 1896, and on the even-
ing of that day the prisoner was tendered a re-
ception in Chicago, the like of which that city
had never seen.

Debs and his associates were also indicted and
placed on trial for conspiracy, and the trial con-
tinued until the evidence of the prosecution had
all been heard, but suddenly when the defense
began to testify, a juror was taken ill during a
temporary adjournment and the trial abruptly ter-
minated in spite of all efforts of the defendants
to have it continued. They were anxious to bring
the General Managers' Association into court
and show who were the real law-breakers and
destroyers of property. The trial was never re-
sumed, presumably because an acquittal by a jury
upon substantially the same charge as that upon
which they were imprisoned for contempt would
have been fatal to Judge Woods.

On January 1, 1897, Debs issued a circular to
the members of the A. R. U., entitled "Present
Conditions and Future Duties," in which he re-
viewed the political, industrial and economic con-
ditions, and came out boldly for Socialism. Among
other things he said: "The issue is, Socialism vs.
Capitalism. I am for Socialism because I am for
humanity. The time has come to regenerate so-
ciety—we are on the eve of a universal change."

When the A. R. U. met in national convention

in Chicago, in June, 1897, that body was merged into the Social Democracy of America, with Debs as chairman of the National Executive Board. The following year (1898) the Social Democratic Party was started as the result of a split in the Social Democracy. In 1900 Debs was nominated for President as candidate of the Social Democratic Party, which was afterwards merged with the larger part of the split Socialist Labor Party into what is now the Socialist Party.

During the past seven years Debs has devoted all his time to lecturing and writing for Socialism, and has also taken part in some notable strikes in the industrial and mining centers of the East and West. He has visited every state during his travels and carried the Socialist message into more places than probably any other man in America.



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Ben Hanford

A Biographical Sketch

Ben Hanford of New York, candidate for Vice-President on the Socialist Party ticket, has long been known as one of the hardest workers in the Socialist movement.

He combines to an exceptional degree the qualities of agitator, speaker and writer, and he is therefore a fitting companion to the Presidential candidate, Eugene V. Debs.

Hanford has been a Socialist more than ten years and a trade unionist for twice that period. He was born in Cleveland, O., 46 years ago, but began life as a wage worker in a country printing office in Iowa. He shortly afterwards went to Chicago, where he joined the International Typographical Union, of which he has been a member ever since. He has worked in printing offices in every large city east of Missouri.

Hanford became a Socialist in Philadelphia, and upon removing to New York in 1892 not only continued his activity as a trade unionist, but threw himself into the Socialist movement with all the intensity and earnestness which has always characterized him.

Although he has never held an office in his union, and has never been a candidate for one, he has answered to the call of duty for the political working class movement several times. In 1898 he was the candidate of the Socialist Labor Party for governor of New York, but leaving that party the following year because of disagreement with its policy, he joined the Social Democratic Party (which is the official name of

the Socialist Party in New York state), and in 1900 and 1902 was its candidate for Governor.

Hanford's writings have become deservedly popular, his "Railroading in the United States" winning distinction for its merit and originality. His articles in *The Worker* have attracted widespread attention. His portrayal of "The Jimmie Higginses" appealed to all Socialists and has furnished a name now universally used for a type of faithful workers in the ranks of the Socialist army.

Two qualities go to make Hanford a convincing and an inspiring speaker—a burning earnestness, as evident in his daily private life as in his appearance on the platform, and an ability to clothe his thoughts and feelings in the simplest and most direct language, so that no hearer can fail to understand.

More than this, he is a workingman, a class-conscious workingman, in every fibre of his being—living the life of the working class, thinking its thoughts and instinct with its feelings, full of its growing hope and self-reliance, hating class rule with all his soul and despising the sham and meanness and cruelty which are necessary to what is conventionally called "success." Thus he speaks for the working class when he speaks from his own experience, and he speaks in the sincere and unmistakable language of his class.



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SINGLE TAX VS. SOCIALISM

A COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION

By A. M. Simons

Editor of the International Socialist Review.

POCKET LIBRARY OF SOCIALISM

Monthly, 50c a Year

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SINGLE TAX VS. SOCIALISM.

In the first place it would be well to have a clear idea of what is meant by Single Tax upon the one hand and Socialism upon the other before we attempt to compare them. The single tax theory is founded upon what is known as the Ricardian law of rent, so named because it was first formulated in its present form by Ricardo, a London banker who wrote during the first part of the last century. This law reads as follows: "The rent of any piece of land is determined by the amount which can be produced upon it over and above the amount that can be produced upon the poorest piece of land cultivated."

This is generally illustrated as follows: If there are three pieces of land in the same market and the poorest that can be cultivated will produce five bushels of wheat and the next one ten and the third fifteen, the rent of the second would be five bushels and the last ten. The amount produced upon the poorest one, says the Single Taxer, is exactly what labor and capital get in all cases. The rest goes to the landlord. The landlord thus takes to himself all the advantages coming from natural differences in location, character of the soil or social improvements. The landlord reduces all to a common level. Furthermore, whatever society does accrues to the benefit of the landlord. If a town is formed all the increase in value created by the association of great numbers of people goes to the owners of the soil. If a new method of transportation is developed its

only effect is to increase the income of the landlord. Hence the statement from which the Bible of Single Tax takes its name, that "Progress and Poverty" go hand in hand.

It is held further, that since rent is thus but a payment for the mere function of ownership it could be confiscated by society without injustice. It is from the method proposed for such confiscation that the theory takes its name. It is proposed to gradually shift all taxes on to land and then to increase them, if necessary, until they exactly equal the rent. But since rent is simply the measure of the earning power of the land, or in other words, since land values are simply capitalized rent, this would mean the confiscation of all land values by the community. From this proceeding it is claimed that most marvelous results would follow. It is held that all land being thus forced upon the market at its exact rental value, free opportunities would be opened to all who wished to take advantage of them. Capital and labor could then unite upon the "free land" and all would be beautiful.

Having now given a statement of what is meant by Single Tax before we attempt to compare it with Socialism, it would be well to give a similar statement of the main principles of socialism. Socialism holds that at any time the social institutions are determined by the mode in which society gets its living—the manner in which goods are produced and distributed among members of society. It maintains that up to and including the present time this manner of production has been such as to render one class of society a ruling class of idlers and the other a subject class of producers. This ruling class has determined all the institutions of society to suit itself and in its interests. But in every stage of society the manner of production upon which the whole of society rests has been changing, and when it reached a certain point it brought a class that had hither-

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to been subject into prominence in the production and distribution of goods. This gave them power with which to overthrow the ruling class and form a new social organization in which they should be rulers. In every age of society the most prominent feature of the ruling class, and the one upon which their power was based, was that they *owned the essential factor in production*. In the middle ages this was the land. The landlords were then supreme. Because they owned the land they owned the laborers who must use the land in order to live. It was not at all necessary that the landlords use their power as rulers to enact legislation legally attaching the serf to the land. He was just as firmly secured without any such legislation, because he could not live without the use of the land. But about the close of the last century another factor in production attained prominence. Up until this time, the tool had been of little importance. Each laborer owned his own tools, and if he could but get access to the land could produce. But now, with the invention of the power loom, the spinning jenny, the steam engine, etc., it was impossible for each laborer to own the tools with which he worked. The tool became transformed into the great factory, which now became the principal factor in production. The men who owned the factories now owned the thing that men must have in order to produce and to live, and consequently they owned the men—the laborers. Because of this they were able to overthrow those who owned the now less important factor, the land, and the landlord gave way to the capitalist as the ruling class. Competition among the capitalists ending in combination and monopoly has divided society into two clearly defined classes, of capitalist and laborer, the former ruling because of his ownership of the essentials of production which makes the laborer his slave. At the beginning of capitalism the most essential function in production

or was the organization of the new forces. This was done by the capitalist. But now that this organization is completed it is handed over to the laborers and the capitalist has no active functions but confines himself to the passive action of drawing dividends because of his ownership. The laborers thus became the essential factor in production. But when any class occupies this position it is a certainty that it will soon be the dominant class in society. So the socialist now holds that the next stage of society is to be the rule of the laboring class, in which all having become members of class rule will be abolished. The manner in which the laborers will secure this victory will be through their political organization into class-conscious bodies to capture the powers of government, now in the possession of the capitalists. Having voted themselves into power they will then proceed to make laws in the interest of the producers instead of the idlers. The first of their acts will be the vesting of the ownership of *both the land and the tools* in all of society. This will forever render economic slavery, upon which all other forms of slavery are based, an impossibility. Just as ownership of the land by the landlord in the middle ages made him free and all others slaves, and just as ownership of the tools to-day makes the capitalist free and all others slaves, so ownership of the *land and tools* by *all* will make *all free and none slaves*.

Having now the two philosophies before us we will proceed to compare them. In the first place it will be noted that the Single Tax is a scheme which it is proposed to enact upon present society. It takes no account of social evolution and utterly fails to recognize that social changes come through growth and ~~not~~ because they are proposed and worked out in some man's head. The Single Taxers do not seem to think but what their scheme can be applied at one time as well as another. They talk about its being adopted to save trouble

when a society and they admit the oldest observes that a regular order of necessary preparation does not admit of first come.

Second, they look the fact see that at determined that class is of our government seeks reform other social government posing that it would. always make They fuse them on the They are much stronger always could succeeded in as being forced in material ware and (mal.

Third, the ideas to philosophy. changes new but always ganization new method was abolished Wendell P.

when a society is just organizing upon new land and they advocate its acceptance in the midst of the oldest capitalistic societies. The socialist observes that social stages succeed one another in a regular order because one is the absolutely necessary preparation for the other. Therefore he does not advocate socialism until capitalism has first come.

Second, the Single Tax advocates entirely overlook the fact of class rule. They utterly fail to see that at every social stage all institutions are determined by the ruling class and that to-day that class is the capitalist class who have control of our government, press, pulpit, platform and all modes of social control. So the Single Taxer seeks reform through our present government and other social institutions. He asks the capitalist government to destroy capitalism—that is supposing that Single Tax would do what they claim it would. The result of this in practical tactics always makes the Single Taxer appear ridiculous. They fuse first with one capitalist political party and then with another. Old political fakirs stuff them on the one side and fool them on the other. They are continually made to believe that they are much stronger than they really are because they always count all the votes polled by the party who succeeded in bamboozling them into supporting it as being for Single Tax. When they really succeed in making their fad an "issue," as in Delaware and Chicago, they are practically infinitesimal.

Third, they depend wholly upon the power of ideas to convince men of the beauties of their philosophy. Now, history has shown that social changes never come through the spread of ideas, but always through changes in the economic organization of society—through the introduction of new methods of getting a living. Chattel slavery was abolished, not because Garrison wrote and Wendell Phillips preached, but because wage-slav-

ery was made more profitable. Expansion and benevolent assimilation were not undertaken because of the lurid speeches over Cuba's woes in the halls of congress and the wild appeals to patriotism in the public press, but because of the fact which inspired that oratory and paid for those effusions—that our capitalist rulers needed new markets. Now, there is absolutely nothing in all the Single Tax writings that shows any comprehension of this fact. Nowhere is it even claimed that present economic development points toward the adoption of the Single Tax. On the contrary, their propaganda has more effect in undeveloped countries like New Zealand than in those further advanced in economic development. They make no study of economic phenomena, but simply advocate the adoption of their scheme. Like a quack doctor, they are little troubled about the diagnosis of the disease if the patient will only take their remedy. But the socialist puts little dependence upon the spread of ideas. Although he endeavors by all possible means to spread the doctrines of socialism, he knows full well that those doctrines will only spread in proportion to economic development. He knows that their adoption depends much less upon the vigor of his agitation than upon the ripeness, or rottenness, of capitalism. And above all else, he knows that the logic of social evolution is arguing upon his side with all the power to convince that facts ever possess.

In the next place, the Single Taxers entirely ignore the existence of the class struggle. They take no note of the fact that in our present society one class, and that the ruling one, are interested in maintaining conditions as they are at present. However much they might possibly be benefited as individuals, the capitalist class as a class depends upon the continuance of present conditions. Now, if the Single Tax is going to effect any great change (which I think it will not), it must destroy this class. But history has

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yet to show an instance where a ruling class surrendered a privilege it once possessed. Individuals may give up advantages, but a whole class never. The socialist therefore looks to see what class interests are in accord with social advance and then appeals to that class. In this case he sees that the laborers are the greatest sufferers under the present system, that they are the only elements out of which a new society can be formed, and finally because of their numbers they are the ones who control political action and through whose assistance alone society can be saved from its present troubles. Therefore he wastes no time in appealing to either the ruling capitalist class or the dying middle class, but goes straight to the root of things and calls upon the workers to unite for their own salvation. Recognizing in production the only right to the product, he regards the producers as the only persons with any economic rights to be considered. Observing that all progress in the past has been through class struggles and victories, he concludes that the same will be true to-day. Recognizing that ideas are but the reflections of existing conditions, he puts himself in accord with the development of conditions and does not attempt to upset facts with schemes.

The Single Taxer, on the contrary, appeals to the middle and upper classes to commit suicide, shuts his eyes alike to class struggles and historical lessons and paying no heed to economic development seeks to upset facts, reverse history and overturn conditions to suit his preconceived schemes.

These points may at first seem to be beside the question, but if studied they will be seen to be basic and really of far greater importance than defects in the plan itself. However, I shall next proceed to review the Single Tax theory and point out its defects and contradictions and endeavor to

show that even if society could be cut to fit the plan it would only be a botch at the most.

The Single Tax having been created from the brain of one man, and he neither a philosopher nor a student of social questions, in any deep sense, it is badly confused at many points. This is so much so that two exactly opposite schools of Single Taxers have sprung from the common root of "Progress and Poverty." On the one side we have the division who talk about "Natural Rights," forgetting that the whole theory of natural rights died shortly after the French Revolution. I have not the space here to show the reasons for this statement in detail, as I have no desire to enter into conflict with a mummified corpse. I would simply say to those who are interested that no one who would be in any way considered as an authority in social philosophy, whether capitalist or socialist, has pretended to make use of the phrase other than as an historical expression for nearly a quarter of a century, and that when, a few years ago, Ritchie wrote his historical review of the doctrine of "Natural Rights," which, by the way, constitutes a complete refutation of the theory of their existence, he apologized for ever bringing the subject to the attention of the public and never presumed to suppose that anyone of intelligence still considered it a live subject of discussion. This school talks about "free competition" on the basis of "free land" and has a general jargon borrowed from the latter portion of the eighteenth century with which they pretend to argue. This branch of the Single Taxers are nearer to anarchism than any other consistent philosophy, but are too badly muddled to be classified.

The other body, which now seems to be in the ascendancy, has seen the handwriting on the wall and claims to lean toward socialism. They have a scheme of municipalism and nationalization attached to their programme and claim that monop-

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olies are of two forms. First and foremost is the land, which they give various fanciful titles such as "the mother of all monopolies," the "fundamental trust," etc.; and second, those monopolies resting upon "legal institutions." Hence they hold that if you will but "free the land" by Single Tax and then place these "legal monopolies" in the hands of the government, competition will be "free." Of late years this division has joined either the Democratic or some reform party and assure the socialists that they "are coming your way."

Before considering this position in detail it is well to take a look at the cause of all this confusion. Everything in connection with the Single Tax comes from the writings of Henry George. He is looked upon as little short of inspired, and his followers hang upon his words as containing the beginning and the end of social philosophy. It would naturally be expected that one who is able to expound a far-reaching philosophy in the realm of social relations, the most complex sphere of reasoning in the world, must have been a great student. On the contrary, Henry George was the merest dilettanti in all of the social sciences. In his Political Economy he ridicules Kant and Hegel, the greatest philosophers the world has ever known, and says they are unintelligible (which without a doubt they were to Henry George). This baby act of complaining about something which you lack the brains to comprehend is again exemplified in the same work, where he whines because his name does not appear in an Encyclopedia of Political Economists. So utterly silly is this work, in which for the first time Henry George attempted the form of scholarship, that even his most devoted followers are slow to recommend its reading. It was intended to be his masterpiece and was widely advertised before it was issued. When it appeared it was seen that the author was utterly beyond his depth. He had

intended it to be a manual of Political Economy which should recast that science to its foundation, but when his friends read it, unless they were either as ignorant as he or utterly blinded by personal devotion, they realized that he had entered a field that he was utterly incompetent to comprehend, and that as soon as he attempted to write seriously he became ridiculous. There is no better antidote for rabid Henry Georgeism than a study of his so-called "Political Economy." But all this would be beside the point under ordinary circumstances. It is not who says a thing, but the thing said, that determines its truth. But with the Single Taxers the man is all there is to their philosophy. They have themselves set him upon a pedestal, therefore he is a fair mark. It might be said in passing that those who have laid the foundation of socialism were among those whom their enemies delighted to call intellectual giants—Carl Marx, a doctor of philosophy, and recognized by his worst enemies as one of the mightiest minds of his age, and whose great work, "Capital," for scholarly research and accumulation of facts (we are now saying nothing of its conclusions), has but one rival in the English language—Darwin's "Origin of Species." La Salle, whom Humboldt called "das Wunderkind" (the marvelous child), because of his attainments; Liebknecht, Bebel and Kautsky, products of the best universities of the world; Ferri, the renowned Italian criminologist, these are a few of the great minds whose labors have bit by bit built up the structure of socialist philosophy.

But leaving the man aside for a moment, we will proceed to examine the one book in which the Single Tax is best set forth—the only book, in fact, which has any pretence to being a complete statement of the Single Tax—"Progress and Poverty."

This book is accepted as an inspired document by its believers, and from it they take the texts

upon which the Single Tax is based. I have seen the book with prominence, and as fully and as well as a book, upon which should at least be in its position. Let us given below a paper edition of that edition.

In the first in production of socialist declaration of force under the title to the meant all the whether with excluded who their income. Industry are entitled same as he would only one to be ownership can things, and workshop permits notion that they they make. instruments of mon property, tunity to work they would live terest of the considered in the ducing or laborers, and they will agree that take.

Let us now takes on this agree with us

upon which to preach the truths (?) of Single Tax. I have followed all their writings of any prominence, and I have yet to find an idea not as fully and as well set forth in the original. Such a book, upon which a whole system is to rest, should at least be consistent. It should be clear in its positions and undeviating in its conclusions. Let us see if it is so. The quotations given below are from the Doubleday and McClure paper edition and the page numbers are those of that edition.

In the first place, what is said about the factors in production? This is a fundamental point. The socialist declares that labor is the only productive force under the control of man, and hence is entitled to the entire product. By "laborers" are meant all those performing some useful service, whether with hand or brain, and only those are excluded who depend upon mere ownership for their income. The overseers and organizers of industry are entitled to a share of their product the same as he who uses the spade and pick. The only one to be excluded is the one who because of ownership can keep all others from using certain things, and who then by virtue of that ownership permits men to use "his property" on condition that they give to him the larger part of what they make. The socialists would make all the instruments of production and distribution common property, and after thus giving all the opportunity to work would insist that all *must* work if they would live. This they hold to be in the interest of the only class who should or can be considered in the coming order of society—the producing or laboring class. I believe that all laborers, and the socialist appeals only to this class, will agree that this is the only just position to take.

Let us now see what position the Single Taxer takes on this point. At first sight he seems to agree with us exactly:

"All production is the union of two factors, land and labor." p. 221.

"Now for the production of wealth, two things are required—labor and land." p. 243.

"That which a man makes or produces is his own, as against all the world—to enjoy, or to destroy, to use, to exchange, or to give. No one else can rightfully claim it, and his exclusive right to it involves no wrong to any one else." p. 332.

"Nature acknowledges no ownership or control in man save as the result of exertion. . . . She recognizes no claim but that of labor, and recognizes that without respect to the claimant." p. 333.

"This right of ownership that springs from labor excludes the possibility of any other right of ownership." p. 334.

All this sounds very well, and aside from some rather fanciful allusions to "nature" the socialist would have no particular quarrel with it. Now no one can claim that the income derived from ownership of money is the product of labor. No matter how the money was obtained in the first place, the mere fact of ownership is all that gives rise to interest. So of course Henry George will not agree upon interest being a just sort of revenue. But we find him saying, p. 187:

"Interest springs from the power of increase which the reproductive forces of nature give to capital. It is not an arbitrary but a natural thing; it is not the result of a particular social organization, but of the laws of the universe which underlie society. It is therefore just."

There is about as big a jumble of false statements, antiquated expressions, poor logic and absolutely idiotic reasoning as was ever combined in the same number of words. Read it over carefully again and then see if you can tell what it

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means. If there is any one thing on the face of the earth that is absolutely and completely to the very last degree purely a "result of a particular social organization" that thing is interest. It is wholly dependent upon the institution of private property, which is nothing but a social institution. More than that, it is a result of a particular form of private property, and has prevailed only at certain times and under certain peculiar social organizations. But Henry George tells us that it is the result of the "laws of the universe which underlie society." What sort of everlasting bosh is that? The only forces that underlie the universe are physical forces, gravitation, radiation, etc. Does this juggler with words expect us to believe that money flows into the bank vaults and bondholder's hands purely in obedience to the law of gravitation or is something that pours forth in radiant effulgence from the glorified personalities of our capitalistic rulers? What were the "reproductive forces of nature" that made interest a "natural thing"? What does he mean by "natural" anyhow? Does he mean something that grew wild, as a natural forest? Or does he mean crude, rough, as a "natural wood" chair? This is a good example of the way in which he strings meaningless phrases together to muddle shallow brains.

Now you see in this last quotation he has changed his mind about interest and says it is a good thing. He is even so sure of it that he mentions as one of the good points of the Single Tax that "It will increase the income of those whose incomes are drawn from the earnings of capital," p. 446. He is so impressed with this idea that he tries to capture the laborer by telling him that "It is evident that interest and wages must rise and fall together, and that interest cannot be increased without increasing wages, nor wages lowered without depressing interest," p. 199. This is simply a rehash in a new form of the old false-

hood that the interests of capital and labor are the same, and that the way to get the largest share of the product for the laborer is to give more to the employer.

In another moment this intellectual acrobat has changed front and decides that income derived from ownership is unjust. On page 74 he says of one who inherited government bonds—bonds, mind you, not land—"What this man inherited from his father, and on which he says he lives, is not actually wealth at all, but only the power of commanding wealth as others produce it." And a moment ago we heard him say "This right of ownership which springs from labor excludes the possibility of any other right of ownership." Then he says interest is just and is a "result of the laws of the universe," and then decides that it is a result of the power of commanding wealth as others produce it." Just straighten the kinks out of that muddle, Mr. Single Taxer, and I will at least admit that you are an intellectual genius no matter what I may think of your honesty.

But there is still worse to follow. His explanation of the origin of capital is at least original: "I am inclined to think that the social organism secretes, as it were, the necessary amount of capital just as the human organism in a healthy condition secretes the requisite fat," p. 85. Now there is a clear, lucid, scientific explanation of an economic phenomena for you. There is a "natural law" that is certainly worth looking into. I shall make no comment upon this profound statement. Like the utterances of Kant and Hegel to Henry George, it is too deep to be intelligible to me and I give it up in despair.

Taking another plunge into this philosophical junk shop and keeping a firm hold on the author's position that interest is just, we fish up this gem:

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with which capital when concentrated in large amounts is frequently wielded to corrupt, to rob and to destroy. What I wish to call the reader's attention to is that profits thus derived are not to be confounded with the legitimate returns of capital as an agent of production," p. 193.

And then this is on the next page:

"Any analysis will show that much of the profits which are, in common thought, confounded with interest are in reality due, not to the power of capital, but to the power of concentrated capital."

Then we are to conclude that Henry George is opposed to this concentration of capital from which all the evils of "interest" flows. He would have us go back to the primitive mode of production with all the wastes of competition, with a hundred firms doing the work of one. This would be silly and foolish enough to condemn him to the ranks of those antiquated reformers who are today fighting the trusts and whose intellectual ancestors a half century ago were smashing labor saving machines. But before you have time to hit this erratic philosopher he turns another logical flip-flop and in what really seems to be a lucid moment speaks as follows:

"Nor is any remedy worth considering that does not fall in with the direction of social development, and swim so to speak with the current of the times. That concentration is the order of development there can be no mistaking—the concentration of people in large cities, the concentration of handicrafts in large factories, the concentration of transportation by railroad and steamship lines, and of agricultural operations in large fields. All the currents of time run to concentration. To resist it successfully we must throttle steam and discharge electricity from human service." p. 325.

Now we are started straight again, and those Single Taxers who were howling about the evils of the trusts and department stores were guilty of heresy according to the laws and the gospel as propounded in Progress and Poverty. There is nothing wrong with the private ownership of capital. Interest is just. Capital increases the power of labor to produce wealth (p. 79). It does not limit industry. (p. 80). Its returns rise and fall with wages (p. 199). Therefore the ownership of capital certainly cannot give the possessor any power over the laborer. Yet we hear him saying:

"To buy up the individual property rights would be merely to give the landlord in another form a claim of the same kind and amount that their possession of land now gives them." p. 358.

Just read that sentence over a few times as incidentally it gives the whole Single Tax position away. I shall return to this later, but now it is only quoted to again show the lightning change artist at work in economics.

But one might go on to almost any length pointing out the ridiculous positions and contradictory statements in this work which the Single Taxers would make the foundation of an entire system of philosophy. I think enough has been given to show that so far from containing any consistent philosophy, or any exposition of a scientific theory of society, that it is a mere jumble of glittering generalities of the most contradictory sort. I have shown that its author was in no way a man from whom we should expect a profound philosophy and that when he attempted to talk seriously he was childlike in his ignorance. Lest anyone should claim that short extracts such as those given misrepresent the man I would point out that on the contrary I have in every instance selected quotations which are the conclusions of an argument contained in the context and I hope

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that as many as possible of my readers will consult "Progress and Poverty" to satisfy themselves that Henry George has not been treated unfairly.

It may be claimed that in thus attacking a man we are not answering the system. This would be perfectly true of socialism, which is the product of a host of minds applied to the changing economic society for ages past. But as was said before the Single Tax is a creation of the brain of Henry George, and if he be shown to be a trifler in the realm of social science a strong doubt is cast upon the philosophy he created. The same is true with regard to the book "Progress and Poverty." You might destroy all the books ever written on socialism and so long as industry continued to concentrate and tools to improve and labor to be exploited not a feature of the philosophy is touched. If Marx, Engels, La Salle, Liebknecht and all the other members of the long line of brilliant intellects that have lent their knowledge to the formation of socialist principles were to have their memory blotted out or were to be proved imbeciles, it would not alter in one jot or tittle the socialist position. Socialism is but an interpretation of existing and previous conditions and an explanation of the laws that bring about social change. Therefore it stands as long as those laws and conditions remain unaltered. With Single Tax it is different. It springs from the inner consciousness of a single man and is the child of a single book. Its followers all join in adoration of the man and the book. He is their prophet—it is the inspired volume. Therefore both are fair game to those who would attack the system. If the cornerstone is destroyed the building must fall. However I will now grant for the moment that there is a consistent philosophy of Single Tax, and taking it as its followers generally preach it shall show how it is defective as a scheme of social reform. Waiving for the moment the fact of the impossibility of its

adoption and taking it as something that is really intelligible I shall show that it is a thing of no interest to the producers of wealth.

The Single Taxers say that today industry is limited by the fact that the supply of land being a definite quantity and property rights being recognized in it, large quantities of land are owned and held by the owners simply to receive the increase in value which will accrue by the growth of society. This increase in value, which is purely a social product, due to the exertions of laborers in building up the surrounding territory they call the "unearned increment," and advocate its absorption by society who created it. There can be no doubt as to the correctness of this position and it is as old as the hills, and in no way original with Henry George. The error lies in assuming that this is in any way a peculiarity of the land. In fact the fundamental weakness of the Single Tax, in so far as it has any consistent philosophy to combat, lies in what might be called a sort of "landophobia." Their talk is full of such expressions as "man is a land animal," forgetting that he is equally a water, air, and tool-using animal, to say nothing of Aristotle's discovery that he was also a political animal. They fail to see that once a stage of society is established in which any one of these factors is absolutely essential it is just as important as any other. If a man must have both wood and iron to make an article, it is silly to talk of either one being the essential portion. There can be no degrees of absolute necessity. Today there are various features essential to a civilized society. Among these is land, but no more so than the developed tool or organized social operation of industry. In barbarism, of these three features only the land was essential. In modern culture the other factors have become much more prominent and their freedom would cause a much greater change than freedom of the land.

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Neither does it help their case in any way, as they always seem to think to point out that all these other things are made from land unless they can show that to make the tools needed for *present society all the land* is needed at once. Unless this is so all the talk about a *fundamental* land monopoly is nonsense. As I shall show later on no such condition as this has existed since capitalism, and it is growing less possible of realization with every improvement in production.

This point is important because around it hinges the fundamental difference in the practical working out of the Single Tax and the socialist theory. The socialist insists that as society progresses from stage to stage in development different factors in the social organization become prominent and constitute the central factor in that stage. There may be other essential factors which belong to an earlier social stage, but the fact that these have been supplanted in prominence by some other shows that they are of less significance or else they would have retained their prominence. Land is such a factor. At one time the most prominent factor in production, its owners were the ruling social class. At that time industrial freedom for the laborers could only have come from the control of the land. Later the machine became the dominant factor and its owners were able through its ownership to become the ruling class and to inaugurate our present form of society, or capitalism. Hence those who would be free at this time must strike for the dominant feature of the age—capital.

Hence the Single Taxers have put the "cart before the horse" when they say that "freeing land" would free industry. Their position in this regard is as follows: They say that the reason why industry is so "confined" and that men are idle is because that capital and labor are prevented from going on to the land by the fact of private ownership by those who are holding

the land for an unearned increment. If all land was taxed to its full rental value there would be no land held vacant and any one who wished to start a business could have the land on which to establish it by simply paying the actual rental value irrespective of improvements.

Thus they hold that it is the monopoly of land that causes the formation of all other monopolies, save those resting upon "special privileges" (such as franchises, patents, etc.), which could be abolished by abolishing those privileges. This position contains a perfect nest of errors, and yet upon it rests the entire Single Tax. In the first place all property rights rest upon "special privileges" in that they are maintained by laws made in the interest of the possessing class and which will not be surrendered so long as that class continues to rule. In the second place it fails entirely to take notice of the most important form of monopoly—that resting upon large capitalization. Here we strike at the central weakness of Single Tax. They fail to see that under competition an advantage once gained tends to become cumulative. A big business grows larger, faster than a smaller one simply *because it is big*. The great industry can produce cheaper and can therefore undersell smaller competitors. The larger it grows the greater the difference in cheapness of production. There is a tendency towards monopoly in the very nature of competition. The great industry once established is absolutely independent of any particular piece of land. Once that it has organized its laborers, developed its markets, perfected its machinery and systematized the operation of its plant it can bid defiance to competitors, whether they be given free land or not. The packing houses of Chicago are a good example. Here we have an industry employing, aside from dependent industries, about 40,000 men, women and children. Does anyone with even the slightest excuse for brains believe that if you were to throw

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open every foot of land in America, with or without taxes, other individuals could establish another set of houses. Could they invade the carefully developed markets in every part of the world, reorganize the marvelous organization of laborers with all its scheme of overseers, foremen and superintendents (upon which far more than upon any connection with the land, their monopoly depends), carefully correlate the various mechanical appliances that now constitute such a perfect whole, and do this faster than the present owners could perfect and improve their organization and plant? Without they could do so the monopoly would remain untouched and the slavery of the workers continue unchanged. Another illustration that has been frequently used in this connection is that of the Singer Sewing Machine company, who were given the land free from all taxes upon which to establish their plant. After a number of years the town in which it was situated, growing tired of bearing all the burden of taxation sought to impose taxes upon the company. The company simply threatened to remove its plant. The frightened workmen and small tradesmen seeing and recognizing their absolute dependence upon the firm hastened to reconsider their action. There was plenty of land that would have been given rent free to whoever desired to establish another factory, but there was no one to take it. Again, the waters of Lake Michigan are as free as the air we breathe. Anyone can cast a net into them that wishes. Yet this has not prevented the growth of a great fishing monopoly that controls nearly every net of importance in the lakes and has absolute mastery of the market so far as the little fishers are concerned. Neither has this "free water" prevented John D. Rockefeller from establishing the beginnings of what will be the largest monopoly in the world in the lake carrying trade. There is nothing in the law to prevent whoever wishes from

money to throw away in trying to fight the great Rockefeller steel combine. Retail stores? You can get all the land you want for that purpose with the stores thrown in, at less than rental value from those whom the department store has ruined. What then? Farming? But from every side we hear the complaint of the farmer that he cannot live even when he owns his farm, and that there is "overproduction" of farm products. No. So long as capital remained private property and its owners continued to rule, there would be only one thing that the Single Taxer could do with his "free land"—he could take a sharpened stick and cultivate it, and even then he would have to watch out that some one did not get a corner on the sticks and leave him scratching with his finger nails.

This is not a mere rhetorical figure. It is a statement of a scientific fact whose significance is wider than at first appears. As was previously pointed out each stage in society has added another factor to the essential features of production. Or to put it another way, each social advance has been marked by the fact that some feature hitherto unimportant is raised to the most prominent position. Now land was the dominant feature of savagery and barbarism. To insist on again raising it to prominence is to advocate the relapse to barbarism. Hence it is that the Single Taxers generally carry the idea that the thing desired is the establishment of countless small competing and wasteful enterprises in place of the present great and efficient ones.

The socialist, on the contrary, declares his intention to have the best form of society possible. He believes that the coming order of society will grow out of capitalism and that it will contain all the desirable features of capitalism with the added one of a better organization of social powers and more just distribution of the wealth produced. He sees that the present society is

society has shown what the first step is that they must take when they have reached this point. They must take possession of all the powers of production and distribution and make them the property of all producers. All the mines, factories, railroads, machines, etc., being the property of society anyone who desires to produce can secure access to them at any time. There being no class of owners to appropriate the larger share of the product all will be given to him who produces it. All will then be producers and hence there can be no exploitation—no class rule. Whatever is produced will be for use and not for sale. The persons who receive the product will not be forced to search the earth over to find someone to whom they can sell it for more than they paid for it. Not only will the best and most improved forms of production as known to capitalism be employed, but by perfect concentration of industry and abolition of all the wastes of competition, with a universal utilization of all the powers of production which are now under private control it will be possible to produce all that society could require with a small fraction of the time in which the average laborer is now engaged. Things will be produced because someone desires to use them and not because someone hopes to make a profit on them. Hence there can be no overproduction until all wants are satisfied.

This is a general outline of the society that the socialists hold is destined to grow out of the present one as soon as the laborers have sufficient intelligence to vote for their own interests instead of those of their masters. It is not a pretty picture that has been built up from the brain of some dreamer, but is the result of a series of deductions as to what *must* naturally follow with the process of social development. If anyone does not believe that they are the proper deductions to be drawn he can study present social conditions and past developments and draw his own

conclusions. That is where the socialist secured his ideas and he believes that the supply is not yet exhausted.

So much for the theory of Single Tax in contrast with that of socialism. Now just one word as to practical tactics. In the present society the rule of the capitalist class and the consequent enslavement of the laborers is secured by the actions of the laborers themselves. They continually vote into power their own oppressors. They are led to this through a process of deception as to their real interests. The capitalist class, because of their control of the means for the communication of intelligence—the press, the schools, the colleges and universities with the pulpit and the lecture platform—are able to keep the laborers deluded as to their own interests. The principal way in which this is done is through the means of capitalist politics. The workers are continually led to believe that their interests lie with one or the other of the capitalist parties. They are thus led to divide their forces among the enemy in a sort of "heads they win and tails we lose" game from the point of view of the laborers. Of late years old issues are well nigh worn out and the ruling class have found themselves hard put to it to find "issues" upon which to divide the laborers while they are being robbed. This becomes continually harder as the doctrine of socialism spreads among the workers, teaching them to unite for their own interests. Hence it has been found necessary to raise a number of issues that are supposed to be particularly in the interest of the workers. These are advocated as "reforms" and palliative measures. Such are municipal ownership, old age pensions, cheap housing, etc. So long as the capitalist class remains in power all such measures can be of no benefit to the laboring class as a whole. Now just at present the Single Tax is proving a valuable help in this scheme. A number of "reform" politicians are using it as a

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means of showing their interest in the votes of the "dear laborer." It is dragged out on every occasion and because of the fact that a number of sincere, earnest fanatics can be enlisted in its support it always proves a fairly good drawing card. It is because of this fact that the socialist attacks it. He knows that in and of itself it can have no strength. He knows that no movement that is not in the line of social development can possibly succeed and hence has no fears of the Single Tax "getting in ahead of him" as some of its believers accuse him of thinking, and which implies that social schemes can be tried on like misfit garments, and if Single Tax does not "work" socialism may. But the socialist sees that Single Tax may constitute a means in the hands of shrewd politicians to delude the laborer into a few more years of slavery. On this ground he opposes its propaganda and denounces its so-called philosophy.

The socialist insists that social progress has always been through the war of classes with opposing interests, and that each great social advance has been marked by the conquest of the previous ruling class by a hitherto subject class whom economic conditions had raised to a dominant position in the industrial world. He holds that the laboring class has been raised to that dominant economic position in our present society and stands opposed to the present ruling capitalist class. Hence he maintains that the next great step in social advance will lie in the victory of the laborers and opposes any method of propaganda which diverts the attention of the laborers from adherence to the party of their own interests. For this reason he attacks the Single Taxer and insists that the laborers who really seek freedom must gather in support of their own interests into a class-conscious party of the laborers, by the laborers and for the laborers.

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In no other country is the "farmer question" of such paramount importance as in America and nowhere else are the farmers so powerful industrially and politically; nowhere else are they so intelligent, alert and full of initiative.

The coöperation of the farmers is absolutely essential to the success of Socialism. The success of Socialism is the only hope of the farmer.

Bearing these facts in view, A. M. Simons, the editor of the *International Socialist Review*, has written a book entitled "The American Farmer," intended to bring Socialism to the farmer and the farmer to the Socialists. It is a work which every student of economics must have if he would understand the industrial life of America as a whole. It is a book which every farmer must read if he would know the solution and the outcome of the economic and social problems which are forced upon him. The following table of contents will give some idea of the scope of the book:

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- Chap. V.—The Great Plains.
- Chap. VI.—The Far West.
- Chap. VII.—The Arid Belt.

Book II.—Agricultural Economics.

- Chap. I.—The Movement Toward the City.
- Chap. II.—The Transformation of Agriculture.
- Chap. III.—Concentration in Agriculture.
- Chap. IV.—The Modern Farmer.
- Chap. V.—The Farmer and the Industrial Wage-Worker.

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FOR THE WORKERS

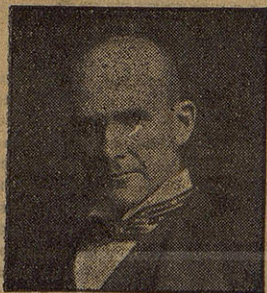
Modern Socialism is so closely related to modern science that it can scarcely be understood without some knowledge of the facts that science has brought to light. Scientific books are a necessity for the socialist, who studies them that he may reach a better understanding of socialism, and circulates them, because they silently undermine the theological prejudice against the socialist principle of economic determinism, among those who can not yet be reached by direct propaganda. A new series of books has lately appeared in Germany, giving the completest proofs of evolution and the latest discoveries of science. We have arranged to translate and publish some of the best of these, along with such original works in the same line as are available. Five books are now ready, two more are in press, and others will follow as rapidly as the necessary capital can be raised.

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No. 13

SOCIALISM THE ANTICHRIST

By
ISADOR LADOFF



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Marx aptly puts it, "a popular striving after the illusory happiness that corresponds with a social condition which needs such an illusion." The illusion is no longer.

SOCIALISM THE ANTICHRIST

By
ISADOR LADOFF



Author of
"THE PASSING OF CAPITALISM"
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ETC.

The calves are seen to roast the cook.
On men are riding the horses;
On freedom of teaching and laws of light
The Catholic owl discourses.—Heine.

Socialism, the Antichrist

The Catholic Church is the Christian Church par excellence. It is the most potent Christian institutional church in the world. Its attitude toward Socialism is, therefore, very typical of the institutional church in general.

Pope Leo XIII issued two encyclicas concerning Socialism, one of which was dated May 15, 1891, and the other January 18, 1902. In these documents he enlarges upon the Christian Democracy, destined to replace in the future *Christian Socialism*. He distinguishes between *Christian* and *Political* Democracy. The task of the *Christian Democracy* consists in the religious and moral elevation of the souls and is based on the principles contained in the Christian faith. Christian Democracy has therefore to preserve vested rights in property, to preserve class privileges and to strengthen by all means the existing form of the State and Society with all powers at its command. Christian Democracy should not neglect the interests of the *higher* classes. *Religion and virtue* should be the foundation of all social and political activity. The social problem is primarily a religious and moral problem and must be solved by religion and morality. Christian love, expressed in charity and almsgiving, has its important mission. However, it is necessary that all Catholics unite in order that the Christian Democracy may be effective. Such a unification of all Catholic forces is especially imperative for the purpose of combating Social Democracy, threatening alike the existing State and Church.

The priests are therefore urged to impress upon the mind of the people to be careful to avoid unrest and preachers of unrest and dissatisfaction, to avoid the discussion of *useless* questions, to respect *other* people's rights, to obey the powers that be and *serve* them *willingly*. The priests are further instructed to imbue the people with religious ideas of life, so as to *furnish consolation* in the vicissitudes of life and gather force for the *highest aim,—the heavens*.

Obviously the only thing new in the encyclicas is the term *Christian Democracy*. Old, sour wine in a new cask! Asceticism, servility, petrified dogmatism, life beyond the grave are the things dished out by the Pope as remedies against the crying injustices of our social-economic fabric; a clerical stone instead of the bread of rational self-help advocated by the Socialists. There are among us servants and masters, poor and rich, persecutors and persecuted, oppressors and

oppressed, exploiters and exploited, vested rights and fearful wrongs. What of it? The Church says, "Let us have peace, religion, virtue (?) in this 'vale of tears and sighs' and all wrongs will be righted after we are dead and buried." What an elevating, ennobling program of endeavor! Indeed, all evil in this world ruled by the Lord Almighty is, according to the teachings of the church, necessary, nay benevolent. If there were no evil, where would there be any necessity for the spiritual services of the Holy Church? If there were no poor, there would be no need in almsgiving, no "sweet" charity. If there were no ignorance, there would be no superstitious fear, no irrational hope, no stupid satisfaction with misery, no servile submission to exploitation, no respect for social parasites and drones! And the State is to be considered the protector of the Church, while the latter is the handmaid of the former. Manus manum lavat! What a touching harmony between the policeman and the self-appointed representative of God on earth!

Such is the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church toward the modern Labor movement, toward its advance guard—the Socialist movement. And it is the consistent attitude on the part of an institution based on class interests sanctioned by religious supernaturalism. It is the consistent attitude of all institutional churches—Catholic, Protestant, Mohammedan or Mosaic. The historic mission of all institutional churches consists in hypnotizing the toiling masses of humanity into passive submission to the ruling classes. The Lord of all churches is an unlimited monarch, a despot, benevolent or otherwise as the case may be, but a despot just the same. The Kingdom of Heaven is a monarchy, where only the will of one is law. A democratic republic on earth is a defiance of the Lord Almighty, as represented by the church. The latter never did and never can consistently reconcile itself to a democratic republic, all its hypocritical assertions to the contrary. What is true concerning political freedom, political democracy is thousandfold more true in respect to economic democracy to Socialism. The very idea of economic democracy must be abhorrent to a truly religious person, to a genuine Christian. Political democracies are very inhospitable toward orthodox Christianity and this inhospitability is rather alarmingly increasing with the spread of popular enlightenment in spite of the moral and financial support of the ruling classes and the official capitalist State. It is easy enough to imagine what will happen to the churches within the folds of the co-operative commonwealth of the future! The simple fact that under Socialism everybody who is in good health will have either to work in some capacity or other, or get along without the necessities of life, the eliminating of social-economic parasitism is sufficient to horrify the leisure class of middlemen between the Kingdom of Heaven and the miserable brood of Adam and Eve. August Bebel is perfectly correct in his statement that "Christianity and Socialism are antagonistic to each other as fire and water. The so-called sound kernel of Christianity is not specifically Christian, but rather generally human. What actually distinguishes Christianity are its teaching

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and dogmatic rubbish (Dogmenkram) inimical to humanity." Indeed historical Christianity was always inimical to culture and civilization.

The known historian of Culture and Civilization, the Bavarian, F. Coll, states as the result of his researches concerning the role of the church as follows: "The Christian Church presented humanity with persecutions, auto da fe's and perdition (Verderben), with obstruction (Hemmung) and enslavement instead of development and advancement of Science. It brought barbarity and raving fanaticism instead of culture and humanitarianism, it spread mental darkness and popular stultification instead of enlightenment. Only when the church lost its deadly grip on the popular mind, in the XIII-XIV centuries in Italy and in the XV century in Germany, was there a revival of interest in the study of the literary treasures of pagan antiquity. The dawn of rejuvenated progress dazzled the eyes of the Western World, accustomed to the dismal gloom of the Dark Ages, and the progress went on with the aid of the non-Christian Arabian culture in spite of all persecution and obstruction on the part of the frantic church, who for ages kept the classics of Greece and Rome buried beneath heaps of dust and rubbish."

What else could be expected from a "revealed" religion, founded on blind faith, slavish submission to authority and tradition—unreasoning acceptance of dead dogmas and most flagrant superstition? The institutional church is of necessity inimical to its own deadly enemies—culture and civilization, based on human reason and its unhampered exercise: observation, investigation, experimentation and rational generalization or deduction from carefully ascertained facts.

Religion knows miracles, Science but immutable laws of nature. Religion teaches blind faith in the unexplainable. Its motto is: "Credo quia absurdum est!" ("I believe in spite of its absurdity!") Science investigates the mysterious and removes the mystery. Religion revels in mysteries as certain beings in muddy water. The muddier, the merrier is the sport.

There is no common ground between Religion and Science. Religion cannot be reformed, it can only be weakened. With the advance of knowledge the gods spread their wings and depart to some nook and corner of the earth where the darkness of ignorance still reigns supreme: Spain, Russia, France, Canada. The concrete (objective) foundation of all revealed religions is a miserable humanity clamoring for mystic salvation of souls, whatever that term may mean. The self-imposed task of each religion is to save from imaginary instead of actual evil. And the most astounding fact about the struggle with self-created phantoms is, that the religions looked for a means of salvation outside of humanity, above the earth to another phantom. It is a Punch and Judy show of ghosts with the church pulling the strings, while the stupid crowd gazes with holy terror at the performance and the shekels flow and flow in a generous stream into the spacious pockets of the priests. The imaginary evil serves as a means of masking the actual evils of an unjust and irrational social-economic system. The salvation of the soul is an ingenious means of making people

forget the urgent salvation of their material self from exploitation by the rich and powerful. And the Kingdom of Heaven is an ingenious means of consoling the people with the frightful wrongs of the material existence on earth. Rationalized humanity is willing to relinquish the Kingdom of Heaven, as the German poet says, to the angels and sparrows. And Socialism is rationalism applied to social-economic institutions. Socialism is based on the theory of evolution. Socialism would be impossible without emancipated modern thought, Free Thought and Science.

The modern agnostic or atheistic phase of the labor movement called Socialism, is anything but Christian. Nay, it is anti-Christian. *Modern Socialism is the Anti-Christ.* According to a Sicilian legend "*The Anti-Christ shall seem as Christ himself.* There shall be great want and Anti-Christ shall go from land to land and give bread to the poor and he shall find many followers."

The similarity between primitive Christianity and Socialism is but superficial indeed. Modern Socialism recognizes but material evil as the foundation of all other evils. It recognizes that the exploitation of men by men is responsible for the poverty, ignorance and vices of the toiling masses. It insists on the irrationality, wastefulness and injustice of our present system of society and preaches rational, scientific readjustment of social relations in harmony with the progress in the modes of production. Socialism is not a scheme of salvation concocted by a man or a group of men. It is a new phase of civilization destined to replace our present commercial one, which outlived its usefulness. There is nothing mystic or mythical about modern Socialism. It has no need in supernatural sanction. It appeals to human reason, to the best and noblest that is in men, to his love of his fellow-men, to his sense of justice and fair play, to his artistic instincts. Socialism is concerned only with human affairs on the earth, it preaches social-economic self-help, co-operation in the exploitation of bountiful nature. Socialism is animated by the spirit of meliorism. Socialists are confident that a normal material existence is the necessary foundation of a normal, spiritual life, that material salvation must necessarily lead to spiritual salvation, provided human souls are in need of salvation from anything except irrationality and superstition.

The miracles performed by Socialism are far more important than the miracles recorded in the Bible. Socialism united more than seventy millions of toilers of all races, climes and countries of the world into one international brotherhood, into one political organization with common fundamental principles based on rational economic and democratic ideals. The church divided them in so many religions, denominations and creeds. Socialism has done more for the preservation of peace on earth and good will to men, than the Christian Church during the thousands of years since the vicarious atonement of its founder.

Socialism broke the silent majesty of the material misery of the masses by spreading the gospel of discontent with unjust and irrational social economic institutions. Socialism created a new Social conscience, it brought a new social hope of a better, brighter future on

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earth into the most magnificent palace and the most miserable hovel. It caused a revaluation of ethical conceptions, based on an unrefutable indictment of the profit, rent and interest system, the unholy trinity sanctioned by the Church from time immemorial. Socialism forced its way into the governments of the world, into the institutions of learning, into the arts and literaturum, nay—horribile dictu—into the bar and pulpit. Socialism is in the very air we breathe. It cannot be ignored. It compels respect and attention by the logic of its arguments, by the character and number of its adherents, by the loftiness of its ideals, by the nobility of its aspirations, by its humanitarian enthusiasm.

The martyrologue of Socialism is far more inspiring of awe and reverence to all the friends of humanity than the martyrologue of Christianity. The martyrs of Socialism suffered and died, not for a phantom but for mankind, for the betterment of the material condition of their persecuted, downtrodden, exploited brothers in humanity.

Socialism is the proletarian movement turned conscious, it is the proletarian movement turned rational and articulate, it is the philosophy and ethics of the proletarian movement. Socialism appeals to the suffering majority in the words of the Russian poet:

"My friend, my brother, weary, suffering brother, whoever you be, be not discouraged. Let untruth and evil have full sway on earth that is watered with tears, let the sacred ideal be crushed and defamed, let them shed the blood of innocents. Believe me, the time is coming when Baal will perish, and Love will return upon earth! Not with a crown of thorns, nor oppressed with chains, nor with a cross upon its bent shoulders. It will come into the world in its strength and splendor, in its hands a bright torch of glory. There will be in the world neither tears, nor warring, nor crossless graves, nor serfs, nor cheerless, deadening want, nor the sword, nor pillory.

"O my friend! That bright vision is not a dream, nor an empty hope. Look about you—everywhere evil oppresses too much, everywhere night is too dark! The world will grow tired of torments, will get weary of senseless battles—and it will raise to Love, to unhampered Love, its eyes, full of yearning."

The fundamental principles of Socialism cannot be reconciled with the fundamental principles of the institutional church. Such fundamental principles are economic determinism or the materialistic conception of history including the role of the class struggle in human social development.

"The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they had been at work before. From forms of

development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then comes the period of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed." (Karl Marx: "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy." New York, 1904. Pages 11-12.)

To read these graphic lines means to realize how utterly incompatible Economic Determinism is with Religious conceptions of the causes "determining the general character of the social, political, and spiritual processes of life," and especially with Christian conception of these processes. It is one of the two. Either a supernatural being or the mode of production in material life. It cannot be both at the same time. To claim that the deity fashions "the production in material life" is to take refuge to a sophistic subterfuge. And again—the spiritual processes of life, including religion are, according to K. Marx, also the products of material life. Can this clear statement be reconciled with the hazy teachings of the institutional Church? Or is Revelation to be explained as the result of "the mode of production in material life?" Can Revelation be identified with Revolution, or even peaceful, slow Evolution? To ask these questions means to answer them. Indeed all Christians deny the validity of Economic Determinism as they deny the validity of Determinism and Materialism in general. So-called "Christian Socialists" claim even that economic Determinism is not essential to Social philosophy. However rational, i. e. Scientific Socialism is unthinkable without historic materialism. If history is but the result of the will, whims and fancies of an unknowable, supernatural personality—there is no place for rational endeavor on the part of single lovers of mankind and groups of such men—large or small—to consciously shape social institutions to suit their ideas and ideals. Surely no sane person will be satisfied with the frequently advanced sophistic subterfuge, that the deity works out its plans by proxy, through the agency of human beings, especially selected for that purpose. Modern minds want to know, instead of believing in something nobody knows anything about. Mystics may enlarge upon the unreliability of our senses, the limitations of our human mind to their hearts' content. However, this admitted unreliability and limitation is in no way an argument against trusting our senses and using our mind in all processes of life. Unreliable as our senses may be, limited as our mind may be, our senses and mind are our only guides in the intricate labyrinth of the universe. What would we think of a man groping in a dark, mysterious place with a small taper in his trembling hands, who would throw away this taper, preferring to grope in utter darkness? Another fundamental principle of Socialist philosophy is the recognition of the fact that the conflict of the material interests between the class of employers of labor, capitalists, on the one hand and the class of employees, on the other hand, laborers, causes an unconscious struggle between these two classes. Socialists try to introduce the consciousness into this class struggle with the purpose of abolishing classes from human society forever. The Christian Church cannot con-

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sistently admit the existence of this class antagonism and struggle without subscribing at the same time to the materialistic conception of History, of which the theory of the Class struggle is but a derivative. All maudlin prattle about the "inscrutable ways of providence" will not blind any rational person to the absurdity of the supposition, that a deity would for some mysterious purpose create antagonistic classes, allow them to fight out their battles and fill the world with misery, degradation and incongruities.

All rational reformers or revolutionists base their actions on the tacit or expressed assumption that man is not a passive puppet in the hands of a deity, but that he is to a considerable extent, the master of his own destinies, especially when acting in harmony with his fellow-men. This assumption is irreligious, unchristian on the face of it. If the world is governed by a deity, the human will and mind count for nothing. On the other hand, if the world is ruled by laws—the human mind may study these laws and use them to the advantage of humanity. If the world is governed by a deity—all that man may do is to humbly pray and fast. On the other hand—if the world is ruled by laws—man can think and work. Thinking and working makes men free, while praying and fasting enslaves them. People pray and fast because they fear, people think and work because they love. If God be Love, as some Christians claim—He must be a total stranger to the institutional church, whose hands are stained with the blood of martyrs for Freedom and human rights.

The final aim of Socialism is to emancipate humanity from the thralldom of material subjection, to make it a brotherhood of equals as far as chances for advancement and fundamental rights are concerned—to organize society on principles of science, art and human sympathy. The institutional church certainly cannot consistently sanction such ideals.

Is Religion a private affair, as some Socialists claim officially? If religion means a theory of the universe, a philosophy of life, a code of morals—it cannot be considered as a private, i. e., exclusively personal matter. In modern society the inter-relations and associations of all its members are so very complex and vitally interwoven, that not only the actions, but even the sentiments and thoughts of one and each are to a great extent the concern of all others. We are the keepers of our brothers whether we do or do not like it. Religion as defined by us deeply affects our thoughts, our sympathies, our ideals, our conceptions of right and wrong, our relations to our fellowmen, to the state and social groups. It cannot, therefore, be said truthfully, that religion is a private affair.

The arguments advanced by the adherents of the principle of non-interference or strict neutrality in religious matters are in the main as follows: Religion has to be treated as a personal matter out of consideration of tactics. Socialism having enough antagonists as a strictly secular movement, it were unwise to arouse some more opposition by openly declaring hostility to the institutional church. It were unwise to unchain the beast of religious hatred, intolerance and

superstition. Religion being only a superstructure of material conditions, with the change of these conditions will have to go out of existence by itself. As Laboriola states it in his *Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History*, "Ideas do not fall from heaven, and what is more (important), like other products of human activity, they are formed in given circumstances, through the action of definite needs, thanks to the repeated attempts at their satisfaction, and by the discovery of such and such other means of proof, which are, as it were, the instruments of their production and elaboration. Even ideas involve a basis of social conditions." And yet we maintain, that the declaration: "The Socialist Party is not concerned with matters of religious belief," is untruthful and consequently unwise. *Tactics are out of place in questions of fundamental principles.* In great things and small, *Truth is the best policy.* The Materialistic conception of history on which modern Socialist philosophy is built cannot possibly be reconciled with the mystic conception of the institutional church. *It is either Christ or Antichrist.* It is no use to shut our eyes to the mortal antagonism between the two. *Christ cannot be reconciled with Antichrist.* They cannot live in peace, as the past cannot be identified with the future, as night and day cannot co-exist at the same time. The church knows it, too, very well.

Socialism has been opposed on many strange grounds, but here is the latest: A Prof. Kirby of the Catholic University of Washington, D. C., says he believes "Socialism is a very great menace to our civilization," these are his very words, "because it appeals to the best in human nature; because it appeals to the imagination, and because much of its criticism of present-day institutions is well founded." And then he adds: "I would use all my influence to prevent its development; but for all that I believe it is useless to combat it by saying that it is impossible, that it is ridiculous or that it is full of errors. The danger lies in misunderstanding, in underrating Socialism, and in assuming that those of us that are conservative are altogether right."

"The heresy of the hour" is the characterization that Archbishop Farley of New York put upon Socialism in an address at the Cathedral College. The New York Tribune states that the attack was inspired by the annual report of Monsignor Wall, spiritual director of three hundred Sunday school teachers and missionaries belonging to the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. Monsignor Wall had set forth to the teachers two growing obstacles in their work of keeping Catholics true to the faith—Socialism and the settlement houses "that work into the sympathies of the poor Catholic by clothing him and giving him food and then rob him of his faith"—after the fashion of Christian missionaries in Mohammedan and Buddhist communities. Archbishop Farley backed up the monsignor by saying: "I especially approved of the part of your director general's report that concerned Socialism. He could not have been too strong in a denunciation of this propaganda. It is the heresy of the hour—a rampant heresy. It is an organized attempt to establish a religion in which no religion,

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no faith, is taught. And look at the means they have of spreading this doctrine. I am informed that there are thirteen hundred newspapers in the world propagating the principles of Socialism. It is corroding the working classes. In the factories of this and more conservative countries, such as England and Germany, the workingmen are furnished these newspapers free. They devour daily this mental pabulum that poisons their souls. I have recently completed a study of the principles of Socialism. I find that its leaders make an open profession of Atheism. With them there is no hereafter; 'this life ends it all.' 'Eat, drink, and be merry,' they say, 'for tomorrow we die.' Fortunately Catholics have not been influenced to a very large extent by the spread of this new doctrine. I thank God for it. It is for you and for me to combat this common enemy. Teachers must tell the clergymen of the parish in which they are working when they find that Socialism is making inroads." Socialists will know by these presents that they are heretics, and any Catholic authority will inform them of the end they may expect as such. It is, briefly, that after one or two admonitions they are to be abandoned to the secular arm to be put to death without the shedding of blood, to-wit: by being burned at the stake. That is the formula. How much did it profit our Socialist friends to put that plank in their platform declaring that "Socialism has nothing to do with religion?"

The Church knows that Socialism, in spite of the declaration of neutrality of the latter in religious matters, undermines the very foundation of the former. *The Church realizes that Socialism is the Antichrist* and must combat it with all the powers and resources of religion. For the Church it is a question of life and death, a struggle for existence. Why, then, should the Socialists not engage in an open aggressive campaign against the Church? Would not an honest, open war between Christ and Antichrist be more dignified, more wise and more effective than a false pretence of neutrality and a defensive attitude toward the attacks of the Church? Let us have the courage of our convictions, not only in matters of social and economic significance, but in all things affecting the interests of the toiling masses of humanity, including religious institutions.

But aside from all considerations of moral warfare, is it not a fact that the institutional Church was always and is now the bulwark of class-rule and exploitation of the masses by the privileged minorities? Is it not a fact that the institutional Church itself always was and is now one of the most parasitic institutions humanity was ever afflicted with? To use the expression of the great German poet and thinker—the church always had a good stomach. It devoured many a nation. And even now the church, as all parasites, thrives best where the people are the weakest mentally and economically—in Spain, France, Canada, Russia and Southern Italy. What justification have we Socialists in shutting our eyes to the parasite features of the institutional Church? Why should we ignore the fact that the Church in the United States enjoys, for instance, *freedom from taxation*? Is not this freedom from taxation of church property an indirect tax on the

working class? And is not the entire expense of maintaining the Church in the final consideration carried by the producing class?

In sixteen years the aggregate value of church property in the United States, as estimated by Dr. H. K. Carroll, who compiled the religious statistics for the government in 1890, has increased from \$679,496,489 to \$1,257,575,867. The gain on all is 85 per cent. The gain on property held by the Catholic church is 147 per cent. There could not be a stronger argument than this for the taxation of church property, and it is about time for Protestants, who can hold their own with the Catholics neither numerically nor financially, to see the duty imposed upon them as citizens if not as Christians. Our legislatures are filling up with Roman Catholics who are prevented by their religion from voting to tax Catholic church property, but can place any disability they choose on other property.

Under the head of "value of church property" is included the estimated value in 1906 of the buildings owned and used for worship by the organizations reporting, together with the value of their sites, and of their furniture, organs, bells, etc. It does not include the value of rented buildings or halls, nor of parsonages, parochial school buildings, theological seminaries, monasteries, convents, or the like. Reports as to the value of church property owned were made by 186,132 organizations, or 87.7 per cent of the total number. The total value of church property reported in 1906 for all denominations, was \$1,257,575,867, of which \$935,942,578 was reported for Protestant bodies, \$292,638,787 for the Roman Catholic Church, and \$28,994,502 for all the remaining bodies.

In the consideration of the foregoing statistics it must be kept in mind that some bodies are not very fully represented. For example, for the Jewish congregation only 747 organizations or considerably less than one-half the entire number, reported the value of church property owned by them, and, similarly, for the Church of Christ, Scientist, only 401 organizations, or not much more than three-fifths of the entire number, made a report. For the Roman Catholic Church, only a little more than four-fifths of the total number of organizations made any report of property owned, while the Eastern Orthodox Churches as a whole, show a report for only about one-fifth of all their organizations. In these, and in other cases, there has not been, therefore, a full report of the value of church property, and the total amounts shown, even though large in themselves, do not, in all probability represent the whole amount of property owned and used for worship by the several denominations. The figures for 1890, like those for 1906, also probably represent the value of church property so far as reported, and similarly, do not stand for the entire value of church property owned and used for worship at that period.

The Unitarians, with church property valued at \$14,263,277, as reported by 406 organizations, have a comparatively low rank in total value, but are first in point of average value, with an average of \$35,131 for each organization reporting. The Jewish congregations, with property valued at \$23,198,925, as reported by 747 organizations,

rank just above the Roman Catholic Church in the average value. The increase reported was \$515,441 in the value of Catholic Church property of any of the bodies by the Baptist and other bodies. The increase shown of consideration for Christ, Scientist, reported by the independent or Christians, Dunkers, and reported increase.

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rank just above the Unitarians in total value, but are second with respect to average value, with an average value of \$31,056. The Roman Catholic Church, which is first in point of total value of church property reported, \$292,638,787, comes third in the average value per organization reporting, with \$28,431, and is followed by the Church of Christ, Scientist, and the Protestant Episcopal Church, with average values per organization of \$21,961 and \$20,644 respectively. The increase from 1890 to 1906 in the value of church property reported was \$578,149,378, of which \$386,246,871 represents the increase in the value of the property reported by Protestant bodies and \$174,515,441 the increase in the value of the property reported by the Roman Catholic Church. The Methodist bodies reported the largest increase of any of the Protestant denominations, \$97,310,817, and were followed by the Baptist bodies with an increase of \$57,514,533, and the Presbyterian bodies with an increase of \$55,328,099. The percentage of increase shown for the different families varies greatly. Leaving out of consideration the phenomenal increases shown for the Church of Christ, Scientist, and the Eastern Orthodox Churches, the property reported by the Latter-day Saints more than trebled in value, while the independent churches, the Roman Catholic Church, the Disciples or Christians, the Jewish congregations, the Lutheran bodies, the Dunkers, and the German Evangelical Synod of North America, reported increases of more than 100 per cent.

The church is not a producer, but a consumer. It exists on the means of the toilers. It has no means of its own. Ernest Crosby describes correctly this state of affairs in his "poem in prose" entitled, "The Collection."

"I passed the plate in church.

There was little silver, but the crisp bank-notes heaped themselves up
high before me;

And ever as the pile grew, the plate became warmer and warmer,
Until it finally burned my fingers, and a smell of scorching flesh
Rose from it, and I perceived that some of the notes were beginning
to smoulder and curl, half-browned at the edges.

And then I saw through the smoke into the very substance of the
money, and I beheld what it really was.

I saw the stolen earnings of the poor, the wide margin of wages pared
down to starvation;

I saw the underpaid factory girl eking out her living on the street,
and the overworked child, and the suicide of the discharged miner;
I saw poisonous gases from great manufactories spreading death and
discord;

I saw despair and drudgery filling the dram shop;

I saw rents screwed out of brother men for permission to live in
God's land.

I saw men shut out from the bosom of the earth and begging for the
poor privilege to work, in vain, and becoming tramps and paupers
and drunkards and lunatics, and crowding into almshouses, in-
sané asylums, prisons;

I saw ignorance and vice and crime growing rank in stifling filthy slums;
 I saw usury, springing from usury, itself again born of unjust monopoly and purchased laws and legalized violence;
 I saw shoddy cloth and adulterated food and lying goods of all kinds, cheapening men and women and vulgarizing the world;
 I saw hideousness extending itself from coal mine and foundry over forest, and river and field.
 I saw money grabbed from fellow grabbers and swindled from fellow swindlers, and underneath them the workmen forever spinning it out of his vitals.
 I saw all the laboring world, thin and pale and bent and careworn and driven, pouring out this tribute from its toil and sweat into the laps of the richly dressed men and women in the pews, who only glanced at them to shrink from them in disgust;
 I saw money worshipped as a God, and given grudgingly from hoards so great that it could not be missed, as a bribe from superstition to a dishonest judge in the expectation of escaping hell.
 I saw all this, and the plate burned my fingers so that I had to hold it first in one hand and then in the other, and I was glad when the parson in his white robe took the smoking pile from me on the chancel steps and, turning about, lifted it up and laid it on the altar.
 It was an old-time altar indeed, for it bore a burnt offering of flesh and blood—a sweet savor unto the Moloch whom these people worship with their daily round of human sacrifices.
 The shambles are in the temple as of yore, and the tables of the money-changers waiting to be overturned."

And who will overturn the tables of the money changers if not Socialism—the Antichrist? It was Christ Jesus' mistaken notion that he could successfully accomplish it without at the same time destroying the temple. The fact is that the *temple and the money changers belong together*. There is no stronger alliance in history than that between the parasitic classes oppressing the masses economically and politically on one side and the spiritual hypnotizers of the people on the other, between the ruling class and the institutional church.

Socialism, the Antichrist will break up this evil alliance between the earthly and heavenly trusts by doing away forever with class-rule and the institutional church simultaneously.

Socialism will free men and women economically, materially. And economic, material freedom will free men and women mentally and morally from the thralldom of the church.

Socialism is unthinkable without the materialistic conception of history and the institutional church is unthinkable with the materialistic conception of history.

Religion cannot therefore be a private affair from the point of view of logical Socialism. The sooner we realize it the better. The Socialist Party of America ought to declare openly and unequivocally

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its opposition to the institutional church in its general declaration of principles. It ought to incorporate into its minimum program (immediate demand) the following points:

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in the Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment by the President of the United States or by the governors of the various states, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitution of the United States and of the several states, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privileges or advantages shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

THE COMMON ENEMY.

Religion the foe alike of the Freethinker and of the Socialist.

The term religion admits of several interpretations. However vague and hazy the term religion may be in the popular mind, to the critical thinker religion appears as a psychological (a German would say "Voelker-psychologisch") growth of two principal aspects.

Religion comprises, on the one hand, a theory of the universe at large, a cosmogony, and on the other hand, a system of conduct in every day life-ethics.

The religious cosmogony is demolished to such an extent by natural sciences as to present in our distressingly sober age a rather pitiful although somewhat quaint and picturesque ruin. No amount of

modernization by so-called "higher criticism" (whatever that term may mean) can restore the barbarian splendor of this ruin. To galvanize a corpse does not mean to restore it to life. The system of conduct identified in the popular mind with religion is vital, not on account of its connection with religion, but rather in spite of its religious appendage. It is morality by and for itself, ethics per se, that lends dignity and meaning to religion, and not religion to morality. Morality is an antecedent of religion. Ethics are as old as life on earth.

As soon as the germs of gregarious life in the animal kingdom developed to such an extent as to surpass excessive tendencies of individual variation (centrifugal, anarchic tendencies) in the interests of the survival of the species (centripetal, archic tendencies); as soon as the first rudiments of "consciousness of kind" triumphed over the primordial consciousness of self—a system of conduct of individuals composing the species (social aggregate) toward each other, started to evolve. Morality, ethics, is a sub-human institution, a purely biological phenomenon. Morality is the expression of the interests of the social aggregate, as opposed to the narrowly understood individual interests. All conduct tending toward the conservation and furthering of the interests of the social aggregate is considered as good and praiseworthy, heroic and noble by this aggregate; and vice versa, all conduct tending towards impairing the interests of the social aggregate, is considered by this unit as bad, blameworthy, cowardly, and mean. Hence the relativity and changeability of all moral conceptions in space and time.

The higher an animal species stands on the evolutionary ladder the more developed and pronounced is its "consciousness of kind," the more strict is the subjection of the individual will to the will of the aggregate or social unit, the higher is its morality.

The human race is the most gregarious, the most social of all animal species, as it is physically one of the weakest and individually, the most helpless of all animal species. It has reached the climax in the "consciousness of kind" or "race-consciousness," as we would prefer to term it. There was no choice about it. Nothing can be more natural than that the human code of conduct reached the highest degree of development. And this evolution of morals or ethics—itsself an evolutionary biological phenomenon—can terminate only with the life of the race on earth. Religion could not and did not create morality or ethics. Morality or ethics existed long before religion was evolved in the crude mind of the human animal of bygone ages, and will survive religion in the enlightened ages of the future. Religion found morality deeply ingrained in the nature of the human being as an unconscious instinct of race-preservation. The primitive man was moral—to the extent of his mind-development—simply because he had to be moral in order to be able to exist as a member of his primitive social unit before he troubled himself with the mystical and metaphysical phantoms. The humanization of nature or anthropomorphism forming the essence of all religions belongs to a comparatively recent stage of the history of men on earth.

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What was the effect of anthropomorphic religions on morals or ethics?

In the first instance religion falsified the motives of human conduct. Religion invented the purely anthropomorphic motives of fear of punishment by a humanized supernatural power and desire for reward by the same power in an imaginary mystical life following physical bodily annihilation. Religion invented the dualism of mind (spirit) and matter, of body and soul.

The anthropomorphic religious philosophy could not fail to produce material changes in the moral concepts of believers.

The motives of fear or reward by a supernatural humanized power (deity) could but debase the moral currency. These motives appeal to and tend to develop the lower, baser part of the human nature—its individual selfish side. Indeed the primitive man unconsciously acted from higher and nobler motives than those substituted by religion. The reward of his conduct was its beneficent effect directly on the social aggregate he belonged to, indirectly on himself. The punishment of an evil deed or immoral act consists in the bad effect it produces on its author through the medium of his respective social unit. In other words, good conduct is dictated by (conscious or unconscious) enlightened selfishness; immorality by unenlightened crude animal selfishness. Consequently morality depends on the development of the human mind, it is a question of intelligence, an emotional refinement. Making human conduct depend on any other basis than broad self-interest identified with the interests of the social or racial aggregate is not only a perversion of actual facts, but amounts to undermining of the very foundation of social life, to poisoning the very fountain of morality. However, especially pernicious is the introduction of the whims and fancies of a deity as a criterion of good or bad conduct, the making of that deity an arbiter and judge in the realm of human conduct. The criterion of morality—the will of a deity! Can there be a more fruitful source of eternal confusion and flagrant abuse, confusion for the believers and abuse by the self-appointed representatives of the deity—the caste of priests! As a matter of fact, it was the caste of priests that, in the name of the deity, usurped and monopolized the function of moral legislation by nature and right belonging to the social aggregate as a whole. The deity, through the agency of priests, of course, can be propitiated by gifts and coaxed by prayers to pardon evil deeds, as if an evil deed may be undone. The curse of an evil deed is that it is an inexhaustible source of other evil deeds and the idea of pardon itself is not only irrational but highly immoral. Most religions teach that a repentant sinner is dearer to the heart of the deity (the stomachs of the priests) than an immaculate saint. Does not it put a premium on immorality?

However confusing and debasing the influence of religious anthropomorphism in the realm of human conduct may be in general, there is one aspect of the case especially fraught with moral confusion and debasement.

We refer now especially to the transference of the center of gravity of human morals, from its natural and only legitimate field—human

relations and consociations—to the mystical domains of mythical relations between man and his deity.

Who created this idea? It is a time-honored legal rule: "fecit cui prodest." If a crime is committed and the culprit unknown, look for the person that would or could profit by the crime. The culprit in this crime against rational ethics was and is the priesthood, the self-appointed representatives of their own creature, the deity. This crime against humanity is eminently calculated to create and maintain in a comfortable, if not luxurious life of idleness, a parasitic class of priests at the expense of the community. "Fecit cui prodest." The priests invented theocracy in order to establish their class-rule over the unreasoning masses of humanity, scared by hell and damnation, and coaxed by paradisiacal bliss into submission and obedience.

In short, religion and the institutional church are the creations of class-interests, and are maintained by class-interests and in direct violation of the interests of the human race as a whole. The class of priests produce nothing useful to the community, they are an essentially parasitic class. And as such the priests as a rule naturally sympathize with other parasitic classes, the military and capitalistic class. This is the reason why the institutional church was and is always on the side of the strong and against the weak, on the side of might against right. In spite of all the sickly mysticism and maudlin sentimentalism of the so-called "religion of love" (*lux a non lucendo*); the institutional church never seriously attacked any anti-social institution and frequently defended them against attacks on the part of Rationalists. The church never seriously attacked the wholesale murder of men called war, and frequently glorified and sanctioned it. The anti-war movements were started and are kept up by Freethinkers and Socialists. The so-called peace conference of Hague is correctly termed by Blatchford a "thieves' supper."

The institutional church never seriously attacked pauperism and frequently glorified it.

It never seriously attacked the social evil, but at times engaged in white slavery for filthy lucre (as some Roman popes did).

The institutional church never seriously attacked injustice in any shape or form, but frequently covered it up by turning and twisting the Bible. It defended slavery, serfdom and modern exploitation of men by men. The institutional church always had two weights and two measures, two codes of morals. One rule of conduct for the toiling masses and another for the parasite class. *Quo licit Jovi non licit bovi*. It preaches the virtues of slavery to the masses—humility, submission to the powers that be, contentment with a life of drudgery and want. To the powerful the church respectfully recommends the social lubricant of charity equally demoralizing to the giver and the receiver.

The institutional church is not conservative—it is reactionary. Its dial always moves backward, its ideals and aspirations are in the past. It believes in human degeneration (fall of men) instead of evolution. It preaches the inherent baseness of the human nature, and is pessimistic to the core as to the future of the human race.

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lethargic masses from their torpor by preaching to them the virile gospel of discontentment and self-help, must naturally meet with the open or clandestine opposition of the institutional church.

All those who have the interests of the toiling masses of the people at heart, all those who scorn charity and demand justice, all those who struggle for economic as well as political democracy must earlier or later meet the "non possumus" of the church. The abolitionists of the United States found it out to their chagrin. The great French revolution found itself incompatible with the revelation of the church. The communards of Paris, in their first proletarian uprising, treated the church as its bitterest enemy. The present French republic convinced itself that the church is the worst enemy of popular freedom and enlightenment. These lessons of history do not seem convincing to some American Radicals in general, and Socialists in particular. The overwhelming majority of Socialists are Free-thinkers. They only do not believe in the wisdom of arousing religious antagonism having to contend with a great deal of antagonism of all imaginable kind. The fact is, that there is no need in arousing religious antagonism against Socialism, or against any other movement toward the improvement of the condition of the masses. This antagonism exists, it is apparent and real to the same extent as there is an apparent and real antagonism between exploiting classes and exploited masses everywhere and at all times. This antagonism is irrepressible. Only those who wilfully close their eyes do not see it; only those who wilfully plug their ears with the cotton of self-complacency do not hear the rumbling of the struggle between the classes and masses in some form or another. The struggle is on between Materialists, Freethinkers and Socialists on one side, and the church and the exploiting classes on the other. That there are Freethinkers who are not logical enough to be Socialists and that there are Socialists who are inconsistent enough to imagine themselves to be Christians proves only that men are not always logical and consistent—a fact, alas, that is commonplace enough. If all Freethinkers would have the courage to discard their middle-class prejudices and take the trouble of studying up Socialism *sine irae*, they would soon find out that free-thinking means scientific thinking, not only on religious, but likewise on social-economic matters, and that Socialism is nothing else but the result of such thinking. If the so-called Christian-Socialists would have the courage to discard their religious bias and study up Christianity or religion in general in the same spirit as they approach social-economic life, in the spirit of scientific truth-seeking, they would soon arrive at the conclusion that Christianity is, if anything, anarchistic and that Socialism is not and cannot be Christian. Then all Freethinkers would profess Socialism, and all Socialists be militant Freethinkers, and Freethinkers and Socialists would have the courage of their convictions, and struggle together against the common foe. But what is the use indulging in day dreams? We ought to be satisfied with convincing the small, but elect circle of those who are always open to conviction. They will lead and the rest eventually follow or drop out by the wayside as the case may be, and the truth will march on.

THE "RELIGION OF INFIDELITY."

The absurdity of calling Science, Unbelief, or Socialism Religious.
THE LEGEND:

ALL KINDS OF
TWISTING AND TURNING
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ought to be inscribed in flaming letters over the entrance to all places of worship and religious devotion. The gentle art of imparting to the Bible or Koran any meaning desired—without the slightest regard for etymology, logic or truth—has always been regarded as the especial privilege of theologians. The priestly caste was always anxious to use this "divine prerogative" as a means of spreading and strengthening their influence over the unreasoning masses. The "holy scriptures" by the method of reckless theological sophistry (exegesis), was made so elastic and pliable as to advocate and condemn anything and everything in the world in strict conformity with the interests, whims and fancies of opportune divines of all creeds and denominations. The Bible was cited for and against capital punishment, war, polygamy, chattel slavery, political liberty, and all issues near to the heart of men.

In our own age the same verbal jugglery is used by the theological school of "higher" criticism as a convenient way of modernizing externally decaying creeds so as to make them apparently conform to new mental attitudes, to modern moral phases of life. Liberal preachers enjoy the use of euphonious but meaningless cant phrases, as "God is Love." Some radical ministers would even fain make believe that Christ Jesus was a Marxian Socialist. The conscious or unconscious motive of pouring new wine into old and time-worn casks is in this case obvious. The mythical and mystical cycle of ideas connected with religion needs fresh blood in order to get a new lease of life, it is a struggle for existence on the part of those who make a living as religious leaders. Business is business.

The demoralization of theological sophistry, however, has proved to be contagious. Some modern scientists and thinkers of the rationalist school of monism indulge in flirtation with the institutional church and delight in phrases—contradictory in terms (*contradictio in adjecta*)—as "Religion of Science." If taken in their true historical meaning, religion and science are mutually exclusive of each other.

History proves, if it proves anything, that religion is a creation of the primitive mind of man, incapable of logical reasoning, and devoid of any accurate knowledge of nature and its laws. History proves that religion created more hate than love; more cruel persecution than humane toleration; more cruelty than mercy; greater moral debasement than moral elevation; more fanciful horrors than sane

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enjoyments of life; more superstition than enlightenment; more blind enmity to knowledge and progress than thirst for truth and improvement of environment and conditions of life.

On the other hand, history proves that science is the child of the highly developed human intellect, trained in the art of logical reasoning, original research, and strict observation of nature's phenomena. Science has but one object in view—to reveal the secrets of nature to men so as to enable them to use this revelation to make them happy. Science endeavors to eliminate hate, persecution, cruelty, moral obtuseness. Science knows no mystical horrors; it preaches sanity, optimistic enjoyment of life, co-operation and association of men for mutual advantage. Religion and science are antitheses.

Faith makes knowledge impossible. Knowledge makes faith superfluous. There can be no compromise between religion and a science, mysticism and rationalism.

Expressions like "religion of science" are not only contradictory in terms, and historically wrong, but highly mischievous and leading to confusion in a realm where there is a great need for clearness and exactness of fundamental conceptions. There are such things as intellectual integrity and mental prostitution. Rationalistic thinkers and scientists should consider it below their dignity as thinkers and scientists, to follow slavishly into the devious, crooked and slippery cowpaths of theological and metaphysical sophists.

Rationalism does not need any "pons asinorum" for the passage of people who do not possess the courage of their conviction, or are interested in the stultification of the masses for the benefit of parasitic classes. Militant freethought is a necessity of our age. The struggle for existence between mysticism and religion on one hand and rationalism and science on the other is by no means decided in favor of the latter in the mind of the overwhelming majority.

The Free-thought movement needs all the help it can get in order to be able to cope with the tremendous inheritance of ignorance and superstition and the assiduous and systematic work of contemporary obscurantism on the receptive mind of the unreasoning masses. It is the moral duty of every rationalist to courageously stand by his colors. The church is still a formidable enemy. To try to bridge over the impassable chasm between reason and unreason, knowledge and faith, mysticism and sanity, on the part of rationalists, is cowardly and despicable.

Unfortunately the intellectual dishonesty hidden behind careless terminology invades all fields of human interests. We frequently hear such meaningless expressions as "religion of art," "religion of Free-thought," etc.

However, the most objectionable use of the term religion is when applied to a decidedly modern political, social economic, or cultural movement, based on human thought and conscious endeavor to emancipate humanity from the thralldom of mysticism and exploitation of men by men sanctioned by the church as a divine institution. Expressions like "religion of Socialism" are not only as meaningless historically and logically, as the expression "Christian Socialism;" they are

also calculated to confuse and mislead the unwary into the belief that there is something common between a thoroughly rational modern popular movement and the sickly mysticism of past ages.

Religion spells death of Socialism, just as Socialism spells death to religion. The moment Socialism turns into a religion it loses all its vitality, all its progressiveness, it ossifies and turns into a superstition of fanatics, who never forget and never learn anything. Socialism is essentially, although not apparently, a Free-thought movement. The thinking Socialists are all Freethinkers.

Religion adopts some distorted fragmentary elements of ethics into its mystical fold. However, religion is not a rational ethical system of thought and sentiment. There is a great deal of ethical power behind art, Free-thought and Socialism. But it is obviously absurd to speak of art, Free-thought and Socialism as forms of religion. Let us distinguish between right and wrong terminology. Let us see our friends and enemies in their true light. Let us have courage to face issues and fight for what we consider as right fairly and squarely in the open.

THE GRAVE-DIGGERS OF THE PAST AND THE BUILDERS OF THE FUTURE.

Who made whom?

Did deities create men, or did men create their deities?

The ancient Greek philosopher Xenophanes said: "The mortals imagine that their deities possess their own outward appearance, dress, and language. The negroes worship black gods with flat noses; the Thracians, gods with blue eyes and red hair. If the oxen and lions but had hands, they certainly would paint or chisel their deities according to their own image."

According to Brann's Iconoclast, Paganism is the universal religion. No race has ever been satisfied with one god. There are and have been individual exceptions. Even Jesus told his disciples there were three gods. In every age and clime men have manufactured as many gods as happened to suit their fancy. God made one man, but man has made many gods. The manufacture of gods for countless ages, was the chief industry of the race. For them he waged most of the world's wars. Man has always clothed his gods with his own characteristics. The gods of the cruel are invariably cruel. The vindictive god exists in the minds of vindictive men. Small men have small gods. In other words, religion is nothing else than the humanization of Nature, the conception of all phenomena of matter in human terms, anthropomorphism.

The inclination of the uncritical human mind to create gods according to the human image is not limited to outward appearance only. This inclination extends to embrace the entire field of psychic or soul life. The gods of cannibals are greedy to devour human flesh,

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while the gods of peace-loving people are gentle and kind. Religion is a somewhat poetic reflection of the character, life, and strife of a people.

The God of America is the God of Gold. Capt. W. E. P. French thus portrays the character of the God of Gold.

Hard and yellow, heavy and cold, defiled by vices manifold,
That have used it for lure and snare and price,
Won with marked cards and with loaded dice;
Stained with lewdness and women's shame,
Sordid bribe for a man's fair name.

Blurred with blood and with children's tears,
Fouled with sweat through the toil-wrung years;
Blackened with dust from the coal pit's mouth;
Cankered with wrong—east, west, north, south;
Tainted with shackle of serf and slave;
Fetid with mould from the drunkard's grave.

Accomplice of murder and crime's best tool,
Joy of the miser and pride of the fool;
Foe of truth and the lie's ally,
Pay of traitor and thrice-damned spy;
Dole of the spoiler to charity,
Theft's insult to alms of humanity.

Wage of the harlot, loot of the thief,
Promoter of crimes that pass belief;
Hirer of slanderer, forger, cheat,
Spoil of a stab in the midnight street;
Fee for the unjust law's decree,
Guerdon of fraud and hypocrisy.

Salvage of wrecks on a sea of wrong,
The loss of the weak, the gain of the strong.
Base supporter of perjury, prop of false pride and luxury;
Maker of envy, spites and spleen, creator of book and play obscene;
Breeder of every breach of trust, pander to war and to fierce blood lust.
To the lust of the eye and the lust of gold,
That hardens men's hearts and turns them cold.

Despoiler of labor, menace of life,
Gold God of cruelty, hatred, strife.

Bow, O Fool, as thou passeth by, This is the God we have set on high
"Beneath the dome of the Union Sky." This is the thing to which we pray,
This is our Golden Calf today. This is the deity we obey.

Down on thy knees to the dollar God, He owns the water, the trees, the sod,
The food, the clothing, the oil, the coal; owns thee, body, estate, and soul;
Holds existence in deed of foe, controller of life and destiny.
Gueflex, Fool, to the Gold of Pelf, Lord God of the Great I AM—Of Self.

His heaven, wealth, financial loss, his hell,
His litany a stock that's well,
His license, interest; his book of prayer,
Bond, mortgage, scrip, certificate and share;
His temple the exchange; his altar stones,
Discount, collateral, secured call-loans;
His priests are users; his creed "Combine."

His sacred symbol is the dollar sign;
 His bible, business, and his only son
 Is profit-cut of work by others done.
 His own commandment "Do and do thy worst,
 Less by ill chance thy neighbor do thee first.
 Prey without ceasing, honor, love forget,
 But take thy lawful pound of flesh for lawful debt.
 Steer close and shrewdly clear of prison gate
 And put an S in front of peculate;
 By trust and franchise mulct—let none go free,
 And worship thou none other god save me."

Religions, as any other cycles of ideas, when once created by men, are bound to produce in their turn a retroactive influence on the human mind and activity. No earnest student of history will therefore ignore the religious factor as one of many others shaping the culture and civilization of nations and to some extent determining their destinies. The adherents of the materialistic conception of history will go a step further. They will maintain that there is a reciprocal relation between the philosophy of life, the religion of a people, and its social-economic life and activity. The religion of a slave cannot be the religion of a free man, and vice versa (if we mean by religion not a conglomeration of conventional fictions, but actual honest convictions). Determinists may say: "Tell me the religion of a man and I will tell you his social-economic status," or "Tell me the social-economic status of a man and I will tell you his religion!" Of course, there are periods of transition in history, periods of decay of old growth of new social-economic institutions. During such periods religious views are in a more or less chaotic stage. Hypocrisy and confusion in religious matters reign supreme, and skepticism is rampant. Religion even here reflects life.

To study Christianity, the dominant religion of the dominant nations of the world, from the point of view of Materialism is certainly a very ambitious and tempting task. What was the main material cause of the miraculous success of the gospel of the humble Nazarene in the antique world? Why did not the teachings of the Old Testament appeal to the early converts of Christianity?

The predominant idea of the Old Testament was a somewhat crude conception of justice and retribution, an idea born in the mind of a semi-barbaric but free people. Jehovah is represented as a just although cruelly revengeful deity, as a vigorous, viril militant god. The conception of mercy plays a subordinate part in the ancient Hebrew religion.

The old testament along with purely mythical elements contains a more or less complete legal and moral code calculated to build up the body politic and social-economic structure of a young nation of semi-barbaric nomads on an agriculture basis (see "The economics of Moses" in the current issue of the *Arena*). The religion of the ancient Hebrews was a living issue of a vigorous race. It was constructive and conserving although somewhat narrow and clannish.

Christianity in its inception was but an adaptation of the ancient Hebrew creed to the Hellenic-Romanic world of the age. Even the dogma of the Holy Trinity—this remarkable attempt to assume that

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three is equal to one—was but a compromise between the strict monotheism of the Semites and the polytheistic tendencies of the Greeks and Romans.

Jesus of Nazareth lived in an epoch when the Hebrew nation lost its independence, being crushed by the iron hand of the Roman invaders. The Hebrew nation was demoralized by the enforced slavish submission to the superior physical force of the alien heathen conquerors. It was a dark epoch without any ray of hope for the restoration of independence. The nation's political life was at an end. The economic state was of course a direct counterpart of the political: the religious views of the Hebrews of the time of Jesus could not be the same as the religious views of the Hebrew of the time of Moses and the prophets. The virtues of a free man are the vices of a slave and vice versa. Indeed, meekness, non-resistance to evil, indifference to the physical well-being would be considered as vices by the primitive followers of "the Lord of Hosts." Justice was the essence of the morality preached by the Old Testament; the gospel of a semi-barbaric but free nation full of animal spirits. Jesus of Nazareth was a child of his time. He preached mercy, meekness, non-resistance to evil, indifference to physical well-being, self-abnegation—the virtues of slavery.

A healthy nation living with all the fibres of their body in constant communication with Nature has no inclination to indulge in the fanciful elaboration of a life after death. A slave, who is but a beast of burden, will naturally cling to a faith in retribution in a future life, as a substitute for justice in this life.

Moses was the prophet of Freedom.

Jesus was the prophet of Slavery.

(Moses and Jesus may never have existed, but they represent two principles cardinally opposed to each other.)

Jesus of Nazareth appealed to the lowest strata of the proletariat of the ancient world, to the "Lumpenproletariat." This proletariat were meek and lowly, they were callous to physical suffering, and neglected their bodies; they were poor in spirit as well as materially; they did not resist evil, they wanted mercy from their oppressor. The very idea of justice was obscured in their minds by their actual lives. They were what they must have been under the existing social-economic conditions,—slaves in body and slaves in mind, children of necessity and want. Jesus of Nazareth came to them not with a gospel of protest against their cruel fate, not with a message of material salvation demanding spiritual regeneration for the purpose of revolt against the "overman" and his hateful yoke in the name of justice. Jesus taught slaves to look upon slavery as an ideal social-economic state. He not only idealized slavery, but turned into virtues the necessities of slavery, the vices of slavery. He said to slaves, "Be slaves," to the meek and lowly, "Be meek and lowly;" to those who neglected their bodies, "Neglect your bodies;" to the poor in spirit, "Be poor in spirit;" to those who cowardly relied on mercy, "Rely on mercy;" to those who did not dare resist evil, "Do not resist evil."

Jesus eliminated the remnants of dissatisfaction with the sad social-economic conditions in his disciples and followers by the strong

narcotics of a mystical and mythical life after physical death. His teachings were not conservative, they were reactionary in the extreme. He destroyed the very springs of life of his followers by imparting to them a disdain for life and its functions. Jesus resolved the human race into individuals even in his preachings of mystical salvation. To the somewhat indefinite but pronounced consciousness of kind, or race-consciousness, of the prophets of the Old Testament, he opposed his purely individual ideals of personal mystical salvation.

In modern terms we would call Jesus "a religious anarchist." The expression "Christian Socialism" so often used by mystically inclined collectivists is a contradiction in terms (*contradictio in adjecta*). If Socialism means anything it means race-consciousness. If Christianity means anything it means the opposite of race-consciousness, i. e. Individualism, "self-consciousness," if you choose. If Socialism stands for anything, it stands for justice. If Christianity stands for anything, it stands for mercy. Christianity idealizes material wretchedness. Socialism aims to eliminate wretchedness on earth.

Count Leo Tolstoy was the only modern writer who had grasped the real essence of Christianity and had the courage and integrity to expound it as it is, as religious anarchism.

If our conception of the spirit of Christ's teaching be true, the remarkable success of Christianity is easily explained. The "ragged proletariat" of the ancient world found in Christianity its idealization, its justification, its consolation, its philosophy of life.

But why, then, did the ruling classes prosecute and persecute the early Christians with such relentless cruelty and persistence? The ruling classes were shrewd enough to see in Christianity an anti-social movement, and were afraid of it as such. The "Overmen" were afraid that Christianity would demoralize the "Undermen" to such an extent as to make them incapable or unwilling to work and slave. As soon as this fear proved to be groundless, as soon as it was proven that Christian slaves were better slaves than non-Christian ones, the ruling classes radically changed their attitude towards the new religion. The "Overmen" were willing to show once in a while mercy to the "Undermen," who gave up the idea of fighting for the attainment of justice. The "Overmen" considered it a good bargain, and not only tolerated and patronized the religion of their slaves—they went a step farther, and with a grim sense of humor, adopted Christianity themselves.

The first Roman ruler who realized the utility of Christianity as an antidote to social-economic and political justice was Constantine the Great. Other mighty and petty rulers followed in his footsteps. Little by little Christianity, contrary to its original spirit of passivity and inertia, turned into a militant church. Subjected nations were considered safe when they were either exterminated (as the American Indians for instance) or adopted Christianity. The Bible was carried on the edge of the sword into the land of heathens, and its teachings were inoculated by bullets.

Christianity proved to be such a useful tool in the hands of the ruling classes that it was turned into an institution auxiliary to the state, once in a while dominating the state. The institutional church was

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grateful to the Overmen for their patronage and protection. Whenever and wherever a class of people forgot the teachings of Christianity to such an extent as to spurn "mercy" and demand Old Testament justice, the church was always on hand to help the oppressors against the oppressed, to emphasize its historic mission of material and spiritual enslavement of nations, "ad maiorem dei gloriam." The institutional church, wherever and whenever it had the power to do so, kept "the common people," the "Undermen," in a dense cloud of truly Egyptian darkness and superstition and oppressed the spiritual life like a nightmare. In the middle ages the institutional church almost extinguished the light of Greek and Roman art, philosophy and literature. That these treasures were preserved for posterity we owe a debt of gratitude to the enlightened Arabs who ruled Spain during the so-called dark ages. Only as late as the fifteenth century, when Christianity started to lose its deadly grip on the mind of some great men, the renaissance, or revival of interest in the remnants of classic philosophy, art, and literature, was made possible and a humanitarian spirit animated some of the foremost thinkers of the age. And since then every success in the field of science and arts has had to be conquered from the institutional church by dint of great sacrifices and heroic perseverance on the part of the pioneers of modern culture and civilization.

The church was always with the oppressor and against the oppressed. The church was with the feudal lords against their vassals; it was with the French autocracy against the people in the great French revolution (with a few notable exceptions). The position of the Church of England in respect to popular rights is known. Luther denounced the peasant riots of his time in the most violent terms. The attitude of the church in the United States towards abolition is also well known, and aroused the indignation even of such a deeply religious nature as the gentle Quaker poet.

Just God—and these are they
Who minister at thine altar, God of Right;
Men who their hands with prayer and blessings lay
On Israel's Ark of light.

What; preach and kidnap men?
Give thanks—and rob their own afflicted poor?
Talk of their glorious liberty, and then
Bolt hard the captive's door?

What; servants of thine own
Merciful Son, who came to seek and save
The homeless and the outcast—fettering down
The tasked and plundered slave?

Pilate and Herod, friends;
Chief priests and rulers, as of old, combine;
Just God and holy; is that church, which lends
Strength to the spoiler, thine?

Paid hypocrites, who turn
Judgment aside, and rob the Holy Book
Of those high words of truth which search and burn
In warning and rebuke.

Feed fat, ye locusts, feed;
And, in your tasselled pulpits, thank the Lord
That, from the toiling bondman's utter need,
Ye pile your own full board.

How long, O Lord; how long
Shall such a priesthood barter truth away,
And in thy name, for robbery and wrong
At thy own altars pray?

Is not thy hand stretched forth
Visibly in the heavens, to awe and smite?
Shall not the living God of all the earth,
And heaven above do right?

Woe, then, to all who grind
Their brethren of a common Father down;
To all who plunder from the immortal mind
Its bright and glorious crown.

Woe to the priesthood; woe
To those whose hire is with the price of blood—
Perverting, darkening, changing, as they go,
The searching truths of God.

Their glory and their might
Shall perish; and their very names shall be
Vile before all the people, in the light of a world's liberty.

O, speed the moment on
When wrong shall cease, and Liberty and Love
And Truth and Right throughout the earth be known
As in their home above.

In Russia the orthodox-Greek church always was with the oppressors and against the oppressed people.

"But the last, the worst, the sum of Superstition, Fear and Ignorance, craft-crystalized in creed, Lo; the Orthodox-Greek Church, the Fiend's fruition Apotheosis of murder, lust and greed; in the blasphemed names of Christ and Juda's daughter.

From its House of God it sounded Mercy's knell;
Bearing sacred ikons, but the mad mob slaughters.
Lured to deeds that had shamed devils hot from hell."

People do not realize as a rule the deep chasm dividing the philosophy preached (but seldom, if at all, practiced), by the institutional church on one and modern rational philosophy on the other.

Here follow a few contrasts between the two just mentioned philosophies.

The institutional church propounds the pessimistic theory of the "original sin," the fall of man, degeneration.

Rational philosophy advances the optimistic theory of the ascent of men from brute creation through untold centuries to an ever higher and higher plane of existence.

The institutional church pretends to despise the physical world and to profess contempt of the material needs of life.

Rational philosophy ignores any other but the material world and proclaims the material needs of life as perfectly legitimate and basic of spiritual development.

The institutional church hypnotizes the unthinking toiling masses of humanity with the powerful narcotics of empty promises of a topsyturvy mythical life "in heaven" after physical death.

Rational philosophy concerns itself only with the living. It teaches the toiling masses of humanity to live and enjoy life, while they are among the living on earth. Rational philosophy relinquishes "the heaven" to angels and sparrows.

The institutional church preaches humility, self-effacement, mercy, charity, non-resistance to evil, all the virtues of slavery.

Rational philosophy insists on human dignity, self-assertion, justice, active resistance to evil, all the virtues of free manhood.

The institutional church turns men into lifeless toys in the hands of a capricious deity, a heavenly despot.

Rational philosophy emancipates mankind once for all from the thralldom of superstition and supernaturalism. It teaches men to be the masters of their own destinies.

The institutional church teaches mystical salvation of individual souls.

Rational philosophy aims at the redemption of the entire human race from material bondage.

Christianity is mystical individualism, anarchism.

Rational philosophy leads up to race-consciousness.

This antithesis will suffice to explain the necessity of a Free-thought movement among civilized nations.

The psychology of every progressive movement as a rule reveals three consecutive stages of development:—The first stage is purely emotional or sentimental (utopian); the second critical or analytical (scientific), and the third synthetical or constructive (artistic).

When a certain physical or spiritual phenomenon of our environment has outlived its utility—we begin to feel instinctively its heavy burden. We are against it without analyzing the reasons of our dissatisfaction and unrest. Then comes a time when we start to analyze our feelings of dissatisfaction and unrest and try to find their reason and causes.

We then study carefully the phenomena we outgrew and dissect them with the weapons of our reason and knowledge. The analytical or critical stage prepares us for the task of impartially distinguishing between the useless and useful, the right and wrong, the false, the true, the sickly and sound, the accidental and essential in the phenomenon arousing our protest. Intelligent negation contains the germs of affirmation; absolute negation, negation without any elements of affirmation, is absurd. Indeed, determinism teaches, that all phenomena of life at one time or another must have had a justification—otherwise it could not have existed at all. Moreover, all phenomena of life are firmly linked together by an unbroken chain of causation, of cause and effect. Every error contains some grain of truth and every truth some seed of error. There is not and cannot be any absolute truth in the

relative world of ours. What was considered to be true yesterday may be proven to be wrong tomorrow.

The constructive period of every progressive movement must take all these considerations into account.

The Free-Thought movement started with a purely emotional protest on the part of the intellectual strata of the middle class against the nightmare of the institutional church, that so heavily oppressed the human mind during the feudal ages. The Institutional Church, true to its policy of being always in alliance with the strong, tried to perpetuate feudalism, while the middle-class wanted to destroy feudalism. The natural trend of events lead to the development of critical or analytical Free-Thought. The Encyclopaedists and other intellectual sponsors of the great French revolution attacked the institutional church vigorously with the weapons of reason and science. The "decreeing away" of old religion and the "decreeing in" of a semi-rational new religion by the actors of the French revolution, grotesque and bizarre as it may appear on the surface, was a natural sequence of the overthrow of the "ancient regime" whose powerful and by no means disinterested support the church was.

The upper strata of the victorious middle class, the bourgeois, hastened to conclude a compact with the church, the former ally of its mortal foe,—of feudalism, in order to secure the spiritual and divine support of the church in keeping the proletariat—who by the way pulled the chestnuts of political liberty out of the revolutionary fire for the same bourgeois,—in due control and subjection.

The same phenomena are to be observed in the history of the United States. During the period 1638—1770 the sovereignty of the Ecclesiastics was supreme and undisputed. The period of the revolution 1770—1795 may be considered as the ebb-tide of religion. The period 1795—1800 may be justly called the Reign of Infidelity. The abolition movement and subsequent civil war marked another era of religious decline due no doubt to the pro-slavery tendencies of the institutional church. The growth and development of Capitalism induced the bourgeois to rally to the banner of the institutional church. Only the intellectual lower strata of the middle class and especially the intellectual proletarians, as far as they are actually class-conscious, persist in their opposition to the Institutional Church. Indeed, what is the attitude of the church in the United States towards political and economic corruption?

The Rev. Charles D. Williams, since 1893 dean of Trinity Cathedral, Cleveland, Ohio, in his article in the current issue of McClure's, "The Final Test of Christianity," makes the following statements:

"The religion of the past spoke its message of righteousness chiefly to the individual, and especially in terms of ecclesiastical properties and the minor moralities of personal behavior. But there has come to the modern world a sudden and vast expansion of commercial and political development. And the old Christianity is confronted with conditions for which she has no definite treatment. Her moral standards and her ethical systems are not big enough for the new life of the day. She faces vast fields of conduct which are to her unexplored territory.

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"Ay, even go to the church and say: 'So and so is suspiciously heretical; he is not sound in his doctrine; he does not observe the properties of worship; he does not even go to church; above all he does not support the ecclesiastical institution and religious work, and they are inclined to excommunicate him. But tell to the church: 'So and so has made his vast wealth by flagrantly dishonest and oppressive methods,' and the church will shrug its shoulders in nine cases out of ten, saying, 'That is a secular affair with which we, as religious or Christian people have no concern. We are interested in how the rich man spends his money, not in how he makes it.' If only a man gives generously, the whole race of college presidents, charity workers, parsons, and even bishops will run after him and canonize him."

Concerning political corruption the same authority states: "But the church for the most part preserves a discreet silence. Her watchmen are 'dumb dogs that will not bark,' to use the language of the old prophet. They restrain their voices though the enemy marches with banners to assault the walls of the city of God. But we have no concern with either business or politics, that is, with nine-tenths of the lives of the people who sit before us Sunday after Sunday. And why? Because the church, too, has a disintegrated conscience. It is 'long' on piety and desperately 'short' on civic righteousness."

An address that has been widely commented on in the East was that recently delivered before a mass meeting of printers in Philadelphia by the Rev. Dr. E. A. Wasson, rector of St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church, of Newark, N. J. Said Dr. Wasson in speaking of his own profession at the outset: "I don't believe that workingmen can ever expect much from us ministers as a class, for the reason that we are under the control of the class that is hostile to organized labor. The rich employing class control the preacher, either directly as members of his congregation—and not only the honest ones but all the biggest scamps of the country are active in the church, and the likeliest place to find a big financial rogue of a Sunday morning is in church—or indirectly through their retainers in our churches, their lawyers, doctors, secretaries, employes, customers, associates, poor relations and hangers-on in general; or through the denomination under such financial obligations to them that the ecclesiastical powers-that-be will ruthlessly bar the objectionable preacher from promotion."

"And since ministers are actuated by the same motives as doctors, printers, lawyers, chauffeurs, hodcarriers, this last consideration is a powerful check on their better impulses. And then a whole lot of preachers don't know anything of the labor question, since all their associations have been with a different class."

Rev. Dr. Wasson evidently does not have much faith in the fraternal delegate scheme that has created more or less feeling in labor circles, for he said:

"This business of fraternal delegates from ministerial associations to labor organizations is a sop thrown to labor. It costs nothing to the ministry, since it does not range us against our masters, the employing class; nor does it give any real help to labor. And of course we should like to get laboring men back into the churches, since they would help

to fill the pews; for like business men, we hate to lose business. But I advise you to have nothing to do with this fraternal delegate business. Here is a genuine test that you can put up to the ministers in view of the fact that every church in this city and in the country, and societies like the Y. M. C. A. have printing to be done: 'Are you ministers, who profess so much interest in us, interested enough to have your printing done in union shops? And if you are, how many of you are willing to exhibit the union label on it? One union label is worth a hundred fraternal delegates. If you use the union label, you don't need to assure us of your sympathy; for the union label does its own talking. We don't want mere talk, which is cheap; we want practical sympathy; and there is a simple, sure way of showing it.'

Coming down to the leading issue in the present industrial struggle, the open and closed shop question, Dr. Wasson struck home in a manner that is surely refreshing in this day of cant and hypocrisy:

"Yet, how can we Episcopal ministers have the face to oppose the closed shop when the Episcopal ministry is the tightest kind of closed shop? Long years of preparation are required; then careful examinations, before a man is admitted to the ministry. No suggestion here of the freedom of an American citizen to exercise his inalienable right to work where and as he pleases! And then, when we accept a call, see what we stipulate with our employer, the congregation, concerning our control of the 'shop' we are to run. Our control is supreme, and this is even embodied in the law of the church, since we will not run the chances that might come from individual contract. No man can touch the organ without our consent. No person can raise his voice in song in the choir without our consent. No hymn can be sung, nor tune selected without our consent. We have plenary authority as to the kind of choir; we can overthrow the traditions of a generation in a day, if we wish; we can force an arrangement obnoxious to every member of our employer, the congregation. We determine the service, when it begins and ends, whom we will invite to assist us, and whom we will keep out. Moreover, we are not content with closing the church building, we close the whole neighborhood. No Episcopal minister can preach in a church of another denomination without asking the consent of the nearest Episcopal rector. And no Episcopal minister can even preach the gospel on the street corner in my neighborhood without first coming to me and getting my consent!"

Talk about the closed shop! Here is another upper cut:

"And yet we ministers have the nerve to say we don't approve of the closed shop! We approve warmly enough of our own closed shop; and it is only the closed shop of the poor workmen that we oppose or question. And remember, too, that our contracts with our employers are for life; and that when we are sick, we are not docked; and that a lot of us get fat vacations with full pay, while our employer pays for our substitute. You printers ought to have entered the ministry, if you were looking for the real thing in the way of a closed shop. You workmen will have to work out your own salvation, as you have thus far. The men of God won't help you to any extent; nor the lawyers; nor any other class. Through your own efforts, and the force of circumstances, you have in the course of generations come up from

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slavery and serfdom and peasanhood to your present level. And the sole instrument through which your progress has been effected has been the labor union in its earlier or later forms. And the sole barrier today between you and a speedy relapse, as on a toboggan slide, to virtual slavery is the labor union."

Speaking of what the unions have done and are doing, Rev. Wasson declared:

"And look what it (the union) has done for society as well. It bears the brunt of the warfare against child labor, and were it not for the labor union I do not believe there would today be a single scrap of child labor legislation the country over. Like Jesus, the labor has been the friend of the 'little children,' when church and state turned their backs on them. And sanitary conditions in factories, so far as they prevail, the mitigation of the sweat-shop evil, the limitation of hours, the abolition of the company stores—all this has come from the labor unions."

Turning to the present political agitation among the workers, the speaker gave out this wholesale advice in concluding:

"And there is but one weapon of defense that you can wield effectively. Organize with the rest of your class, politically, and go into politics. Government is an instrument of class, and always has been; and the only question is whether you shall control the government in your own interest, or government shall control you in somebody else's interest. When you foolishly leave it to your enemies to make and administer the laws, you reserve to yourselves only the right to obey the laws which your enemies have made to your prejudice, or to break their laws; and if you break their laws, they will break you. Why should not the vast working class send their own members to congress and legislatures and fill every office in the land with workingmen from President down? And elect or appoint judges that shall be accountable to them?"

"Remember, government is and always has been an instrument of class and always will be as long as classes exist."

Another minister who deserves the highest praise for daring to dump dogmatism overboard when he discovered it to be out of harmony with modern social problems is the Rev. G. C. Porter, a Presbyterian clergyman of Nebraska. Mr. Porter went to the limit of sacrificing his job rather than stultify his conscience by preaching what he did not believe, as the following letter to his congregation will show:

"To the First Presbyterian Church of Laurel, Neb.:

"I hereby tender my resignation from the pastorate of the First Presbyterian church of Laurel, the resignation to take effect at the close of this month. Very briefly stated, I resign because I have become convinced that Christianity, as taught by Jesus, involves Socialism (?), and second, because this view of Christianity is either unsupported or opposed by practically all whom I am supposed to represent in a denominational pulpit. It is unfair to any church to ask it to support an interpretation of the Master's teachings which it believes to be wrong. I cannot be true to myself and do any less than declare: 'The whole counsel of God' as I understand it. As a church you would

neither want me to stultify myself, nor to go on preaching a view of Christianity to which practically all of you are opposed. With the best of feelings towards you, with deep appreciation of your kindness in speaking helpful words, in giving financial support, in doing personal work in and about the church, and at the same time with clear recognition of this radical difference in view point, I have voluntarily brought this matter before the officers of this church. We can part as friends; we can each go on working for the right as God gives us to see the right. But it would not be wise for us, even with the best of good will toward each other, to go on trying to work together when our interpretations of Christ's teachings are diametrically opposed in so far as those teachings apply to vital questions of the day.

—"G. C. Porter."

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Milwaukee church people, no less than the church people the country over, well deserve the ringing rebuke, given them by a notable member of their ranks at the St. James' Men's club a week ago. Mr. F. C. Morehouse is a leading churchman of the country. He is editor of the recognized paper of the Episcopal church in America, the *Living Church*, which makes his remarks all the more notable.

"If a Socialist were to declare that the church was responsible for the poverty that exists in the world today," he said, "we would feel the thrust. Let us face the matter squarely, here by ourselves. The church is responsible for a large degree of the poverty that exists today because, through the centuries, it has been uplifting man, but has not removed the causes that worked to impoverish him.

"I can feel for the man out on the street who hates the Christian religion. It is because he looks at us, and not at our master, that he feels this way. He hears us talk of the power of the church and then, looking at us, judges us by what we have done toward removing the causes of poverty.

"If there is a spiritual power in the church that is worth anything, that power must go out to spiritualize society. Are we not paying too much attention to saving our own souls? Do you suppose saving your little soul means much to the universe? A thousand years from now who will know or care whether you saved your little old soul or not?"

Certain it is that when the modern successors to the apostles live in palaces on the chief boulevard, while a stone's throw away their brothers of earth writhe in the most brutalizing poverty superinduced by a social system which the bishop or the archbishop stands sponsor for, the church must seem to the man in the street a mocking, ghastly echo of the ministry, of the Son of Man who had not where to lay his head!

No, the church has not been meeting the causes that have worked to impoverish the working people, as Mr. Morehouse says. It has shirked that duty of the commonest humanity and eased its conscience by handing out doles, doles which degrade the giver as well as the receiver.

A ray of light comes from over the sea. Bishops and priests of Mr. Morehouse's church, in England, have been coming out flat-footed for Socialism for several years, pointing out that the social and industrial problem must be met without flinching. They have gotten over the superstitious idea that spirituality can only find lodgment among people who have not economic peace of mind. Just as Socialists have gotten over the old notion that their propaganda was only to be advanced by increasing misery among the masses.

The church must take sides with the people—and not from ulterior motives, either.

Responsibility for the notable absence of working men from the churches was placed with the employers of labor rather than with the

laboring men themselves in a special sermon to the congregation of mill employes by Rev. Llewellyn Brown in the Trinity Baptist church.

A strenuous attack on the present day employers, charging them with mortgaging the souls of their workmen, and even foreclosing the mortgages, characterized the sermon. Business competition, resulting in the overworking of employes to the ruin of their physical well being and the neglect of their spiritual natures, was explained, and serious results predicted for the coming generation as the direct result.

Employes of the Union and Empire Rolling Mill companies made up the audience, the announcement of the sermon having been made as an address to federated labor. The address was based on the text, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" In part the speaker said:

"Business competition is directly responsible for the absence of working men from the church. Men are worn out during the week by the burden put upon them by their employers and are in no condition often to leave their homes. Human beings were not made for the heavy work which is being put upon them. Employers are overworking their men and the next generation will show it.

"What about the thousands of white slaves in this country who are forced to work on Sundays? They cannot leave their work and live. It is not hard to forget God, when they face such conditions as these, and that they have souls to be cared for.

"Thus employers not only demand powers of body beyond reason, but take a mortgage on the souls, and before many years pass this mortgage is foreclosed and man is spiritually dead through soul atrophy.

"My advice is for the fathers to give their boys' souls a chance by giving them work, even at a loss of high wages, in a place where their souls will have a chance to grow.

"A second reason for lack of workingmen in the churches is the migration of the churches. They are too apt to follow their richer members and move to more aristocratic neighborhoods. To reach the workingmen the churches must stay in their vicinity. They should have attractive churches and good music.

"There are also ethical grounds. Workingmen are made to feel that the rich are indifferent and that they are not wanted in the churches. They come to look upon the church as the rich man's palace car to heaven, with accommodations limited and seats reserved.

"The cure is in the death of the caste spirit. God created the church as an ideal society, where all should stand on common ground. This is not the condition now prevalent in the church, and it must be reached. A broader sympathy is also necessary. Simple proclamations of the gospel are the greatest leveler of human society."

Why is it that the vast majority of American men does not attend church?

Rev. L. D. Woodruff, pastor of the East Madison Congregational church, asked the question in a sermon preached by him.

"Take the laboring man for instance," said Rev. Mr. Woodruff. "Why does he not attend church? Briefly—because he is suspicious

of the churchism."

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Arraigned by its own ministers, the modern Christian church stood trial before the Cleveland and Medina Congregational association, meeting in convention at Medina and representing sixty-three churches of Cuyahoga, Lorain and Medina counties. As a vital social factor in modern life, the church is a failure. Such was the verdict.

"Man's inhumanity to man, tolerated and abetted by the church," declared Rev. J. A. Jenkins, pastor of the First Congregational church of this city, "is enough to make angels weep."

"It is narrowness and bigotry to complain of social movements, originating outside the church, as antagonistic to the church," said Rev. H. M. Tenney, pastor of the Second Congregational church of Oberlin. "Religion is individualistic, it is true, but religion is also social. Social wrongs are fit problems for the church, why, for instance, disregard the exploitation of wage earners by capitalists?"

"The pillars of the church—who are they? Men of so-called prominence—men out of sympathy with the workingman's life, its needs and its problems. For my part, if I were a workingman and my children needed shoes and clothes and food, I, too, would be suspicious of an institution controlled by men themselves well fed, but deaf to the cry of masses underfed."

"The church is largely a failure," Rev. Mr. Woodruff admitted. "And it is the church's own fault," he added. "God, the Father, and man, the brother—here is the real essence of Christianity. The churches have surrounded this gospel with dogma and creed, but they have failed to send men out into the world, willing and capable of making it a real and social fact."

"The modern Christian church is weak because too often money dominates the ministry, because it insists on orthodoxy, contending that doctrine once accepted is for all time, because it teaches that all biblical statements are equally true, forgetting that after all the Bible is a spiritual authority and not a treatise on science, because it is divided by sectarianism, a thing of straining parts instead of a united whole."

The addresses of both Rev. Mr. Jenkins and Rev. Mr. Tenney were received with enthusiastic approval.

"The church must understand modern times, modern wrongs and the hopes of modern society," said Mr. Jenkins, speaking on "What Constitutes an Effective Church in Our Modern Life."

The effectiveness of the church today must be estimated in terms of service. The effective church will not challenge the world with theological argument, cold authority or threats of punishment.

"The church must make men love and trust it. The mightiest disappointments have come to men when, through the machinations of an unholy clergy the passion for God has been debased to corrupt ends. The church should, indeed, embody in actual practice the highest conception of human brotherhood."

"Why does the modern church lag behind in reforms, the object of which is to assist God's poor? What excuse has the church for

the subsidization of its institutions of learning? What is the justification of the church's retreat from the crowded tenement districts to the peaceful suburbs?

"What of some stone palaces for the worship of the few clap-board missions for the many? What of the auction pews, literary ministers and empty missionary treasuries? The church of today fails to utter any certain sound on the labor struggle. It is silent on the subject of frenzied finance. It speaks not of the debaucheries of high society. War thrives and the church speaks no word of disapproval. The 'spirituality' of the new church will be in touch with things as they are. It will vitalize economics, sociology, intellectualism, even wealth. And its ministry will cease to fear historic truths concerning the Bible, the church and the race. Service, not emotion, will become the test of the new spirituality."

Such is the indictment of the church by prominent churchmen, Rev. Williams and others. They state the facts correctly but forget that the Christian church was from its very inception to the present day "long" on piety and desperately "short" on civic righteousness and will remain so till the last Christian expires or turns free-thinker. The institutional church never earnestly opposed the exploitation of men by men. The church was and is at present "in business"—an exploitation of human labor. Goethe was right when stating that the church always enjoyed a good digestive apparatus.

Many other New York ministers have made statements of similar tenor which are, indeed, substantiated more or less definitely by the findings of the Rev. Dr. Walter Laidlaw, of the Federation of Churches, who has made an extensive sociological and statistical study of church conditions in New York City. Dr. Laidlaw estimated that, in 1905, there were over a million (1,071,981) churchless Protestants in the city. By churchless Protestants are meant people whose antecedents were Protestants and who, if they become interested in religious work would naturally associate themselves with some Protestant. Dr. Laidlaw shows, moreover, that the membership in Protestant churches, in spite of rapidly increasing population, has barely held its own in Greater New York, while in Manhattan Island there has been a natural loss of membership. In the first five years of this decade (1901-1906) the population of Manhattan Island increased by three hundred thousand, but the number of Protestant church buildings actually decreased by three, the Catholic churches increased by only five and the Jewish synagogues (buildings), in spite of the enormous Jewish immigration, by eighteen. The Roman Catholic church has felt a similar loss of power, not only in New York, but in other great American cities. Concerning this tendency we have the word of no less a personage than Archbishop Falconio, apostolic delegate from the pope, spoken at the first great missionary conference of the Roman Catholic Church in America, held last spring in Chicago. And the Roman Catholic Church is not more concerned than the Jew, although the Jewish population of New York city is growing rapidly, the same disheartenment exists among Jewish leaders as among Christians. The Jews, especially of the younger generation,

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Not only have the working classes become alienated from the churches but a very large proportion of well-to-do men and women who belong to the so-called cultured class have lost touch with church work. Some retain a membership, but the church plays no vital or important part in their lives. Thousands of men and women contribute to the support of the churches, yet allow no church duty to interfere with the work or pleasures of their daily lives. They are neither inspired nor commanded. And what is more, this indifference is by no means confined to the "wicked city," but prevails throughout the country—in small towns and villages, as well as in large cities. One of the most evident tendencies of Protestantism in New York City has been the movement of the churches up-town, or out of town, following the movement of the rich, or well-to-do, people. In fact, the Protestant churches for over a century have been in a constant condition of flight from the common people.

Years ago, the up-town independent churches, which, of course, dominate their respective denominations in the city, began to feel that ordinary mission work was not enough. What *was* the trouble? This was a question familiarly asked in public and religious conferences. It was discussed with heat in religious journals—and vigorously answered.

The first instinct of the rich, whether individuals or a church, when really troubled, is to *give more money*. Money to the rich, somehow, seems the universal explanation.

"As I have gone among Protestant churches in New York, as I have studied their abundant literature, I have discovered both clergymen and lay-workers in many cases devoting a very large part of their time, not to progressive religious work, but to getting together huge sums of money, which, put out at interest, will support the work of their churches. No longer able to command the enthusiastic allegiance and the willing offerings of the people, they resort to the ready alternative of interest-bearing stocks and bonds.

"Another expression of the same tendency is to be found in the upbuilding of enormous and costly churches, cathedrals and parish houses. The new cathedral of St. John the Divine (Episcopal) is a notable example of what I mean. Set upon the top of a hill, five miles up the Hudson river from lower Manhattan Island, it is isolated in every possible way from the crowded centers of population. An enormous, pretentious structure, it will probably cost, when completed, over twenty million dollars. It has been constructed in imitation of the great cathedrals in Europe, but instead of being a people's church, paid for by the people and growing out of a passionate, religious and democratic impulse, as did those wonderful old cathedrals, this huge and costly temple, built by the subscriptions and bequests of rich men and rich churches, is indeed far removed from the spirit of the age. Says Paul Sabatier, of the middle-age cathedrals:

"The cathedrals were the lay churches of the thirteenth century. Built by the people, for the people, they were originally the

true common houses of old cities. Museums, granaries, chambers of commerce, halls of justice, depositories of archives, and even labor exchanges, they were all these at once.

"Nor is this movement toward great buildings confined to the Episcopal church. The Presbyterians have been trying to raise money to endow one of their churches in Fifth avenue as a sort of Presbyterian cathedral, and some of the newer churches of other denominations are of exceeding gorgeousness and costliness.

"It has long been said, 'If we can only get the children we are all right,' but even the Sunday-school is now failing.

"One is likely to form the hasty conclusion that because the Protestant churches are not reaching the people that therefore there are not enough churches—that more should be opened, that none should be closed; in short, the Protestants are niggardly in their support of churches. My own first impression, when I began my inquiry, was that New York was underchurched, but I soon came to the conclusion that the city today is not only underchurched, but decidedly overchurched.

"In one Protestant church on the East Side, one Sunday morning not long ago, I found just fourteen people in the audience, including myself. It was a good-sized church, heated for the occasion, with an organist and a choir, besides the clergyman who preached the sermon. One is almost driven to the conclusion sometimes that an endowment is the worst possible possession a church can have for it makes it unnecessary for the church to report constantly to the people, or to draw its life-blood from the people. There has been, indeed, no lack of experimentation during the last ten or fifteen years among a growing group of thoughtful progressives. Though it is difficult to break away from tradition, many Protestant churches have been doing it. It was a decided innovation when men like Rainsford, in the Episcopal Church, and Judson among the Baptists, added to their church work such accessories as carpenter shops, gymnasiums, baths and parlors and organized all sorts of clubs and classes. It was surely a drastic and original step when men like Worcester in Boston, and Batten in New York, turned their attention to healing sick bodies, as well as sick souls. I have described the Emmanuel Movement in a former number of this magazine. In another church, the Church of the Ascension, Mr. Irving, a Socialist, addresses a large audience every Sunday evening, and a Socialistic discussion is held afterward—surely, an unusual activity for the church.

"When summed up, all these movements mean one thing: that the Protestant churches, having fled from the common people, are trying various constructive measures for GETTING BACK TO THE COMMON PEOPLE. They are trying new ways of serving the people, whether with carpenter shops, baths, bodily healing or Socialistic discussions. And all of them are full of significance. They are signs of that spirit of humility, that willingness to do service, which always accompanies the appearance of new truth. * * *

"I have heard many of the ablest and most conscientious clergymen of our church confess with tears that they are doing this work

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with a sense of despondency and humiliation because they do not feel that they are giving the people the best they have to give."

"The Protestant churches, as churches, may be said, indeed, to have no longer any very positive convictions or any very definite program. They no longer believe their own creeds, and the old fervor of hostility, with which they becudgeled one another (a sign of life, at least), has departed. They no longer fight one another, neither do they unite; there is no fire to fuse them."

"I have said that the Protestant churches have been withdrawing from the common people for a hundred years. To this end they have given much money; it has not availed.

"What, then, is the trouble?"

"The Archbishop of Canterbury said recently that he worked seventeen hours a day and had no time left to form an opinion as to the solution of the problem of the unemployed. To which Keir Hardie replied that 'a religion which demands seventeen hours a day for the organization and leaves nothing for a single thought about starving and despairing men, women and children, has no message for this age.'

"Two remarkable reports have just been issued, one a study of workmen's budgets in New York, by Prof. Robert Coit Chapin, of Beloit College; another a report of industrial conditions in the City of Pittsburg, by a staff of trained investigators. Both of these reports show conclusively that a very large number of the people in our great cities ARE CHRONICALLY OVERWORKED AND UNDERFED. Many of the families investigated for Professor Chapin's book had incomes so small that it is difficult to believe that human beings could exist on them without outside help. There was also a considerable percentage of actual underfeeding—even among those of higher incomes.

"And Dr. Edward T. Devine gives this summary of the findings (in part) of the Pittsburg survey which will apply with more or less force to conditions of the working class in all American cities:

"An altogether incredible amount of overwork by everybody, reaching its extreme in the twelve-hour shift for seven days in the steel mills and the railway switch yards.

"Low wages for the great majority of the laborers employed by the mills, so low as to be inadequate for the maintenance of a normal American standard living.

"Still lower wages for women.

"An absentee capitalism, with bad effects strikingly analogous to those of absentee landlordism, of which Pittsburg furnishes noteworthy examples.

"THE DESTRUCTION OF FAMILY LIFE, not in any imaginary or mystical sense, but by the demands of the day's work and by the very demonstrable and material method of typhoid fever and industrial accidents, both preventable, but costing in single years in Pittsburg considerable more than a thousand lives and irretrievably shattering nearly as many homes."

"At the same time that this condition exists among the working people **WEALTH HAS BEEN INCREASING**, the 'steel magnates,' the 'railroad kings,' the 'coal and oil barons,' have been growing richer and richer. Along with the discomfort in the tenements have grown elaborate luxuries, elaborate amusements in the homes, hotels and clubs of the rich. **NOR NEED WE GO TO ANY SOCIALIST AGITATOR TO DRAW THE CONCLUSIONS; WE HAVE IT FROM SCIENTIFIC EXPERTS OF THE PITTSBURG SURVEY** in these words:

"The contrast, which does not become blurred by familiarity with detail, but, on the contrary, becomes more vivid as the outlines are filled in—the contrast between the **PROSPERITY** on the one hand, of the most prosperous of all the communities of our Western civilization, with its vast natural resources, the generous fostering of government, the human energy, the technical development, the gigantic tonnage of the mines and mills, the enormous capital of which the bank balances afford an indication and, on the other hand, the **NEGLECT OF LIFE, OF HEALTH, OF PHYSICAL VIGOR**, even of the industrial efficiency of the individual.

"Certainly no community before in America or Europe has ever had such a surplus, and never before has a great community applied what it had so meagerly to the rational purposes of human life. Not by gifts of libraries, galleries, technical schools and parks, but by the cessation of toil one day in seven and sixteen hours in the twenty-four, by the increase of wages, by the sparing of lives, by the prevention of accidents and by raising the standard of domestic life, should the surplus come back to the people of the community in which it is created."

"This is the situation which the Protestant churches are facing. Many of the rich are in the churches; nearly all of the poor are outside. The churches feel that somehow they must 'get back to the people.' But they have not yet touched the real problem. Here and there a man is crying in the wilderness, crying to the people who are spending their wealth, on themselves. The churches, as churches, have not waked up. They are still dallying with symptoms; offering classes and gymnasiums to people who are **UNDERFED** and **UNDERPAID**; who live in miserable and unsanitary houses! They wonder why revivals of the sort of religion they preach do not attract the multitudes. They devote tremendous energy in attempting to suppress vaudeville shows, while hundreds of thousands of women and children in New York are being degraded, body and soul, by senseless exploitation—**TOO MUCH WORK, TOO SMALL WAGES, POOR HOMES, NO AMUSEMENT**. They help the poor child and give no thought to the causes which have made him poor. They have no vision of social justice; **THEY HAVE NO MESSAGE FOR THE COMMON PEOPLE**. They have no faith. And without such vision how shall they reach the hearts of men? Of what purpose is their passion for efficiency?"

The church swallows the fruits of toil of countless generations without any apparent injurious effect on its digestive system. The church was always a parasitic institution and must naturally sym-

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thize with the exploiting parasitic classes of society. The church was always with the strong against the weak. The church was with the feudal nobility against the struggling third estate in France. As soon as the feudal nobility lost its power the church, with truly Christian forgiveness hastened to conclude an alliance with the victorious middle class and against the industrial proletariat. As soon as the preacher dares to champion openly the interests of the working class he finds his pulpit too hot for him and he has to resign. The proletarians, in their turn, feel the hostility of the church and are getting rapidly "unchurched," if not Unchristian. Indeed, what has Christianity to offer to the modern proletariat? The wageworker of our time is not much interested in mystic individual salvation of his soul. What he wants is the material salvation of the producers who make up the overwhelming majority of the human race. He wants to eliminate social-economic parasitism by means of economic democracy. He wants to inaugurate social-economic justice here on earth by the means of co-operative common wealth. This is the religion of the modern industrial proletariat. It is desperately "short" on piety and "long" on civil righteousness.

The claim of the Christian church to priority in the advocacy of charity, brotherhood of men and other altruistic virtues is untenable in view of historical facts. The religion of the Hindus, Chinese, Persians and Hebrews in the East, of the Greeks and Romans in the West, all preach altruistic virtues.

Confucius, the great Chinese lawgiver, who flourished six hundred years before Jesus Christ, said: "Act toward others as you wish them to act toward you. This is the foundation of all moral precepts."

Another wise Chinese teacher, Weng-Tse, who lived 370 years before our era, called love the climax of perfection. Another great Chinese thinker, Lao-Tse, said, six centuries before Jesus: "Practice love and virtue toward all men."

The sacred books of Zendavesta (the bible of the Parsi) teaches, "Be a well-wisher to all living beings; help the poor and needy."

The Greek Pittakos, one of the seven wise men of antiquity, said 650 years before Christ Jesus, "Avoid doing thy neighbor what thou wouldst not like him to do thee."

Aristoteles, born 384 years before Christ, said: "It is morally beautiful to do good to others."

The father of history, Herodotus, 500 years before Christ, said: "Do not cure evil with evil."

The great Hellenic tragedian, Sophocles (497 years before Christ), said: "To cause suffering in retaliation for caused suffering is not proper. I am here to love others."

The Hindu prophet, Buddha (600 years before Christ), preached as follows: "Love thy neighbor as thyself, be joyful with the joyous and sad with the sad. Be always good; never shirk thy duty."

The great Roman orator, Cicero, said (60 years before Christ): "Anyone hurting his neighbor acts against nature."

The Roman thinker, Seneca (executed 75 years before Christ), said: "Consider that the man you call your slave is of the same seed

as you; that he breathes under the same skies, lives and dies as you."

Such quotations could fill volumes. Those cited will suffice to prove the falseness of the claim of the institutional church to a monopoly of moral teaching. August Bebel was correct when stating, "The good possessed by Christianity does not belong to it, and the had we do not want."

As thrifty merchants endeavor to advertise their wares by skillful display, the institutional church parades with the Golden Rule and the sermon on the mount, while the other teachings of the new testament are passed by in silence. However, as a matter of fact these other teachings, practically nullify the effect of the sermon on the mount.

Here follow a few selections taken from John E. Remsburg's book, "The Christ:"

"Great stress is placed upon the moral teachings of Jesus. What did he teach? Did he advocate industry and frugality?

"'Lay not up for yourself treasures upon earth.' (Matt. vi, 19.)

"'Take no thought for your life what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on.' (25)

"'Take therefore no thought for the morrow.' (34.)

What were the early Christians?

They were Communists. 'They had all things common. * * * For as many as were possessors of land or houses sold them, and brought the price of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet; and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need.' (iv. 32-35.)

Most Christians condemn Communism; but was the Communism of nineteen hundred years ago better than the Communism of today? To condemn Communism is to condemn primitive Christianity. Yet, Christians profess to abhor the Communistic ideas of modern teachers, while they worship as a God the founder of this Communistic sect of Palestine.

What did he teach respecting poverty and wealth?

"Blessed be ye poor." (Luke vi, 20.)

"Woe unto you that are rich." (24.)

Poverty is a curse; wealth honestly acquired and wisely used is a blessing. "The rich man's wealth is his strong city; the destruction of the poor is their poverty." (Proverbs x, 15.)

In the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, what befell the representatives of vagrancy and respectability?

"The beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom." (Luke xvi, 22.)

"The rich man also died, * * * and in hell he lifted up his eyes." (22, 23.)

"See the red flames around him twine
Who did in gold and purple shine!
While round the saint so poor below,
Full rivers of salvation flow.
Jesus, My Lord, let me appear
The meanest of thy creatures here."