

# THE VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray,  
Yet never strength we borrow,  
And where the Vanguard camps today,  
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

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## The Month's Story.

### No Safety

### On the Fence

Since the Vanguard last went to press, another political milestone has been passed. Another election has been held and, what is rare in American politics, an election with a lesson.

The lesson of our local election is plain. The Socialists of Milwaukee not only elected five assemblymen and carried eleven wards out of twenty-six, but they also put the Democratic party out of business. The great Jeffersonian Democracy, that party which six months ago controlled our city hall, has fallen to the rank of third party in Milwaukee. And so very far the third—over four thousand two hundred votes behind the Social-Democratic party!

It is a big lesson. It shows that in future political struggles, wherever the Socialists gain strength, the tug of war will be between the Socialist party and the Republican party. The Democratic party will have to get out of the way, as all non-combatants must in time of real battle. When the bullets begin to whiz, there is no show for the man on the fence.

Hearst's defeat, the other significant fact of this year's elections, has the same meaning. For, if the Democratic party had heartily taken up Hearst and his ideas, it would have become not indeed a Socialist, but at any rate an anti-capitalist, party. And it would have marched on to victory.

But it seems that the Democracy will prefer Bryanism to Hearstism. And since Bryan has protested that he never meant to be naughty when he talked about government ownership of railways, he has become a very safe man. That is, he stands for nothing in particular.

And the Democratic party is like unto him.

But in this world of stern realities, a thing that means nothing is already on its way to the world of shadows.

The Republican party stands for the interests of the capitalists. The Socialist party stands for the interests of the workers. The poor old Democracy stands for nobody in particular, and pretty soon nobody in particular will stand for the poor old Democracy.

Nature refuses to perpetuate hybrids. A party that is neither one thing nor another is already doomed.

**Neither Bird** Darwin tells us that in the course of evolution the middle forms, the middle species, went under in the struggle for existence.

**Nor Lizzard** For instance, imagine that queer old pre-historic animal which was the parent of our lizzards and our birds. Suppose that from this strange old monster three different types were descended.

Type Number One was just like its parent. It did not "evolve" a bit.

Type Number Two was a little more like the lizzard than its parent. It was slimmer and spryer, and could get out of the way of its enemies much faster.

Type Number Three was more like a bird. It had queer, big, bat-like wings. It flapped about in search of food, and caught its prey much more easily than its clumsy parent, or its clumsy cousin, Number One.

Thus Number Two and Number Three had especial advantages in the life struggle. But Number One had none. And so it perished. And now all that is known about it is that some scientists have found its bones in a fossil state.

Thus it is with all middle types like the Democratic party.

The Democratic party does not have the strength of an out-and-out conservative party, relying wholly on the "haves" in their war upon the "have-nots".

Nor has it the power of a progressive party, pointing the way to the future, and trusting to historic evolution.

So it has no advantages in the struggle for existence. There is nothing for it but to become a fossil.

And the Democratic party is fulfilling that destiny about as fast as it can.

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**The News** The laughable comments of English papers on American elections ought to teach us caution in commenting on English elections. We may be just as funny when we discuss the affairs of our neighbors across the pond as they are themselves when they talk about ours.

**From London** So we would say to those American papers that are rejoicing over the "crushing defeat of the Socialists in London"—just think a bit before you crow!

Was it such a crushing defeat? Let us see.

First, we must remember that the so-called "Progressives", the municipal ownership party, are engaged in a bitter war with the land monopoly of that most landlord-ridden of cities. In England, the land-holding power is the big factor of capitalism, just as the power of the trust is the big factor in America. When the Socialists of America come to a hand-to-hand fight with the railways they will find their hands pretty full. And our English comrades have had to struggle with their big foe at a comparatively early stage of the game.

Of course, the land monopoly has done its utmost to check them. Of course, it has called to the rescue all the prejudices of the English middle class. Of course, it has scared the small tax-payer with the bogie-man of a big municipal debt.

"Parks and improvements cost money," say the land kings, with a shake of the head. "And how can the great city of London afford to pay its employes union wages for a decent working day, and give free uniforms to the motormen on its municipally owned street railways?"

And Shopkeeper John Bull listened to this warning and feared for his taxes. Hence the result.

It was a necessary incident in the forward march of Socialism. But even the middle class Briton will learn in time that big taxes paid for real improvements are vastly better than big rents paid to blood-sucking land monopolists.

One other point. The defeat of the Progressives is *not* a defeat of Socialists. Some of the Progressives are indeed Socialists. Some are Labor party men. Some are Liberals. Some are even Tories. These different elements, disagreeing in national politics, have united on a municipal policy. But such diverse forces cannot have quite the strength of a united political party. And the farther they go on their path of municipal ownership and operation the nearer they will come to crucial points which must divide them. The capitalistic interests of some of their number will be injured. This, it would seem, has already affected their following in the case of the land monopoly.

It would be the height of self-conceit for us to criticize the policy of our English comrades. They know their own business. They have, no doubt, acted wisely in joining with men of other parties on the municipal field, English conditions being so different from ours. But, sooner or later, the coalition must come to an end. The lines will be more sharply drawn—Socialism on one side, capitalism on the other.

Just as the Democratic party will have to die in America, unless it radically changes, just so the Liberal party of England, the great middle class party, must also pass away. It will die slowly, because the middle class is strong in England and has a sort of historic prestige. But the Liberal party already begins to show some signs of decay. And with it will probably pass the "Progressives".

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**How the** But London will not be so stupid as to turn down the  
**Cockneys** great system of progress which has been so well begun.  
**Do It** The work of the "Progressives" is too good to be over-  
thrown even by the big land monopoly itself.

When the Progressives got control of the County Council they found things in a bad shape. The "laissez faire" (let alone) policy—the pet policy of capitalistic John Bull—had borne its usual bitter fruit.

The slums of London were, and still are, the most horrible and hellish in the world. And everybody said that they could not be helped. The poor must live that way and, like the eels skinned alive, "they were used to it."

But the Progressives—all honor to them for this! — boldly attacked this terrible problem. They tore down wretched and filthy dens and built sanitary dwellings. In these model tenements they comfortably housed 100,000 of London's proletariat. And while this

is only a beginning, it shows what could be done, especially if the power of the land monopoly were broken.

When the Progressives came into power, they found the city in the grasp of greedy contractors. The Progressives established the Works Department, by which the city now does its own work. This department builds sewers, model tenements, fire engine houses and police stations, and performs all the great improvements which the Progressives have undertaken for beautifying ugly London.

The Works Department has been a big success. The work is much better done by the department than by private contractors. There is no scamping of the work for the sake of profits. There is no loafing in the shops. There are no strikes or labor troubles. And the cost sheets are as low as those of the contractors.

The Progressives found the street railway system under private ownership. They municipalized many of the lines with the best results. The citizens of London have saved half a million dollars in fares by this change of system.

The new departure in London's policy has made for public honesty. As John Burns says, "Municipal ownership is mainly responsible for the civic renaissance that is so marked a feature of English local government in the last ten or fifteen years. There is one way to kill graft, and that is to absorb within the sphere of municipal ownership those public franchises that are a fruitful source of jobbery and robbery. Just so long as public franchises are granted to private monopolists, the temptation to graft will always exist. There is no incentive to make big money out of a franchise when the public itself owns the public utility. Municipalize monopoly and graft ceases, because grafting comes in when monopolist 'A' says to politician 'B', 'you fool the city to sell what it can better operate itself, and you will have a share of the swag.'"

But the best record of the Progressives is the character which they have given the city as a public employer. They found the street railway employees underpaid and overworked. The council, under "Progressive" control, added nearly \$200,000 a year to their wages. It shortened their working hours. It supplied the motormen with free uniforms. It is now paying union wages to 3,000 to 4,000 skilled workingmen on the city's pay roll.

"But all this," says some "clear-cut" comrade, "is not Socialism." No. And bricks and mortar are not a house. But they are the stuff of which the house is built.

City ownership, state ownership, national ownership—these are the materials which, joined together and cemented by democratic administration, will make the house of Socialism.

And how will it be with the workingmen when they are *all* employees of city, state or nation? Did you ever think of that?

Even under present conditions, the public is its own best employer.

To "Change Human Nature" A "puckerless persimmon"—that is the latest triumph over nature! Mr. Burbank, the wizzard of science, has added this new trophy to his seedless apples and spineless cacti.

To speak more correctly, Mr. Burbank does not triumph over nature. He simply trains her.

Of all his achievements, the most wonderful was his victory over the prickly cactus, that plague and torment of man and beast traveling in the great western plains. Mr. Burbank set to work on this most forbidding and unaimable of plants. The result was a cactus without pricks.

Now this is a fact of interest, not only to botanists and fruit-growers, but also to every one who is concerned with the development and improvement of the human race.

Plants, animals and men are subject to the same natural laws. If a plant can be improved by placing it under improved conditions, so can a man.

Let us think this matter over a little. First, why does a cactus wear its cruel spines to stick into the unwary feet of travelers in the desert?

Scientists tell us that it is just for self-preservation.

In the barren wastes where the cactus makes its home, scarcely any other plant can live. Wild or domestic animals wandering there can find little or no forage. If the cactus were a tender, inoffensive little plant, every beast would pluck it and devour it to the very root. There would soon be not one cactus left. So the thrifty little plant invented its barbarous thorns, and made the world keep its distance ever after!

Just as long as the struggle for existence required this sort of self-defense, the cactus retained its ugly little weapons.

But when it was removed to a place of safety, where its right to existence was respected and protected, it no longer needed these savage means of fighting its enemies. When Mr. Burbank placed it under better conditions, it changed its nature and laid aside its thorns. It has now become a useful forage plant and, moreover, bears a large and delicious fruit. What a change from the sharp and useless little Ishmael of the desert!

The moral of all this is not far to seek.

In the struggle for life, as things now are, men have need of all their thorns and their savage methods of defending their existence, each one from the other. Competition is so fierce, the weak are trampled down so mercilessly, that it is no wonder that every man who wants to make a living for himself and those dependent upon him should have little regard for others. In the language of the day, he "has to fight his way through the world."

But with the removal of the hard conditions under which men now live, a change would follow. If men were protected in their right to all the fruits of labor, they would not look with such distrust and ill-will upon their fellow men. If every one had the chance to make a comfortable living, and *not one* the chance to exploit his neighbor, the sharp spines of suspicion, rivalry, enmity and hatred would fall off naturally and of themselves.

It is possible to alter human nature.

But to do this conditions must be changed first.

Mr. Burbank might have preached to his cacti from now until doomsday without persuading them to shed a single thorn.

He might have expounded the Golden Rule to them most eloquently and sternly reproved them for stabbing every one within their reach. But all this would not have had the slightest effect upon them, so long as he left their environment unchanged.

When will people have as much sense in dealing with human nature as in dealing with the nature of plants and vegetables? When will they apply scientific principles to human life, as they apply them to breeding cattle and chickens?

It is not necessary to change human nature in order to establish Socialism, as some anti-Socialists claim. But Socialism, once established, will alter human nature. And nothing else ever will or can.

If it is possible to change a stinging, useless nuisance of a plant into a tender and delicious fruit, it is possible to change a selfish and money-grabbing race into a grand, noble, and beautiful brotherhood.

Science points the way. Let us follow her lesson!

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**Don't Sit and Watch Us** Now here comes a cheery word from Vermont.  
'Dear Comrade: The Vanguard is a welcome guest in our home, the best Socialist paper we have, in my opinion. Long may it live to perform its noble mission, a benefit to humanity. A. N. W.'

Such words cheer us along the thorny path of Socialist editorship. We are trying our best to make the Vanguard a *model propaganda magazine*. We want every non-Socialist who reads it to find his opinions materially changed before he lays it down.

If we are succeeding in this effort, if we are putting the facts before the people in a convincing fashion, then we ask you to help us forward.

It is not enough for you to sit comfortably by your evening fire, reading Socialist papers and saying to yourself complacently, "Ah! Socialism is coming!"

You should share in the noble task of making it come.

And the best of all Socialist work is the spread of Socialist literature.

Show your neighbor your copy of the Vanguard. Get him to become a subscriber. Widen the circle of our readers. Make the Vanguard's light shine.

How much better for you to be one of the militant army of Socialism, pushing the fighting line farther forward, than to be just a *non-combatant* Socialist, watching the battle smoke from afar.

Best of all, be one of the recruiting force to bring new soldiers into the fight. Get after your neighbor, get after your fellow workman, get after acquaintance and stranger, friend and foe, and give them no peace till they have enrolled as subscribers to the Vanguard. After that our corps of writers will take care of them. You get them started and "we do the rest!"

# The Party Of the New Idea

By VICTOR L. BERGER

Like every new phase of civilization, Socialism thus far has received the attention only of the oppressed and the lowly. The opulent and the rich have no reason to wish for a change of the system. They do not, as a rule, want to hear anything about it.

Until of late, *outside* of the *working* class, only students of history, of political economy, and a few advanced thinkers have given any attention to the principles of Socialism. Most other people have only a very vague idea even of its basis. Yet Socialism is in the foreground of discussion.

## IS THIS THE END?

Socialism stands for a *new* civilization.

Of course, with people who believe that whatever is will *exist forever*, and that we have reached the acme of civilization, it is entirely useless to argue.

But surely no educated man believes that the present conditions are the *end* of all things.

That we have not reached the end of our national development is clear. Every new invention and every new political question proves that to us. And it would be sad indeed if we had reached "the end". We then should soon be on a level with China.

And I need not explain, that the Social-Democratic movement is not to be traced to the irresponsible work of individual agitators or eccentric persons.

The very name of our party, "Social-Democracy", proclaims our aims.

In regard to the political form we demand the rule of the people, i. e. *democracy*. In regard to the economic sphere, and the spirit which shall manifest itself in this form and give life to it, we demand Socialism, that is, the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution.

Thus we shall have Social-Democracy. A democracy which is founded on economic independence, upon the political and industrial *equality of opportunity for all*.

## INDUSTRY ON A LARGE SCALE.

Determined opponents of the present capitalistic system of industry as the Social-Democrats are, still they never think of calling the concentration of capital the *cause* of all evil.

Social-Democrats do not try to smash the trusts as such. On the contrary, the Social-Democracy appreciates so fully the advantages of industrial production on a large scale that we wish its most *perfect development*, which is impossible under the capitalist system.

The control of production by the people as a whole means the *highest possible perfection of industry on a large scale*.

## HAVE OUR LIVES IN THEIR HANDS.

And we all deeply feel the *disadvantages of the private ownership* of the means of production and distribution on a large scale.

We observe how the railroads, street car companies, and other public service corporations corrupt our legislatures. We notice how our life insurance savings are simply

furnishing funds for high-financiers. We witness how the largest factory owners combine into trusts which are "financiered" by banks and how the meat trust, the oil trust, the steel trust, and all the other trusts are "regulating prices", and how moreover some of these trusts are ruining the health of the people.

We all see it. We all feel it. And we all know it.

Then we all must also comprehend that the owners of these sheets and strips of paper (which under our present system stand for "capital") virtually decide how much we shall pay for our coffee and our bread, how much for our kerosene and our coal, and how much we are to spend for our houses, clothing, etc.

In other words, they decide how well or how poorly we are to live. They have "the say" as to how long or how short a time we are permitted to live.

#### THE WOLVES SUCCEED BEST.

And the wage workers are by no means the only ones who suffer from these conditions.

With every increase of power and concentration of wealth the educated and professional class is forced more and more into dependence upon the capitalist. Our teachers, professors, speakers, newspaper editors, and writers, and even ministers, doctors, and all professional men, are more and more *at the mercy of the capitalistic system*, and brought into abject dependence. Thus the educated proletariat ever increases.

On the other hand—money-making is *not a matter of education*.

On the contrary, the more vulgar and wolfish the man, the more readily he succeeds.

#### A GRAFTERS' WORLD.

And wealth, usually expressed by money, is now the *god*. It is by the distribution of part of this wealth that the rich man gets his dangerous powers. It is the monopoly of that which all want—some of which all *must* have—that makes his power so fearful.

The big grafter (or his heir) writes his check and he gets all the good or bad things his heart desires. He gets adulation, professional skill, wine and women, paragraphs in the newspapers and the disposal of political places.

A man like Sherburn M. Becker, who only with difficulty is able to *read off* the trashy speeches written by his private secretary, is made mayor of Milwaukee and heralded far and wide as a "boy wonder".

Why? Because he uses the great wealth left to him by his grandfather very freely to advertise himself.

A vulgar and coarse English exploiter like Sir Thomas Lipton, who for the last 40 years has not earned an honest dollar—but is reported to be "worth" 50 millions—is invited to Milwaukee and treated as a "demi-god".

Under such conditions it is only natural that money has become the root of all evil. Wealth being the greatest social power, it naturally is the worst of all social temptations. Our present economic system creates grafters, criminals, thieves, and prostitutes.

#### PARTIES ACT FROM SELF-INTEREST.

These conditions are before our eyes in spite of all that is said by the capitalist press and the capitalist politician.



And what remedy can the old political parties bring to the people?

*Parties*, like individuals, act from motives of *self-interest*.

Now *both* of the old parties are owned by the *capitalists*. This is a fact, not even denied by the more honest leaders of both Republican and Democratic parties.

And what can you do about it?

There is only one party in the field standing for the "*new idea*". There is only one party representing in the *political* field the necessary outcome of the evolution in the *economic* field. That is the Social-Democratic party.

The Social-Democratic party stands squarely upon the principles of international Socialism. It relies wholly upon education and upon the development of the industrial forces. Both of these factors make for Socialism.

#### A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION.

The Social-Democratic party, while it is revolutionary in its *final aim*, is none the less distinctly *evolutionary* and *constructive* in its method.

Social reforms of all kinds are welcomed by the Social-Democrats for many reasons.

In the first place, by reforms we can stop the increasing pauperization, and consequently also the enervation of the masses of the people. If real reforms are seriously taken up and carried out with

determination, they may even lift the masses to a considerable extent.

But the main reason for our favoring them is because such reforms, if logically carried out, offer the *possibility of a peaceful, lawful and orderly transformation of society*.

#### SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IS CONSTRUCTIVE.

The Social-Democratic party is the only true reform party in existence. We agitate for the organization of the masses. And organization everywhere means order. We educate, we enlighten, we reason, we discipline. And, therefore, besides order, we bring also law, reason, discipline, and progress.

It is therefore absolutely false to represent our Social-Democracy as merely destructive, as intending to overthrow and annihilate society, as an appeal to the brute passions of the masses.

Just the opposite is true.

Our Social-Democracy wants to maintain our culture and civilization, and bring it to a higher level.

Our party wants to guard this nation from destruction.

We *appeal to the best in every man*, to the public spirit of the citizen, to his love of wife and children.

Vote the Social-Democratic ticket.

*Victor L. Berqu.*

At the elections for the General Council of Alsace-Lorraine, the Socialists gained three seats outright, and even where they did not gain seats their figures showed that the movement is on the up grade. In

1900 the Clerical candidate in the canton of Bari polled 1,700 votes to 500 gained for the Socialist. Last week the Clerical could only poll 1,000 votes, while the Socialist had increased his strength to 750.

# Gompers and Politics

By FREDERIC HEATH

We believe Mr. Gompers to be altogether too shrewd a man to be deceived by mere surface facts. No one knows better than he that Socialism is constantly making inroads among the membership of the American Federation of Labor, and that the mere physical non-success of the Socialists to control the policies of "his" organization or to rid it of an executive that holds itself supreme, is merely due to the fact that the Socialist conversions have not yet reached the point where they can constitute the kind of a majority necessary to overcome the machine which Mr. Gompers has built up. The increasing Socialist sentiment forced him, the past year, to throw out a little bal- last to keep his balloon afloat and so, after despotically downing political action in the last convention, he proceeded, on his own authority and by virtue of his own omnipotence, to change that policy in a way to suit his interests and start his "bill of grievances" scheme. Mr. Gompers' foray into old party politics has had its disastrous incidents and he had to retire in tatters from the political field in Maine to nurse his sores at Washington, but still he has had to face the convention at Minneapolis and "stand pat," midst the smiles of the Socialists. The most he can show is that some capitalist party candidates have been elected by the help of labor votes, which is nothing new, any

more than the promises made by the candidates are new. Promises are cheap.

There is an old saying that if you want to do a thing well you must do it yourself. Labor must take lawmaking into its own hands if it wants to have it done well, and this is the path that Mr. Gompers' letting down of the bars leads to. It is reported that the miners elected fifteen of their own members to the Pennsylvania legislature by getting them nominated on old party tickets. But even this can have but one result, providing the men elected remain true to the working class and do not serve the corporations that control the capitalist parties, and that is that the capitalist parties will not let them capture such offices a second time and labor will have to go in in a straightforward way by means of a party of its own class. And a party of its own class must, from the very logic of events, be a Social-Democratic party—and if it did not start out as one it would soon swing into line, just as the victorious Labor party of England, now doing valuable work in parliament, has had to.

So that the outlook for Mr. Gompers is the sort of outlook that opens nowadays to any man who stands for back number politics. And no one sees better than he the trend toward Socialism. To save his own neck he will try to delay it as much as he can, and by his kind of political action.

# "Dividing Up"

By JOHN M. WORK

No, Socialism does not stand for dividing up.

Capitalism stands for dividing up.

I feel a good deal like apologizing for referring to the absurd dividing up objection. But, if you consider it an insult to your intelligence, remember that there are still many people who actually believe that Socialism stands for dividing up.

Capitalism does stand for dividing up.

Capitalism compels the industrious to divide up with the idle.

Suppose you are the average wage worker.

You work about nine hours a day.

In the first hour or two of your day's work you reproduce by your labor the amount you receive for the entire day.

In another hour or two you reproduce your proportion of the wear and tear, the running expenses, the raw material, and the wages of superintendence.

Well, then, having done this, it is time for you to take up your coat, and hat, and dinner pail, and go home to your wife and babies.

Do you do it?

No, you don't.

What do you do?

You go ahead and work the rest of the day and add still more to the world's wealth by your labor.

Who earned that surplus?

You earned it.

Who gets it?

The capitalist gets it.

You divide up with him.

The Social-Democratic party

says that you, who earned it, shall get it.

The reason you do not get it now is because a few private individuals and corporations are permitted to own the means of production and distribution and to compel you to hand over to them the bulk of the product of your toil in exchange for an opportunity to earn a bare living.

By voting a capitalist ticket, the Republican or Democratic ticket, you have extended to the capitalists the privilege of exploiting you out of the lion's share of your earnings.

The Social-Democratic party says that that portion of the means of production and distribution which, when privately owned, can be used by the private owners to gouge other people shall be publicly owned and popularly managed; that exploitation shall thereby be banished from the earth, and that the workers shall thereby secure the full product of their toil.

So much for the wage earner.

Now suppose you are the average farmer.

A capitalist, individual or corporate, either owns the farm you live on or holds a mortgage against it.

Out of your product you pay him rent or interest.

You divide up with him.

But that is not all.

No matter whether you are a farmer with a farm free of encumbrance, a farmer with a mortgaged farm, or a farmer on a rented farm, you are compelled to hand over a slice of your product, in the form of profits, to each of the retail stores with which you trade.

You divide up with them.

You are also compelled to hand over a slice of your product to the elevator company.

Another to the railroad company.

Another to the coal trust.

Another to the oil trust.

Another to the flour trust.

Another to the commission merchant.

Another to the board of trade speculators.

Another to the beef trust.

Another to the agricultural implement trust.

Another to the binding twine trust.

Another to the barbed wire trust.

Another to the steel trust.

Another to the lumber trust.

Another to the rubber trust.

Another to the hide and leather trust.

Another to the copper trust.

Another to the brass trust.

Another to the can trust.

Another to the glass trust.

Another to the paper trust.

Another to the shoe trust.

Another to the woolen trust.

Another to the cotton trust.

Another to the sugar trust.

And others to various other exploiters and grafters.

You divide up with them.

You have to.

That is, you have to so long as capitalism exists.

But you can abolish capitalism by voting the Social-Democratic ticket.

No, Socialism does not stand for dividing up.

Socialism is the public ownership and the popular management of the means of production and distribution, which are now used to exploit the masses of the people out of the bulk of the product of their honest toil.

Socialism will prevent dividing up.

It will enable the men who produce the wealth to get it and enjoy it.

—John M. Work.

A Father Fisher of Milwaukee is quoted as saying that "under a Socialist regime a man might maintain his wife and home until it tired him, after which he could seek another and leave his former place open to a successor." We would like to know how he knows. We are quite familiar with all the standard Socialist writings, and of the party platforms, which alone are party "law," and we have never found anything to bear out such a statement. He is saying what is not only not so, but which is on its face absurd. It has been pointed out before that the capitalists and the defenders of the capitalist system are never so gleeful as when they attempt to smutch Socialism

with their own black sins. The merchant prince, Marshall Field, with his four harems in New York city, and the thousands of others like him, never call forth a word from the Father Fishers, but they save their venom for the Socialists whose home life is pure, and who are seeking to elevate womankind by emancipating her from the menial slavery of the present day. And we are battling against a system that makes homes for a large fraction of the people almost impossible, and yet we are maligned by those who want the present home-crushing conditions of things to continue. Strange, isn't it! And yet not so strange when you know all the facts.

# A Bestial Society

By ROBERT BLATCHFORD

I am one of those described as crafty agitators; but I am a man, with a head on my shoulders, and eyes in my head, and I am sick and sorry with the sights I see. I look up. I see the solemn heavens and the shining stars; I look down, I see the fertile earth, and the pure rivers, and the radiant flowers of the field. I look around, and I see my fellow-creatures struggling and sweating, suffering and debauching; I see them fighting and plundering and oppressing each other the wide world over.

I bethink me that the earth is fruitful and fair; that man is clever and strong; that life is short, and its needs few. I bethink me that with order in the place of chaos; that with wisdom in the place of folly; that with peace in the place of war; that with helpfulness in the place of antagonism; that with love in the place of hate, the earth would yield to all men all things needful, both for the body and the mind.

I see that men might be happier and better, and more free and able to grow in grace than they now are. I see that grace and peace can no more be born of lust and hatred than a dove of a vulture, or a lamb of a wolf. I see that lust and hatred prevail in a society which foredooms helpless babes to crime, and young girls to prostitution; which rewards industry with contumely, and seals brave histories with a pauper's grave; which promotes vice and greed to high places, and clothes idleness in robes of price; which fosters craft and falsehood, and dignifies the whole

swinish, hellish system with the name of Christ. I say that such a society is bestial and accursed.

But the "crafty agitators" will not rest satisfied while one willing worker has no work, while one idle loafer lives on other men, while one child lacks bread, or one woman is exposed to ruin. They will first have the people fed and clothed, and taught and cherished, and not till then will they put one cathedral stone upon another, nor grant one ounce of gold for royal or plutocratic crowns.

When a captain, a passenger, a chaplain, and a dozen sailors are adrift in an open boat, there is no thought of keeping up positions. The bread and the water are equally shared out; the captain commands, but he does not steal rations from the common stock.

Study the words of Christ and the Apostles, and you will find that the true dignity and honor of the great and the strong are in their sacrifice, not in their clothing and their wages. It is the *duty* of the brave to lead, of the able to rule, of the strong to work. It is the *right* of the colonel to die *first*, and of the captain to quit the sinking vessel *last*.

What would be said of an Atlantic liner if, while the crew were dying of typhoid fever and starvation, the captain, the chaplain, the passengers, and the ladies were feasting in the cabin, or dancing on the quarter-deck?

*Yet the ship of State is just such a ship, and in it are such things done.*

Observe the ostentation of our day. Observe the luxury and display of our town halls, our palaces, our art galleries, our colleges, our cathedrals, and our ships of war; contrast these things with the slums, the work-houses, the prisons, the coalpits and the workshops of the poor. Can you reconcile the splendor and the poverty, the vanity and the misery, to the principles of justice or of wisdom?

I say that while women are weeping and children are starving; while industrious men and women are herding like beasts in filthy and fever-haunted hovels, to build art galleries and churches, town halls and colleges, is like putting on a muslin shirt over a filthy skin, a diamond crown upon a leprous head.

I say that the religion and the culture which demand riches and blazonry while vice and misery are at their side are like painted harlots hiding their debaucheries with rouge, and their shame with satin and spices.

I say that the cant and affectation of piety and culture which lisp sentiment and chant hymns in drawing-rooms and chapels while flesh and blood are perishing in the streets, and while the souls of our sisters creep shuddering to hell—I say that these maudlin, sickening things, with their poems and sonatas, their chants and benedictions, are things false and vain.

We Socialists are honestly desirous of doing good. We submit our proposals frankly. We demand sound argument and fair hearing. We think Socialism would prove practicable, and we are sure that it is just. Socialism would not bring perfect universal happiness. No political system could do that. But Socialism would let Labor breathe. Think again what Socialism is, and then you may easily compare it with the state in which we now suffer and struggle for a brief, anxious, and feverish life.

Under Socialism, we should not have heaven on earth. But there would be no starvation; there would be no pauperism; there would be no strikes; there would be no barefooted children in the streets; there would be no fraudulent trustees, no bankrupts; there would be no slums, no annual massacre of innocents by preventable disease; there would be hardly such a thing known as ignorance, there would be scarcely any drunkenness, and crime would shrink to microscopic dimensions.

Then no man who would work need be idle, no man who had worked should be unpaid, idleness would be checked, luxury would be dispised, the people would have freedom, and hope, and rest, and pleasure; and the commercial greatness of this sordid, famine-stricken, benighted, miserable land would appear to the happier people of America like the memory of a hideous dream.

One of the cheering signs at the big Minneapolis labor convention was the attendance of representatives of the American Society of Equity, known as the farmers' union and a sort of lineal descendant of the Farmers' Alliance,

Grange, and other movements of the tillers of the soil for living conditions. A committee of nine was appointed to arrange a plan whereby the Equity society could obtain admission to the great labor federation.

# A Ship Of the Dead

By WILLIAM MORRIS

In one of Edgar Allen Poe's tales he tells how a little group of wrecked sailors on a water-logged vessel, at the last extremity of starvation, are suddenly made delirious with joy at seeing a sail approaching them.

As she came near them she seemed to be managed strangely and unseamanly, as though she were scarcely steered at all, but come near she did, and their joy was too great for them to think much of this peculiarity.

At last they saw the seamen on board of her, and noted one in the bows especially, who seemed to be looking at them with great curiosity, nodding also, as if encouraging them to have patience, and smiling at them constantly, showing while he did so a set of very white teeth, and apparently so anxious for their safety that he did not notice that the red cap he had on his head was falling in the water.

All of a sudden, as the vessel neared them, and while their hearts were leaping with joy at their now certain deliverance, an inconceivable and horrible stench was wafted to them across the waters, and presently to their horror and misery they saw that this was a ship of the dead. The bowing man in the bow was a tottering corpse, his red cap was a piece of his flesh torn from him by a sea-fowl; his smile was caused by his jaws, denuded of the flesh, showing his white teeth set in a perpetual grin.

So passed the ship of the dead into the landless ocean, leaving the poor wretches to their despair.

To us Socialists this ship of the dead is an image of the civilization of our time, just as the cast-away seamen are of the hopes of the workers now held captive by this "civilization".

The cheerfully bowing man, whose signs of encouragement and good feeling turn out to be the results of death and corruption, well represents the much be-praised philanthropy of the rich and refined classes of society, which is born of the misery necessary to their very existence,

How the people note eagerly the beautiful hope of the softening of life by the cultivation of good feeling, kindness, and gratitude between rich and poor, with its external manifestations — its missionary enterprises at home and abroad; hospitals, churches, refuges and the like; its hard working clergy, working, dwelling, amidst the wretched homes of those souls they are saving; its elegant and enthusiastic ladies sometimes visiting them; the cultured gentlemen with lectures on thrift and economy, which the poor can scarcely fail to practice even unpreached to; etc., etc. All this, which seems so refined and humane, is but the effect of the distant view of the fleshless grinning skull of civilization seeming to offer an escape to the helpless castaways, but destined on its nearer approach to suffocate them with the stench of its corruption, and then to vanish aimlessly into the void, leaving them weltering on the ocean of life, which its false hope has rendered more dreadful than before.

The one reality of modern society is industrial slavery, far-reaching and supreme over every man's life. No man and no set of men can do anything that does not tend towards the support of this slavery unless they act as conscious rebels against it.

The first struggles of the trade unions with capital took place when those trade unions *were still illegal*. But the repeal of laws against combinations of workmen in various countries set them partially free. Aided by the rising tide of commercial prosperity, which made the capitalists more willing to yield up some part of their enormous profits, under penalty of a hard struggle, the unions succeeded in raising the standard of livelihood for skilled workmen, although in ridiculous disproportion to the huge increase in the sum of the national income.

It seems, therefore, that along this line, which the workers are be-

ginning to take up of themselves, progress towards revolution will be made. They will press forward their case politically.

Twenty years ago the working class knew very little of Socialism, and misjudged it. The worker looked upon himself as a free citizen, like any other man, and had no idea that the reason for his existence as a workman was that he might produce profit by his labor for his master.

His ideal was good wages and constant employment—that is, enough to live without much trouble, *but in a constant condition of inferiority*. And this was the old idea of unionism, some vestiges of which still remain.

This is now so much changed that the mass of the working class is beginning to feel its position of economic slavery, and hence to take part in the movement for Social-Democracy.

A false analogy has been drawn between the Darwinian struggle which the animals wage among themselves for the means of subsistence and reproduction and that which is let loose among the bourgeois for the distribution of wealth. The qualities of strength, courage, agility, patience, ingenuity, etc., which assure victory to the animal, constitute integral parts of his organism, while the property which gives the bourgeois part of the wealth which he has not produced is not incorporated in his individuality. This property may increase and thus procure for him a larger or smaller share without its in-

crease or diminution being occasioned by the exercise of his physical or intellectual qualities. At the very most it might be said that trickery, intrigue, charlatanism, in a word, the lowest mental qualities, permit the bourgeois to take a part larger than that which the value of his capital authorizes him to take; in that case he pilfers from his bourgeois brothers. If then the struggle for life can in a number of cases be a cause for progress among animals, the struggle for wealth is a cause of degeneracy for the bourgeois.—Lafargue, "Social and Philosophical Studies."



# Great Change in Germany

By RICHARD ELSNER

We take the following account of the work of the Social-Democrats in Germany from a campaign address delivered in Milwaukee the past week by Comrade Richard Elsner, candidate for attorney general of Wisconsin. He began by speaking of conditions in Germany in former years, and said:

"In those days the workers were not respected and had no rights to speak of and poverty was evident everywhere.

"The governmental and military officers were wielding their powers without regard to the rights of civilians, who had to give way to the former conspicuously on sidewalks and public streets, and duels were frequent. The cities especially were almost as poorly managed as our American cities; all in the interest of the exploiting aristocracy and nobility, so that before the advent of our party's power the Germans furnished, of all the countries, the largest contingent of emigrants to our country.

"Having seen all this myself, and having seen Germany again in 1883 and 1884, I would not believe such a tremendous change for the better has taken place, especially in the last ten years, if I had not seen Germany again last year for myself. Instead of bureaucratic and autocratic spirit a rather democratic spirit now exists. The Kaiser has long since given orders to pay due respect to all civilians. The governmental and military officers give way to civilians, and workingmen can now ride even on first and second class railway cars when other cars are occupied, which was never

the case in my time. The royalty and nobility can hardly be seen in the open street for fear of making a "break" and to be criticised thereafter in the Social-Democratic or liberal press. The Kaiser, according to his principle, "Sic volo, sic jubeo," has influenced, in order to please the workingmen and to guard against further increase of votes for our party, the manufacturers to produce as cheap and good articles as possible with little profits and give the workers the highest possible wages, with the result that the export trade of Germany is constantly increasing. Old-age pensions, invalid and sick benefit provisions have been made by law so that the workingmen of Germany are protected under any circumstances from becoming public charges or inmates of a poorhouse, as is usually the case in our country of so-called Democratic or Republican rule.

"Germany has now the best factory laws of any country for the protection of the workers. I did not see more than perhaps three cripples, and the governmental railroads did not kill a single passenger last year.

"Through the constant agitation of the Socialists in the German 'Reichstag' against military cruelties, the Kaiser has created—all with a view to decrease and neutralize the Socialistic vote—the office of special adjutant, to whom all such cruelties must be reported after investigation, and who must daily report to the Kaiser as to the punishment received by the offending officer, which must always be

most severe "per order of the Kaiser;" and, last but not least, the Kaiser has secret agents working among Social-Democrats for the principal purpose of finding out their next movements and particularly the next laws to be introduced by them in the German 'Reichstag', for the improvement of the conditions of the working class, with the not infrequent result that the Kaiser himself takes the initiative of such laws to make people believe that they don't need those radical Socialists. And the German people have the benefit of enjoying the resulting better laws to such an extent that I have not seen a single beggar. The workingmen are better clad and housed and have a healthier appearance than the 'sovereign' voters and 'free' American citizens. And as an additional relief all the public utilities are placed in the hands of the respective municipalities as fast as possible. No corrupt politics about that. A dishonest public official is a rarity, while with us nonest public officials form the rarity.

"Compare conditions: At every election our working class has to face a fake issue, like: Free trade and protection; silver and gold, although the workingmen have the least of it; full (empty) dinner pails; Greater Milwaukee—while the only true issue in every campaign is: 'Shall the capitalist class or the class that works control our government?'"

"The capitalistic class of America especially will personally talk to the workingmen every day, but can do it only through their newspapers, and the majority of the workers are foolish enough to read capitalistic instead of their own papers. To such a degree of mental lethargy have our people been trained by the

capitalistic press and capitalistic hirelings of all kinds down to the ward heelers, that the corporation magnates openly arrogate to themselves the guardianship of the public utilities for the people, thus leaving the inference that the people are wards and incompetents. How degrading a picture!

"To hope for enactments and successful application of labor laws in a truly capitalistic state, with capitalistic legislatures, with capitalistic governors and capitalistic judges, is another conspicuous picture of political childishness on the part of Democratic and Republican workmen. A little thinking should drive them to the conclusion that through ever-increasing Socialistic votes they can force the other side to the same position as Emperor William is in—to do all possible to stem the tide of Social-Democracy—and with similar results.

"At least 50,000 Socialistic votes in Wisconsin would have more effect than 250,000 Democratic or Republican votes for the workers. The politicians would surely hustle at the next session of the legislature to do "something" for labor, in order not to lose more votes the next time. As long as workingmen vote, in the main, the Democratic or Republican ticket, the politicians are not in a hurry.

"If the workingmen would, instead of doing so much hard manual work, do only a very little thinking, they would see wonders in improving their conditions in a short time.

"I conclude by quoting our Karl Marx: 'Workingmen of all countries, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains.'"

# The Story of Bankhead

By "H"

For an out and out insult to capitalism commend us to the Canadian government publicly owned coal fields at the Rocky Mountain National Park of Canada, which is a national reservation twice as large as our own Yellowstone Park, and much more sought after by tourists. Hard coal has been found in the mountains in the park in almost unlimited quantities, rivalling, it is said, the anthracite deposit of Pennsylvania, and the government has caused a model mining camp to develop there, with miners' homes lighted by electricity and the great and beautiful park for the miners' children to run and grow up healthy in. Compared to the conditions there, the Pennsylvania coal fields with its hovels, pluck-me stores, mounted Cossacks maintained by the local governments and damnable treatment of the miners, their wives and their hapless children, presents one of the foulest ulcers with which capitalism has blotched this globe. The story of the Canadian mining community is worth giving in these columns.

When anthracite coal was discovered in the government reservation in quantities which geologists say are larger than those of the Pennsylvania field, an issue was at once precipitated between the utilitarian and artistic mind. Canadians who took pride in their national park protested that its purpose and its beauty would be destroyed if the mountains were disfigured by mining operations and miners' shacks. Howard Douglas, the superintendent of the park, self-educated and practical, made it pos-

sible to effect a compromise by suggesting the experiment of an ideal mining camp as an object lesson for the world.

The Canadian Pacific railroad undertook to operate the coal fields under the conditions which the government imposed, and the mineral rights were leased to it for a period of twenty-one years. Cottages were built for the miners as they were needed and the building of Bankhead progressed along artistic lines as the coal fields were developed. The name of Bankhead was given to the miners' camp. The town is controlled exclusively by the miners and no one else is permitted to lease grounds there. Its streets are well laid out and it has its own schools and churches.

Its population is, roughly, 700. Each head of a family has a separate house, or cottage, and each house has a little plot of ground all its own, with a flower garden usually in front and vegetables growing in the rear. These little houses, of one or two stories, are as pretty as the natty little residences of a neat, prosperous suburban village.

The boarding houses, too, are like the more pretentious dwellings in such a village. The requirement is that each man in them, and they are for single men entirely, must have a separate room. They have their plots of ground, too. Every house has running water, bath rooms, sanitary plumbing and electric lighting. All these buildings, and those occupied by the company for office purposes must follow an approved type of architecture.

The government sees to that and passes on the plans. The rent charged the miners is placed at a nominal figure, and the price of board is regulated. The free ground about the village must be kept sodded and have a good appearance. The general appearance of Bankhead is as far from the usual type of mining town as it is possible to imagine.

Miners are paid by the piece and the average is about \$5 a day. Each miner has three helpers who receive \$3 a day. The company pays an annual ground rent of 30 cents an acre on the whole concession and a royalty of 10 cents a ton on all coal mined. The revenue derived from this source last year was \$15,000, which exceeded the fixed expenses of maintaining the whole park.

The peculiar conditions which govern mining at Bankhead make it possible for the company with the concession to take a comfortable profit in spite of the burden carried. Indeed it has been found possible to offer coal in Seattle, after paying the American tariff on it, at a lower price than the Pittsburg people can meet with their anthracite, after paying the freight on it to the Pacific coast. For mining at Bankhead is conducted not by shafts driven into the ground, but by horizontal borings straight into the side of the mountain. The tunnel or bore is given a slight up grade as it is pushed into the coal. It is easy to push the empty cars to the loading point and, once load-

ed, gravity and a light push takes them to the tippie without any power.

A Socialist, will, of course, see much to still criticise about the arrangement the Canadian government has made, but however so, the fact remains that the Canadian coal field presents another object lesson as to the beneficent workings of the collective principle as against the individualistic, exploitive - earth - for - private - enrichment principle.

Every bit as favorable human conditions might have been enjoyed today in the Pennsylvania coal fields if the meddlesome Roosevelt had not butted in to save the big coal fields to the rich robber owners of that bounty of nature. The public temper was warming up to the idea that it was time to quit fooling and get the coal beds into the possession of the entire people, and something in this direction, if even only a beginning, would have resulted but for Teddy's fine work at a critical moment of the great strike there.

And the result is that today the miners are worse wretches than ever, are hedged in and kept docile by a mounted constabulary, and the people of this nation are still paying the robber prices for coal that were put upon them in order that the barons might get back their losses occasioned by the big strike. But then, we Yankees are so much smarter than the rest of the earth! Nobody can get ahead of us, no siree-bob!

Sentence at hard labor and imprisonment aggregating seventy years were passed upon various Socialists in Germany during the present year. It looks as if we will

soon have to keep a similar record in this county, judging by the frequency of arrests for street speaking.

# King Steel

By FREDERIC HEATH

Do you know that the United States Steel corporation owns the states of Massachusetts, Vermont and Rhode Island? That great octopus does not own those three states as constituted on the map, but it owns land in the United States equal to those three states, so it makes no difference just what the state boundaries are—and what's more, it does not own any of your common land, such as deserted farms and the like, but land that is of vast prospective wealth, the pick of the country. Nor is that all. It owns a railroad trackage that would reach from New York clear down to Galveston, Texas, and has thirty thousand cars and seven hundred locomotives. It owns mines that produce one-sixth of the iron ore of the entire globe, and it employs more men than went to make up the combined armies of Lee and Meade at Gettysburg. Ten million tons of coal, eleven million tons of coke and fifteen billion cubic feet of natural gas are required to keep its fires up, and they burn day and night. A wonderful thing, this great corporation, and especially so when you realize that its ownership is small. Ostensibly its product is iron and steel, but its real product is millions, millions for a few first families, who thereby become better than the common rabble and can wine and dine it through life and force almost everyone in sight to minister to their wants and whims. Added to this is the power for corruption possessed by this band of fleecers of the people, and nothing is too sacred for it to lay its vandal hand on when the notion or the necessity moves it. As against such a typical capitalistic machine for plunder and corruption the Social-Democrat demands that the mineral or any other social wealth shall not be the spoil of the few, that it shall not be the means whereby a few men can enslave thousands of the sons of toil, impoverishing them while they work, and using the loot to the injury of society, but that the production of steel as well as other things shall be carried on by society itself and that the profit to society shall be the resultant steel itself, the return to each laborer being so just that there are no profits to be skimmed off their toil. Anything short of such an adjustment means a stratified society, with a stratum of snobs and inhumans on top and a vast stratum of proletarians below, chronically impoverished, demoralized, degenerate and crushed in spirit. It ought not to be hard to see this, yet it has taken a long time for the Socialists to drive it into the general understanding of the people. Once planted there, however, it cannot be shaken, and that this is a fact is shown by the change in the attitude of the big magazines on the social question and their inability to get away from it unless willing to risk bankruptcy.

But the steel corporation and other aggregations of wealth like it are doing splendid work for human freedom, even though unconsciously. First, they are organizing industry ready for socialization; and second, they are forcing the attention of the people to the coming necessity of taking over these great enterprises so that the people and

not a few "swollen" stockholders may derive the great benefits. There can be no doubt as to the promise the future holds out to mankind, providing, of course, that enough Socialism gets into the people's heads so that the new conquests can be brought about by peace and not vainly attempted through some great cataclysm.

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## For a Breath Of Air

By WAYFARER

On the proposition that pure air is as necessary to health as pure water, or pure food, a member of the staff at Cornell university medical college has been investigating the work conditions in some of the New York factories. A poorly ventilated factory is an ideal place for the spread of disease. The waste products from the lungs and skin are all detrimental to health if the atmosphere becomes vitiated thereby. And especially dangerous is the factory where there are consumptive employes constantly coughing germs into the air or expectorating them upon the floor where they turn to dust and are raised up into the air that has to be breathed.

Science tells us that the best way to determine pure air is by the amount of carbonic acid gas contained in it. Carbonic acid gas is otherwise known as carbon dioxid. This gas, which is a waste product of the respiration, is expelled into the air by every breath. Air that has a large amount of it is polluted air and is dangerous for breathing.

Out-door air contains about three parts carbon dioxid to the ten thousand parts of air (in the country) and in a city like New York about 4.5 parts to the ten thousand parts of atmosphere. As far as indoor air is concerned eminent sanitarians hold that it should not contain more than two parts more per ten thousand than outdoor air, which means that in 10,000 parts of air in a factory, for instance, there should not be more than 6.5 parts of carbon dioxid present. But here is another point. A single gas burner produces as much carbon dioxid as six persons, although it does not vitiate the air as much as six persons would, so that calculations in rooms where gas is burning have to be made accordingly.

This Cornell professor made examination of eight factories in New York City, using a little apparatus invented by an English scientist for determining the air pollution. The results are interesting. He found one factory in which seventy-four persons were at work, in the air of which there was a total of over nine parts of carbon dioxid per ten thousand parts of air, each employe having 372 cubic feet of air space to breathe (the state law requires at least 250 cubic feet of air space in the daytime, and 450 in the night). This factory was devoted to making cigars. In all but one of the factories visited the air was found to be polluted to some degree, this one, a leather goods factory, employing 128 people and allowing each one a cubic space of air of 630 feet.

The fact that one factory in eight showed wretched air pollution, while the others might be classed as passable, shows the need of more strict regulation along this line. One in every eight of the factories of a large city would mean a good many bad factories and a great many operatives being poisoned. The eminent English scientist, Alfred Russel Wallace, claims that it is not the practice of vaccinating people with the filth from the sores of cows that has decreased smallpox, but that its decrease has been due to better sanitary methods, and it is altogether likely that if health boards spent as much time surrounding the people with sanitary living and working conditions a good many of the diseases that baffle their skill now would practically die out. At all events there is crying need of more supervision of factories by the health authorities, and working people ought to insist on it.

Francis E. Willard started out with the idea that inebriety was the cause of poverty and that the poor of this land were poor because they brought it upon themselves by their habits. All they had to do was to change their habits, and then— presto!—the working people would all be rich. Gradually she began to realize that this was not the fact, that there was an economic condition that doomed those who worked hardest to poverty, and before she died she had progressed far enough to come out frankly and on a public platform admit her error. She boldly declared that she had found by painstaking and long investigation that poverty was not caused by drink, but that drink was caused by poverty. From that time on she paid more attention to the economic problem, and, being an honest and a fearless woman, she soon saw that the thing society needed was Socialism. In 1897 Miss Willard spoke on Socialism to the national convention of the W. C. T. U. at Buffalo, saying, among other things, the following:

"I believe that **COMPETITION IS DOOMED**. The trusts, whose single object is to abolish competition,

have proved that **WE ARE BETTER WITHOUT THAN WITH IT**, and the moment corporations control the supply of any product they combine. What the **SOCIALISTS** desire is that the **CORPORATION OF HUMANITY SHOULD CONTROL ALL PRODUCTION**. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it enacts into our everyday living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.

"Oh, that I were young again, and it would have my life!"

Out in Utah the supreme court has handed down a decree that the smelters cannot smelt ore carrying more than ten per cent of copper. This is a blow to the smelters and arose from numerous suits brought by owners of cattle and crops that were damaged by the terrific fumes of the smelters. There were money interests behind the fight on the smelters so that the protesters won out. But human beings, common workmen, have to work and breathe the deadly fumes. There is no powerful money interest back of them, so the cattle get protection and the men none.

# Shots at Capitalism

Our Victor L. Berger was a delegate again at the national convention of the American Federation of Labor at Minneapolis, and indeed the newspaper reports show that he was in the thick of the fight there for progressive measures. A press dispatch reported: "The progressive element in the convention of the American Federation of Labor has won a point over a very determined and bitter opposition. It was at a conference of the union label delegates. For over ten years Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee among other things has advocated the use of the universal label, or at least a universal design for all labels used by unions. There is a multitude of union labels, now over seventy. The best union man knows no more than half of them."

"With one design for all union labels it is believed the public would become accustomed to it and more readily recognize it when it appears. It was also emphasized that the bogus could be more readily detected than it is today."

"After a warm discussion it was decided to defer action until the next convention and have the delegates study the matter in the meantime. There is no doubt that the idea of a universal label for all union goods is making progress. No less than eleven international unions, among them the hatters and the garment workers, are in favor of it now."

"Resolutions denouncing the judicial system of the United States as 'tyrannical and antiquated from the police court up to the supreme court of the United States' were introduced and referred to the committee. These, with other resolutions

known as the 'Socialist resolutions,' were presented by Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee.

"Charging that the judiciary, and especially the federal judiciary, is recruited from corporation lawyers upon the recommendation of 'plutocrats,' the resolutions call for the election of all judges, including federal judges, by the people of their respective districts or states for a term not longer than four years, with the privilege of being re-elected from time to time if the people so desire."

"On the subject of insurance the resolutions are equally outspoken, denouncing the system in the United States as a notorious method of graft and exploitation and demanding compulsory life and other insurance by legislative enactment. That the Japanese and Koreans be excluded in the same manner as the Chinese was another of the radical demands. Women employment was denounced and child labor censured. More factory inspectors were demanded."

Capitalism is impracticable. It is a nightmare.

Do you think a system which drives thousands of men to suicide is practicable?

Do you think a system which drives thousands of people insane is practicable?

Do you think a system which drives millions of men to drink is practicable?

Do you think a system which drives hundreds of thousands of girls to prostitution is practicable?

Do you think a system which throws hundreds of thousands of children into the industrial mill and



grinds the life out of them is practicable?

Do you think a system which puts a premium on dishonesty is practicable?

Do you think a system which is an enemy of the family relation is practicable?

Do you think a system which bars out the masses of the people from the higher things of life is practicable?

Do you think a system which compels everybody to violate the Golden Rule is practicable?

Do you think a system which takes the product of the useful worker away from him and hands it over to the useless capitalist practicable?

Capitalism is guilty of all these and many other crimes. And all of them are constantly growing worse.

Capitalism is impracticable. It has been a mere makeshift. It has been a mere stepping stone to something better.

Socialism is practicable. —*John M. Work.*

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Proof that low wages are driving girls to lives of immorality received added substantiation in Chicago last week when, at a committee hearing of the city council, the statement was made that the chief of police, on request of purity workers, had set two detectives to watch one of the big stores and that they had traced sixty girls from that one store alone to certain downtown bed-house "hotels" within the space of six days. They went to the places accompanied by men. Chicago has been making an attempt to stem the downtown "hotel" evil, but has run up against

the influence of powerful "leading" citizens who have money invested in them. The evil is not confined to Chicago; it is everywhere where capitalistic city conditions exist. Capitalism, with its ruinous wages and its enterprise in providing fashionable resorts where women can be started on the downward path, so as to make profits out of the traffic, is the enemy of womanhood, the wrecker of the American home. And this is one of the many reasons why Socialists are making war on the capitalist system, and will continue to make war on it, whether Archbishop Ireland approves of our course or not.

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The Countess von Wurtemberg, a relative of the kaiser, is in this country investigating social conditions. She is going about under the assumed name of Winkler, it is said, in order to carry on her investigations more freely, and she now gives it out that hunger is the thing that recruits the ranks of prostitution, and that everywhere she finds "poor girls working at low wages in order that big dividends may be earned from dollars invested." Under capitalism there is an economic law that compels this. In order that profits can be made in spite of competition cheaper and cheaper labor must be had. And if there were no woman and child labor at hand, the capitalists would import coolies, just as Roosevelt proposes for the Panama canal. The exploitation of labor is rooted in the capitalist system, and prostitution will be one of its fruits so long as those roots continue to get nourishment. It is the system that is at fault, and you vote your approval of

that system and its evil fruits every time you soil your hands by casting a Republican or Democratic ballot.

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The editor of the Sentinel is quite pleased over the action of the government in letting out the making of postage stamps to a private concern. The private concern underbid the government bureau of engraving and printing, and will employ the **usual contract methods** as a means of coming out ahead in the deal. For one thing, it goes without saying, that it will get most of its profit out of its employes. Which is best for the people? To do this work themselves, paying those of their number thus employed a relatively decent wage, and granting them relatively humane hours of daily employment, or, swell the profits of a few individuals, with that portion of the people who have to work for them getting lower wages and longer hours—consequently a reduced citizenship! Which is best for society, and which is best for those who do the work of society?

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Social-Democratic Alderman Seidel of Milwaukee has refused to accept expense money from the city for his trip to Chicago as a regularly appointed delegate to the national convention of the League of American Municipalities, on the ground that the convention was a good deal of a farce, that it merely skimmed over the surface of things and was antiquated in its views. The Milwaukee council sent three delegates, the two men from the other parties being rather above the average aldermanic intelligence, but they brought

back no very valuable information from the "annual talk." Alderman Seidel says the convention was visibly startled on several occasions when he spoke out in meeting and punctured some of the smug periods of the speakers by facts from the lives of the working class.

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Just for a joke a man cried out that "there's a five-dollar bill on the floor!" when fully two thousand people were elbowing each other at a big Louisville bargain sale, and in the struggle of the temporarily mad crowd to get at the imaginary bill twelve persons were injured. One woman had a broken arm, another was internally injured, one had a part of her hair torn out by the roots, and still another lies in a serious condition and may die. Modern civilization produces wealth in marvelous abundance, with enough for everybody and to spare, and yet it gets into the clutches of the few, and the struggle to escape poverty is so fierce among the rest that such scenes as that scramble for a five-dollar bill here narrated can take place.

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In the Tenth district of Saxony all the old parties combined to capture a seat in the National parliament, but a Berlin cable announces that they failed. Socialists polled 12,716 votes; combined opposition, 12,014.

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At an old soldiers' reunion at Oswego, Kan., a Socialist day was set apart, same as for the other parties. Among the addresses was one by Comrade Harry Gilham, mayor of Oswego, and the candidate of our party for governor.



JACK LONDON