

HEROIC A. M. SIMONS

Swagger up the Hill, Then Crawls Down Again.

Chicago, Ill., July 3.—A. M. Simons, editor of the S. P. "Chicago Daily Socialist" has marched up the hill and then—marched down again. The hero has crawled like a whelp. Here is the story:

The "Chicago Daily Socialist" has been up against it for funds. Something must be done to bring in the shekels. Desperate conditions require desperate remedies, and only something sensational, it was felt, could help keep the paper on its legs. There had been some vice exposures made, and the "Chicago Daily Socialist" thought it saw an "opportunity," and began to print "exposures," more or less vague and ambiguous. At last the State's Attorney, Wayman, hailed Editor Simons before the Grand Jury with the demand that he, Simons, reveal the source of his information.

Simons at first refused, on the logical ground that the paper was furnishing enough facts for the Grand Jury to start an investigation itself; and further that to reveal the source of the information meant protection to the "vice ring." At this stage of the proceedings there was much heroics upon the part of Editor Simons—the "vice ring" was to be brought to the bar. Editor Simons had marched up the hill.

Finally a judicial order, demanding the name, was issued, carrying with it the threat of imprisonment if the order was disregarded. In the "sacred precincts" of the Grand Jury room, after the State's attorney had emphasized its secrecy, Editor Simons gave the name—he marched down the hill.

Now Editor Simons is yelling that the Grand Jury secrecy has been betrayed. How does he know? The information he now gives is as vague as that upon which he based his vice crusade; he says in to-day's "Chicago Daily Socialist": "A reporter for A morning paper called at the 'Daily Socialist' office with a portion of the name of the witness in his possession."

Why doesn't Editor Simons give the name of THE reporter and of THE paper? I see no reason for this secrecy, unless there is no such reporter and no such paper. If there were any he should have printed the names to support his charge that there was a leak from the Grand Jury room. Editor Simons says that "a reporter" of "a paper" had a "portion" of the name of the witness—what portion? Let us say the name was John Doe, did the reporter have the first name or the last name, and either way of what importance is the "portion" of a name?

In the same issue of the "Chicago Daily Socialist" to which I have referred, there is a spread head article on the sentence of Fred D. Warren, managing editor of the "Appeal to Reason." I am wondering why Editor Simons allowed that article praising Warren to go in. While Warren's act, for which he has been sentenced, was like Editor Simons' act when he began his boisterous anti-vice crusade, simply a seeking after notoriety, it must be admitted that Warren played his part consistently. He stood his ground, in marked contrast with Editor Simons, to whom a mere threat of arrest is enough to make him shake in his boots, and divulge that which he needed not to have given up. A Disgusted S. P. Man.

MAN'S PROGRESS.

Is Due to Tools—Without Tools He Is Nothing.

He who first shortened the labor of copyists by device of movable types was disbanding hired Armies, and cashiering most Kings and Senates, and creating a whole new Democratic world; he had invented the Art of Printing. The first ground handful of Nitro, Sulphur and Charcoal drove Monk Schwartz' pestle through the ceiling; what will the last do? Achieve the final undisputed prostration of Force under thought, of Animal courage under Spiritual. A simple invention it was under the old world Grazer—sick of juggling his slow Ox about the country till he got it bartered for corn or oil, or take a piece of Leather and thereon scratch or stamp the mere Figure of an Ox (or Pecus) put it in his pocket, and call it Pecunia, money. Yet hereby did Barter grow Sale, the Leather Money is now Golden and Paper, and all miracles have been out-miracled; for there are Rothschild's and English National Debts; and who so has sixpence is Sovereign (to the length of sixpence) over all men; commands Cooks to feed him, Philosophers to teach him, Kings to mount-guard over him,—to the length of sixpence.—Clothes, too, which began in foolish love of Ornament, what have they not become! Increased security and pleasurable heat soon followed: but

CONCEPT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

PLACES THE LABOR MOVEMENT ON THE ROAD MAKING FOR WORKING CLASS EMANCIPATION.

The labors of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels gave the militant proletariat a clear knowledge of its historic mission, and they enabled it to march upon its goal as swiftly as possible, and with the least possible sacrifice. Upon the bed-rock of science, furnished by Marx and Engels, the task of modern Socialists is no longer that of inventing a new social order, but of discovering the requisite material thereto that is furnished by modern society; it is no longer that of bringing salvation to the proletariat from above, but of assisting the proletariat in its class struggle by enlightening it, and by promoting its economic and political organizations to the end that it may move onward all the more quickly and painlessly towards the time when it will be able to emancipate itself.

The class struggle of the proletariat acquires from that moment a different character. So long as it lacks the Socialist System of Production as its conscious aim, so long as the efforts of the militant proletariat fall within the framework of the present system of production, so long does the class struggle move in a circle, without gaining an inch, and the labors of the proletariat to improve its condition resemble those of Sisyphus, who eternally rolled a stone up a hill ever to see it roll back again, and to find himself no further at the beginning of the next day than he was at the beginning of the previous day. The abasing tendencies of the capitalist system of production are not removed, or at best they are only temporarily checked, by the class struggle and its incidental victories. The process of turning the middle class of society into proletarians goes on uninterruptedly; uninterruptedly, individual members and whole detachments of the working class are thrust into the slums; and permanently does the capitalist rush for profits threaten to annul all the victories that the better situated portions of the working class may have gained from time to time. Every shortening of the hours of work, whether such be obtained through the economic or the political struggle, becomes a motive for the introduction of labor-saving machines so as to enable the capitalist to dispense with some of his workmen; every improvement in the organizations of the proletariat is answered by a corresponding improvement in the organization of the capitalists. As a result of this, the number of the unemployed increases stupendously, the crises spread their areas of devastation, and the uncertainty of a livelihood is experienced at an ever greater and more painful extent.

The emancipation of the working class, which is the object of the class struggle, is less of an economic than a moral question. The economic conditions of the proletariat as a whole are improved as a result of the class struggle only very slowly and slightly, if at all, the self-respect, however, which the proletarian gains thereby, and the respect for the proletariat which it thereby compels the other classes of society to feel, grows perceptibly. Through the class struggle, the proletarian ceases to be the humble and despised being he once was; he feels himself the peer of the members of the higher classes; he contrasts his lot with theirs; he makes greater demands for the comforts of existence; he aspires to a share in the conquests of civilization; and above all, he becomes more and more sensitive to oppression.

This moral uplifting of the proletariat goes hand in hand with its longings for better things. The latter grows much more rapidly than is reconcilable with

what of these? Shame, divine shame (Scham, Modesty), as yet a stranger to the Anthropophagous bosom, arose there mysteriously under Clothes; a mystic grove-encircled shrine for the Holy in man. Clothes gave us individuality, distinction, social polity; Clothes have made Men of us; they are threatening to make Clothes screens of us.

"But on the whole," continues our eloquent Professor, "Man is a Tool-using Animal (Hanthierendes Thier). Weak in himself, and of small stature, he stands on a basis, at most for the flattest-soled, of some half square foot, insecurely enough; has to straddle out his legs lest the very wind supplant him. Feeblest of bipeds! Three quintals are a crushing load for him; the Steel of the meadow tosses him aloft, like a waste rag. Nevertheless he can use Tools, can devise Tools; with these the granite melts into light dust before him; he kneads glowing iron, as if it were paste; and as his smooth highway, winds and fire his unwearied steeds. Nowhere do you find him without Tools; without Tools he is Nothing, with Tools he is all."—Thomas Carlyle, in "Sartor Resartus."

the improvement of its economic condition under the present system of exploitation. All these improvements, which some hope and others fear will satisfy the workingman, are bound to lag far behind his aspirations, which are the result of his moral elevation. One of the inevitable results of the class struggle is, accordingly, the steady growth of the discontent of the proletariat with its lot; a discontent that is, of course, felt strongest in such places where the economic improvement of the proletariat lags furthest behind its moral elevation. The class struggle is, therefore, purposeless and fruitless if it does not aim at a system of production superior to the existing one. The higher the level to which the class struggle raises the proletariat, the further removed from himself does he see the aim of his endeavors—a happy and worthy existence, under the existing system of production.

Nothing short of the Socialist system of production can put an end to this disparity between the aspirations of the working class and the means to satisfy them; it alone puts an end to exploitation and to all class distinctions; accordingly, it alone removes the powerful causes of the discontent of the workingman with his lot, a discontent that is increased by the example which his employer puts before him and which is stimulated by the luxury in which that employer indulges. These causes being once out of the way, the aspirations of the workingman must naturally limit themselves to his capacity to satisfy them. In Socialist production alone lies the opportunity for increasing this capacity.

A gnawing state of dissatisfaction is something unknown in communist societies. On the other hand, it springs inevitably from class contrasts and exploitation, where the exploited classes feel themselves the equal, if not the superior, of their exploiters. Once an exploited class has reached that point its longing for better things is not satisfied until it has put an end to all exploitation.

Accordingly, so long as the class struggle of the proletariat stood out in opposition to Socialism, so long as it aimed at nothing higher than to conquer for the proletariat a satisfactory station within the framework of the present social order, it was impossible for it to accomplish its object. The matter is wholly different from the moment the Socialist Movement and Labor Movement are merged into one. From that moment the Labor Movement the world over has had an aim before it, which aim it steadily approaches; from that moment, all incidents in the struggle become important, even those that do not show any immediate practical results; from that moment many a battle, that seemed or seems lost to the working class, becomes virtually a victory; from that moment every abandoned boycott, every lost strike, the rejection of every labor law, or every capitalist failure to enforce existing ones, is a step forward that brings the proletariat nearer to the hour of its final triumph. From that time on all economic and political measures bearing upon the proletariat redound to its benefit immaterial whether they succeed or fail—they all have for their effect to stir up the proletariat, and to uplift it morally. That point being once reached, the militant proletariat is no longer an army rooted in the ground and unable to maintain its once conquered position without great sacrifices. Even the dullest may perceive that it becomes an irresistible conqueror, whose triumphant career nothing can hinder.

MORE "PROFIT SHARING."

McCormick Harvester Concern to Tie Their Employes Hand and Foot.

Chicago, July 11.—The International Harvester Company announced yesterday a plan of profit sharing with its employes. The company aims to establish permanency in the organization of 30,000 or more employes and officers and to encourage in them an added interest in the affairs of the corporation.

The plan is similar to that instituted some time ago by the United States Steel Corporation. It provides for a subscription to the stock of the company by the employes, to be paid for out of instalments taken from wages.

The finance committee has set aside 12,500 shares of the preferred stock and 15,000 shares of the common stock of the company. The former is offered to employes at \$115 a share, which is about \$8 under the present market price, and the common stock is offered at \$75 a share, about \$10 under the market.

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COST OF LIVING

Continues to Soar Skyward—Wages Halt Away Behind.

That living has soared rapidly upward in the last ten years does not need statistical proof. Common experience is enough for most of us. Yet the figures are interesting. For instance, take what the bulletin of the labor bureau calls the "annual per capita cost of the necessities of daily consumption." It rose from \$74.31 in 1896 to \$107.26 in 1906. Coal, which cost \$3.50 a ton in 1896, cost \$4.50 a ton in 1906. Manufactured commodities were thirty-two per cent. higher in 1906 than ten years before. Raw commodities are fifty per cent. higher. "All commodities" averaged 35.4 per cent. higher. Rents have soared everywhere. That wages have increased in many industries in this decade is equally true, but that they have increased correspondingly in any but the most favored industries is doubtful. The last government bulletin on wages covers an investigation into about 4,000 establishments, employing 334,000 persons, engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, the kind of establishments where, of course, the forces which raise wages act most freely and successfully. This bulletin shows that in 1906 the weekly wages of the 334,000 were 19.1 per cent. higher than in 1896—while, as said, the cost of all commodities was thirty-five per cent. higher. Wages increased 3.9 per cent. in 1906 over 1905, while the cost of commodities increased 5.9 per cent.

Now what does this mean? Why, simply this, that at a time when wealth is rolling up as never before a vast number of hard-working people in this country are really having a more difficult time in making ends meet than they have ever had before. It also means that in a great number of other hard-working families the increase in wages has been so little in excess of increase in the cost of living that it may be said to almost be a discouragement instead of a comfort by intensifying common conviction of the workingman that no matter how much he earns he will still have to spend it all in the same hard struggle to get on; that there is no such thing for him as getting ahead.

There is no escaping the seriousness of such a situation as this. The only chance of peace and permanency in this country lies in securing for the laboring classes an interesting share of increasing wealth. It is not enough that the wages of men keep up with their forced expenditures—they must go beyond. There must be a growing margin between the two—a margin wide enough for the laborer to see it and be able to draw hope and encouragement from it. When the margin has shrunk, or not increased, unrest and discouragement must follow.—Ida M. Tarbell, in American Magazine.

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CONGESTION AND TUBERCULOSIS

Dr. Knopf Says Disease Will Never Be Wiped Out as Long as Labor Is Herded in Stuffy Tenements.

In an address on "Tuberculosis and Congestion," delivered before the recent Conference on City Planning and Congestion, Dr. S. A. Knopf, the great specialist of pulmonary diseases, emphatically declared that consumption can never be eradicated from the community as long as the working classes are deprived of the wholesome living conditions that are necessary to combat the sickness. Knopf would have the hideous and death-dealing "lung block" tenements razed and habitable houses erected so as to provide the much needed fresh air and sunshine. It is not to be expected, however, that real estate owners will look with favor upon these propositions, nor, it might be remarked, will employers of labor graciously advance the pay of their employes to enable them to secure habitations that they may ward off the terrible white destroyer. Placitudes avail nought where profit is involved. The whole capitalist system needs to be razed.

The following is an abstract of Dr. Knopf's address on "Tuberculosis and Congestion."

It would seem that the very title is sufficient to cover the subject for with the present widespread knowledge of the causes of tuberculosis even the layman will always associate congestion with tuberculosis and tuberculosis with congestion. All I can possibly do tonight is to demonstrate to you again the dangers of overcrowding.

The places where people are obliged to live in the closest proximity, where they have the least fresh air and the least freedom of movement, are of course the prisons. It is a sad comment on our present state of civilization that our prisons are the most congested centers of population now in existence, and as a result the mortality from tuberculosis among prisoners is three times as high as that of the general population.

The next highest mortality rate we have to note is among our free and honorable working classes who live in the crowded tenement districts of this and other cities. Those of you who have never visited these districts have but a vague idea of what it means to live year in and year out in the same environment of dense congestion.

To teach people to keep the air fresh and pure in their living as well as in their working quarters, to keep their bedroom windows open at night, and report to a physician if they feel the well-known early symptoms of tuberculosis, such as cough, getting tired easily, feeling hot and feverish in the afternoon or chilly in the morning, loss of flesh, or change of disposition, becoming irritable, etc., will all tend to diminish tuberculosis, but it will help only to a certain degree. What we must do is to improve the living conditions of the masses. The air which they get in the crowded tenement districts is not pure enough even if they keep their windows open, to make them strong, vigorous and resistant to tuberculosis.

Not until we insist upon lower buildings, and wider streets, permitting more sunshine to enter our habitations, not until all our old tenements and particularly our murderous lung blocks are replaced by model tenement houses with roof gardens on each of them, not until we have interspersed even these model tenement houses by multiple parks and playgrounds, not until this fearful congestion which is now the curse of our civilization has been done away with, not until the suburbs of our large cities are utilized for individual homes of the masses, not until the child, while a child, will have time and chance to play outdoors without being obliged to make a playground of the overcrowded streets, not until our traffic facilities will enable the laborer to travel in comfort and with rapidity to his sanitary home, not until we will have given him the opportunity to live modestly but decently in a home somewhat closer to nature than the dark, dreary tenement houses of our over-congested cities, will tuberculosis be a thing of the past. Not until we have given every laborer fresh, pure air to breathe, not only once a week as we have done heretofore, and for which he had to leave his home and his workshop, but all the time, not until even the humblest of workers and his family has a place which he calls "home, sweet home"—in short, not until we give him in return for his labors all to which he is entitled—God's fresh, pure air, the sunlight and the skies, the trees and the flowers, and a home worthy of a man's

PLATFORM

Adopted at the National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, July, 1904, and Re-adopted at the National Convention, July, 1908.

The Socialist Labor Party of America, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We hold that the purpose of government is to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of this right; but taught by experience we hold furthermore that such right is illusory to the majority of the people, to wit, the working class, under the present system of economic inequality that is essentially destructive of THEIR life, THEIR liberty and THEIR happiness.

We hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be controlled by the whole people; but again taught by experience we hold furthermore that the true theory of economics is that the means of production must likewise be owned, operated and controlled by the people in common. Man cannot exercise his right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness without the ownership of the land on and the tool with which to work. Deprived of these, his life, his liberty and his fate fall into the hands of the class that owns those essentials for work and production.

We hold that the existing contradiction between the theory of democratic government and the fact of a despotic economic system—the private ownership of the natural and social opportunities—divides the people into two classes: the Capitalist Class and the Working Class; throws society into the convulsions of the Class Struggle; and perverts government to the exclusive benefit of the Capitalist Class.

Thus labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party raises the banner of revolt, and demands the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class.

The time is fast coming when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises, on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations, on the other hand, will have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of America to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them.

And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of Working Class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

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habitation, will we be able to contradict the words of the poet who said

"God gave his creatures light and air And water open to the skies, Man shuts him in his tightly laid Then wonders why his brother dies."

THE NATURE OF THE STATE

UNDER CAPITALISM TYRANNICAL—UNDER SOCIALISM BENEFICIAL

One of the principal nerve centers is the question of "Government" or the question of "State." How many of you have not seen upon the shelves of our libraries books that treat upon the "History of the State"; upon the "Limitations of the State"; upon "What the State Should Do, and What It Should Not Do"; upon the "Legitimate Functions of the State," and so on into infinity? Nevertheless, there is not one among all of these, the products, as they all are, of the vulgar and superficial character of capitalist thought, that fathoms the question, or actually defines the "State." Not until we reach the great works of the American Morgan, of Marx and Engels, and of other Socialist philosophers, is the matter handled with that scientific lucidity that proceeds from facts, leads to sound conclusions, and breaks the way to practical work. Not until you know and understand the history of the "State" and of "Government" will you understand one of the cardinal principles upon which Socialist Organization rests, and will you be in a condition to organize successfully.

We are told that "Government" has always been as it is to-day, and always will be. This is the first fundamental error of what Karl Marx justly calls capitalistic vulgarity of thought.

When man started on his career, after having got beyond the state of the savage, he realized that co-operation was a necessity to him. He understood that together with others he would face his enemies in a better way than alone; he could hunt, fish, fight more successfully. Following the instructions of the great writer Morgan—the only great and original American writer upon this question—we look to the Indian communities, the Indian settlements, as a type of the social system that our ancestors, all of them, without exception, went through at some time.

The Indian lived in the community condition. The Indian lived under a system of common property. As Franklin described it, in a sketch of the history and alleged sacredness of private property, there was no such thing as private property among the Indians. They co-operated, worked together, and they had a Central Directing Authority among them. In the Indian communities we find that Central Directing Authority consisting of the "Sachems." It makes no difference how that Central Directing

Authority was elected; there it was. But note this: its function was to direct the co-operative or collective efforts of the communities, and, in so doing, it shared actively in the productive work of the communities. Without its work, the work of the communities would not have been done.

When, in the further development of society, the tools of production grew and developed beyond the point reached by the Indian; when the art of smelting iron ore was discovered; when thereby that leading social cataclysm, wrapped in the mists of ages, yet discernible, took place that rent former communal society in twain along the line of sex, the males being able, the females unable, to wield the tool of production—then society was cast into a new mold; the former community, with its democratic equality of rights and duties, vanishes, and a new social system turns up, divided into two sections, the one able, the other unable, to work at production. The line that separated these two sections, being at first the line of sex, could, in the very nature of things, not yet be sharp or deep. Yet, notwithstanding, in the very shaping of these two sections—one able, the other unable, to feed itself—we have the first premonition of the classes, of class distinctions, of the division of society into the independent and the dependent, into master and slaves, ruler and ruled.

Simultaneously with this revolution, we find the first changes in the nature of the Central Directing Authority, of that body whose original function was to share in, by directing, production. Just as soon as economic equality is destroyed, and the economic classes crop up in society, the functions of the Central Directing Authority gradually begin to change, until finally, when, after a long range of years, moving slowly at first, and then with the present hurricane velocity under capitalism proper, the tool has developed further, and further, and still further, and has reached its present fabulous perfection and magnitude; when, through its private ownership the tool has wrought a revolution within a revolution by dividing society, no longer along the line of sex, but strictly along the line of ownership or non-ownership of the land and the tool with which to work; when the privately owned, mammoth tool of to-day has reduced more than fifty-two per

cent. of our population to the state of being utterly unable to feed without first selling themselves into wage slavery, while it, at the same time, saps the ground from under about thirty-nine per cent. of our people, the middle class, whose puny tools, small capital, render them certain victims of competition with the large capitalists, and makes them desperate; when the economic law that asserts itself under the system of private ownership of the tool has concentrated these private owners into about eight per cent. of the nation's inhabitants, has thereby enabled this small capitalist class to live without toil, and to compel the majority, the class of the proletariat, to toil without living; when finally, it has come to the pass in which our country now finds itself, that, as was stated in Congress, ninety-four per cent. of the taxes are spent in "protecting property"—the property of the trivially small capitalist class—and not in protecting life; when, in short, the privately owned tool has wrought this work, and the classes—the idle rich and the working poor—are in full bloom—then the Central Directing Authority of old stands transformed; its pristine functions of aiding in, by directing, production have been supplanted by the functions of holding down the dependent, the slave, the ruled, i. e., the working class. Then and not before, lo, the State, the modern State, the capitalist State! Then lo, the Government, the modern Government, the capitalist Government—equipped mainly, if not solely, with the means of suppression, of oppression, of tyranny!

In sight of these manifestations of the modern State, the Anarchist—the rose-water and the dirty-water variety alike—shouts: "Away, with all central directing authority; see what it does; it can only do mischief; it always did mischief!" But Socialism is not Anarchy. Socialism does not, like the chicken in the fable, just out of the shell, start with the knowledge of that day. Socialism rejects the premises and the conclusions of Anarchy upon the State and upon Government. What Socialism says is: "Away with the economic system that alters the beneficent functions of the Central Directing Authority from an aid to production into a means of oppression." And it proceeds to show that, when the instruments of production shall be owned, no longer by the minority, but shall be restored to the commonwealth: that when, as a result of this, no longer the minority or any portion of the people shall be in poverty, and classes, class distinctions and class rule shall, as they necessarily must,

have vanished, that then the Central Directing Authority will lose all its repressive functions, and is bound to reassume the functions it had in the old communities of our ancestors, become again a necessary aid, and assist in production.

The Socialist, in the brilliant simile of Karl Marx, sees that a lone fiddler in his room needs no director; he can rap himself to order, with his fiddle to his shoulder, and start his dancing tune, and stop whenever he likes. But just as soon as you have an orchestra, you must also have an orchestra director—a central directing authority. If you don't, you may have a Salvation Army pow-wow, you may have a Louisiana Negro breakdown; you may have an orthodox Jewish synagogue, where every man sings in whatever key he likes, but you won't have harmony—impossible.

It needs this central directing authority of the orchestra master to rap all the players to order at a given moment; to point out when they shall begin; when to have these play louder, when those have those play softer; when to put in this instrument, when to silence that; to regulate the time of all and preserve the accord. The orchestra director is not there to bully anybody; he is as necessary or important as any or all of the orchestra.

Our system of production is in the nature of an orchestra. No one man, no one town, no one State, can be said any longer to be independent of the other; the whole people of the United States, every individual therein, is dependent and interdependent upon all the others. The nature of the machinery of production; the subdivision of labor, which aids co-operation, and which co-operation fosters, and which is necessary to the plentifulness of production that civilization requires, compel a harmonious working together of all departments of labor, and thence compel the establishment of a Central Directing Authority, of an Orchestral Director, so to speak, of the orchestra of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Such is the State or Government that the Socialist revolution carries in its womb. To-day, production is left to Anarchy, and only Tyranny, the twin sister of Anarchy, is organized.

Socialism, accordingly, implies organization; organization implies directing authority; and the one and the other are strict reflections of the revolutions undergone by the tool of production. Reform, on the other hand, skims the surface, and with "Referendums" and similar devices limits itself to external tinkering.

BY WHAT RIGHT?

In Whose Name Do You Socialists Propose to Revolutionize Society?

"Yes," a startled reader with capitalistic tendencies will perhaps object. "That is all very well, but what right has society to carry out this change?"

The right is the same as it always was, when changes and reforms were proposed, namely, the public welfare.

The source of right is not the State but Society. The State is nothing but the official whose function it is to administer and dispense right. The State has hitherto only been a small minority but it acted in the name of society (the people when it assumed the title of Society, much as Louis XIV. assumed the title of the State, "l'Etat c'est moi" (the State, it is I).

When our newspapers tell us: "the season is beginning, everyone is coming to town," or "the season is over, everyone is going into the country," they do not mean the nation, but the upper ten thousand who are "everybody" because they represent the State. The nation is the vile multitude, the "common people." Consequently, everything which history records as having been carried out by the State and by Society "for the good of the community," never failed to be for the good of the ruling classes in whose interests the laws were made and administered.

"Salus reipublice suprema lex esto" (let the welfare of the community be the highest law) is a well-known fundamental principle in "old Roman legislation. But of what did the Roman community consist?—chiefly the nobility who lived at the expense of the subjected classes.

When the nobles and princes of the Middle Ages stole common property, their right was founded on the public welfare.

When the French Revolution expropriated the aristocracy and clergy, it did so in the name of the public welfare and seven millions of peasant proprietors, the support of modern bourgeois France are the result. In the name of public welfare, Spain has frequently taken possession of Church property and Italy has confiscated it altogether amid the plaudits of the warmest advocates of inviolate property. The English nobility has been robbing the English and Irish people for centuries of its property and took legal possession of not less than 2,511,710 acres of public land between 1894 and 1891. And when, in the great American War of Emancipation millions of slaves, representing property that had been bought and paid for were declared free without compensation to their owners, this was done in the name of the public welfare. The whole of our great middle class development is an uninterrupted process of expropriation and confiscation, in which the manufacturer ejects the artisan, the large land owner, the peasant, the merchant, the shopkeeper, and at last one capitalist the other, in short, in which the smaller inevitably falls a prey to the larger. And our bourgeois Napoleons saved Society on the 18th of Brumaire, and the 2nd of December, and Society congratulated them.

If Society at some future time saves itself, it will accomplish its first reasonable action, for it will not oppress one in the interests of another, but give to all equality in the conditions of existence, it will place the decencies and comforts of life within the reach of all. It will be the morally purest and grandest measure which human society has ever carried out.

Machinists Go to Isthmus.

District 15 of the International Association of Machinists reports that numbers of machinists now are going to work on the Panama Canal. The government, it is said, conveys those who stand the physical tests to the Isthmus, and pays them 56 cents an hour for eight hours a day.

THE WEAVERS.

With tearless eyes, in despair and gloom, Gnashing their teeth, they sit at the loom:
"Thy shroud we are weaving, O Germany of old,
We are weaving into it the curse three-fold,
We are weaving, weaving, weaving!"

"A curse on the God we prayed to in vain,
When the winter was cold and hunger caused pain,
Our hope and our waiting, all were for naught,
He fooled us and mocked us—a terrible thought—
We are weaving, weaving, weaving!"

"A curse on the King, the King of the rich,
Who heeds not, but leaves us to die in the ditch;
Who swindles us, treats us as though we were hogs,
And orders his soldiers to shoot us like dogs;
We are weaving, weaving, weaving!"

"A curse, yea, a curse, on our false Fatherland,
Where shame and disgrace flaunt, luxurious and grand;
Where blossoms and flowers are slain by the storm,
Where sloth and decay give new life to the worm!
We are weaving, weaving, weaving!"

"The shuttle keeps on—there is no delay,
We are busy weaving both night and day,
Thy shroud we are weaving, O Fatherland old,
We are weaving into it the curse three-fold,
We are weaving, weaving, weaving!"

—Heinrich Heine.

would promote morbid—i. e., disproportionate or salacious—habits of thought. Is not the reiteration of this argument somewhat brazen in the face of the commonly acknowledged facts that the forbidden is more seductive and attention-commanding than the unforbidden, and that the iniquitous, the misconstruction, the *double entendre*, are far oftener in the mouths of the corrupted than of the uncorrupted?—Elsie Clews, in *The Independent*.

SEX MORALITY

THE TABOO OF DIRECT REFERENCE AND THE HARM IT WORKS IN MODERN LIFE.

In the onward rush of modern life we find innumerable back-eddies and whirlpools, contradictions and dubieties of thought and conduct. Contemporary morals, particularly sex morals, are especially marked with these characters of rapid transition. These more or less inevitable characters are furthermore intensified by widespread taboos of discussion, taboos precluding any popular instruction about the origin and growth of our sex morality and any intelligent consideration of the probable or desirable goals of contemporary tendencies. Not that discussion of the subject does not abound. Perhaps there is too much of it in fact; but it is so superficial, so circumvented by traditional silences, that it is inevitably fallacious or unenlightening.

As a result of these circumstances our sex morality looks and is, in many ways, insincere. Having passed out of ancestral stages of woman purchase and oligamy, for example, we condemn prostitution, and yet we refer to it, when we refer to it at all, as a "necessary evil." Why condemn it if it is necessary, or, if it is an evil, why is it necessary? If prostitution is necessary, is it not because in a very large number of individuals the monogamous instinct is undeveloped? This being the case three lines of conduct seem to be in order: (1) Systematic effort to develop the monogamous instinct in all young people, involving direct instruction about sex. (2) Provision that the monogamously inclined shall never by force of economic or other circumstance join the anti-monogamous. (3) Such supervision of the anti-monogamous, male and female, especially in the matter of infectious disease, that their ability to harm the monogamous is reduced to a minimum. If, on the other hand, prostitution is not merely to be viewed as the outcome of a lack of development on the part of a large number, but as characterizing a small number of vicious persons, then should attempts be made to suppress it as a case of murder or assault or kidnapping? At least the offenders, male and female, should be easily reached by the public by some special

sign as were the female prostitutes of the Middle Ages. Now are any of these points ever frankly discussed? A few years ago municipal inspection of the health of female prostitutes was discussed in an organization of some of the philanthropic people of New York. The Continental system was, however, rejected on the ground that it sanctioned vice; and yet nothing further was done about the suppression of the vice in question. Recently we had a chance to consider a serious and decent dramatic presentation of the question of a resort to prostitution from starvation wages. The play was suppressed. The comment of its author on its suppression contained biting irony on the action of the New York police, police known the world over for their blackmailing proclivities toward disorderly houses. Another form of our hypocrisy and one which is even more demoralizing perhaps, for it affects a larger number, was referred to. "Prostitution is a permissible subject on the stage only when it is made agreeable." Endless instances of the truth of this assertion will occur to any playgoer in New York. To mention a recent and particularly flagrant case, what was the whole theme of "The Girl from Kay's" but the buying of women? And yet this coarse and even vicious farce had a long, uninterrupted run.

In our rampant discussions of divorce insincerity again crops out. We arraign the symptom without considering the disease. Our sex relations in marriage are also in transition. Failure to recognize this fact, failure to realize that adjustments of marriage to modern industrial and democratic ideas are inevitable, is more than anything the source of divorce. Does not the incompatibility between the over-cultivated, leisure-class wife, self-cultivated because she has nothing else to do, and the under-cultivated and overworked husband, unresponsive to anything but "business," largely because of the elaborate scale of expenditure set by the non-productive wife, does not this incompatibility express itself in the varied forms of friction that lead to divorce? In our no less rampant discussions of

race-suicide, our failure really to get at the facts of the case has been again almost ludicrously demonstrated. The ignorance of girls about sex and maternity, the relation of race-suicide to prostitution, or to the unproductive activities of women, are rarely even referred to.

There are many other points of conduct whose popular treatment is open to the imputation of either blind-morality or moral blindness. He, for example, who will some day write the history of prohibition, particularly Sunday closing and anti-canteen law and practice, with the view of distinguishing between the elements of idealism and hypocrisy, will have a hugely entertaining and enlightening task. In no other class of subjects, however, is taboo on clear and direct thinking so onerous, and perhaps in none of our moralities is failure to "think thru" so practically disastrous, as in our sex morality. There is an ethical, as well as an intellectual, obligation in seeing things as they were and are before concluding what they ought to be. The history of sex relations ought to enter in some way into the curriculum of every high school. A simple form of the study ought also to form part of the program for the compulsory "continuation classes" in physical development and home-making for grammar school graduates which were recently recommended by the English Interparliamentary Committee on Physical Deterioration, and which I hope may some day be incorporated into our own public school system.

In primitive communities taboo is a far-reaching and most effectual instrument of government and preservative of group tradition. The property of a chief, the priest-chief or divine king himself, may not without serious consequences be approached or referred to directly. In modern civilization there are not a few survivals of taboo. Out of the way mental corners, but the taboo of direct reference is perhaps the sturdiest. Interesting as it is in the history of thought we might not care to disturb it in its historical position were it not for the fact that having outgrown its usefulness it has taken on an immoral nature. Does it not foster hypocrisy? Is it not antagonistic to true idealism? We are not slow to take this point of view in almost all matters except sex morality; but here we deliberately turn our back on it. As a rule our justification takes the form of the argument that open discussion of sex morals

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