

HOW THE LANDLORDS MANAGE TO LIVE IN IDLENESS AND LUXURY

When one speaks of the classes which are steadily becoming the sole property-holders and exploiters, the monopolists of the instruments of production, distinction must be made between capitalists and landlords; and, furthermore, the fact must not be overlooked that to speak of the small holder of land as a landlord is as great a misuse of terms as to speak of the small holder of capital as a capitalist. The capitalist system of production is rapidly extinguishing both of these small holders, and congesting into the hands of a few whatever valuable property still lingers in the hands of the small man.

The land is a peculiar means of production; it is the most necessary of all; without it no human activity is possible; even the sailor and the aeronaut need a place of departure and for landing. Furthermore, it is a means of production that cannot be increased at pleasure. For all this, it must be noted that as yet it has but rarely happened that every inch of ground in any State was actually occupied or used productively by its inhabitants; even in China, with all the thickness and primitiveness of her population, there are still wide stretches of unclaimed land.

The private ownership of an article so all-essential to life and production as land confers theoretically a preponderating, irresistible power upon him who is vested therewith. To this appearance of things is due the notion that has seized upon some uncritical minds that the only cause of present misery is private property in land; that the landlord alone sucks up all the increased productivity of both labor and capital; and that his removal, or the clipping of his wings, would restore to the people—both capitalist and workmen—all, or the bulk of, the wealth that directly or indirectly flows from them. This view of things indicates a total blindness to the significance of the capitalist system of production, and the social evolution that underlies it.

Fallacy of the Single Tax Theory.

The relation of the capitalist to the landlord is not that of the wage-worker to the capitalist. On the other hand, the capitalist need not "stand and deliver" to the landlord. The days are gone by when "white parasols and elephants mad with pride were the flowers of a grant of land." Such a state of things prevailed under former systems of production, and in such countries as India; but even there they are steadily losing their pristine characteristics. Despite all that landlordism could and did do, the development of the capitalist system of production has conjured up a rival to the landlord of older days and former social systems—the capitalist. The power he wields makes him at least the equal of the landlord; the two can deal as peers; and in proportion to the fuller development of capital, the scepter, formerly wielded by the landlord class, came to be held by both landlord and capitalist, with a steady tendency to being ultimately wielded by the latter alone.

The power of the landlord is greater or less according to the smallness of the number of landlords, and the greater or lesser facilities which the laws afford for the sale of land. In England both these circumstances contribute to strengthen the power of the land monopolist.

In the United States Capitalists and Landlords Are Usually the Same Persons.

In the United States the attributes of capitalist and landlord are usually blended in the same person. The manufacturer usually owns the land on which his factory is built; the mining company usually owns its own mines; and in the domain of agriculture itself, where the capitalist system of production is now in full bloom, the land of the bonanza farm is owned by the same capitalist concern that cultivates it. For all this it must not be lost sight of that when the capitalist himself is the landlord and operates upon his own land he has not therefore escaped sharing his surplus with the landlord class. In nine cases out of ten, or even a much larger proportion he has become a landlord only by paying to the previous owner a round sum of money. The annual interest which he would otherwise derive from that purchase money represents the rent he is paying to the landlord—that is, the portion of the surplus which he squeezes out of labor and which he is compelled to share with the landlord class.

The purchase money or the rent, as the case may be, paid by the capitalist for the land he needs, is the slice of his surplus which he is compelled to share directly with the landlord. But indirectly also does the landlord class appropriate to itself considerable portions of the wealth that would otherwise

accrue to the capitalist. It happens this way:

Capitalists Are Compelled to Share with Landlords the Wealth Taken from the Working Class.

The profits of the capitalist are, as shown above, that portion of the wealth produced by labor and withheld by the capitalist, after he has deducted the sum which he returns to the wage-worker in the shape of wages, to enable the toiler to live, work, and reproduce himself. It follows that the larger share which the wage-worker needs to live, work, and reproduce himself, the smaller must be the share, called profits, which the capitalist can seize; and vice versa, the smaller the share which the wage-worker needs to live, work, and reproduce himself, the larger will be the share, called profits, which the capitalist can seize. Anything that will diminish the cost of living—cheaper goods, cheaper rent, etc.—lowers the quantity of wages absolutely necessary to the wage-worker, and as his wages will then tend downward, the share of the wealth produced by him, but seized by the capitalist as profits, is increased; and vice versa, anything that will raise the cost of living—dearer goods, higher rent, etc.—raises the quantity of wages absolutely necessary to the wage-worker, and as his wages would then have to rise, the share of the wealth produced by him, but seized by the capitalist as profits, is bound to decrease in proportion. Now, then, the tendency of the necessities of life is to decline in price owing to the increased quantities in which improved methods enable them to be produced. This tendency would tend to lower the quantity of wages required by the wage-worker, to reduce his wages, and, correspondingly, to increase the share of profits left in the hands of the capitalist. But the effect of the cheaper commodities upon the downward tendency of wages and the upward tendency of profits is checked by the increasing price of one of the necessities of life—city land. It is the irony of fate that one of the effects of the capitalist system of production is to crowd people—proletarians—into cities, thereby raising the rent that the wage-worker must pay, and by so much reducing the share of withheld wages which the capitalist can seize as profits. This increased rent, paid by the wage-worker to the landlord class, is the share of which it indirectly deprives the capitalist class.

The quantity of wealth that the landlord can appropriate from the capitalist class becomes larger in proportion as the general demand for land increases, in proportion as population grows, in proportion as the capitalist class needs land; namely, in proportion as the capitalist system of production expands. In proportion with all this rent rises—that is to say, the aggregate amount of wealth increases which the landlord class can slice off, either directly or indirectly, from the surplus that would otherwise be grabbed by the capitalist class alone.

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POOR DEMOCRACY.

John W. Kern Realizes Its Impotency to Elect a President.

John Worth Kern, who was Democratic candidate for Vice-President in 1908, admits the impossibility of his party electing a President. Of course, Mr. Kern qualifies his statement with the words: "Under the conditions that have prevailed since 1892." But he himself states that there is a group of interests which are so powerful financially and industrially that they dictate the politics of "our glorious" and vaunted "free country." Kern is unable to point out how the plutocrats he complains of may be dislodged from their vantage places, and, as a matter of fact, no Kern movement will ever be able to drag down the lords of trade and finance. Such an act, if successful, would mean, retrogression, and retrogression is not the scheme of nature; it is ever progression. It is not by curtailing the powers of the top-capitalist class in the interests of the middle class (small business men) that the country will prosper—such would only give the small fellow now squealing out in the cold a chance to make a race for the new-money bound again to assert itself. It is by the working class organizing itself politically as a class and industrially in the same way that the only progression in human affairs can be made, a progression which means economic assurance to everyone willing to do a day's honest work.

Mr. Kern's statements are interesting nevertheless, and a few are herewith published as they appeared in an interview which the Boston Globe of December 26 published.

"The democrats cannot elect a President under the conditions that have prevailed ever since the campaign of 1892. La Follette, during his great speech in the senate, showed that less than 100 men control the business of the United States—the banks, the railroads, and the large manufactories. He gave names, and we know that what he said is true. Those men can threaten the country with a panic, and the people will believe them. They actually brought on a panic in 1907 to scare Roosevelt. I stumped the east, south and west in the campaign of 1908. 'I should like to vote the democratic ticket,' many a man said to me, 'but I am afraid to do so. All I have in the world is invested in my little business. A panic would ruin me.'

"If the democratic party," Kern continued, "nominates a candidate for President who is supposed to be in sympathy with the interests that were mentioned by Senator La Follette, the voters would not support him. If a candidate, satisfactory to the others is nominated, the panic scare would be let loose and he would be defeated. As for myself, I cannot see any chance of democratic success at a presidential election."

Another declaration of Kern's of interest because of the fact that it takes issue with the element, an ever diminishing quantity, 'tis true—which contends that socialism will never take root in America, is the following:

"For present advantage, for the little dollar that can be grabbed and pocketed, business men, and great business men at that, are jeopardizing the principles and the institutions of their country. They are multiplying socialists faster than are the socialist leaders themselves. There is a dangerous and dormant socialistic sentiment in the United States that has not yet disassociated itself from the republican and democratic parties. Hundreds of thousands of silent socialists are still voting the old tickets."

Of course, the clear-headedness of these "hundreds of thousands" of socialists is one thing—they may be far from having a grasp of the revolutionary position of the international working class movement—but as an instance of the trend of things political, Kern's statement is a knock-out for all Mallocks and Civic Federationists.

"CHARITY BALLS"

An Agreeable but Hypocritical Divergence of the Master Class.

"Charity with rings on its fingers and bells on its toes may be many things which are delightful, but it can not be called scientific. It may be questioned if it be not a bit more self-satisfied than is befitting in that great virtue which is admonished to be secretive—to keep the one hand from knowing what the other does."—Chicago Tribune.

"Dancing luxuriously for the relief through our aims of those we impoverish by our privileges, may be an agreeable kind of penance; but isn't it somewhat suggestive of those follies of the predatory rich of France which provoked the excesses of the Revolution?"—Chicago Public.

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THE UNEMPLOYED

Reason for Ever Increasing Army of Men Without Work Lies in Economic Order—Radical Change Needed.

It is not possible to discuss the unemployed without some mention of politics, says Frank Fox in the London Daily Mail. The general conclusions from personal observations, fortified by the ascertained opinions of many close students of the East End, are that the present means of dealing with people "down and out" are useless.

In the first place the misery of a great mass of the population is not normal to the English nation, viewed historically. The researches of Prof. Thorold Rogers into the social conditions of the middle ages, going as far back as that, show a state of general happiness and comfort. The land owner recognized a duty to his tenants and laborers. The craftsman was the friend and guide of his apprentice, the church was a place of charity for the sick and the deformed.

With the breaking up of the church establishments there came the first grave incidence of anything like permanent pauperism in England. But even then the feeling of paternalism acted as a powerful palliative.

It was with the beginning of the great industrial epoch that was ushered in with steam power that the misery of the men who are down deepened, while the general prosperity of the nation, so far as that is expressed in money, increased. With the new industrial era, came a new economic creed. Just at the time when the conditions of life were subjected to a change which was profoundly revolutionary; when the tillage of the fields was given up for factory work; when the old-fashioned friendly apprenticeship was abandoned and the demand was for unskilled labor, for female labor, for child labor, as servants of great machines—at the time when of all others there was need of wise guidance and sympathetic rule—it was preached and practiced that the rulers of the state had nothing at all to do with the relations of employment; that the relations between capital and labor must be allowed to settle themselves.

The English populace was thrown on the mercy of the "inexorable economic law" of supply and demand. That was the beginning of the present condition of England. A reversed vult of material prosperity, making vast commercial fortunes, marked the new era; but it was at the sacrifice of much that was best in the nation's life.

At first the factories and coal pits were fed not only with the men of England, but also with the women and children of England. Mr. Cobden and his disciples, who were the preachers of the new religion of economics, could see nothing so valuable in a child's life as to make valid any hesitation in sacrificing it on the altar of the new theory of national prosperity they had devised. In time the pity of England cried a halt. The elementary savagery of free trade, free competition, free labor was modified little by little with acts against child labor and with acts to regulate labor in factories.

Still, only the worst results of a system which was in itself an evil thing and foreign to the British character were touched; the evil itself was left. It was still insisted that, in the main, matters of trade and industry were best left to the arbitrament of the old jungle law of rule by strength of claw and tooth.

For a radical cure of the unemployed evil there must be not only a bold and thorough plan for dealing with the present unhappy army, but a new policy to bring into use the fields and factories of the nation.—Exch.

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TYRANTS' TOOLS.

Courts Being Used in Interests of Foreign Oppressors.

Carlo De Fornaro was sentenced on November 8th to one year's hard labor in the penitentiary for having libeled one Espindola, a Mexican who edits a paper in the interests of the Mexican despot, President Diaz. Our newspapers with their usual keen discernment of what is important and what is unimportant, have devoted but a few lines to this item, and in an inside page. On the first page, and in big headlines, of the same issue are such important items as the following: "Mrs. Astor obtains divorce," "Mrs. Flagler hurt in auto," "Horse Show opens: Bigger opening attendance," "Farmer held as masked robber," etc., etc. As I said, the keen discernment of our newspapers is truly remarkable.

Yes, conditions in this country are becoming serious. Irresponsible and uncultured officials constitute themselves censors of our press, ignorant and brutal policemen prohibit and break up meetings without warrant or justification in law; illegal and highhanded arrests are reported almost daily; and now our officials are beginning to play the role of bloodhounds for the cruel tyrants of Europe and other continents.

If Fornaro's conviction is allowed to stand, it may have far-reaching consequences. Every scoundrel who does the dirty work for the bloody Czar, for the King of the Belgians, for the Sultan of Turkey, for the Shah of Persia, etc., who has at one time or another felt the lash of honest criticism, will get courage and will attempt to clap his inconvenient critic into prison. And he will find help and encouragement in our district attorneys, in our finely thinking and discriminating judges. A beautiful state of affairs! Perhaps we will have even the pleasure of witnessing the spectacle of a Russian Grand Duke coming over to this land of the free (?) and the home of the brave (?) and demanding life imprisonment for an editor who dared to indulge in discourteous criticism of his private life, of his graft and peculations of his brutal murders, of his incitement to massacres, etc., etc. Yes, unless the people awake, we will live to see some peculiar things in this country.—Critic and Guide.

ONE DIVORCE IN ELEVEN, IN PHILADELPHIA.

Philadelphia, January 1.—For every eleven marriage licenses issued in this city during 1909, one suit for divorce was filed. This is not only an increase in the number of divorce suits as compared with the year 1908, but is also a slight increase in the percentage of suits to the number of marriages.

There were 1,101 suits instituted in 1909 as compared with 990 suits begun in 1908. The number of marriages for 1909 was 12,156, or 567 more than in the previous year.

The number of divorce suits granted in 1909 was 714. Some of these had begun before the beginning of the year. In the general course of court procedure about ninety-five per cent. of the suits filed are granted.

These figures represent only a part of the domestic unhappiness which found its way into the courts. In the desecration courts 1,950 warrants were issued for arrests of husbands on charges of "desertion and non-support."

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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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Poisoned Bait for Phila. Trolley-men.

Philadelphia, January 1.—A special meeting of the Board of Directors of the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company has decided to hang a few tempting baits before the exploiters of the company, in the hope of thus interfering with another great strike such as the company had to face last year.

For instance, it was decided to give \$500 "free insurance" to all wage workers "in the service of the company." It is hoped that fear of losing this "insurance" will tie the men to the company's apron strings, and prevent their leaving it, either to strike, or for any other reason.

It was also decided to give "pensions" of \$20 a month to all employees sixty-five years or over, who have worked for the company 25 years. Of course there are mighty few of these, but it sounds nice.

A penny raise in wages was also decreed, not to go into effect, though, till next July. Motormen and conductors who now are blessed with 22 cents for an hour's labor, will then receive 23. These mountainous wages will be still further

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