

THE VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray,
Yet newer strength we borrow,
And where the Vanguard camps today,
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

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The Month's Story

Roosevelt's Desires

Theodore Roosevelt is chiefly remarkable for what an old-fashioned Methodist exhorter once called the "gift of gab." And when Teddy doesn't express an idea, it is pretty safe to say that he has none. Hence, as he has expressed no indignation against the lawless acts of the western mine owners, although he went out of his way to kick their two defenceless prisoners, it is clear that he approves the course of the mine owners, and classes *them* as "desirable citizens."

Roosevelt claims, in his letter to the attorney general, forwarded to the New York Central Federated Union, that he stands for "exact justice." This "exact" sense of justice never incited him to utter one peep of protest against the mob violence of the Colorado mine owners, as reported to him by Carroll D. Wright, which official report Roosevelt read "with the greatest care," according to his own admission.

So it is clear that the character Roosevelt desires in an American citizen is just the opposite of what is considered desirable by every lover of law and freedom.

Roosevelt's notion of a desirable citizen is a man like Gov. Peabody of Colorado, whose troops beat and tied to telegraph poles law-abiding Americans—like the one in our frontispiece—for no other crime than their loyalty to the union.

Roosevelt's notion of a desirable citizen is a man like Bulkeley Wells, *mine owner*, who was one of the leaders of the Citizens' Alliance mob at Telluride, which broke open the workingmen's homes, tore the union men from their families, beat them, and loaded them on a special train with orders never to return; and who himself stood guard over Moyer and Haywood while they were being kidnaped from Colorado.

Roosevelt's notion of desirable citizens would be the *mine owners* who furnished free of charge the special train which carried the kidnaped men into Idaho.

Roosevelt's notion of an undesirable citizen is a *workingman* like William D. Haywood, who did *not*—as Theodore Roosevelt falsely alleges—incite to bloodshed and violence, but who did advise his fellow-unionists to control their righteous indignation and right their wrongs at the ballot-box by overthrowing the capitalist system. And that was just the head and front of his offending.

Angry, are you, Mr. Workingman? Such notions make your blood boil and your fists clench?

Then let us kindly tell you that you are a fool. Theodore Roosevelt is perfectly right from his standpoint as to what citizens are "desirable" and what characters are "undesirable." Who ever told you that his "desires" and your "desires" were the same?

Who ever told you that the desires of capitalists and workingmen ran parallel?

Yes, we know who the liar was. It was the man who wanted you to vote for Roosevelt three years ago. He told you that the "interests of capital and labor were identical."

And you believed him. You easy mark!

But you know better now.

And at the next election, you will not cast your ballot for the Republican party and its "desirable citizens."

You will vote for Socialism, which alone can solve the question by *dissolving* the classes which divide human interests, by merging all in one class of common workers and common owners, and thus giving to all economic equality and economic freedom.

* * *

The Other Half The past month has been remarkable for its many strikes—strikes for better wages, better hours, better conditions. But we have not yet heard of any strike called to demand *that other half*. According to statistics, nearly half of all that the American workingmen produce, subtracting the cost of raw material, the expense of wear and tear to machinery, and other necessary expenses, goes to enrich the capitalist class.

This is a mere dry statement of facts. Put in another shape, the idea may be conveyed more vividly.

Suppose, American workingman, that your working day is divided into two parts. During one half of your day you work for yourself, and in the other half you work for your employer. Say that in the morning hours you labor for yourself and your family, and the afternoon is spent to increase the wealth of the capitalist. In the morning hours you pay rent, buy coal, cheap clothing, and plain food for your own household. In the afternoon you buy Worth gowns, diamonds, pearls and opals, paintings and statuary from abroad, Smyrna rugs, beautiful carved furniture, unseasonable dainties, champagne and fragrant Havanas, and build palaces surrounded with gardens, statues and fountains—but all for your employer and his family.

This makes clear why you have to work such long hours. The frugal needs of your plain household could easily be supplied in the morning hours alone. But this other expensive family which you also have on your hands is not so easily satisfied. Not only you, but all your fellow-workingmen must labor to support them.

Nor is this all. If you are employed by some large trust, the labor of your fellows and yourself more than suffice for the wildest extravagance of the most luxurious family. The balance that you create for the trust magnate is again turned into capital, which he uses as

an implement for further exploitation. Thus the working class furnishes the club with which it is robbed.

Now did it ever occur to you, if your employer would be kind enough to get off your back, what you would do with this half day, which you are now donating to him? Suppose at noon, instead of eating a cold lunch out of a dinner pail, you could go home to your family and eat a leisurely dinner, surrounded by your wife and little ones. Suppose that all the remainder of the day was yours. Such a daily half-holiday would be pleasant and useful, would it not? You would have time to get fresh air in the parks, instead of always breathing the bad odors of the factory. You would have time for reading and mental improvement. You would have time to get acquainted with your little ones, who are often asleep when you leave home, and go to bed almost as soon as you return. You would have time to teach and guide your older children, who need a father's daily example, and are almost too much for your tired, over-burdened wife, left with the training of the family entirely on her hands while you are absent at work. You would not be at a loss to spend your leisure time profitably.

Or you might prefer to spend this extra half day in labor, and with the fruits of your toil introduce new comforts and even luxuries into your household. Your home needs a bath room and a bay-window, a garden and a piazza. You have been so busy building palatial stables, green-houses and club-houses for your employer, that you have had no time to do much for your own home. You might profitably employ your spare half day in providing for yourself these and similar improvements.

In a well-regulated society, where the present exploiters have not only ceased to be a burden to others, but themselves have become productive workers, both these advantages might be yours. You might have your half holiday and your increased comforts besides. With all hands at work, production would become easier and cheaper, and the mass of workers would produce more in a shorter time.

All this might happen, as I have said, if your employer would kindly get off your back. But it is not likely that he will ever do this voluntarily. It will be necessary for you to throw him off. And it is becoming clearer every day that you cannot do this with the strike, which is a two-edged weapon, and cuts you more deeply and sharply than it cuts the capitalist.

The Social-Democratic party shows you the means. It proposes a system under which the capitalist can no longer rob you of your half day and the wealth you create during that period. By restoring to you the entire product of your labor, the Social-Democracy will secure to you that other half of which you have been despoiled all your lifetime.

The result can only be attained by the complete abolition of the capitalist system and the introduction of the Socialist Republic.

Persimmons Can human beings be made over and improved as Mr. Burbank remakes persimmons and cacti? Burbank says so. He claims that if children were left to run about in the fresh air and sunshine for the first ten years of their life, the human race, in a few generations, would be completely altered for the better.

Better Than Boys But then, the schooling of the majority of children would be cut down to a period of only four or five years. The sons and daughters of the working man quit school at the age of fourteen or fifteen. And if we should propose to extend the school age of the working class children, what would the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association have to say? Where would its members find young human flesh to work up into profits?

It was because it loves the little children—as the wolf loves the juicy little lamb—that the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association covertly fought the Social-Democratic bill against child labor in the Wisconsin legislature last month.

It is clear that the human race will have to wait a while before it can be improved on any large scale. Mr. Burbank's scheme will have to be postponed till the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association will kindly consent to step out of the path of progress—or till it is kicked out of the road by a Social-Democratic majority.

For the present, persimmons and cacti have better chances than boys and girls.

* * *

How We Waste Genius And yet, the means for the improvement of the race are in its own hands. Science has proved this. For instance, the Anthropometric Society has shown that the factory legislation of England has added *one year of growth* to the stature of English children in the industrial centers.

And there can be no doubt that the mental development of the race is just as possible as to "add a cubit to its stature."

Up to the present time, all the efforts for intellectual improvement have been focused on one small class of society. This, of course, is Mr. Burbank's method with his persimmons. He cultivates a few specimens and gives these all the benefit of his care. But then, he pulls up all the pucky persimmons, and carefully crosses the "puckerless" plants. And you can't pull up the ignorant men and women and throw them on the brush-heap. You must cultivate the whole garden, else the weeds will choke the well-developed plants.

And that is just what will happen to human civilization, unless we can devise some plan for the culture of the uneducated class. And this can only be done by abolishing poverty.

M. Odin, a French sociologist, has shown that 90 per cent of distinguished writers and scientists belong to wealthy or well-to-do families, and are exempt from all material concerns. Moreover, 98 per cent of them receive a liberal education in their youth.

What does this mean? Simply that in the indigent classes the cruel struggle for existence chokes out all tendencies to intellectual improvement. The cactus, left in the desert, will never lose its pricks, nor an uncultured man his ignorance.

For it is absurd to say that the working class produces no potential geniuses, or that every genius will work his way to the top in spite of all material difficulties. Lester F. Ward, in his "Applied Sociology," has well exploded this pet humbug of capitalistic writers.

Of course, it is difficult to prove of any individual poor man that he was a potential genius, but that poverty "froze the genial current of his soul." Ward truly says, "We are confronted by the same condition of things that is described in the story told of Diogenes the Cynic by Diogenes Laertius, that when shown in a temple the votive tablets suspended by such as had escaped the peril of shipwreck, because they had made their vows, as a proof of the power of the gods, he inquired, 'Where are the portraits of those who perished in spite of their vows?' And the fallacy involved in this faith in heredity is precisely the same as that involved in the faith in the gods. As Bacon said, 'Men mark when they hit, but never mark when they miss.' 'Men of mark' are simply 'hits'."

But what of the misses? Can society afford to lose them? Can we afford to do without the great men who might have invented labor-saving machinery, discovered remedies against wide-spread diseases, prolonged human life, devised means for making it worth living, or carried social progress farther forward by a whole generation?

What becomes of these unknown great men? Lost, like rivers which might have fertilized the earth, but which sink into the sands and never reach the sea.

But some do not remain entirely unknown. Their strong natures, turned aside from their right course, force themselves to the surface in terrible explosions, "Criminals," says Ward, "are the geniuses of the slums."

If the human race wants to go on, it must get economic inequality out of its path. That is the stumbling-block which bars our further progress. And it will turn us back to barbarism, if it is not removed in time!

We hate the capitalist system. No true man can admire it. No conscientious man can applaud its treatment of the people. No honest man can deny its cruelties. We are not unmindful of the historic building-up work the system has accomplished, but its days of *service* are long past. It has now developed production to the point where the private ownership of industry has become a vicious thing, injurious physically and morally to the common people and certainly injurious morally to the conquering few. At the present stage of civilization the capitalist system inevitably produces Thaw trials for the rich and slums for the poor. Dead must be the soul of the man who does not want to lift his eyes above this fearful muck of our present society and to look at the radiant future which Social-Democracy presents to view as man's next step as a society in the march toward economic and moral improvement.

Municipal "Failures"

By WAYFARER

Every day we read of the failure of some private business or of the swamping of some privately owned public service company, yet the people do not regard it as proof positive that private ownership is a failure. In fact, there are so many such failures of individual management that they have grown to look upon it as a matter of course. But when the organized corporationists can parade in print the account of some alleged municipal ownership failure, people seem to take the thing more seriously. And, as a rule, these alleged failures of municipal undertakings do not bear the light of investigation, for they are generally found to be founded on utter untruth, as in the case of the British cities, or have been deliberately made failures through the rank work of capitalist party officials, who are anxious to give municipal ownership a black eye, as in the case of the Milwaukee garbage plant. But even such cases are few. As a rule the public ownership undertakings prove successful, and their number is on the increase every day. A Michigan paper that has been sent us has a long article under a Chicago date line, setting forth the failure of the Detroit municipal lighting plant—yet the Detroit plant is in reality a success, the only failure about it being that it is not the means of filling private owners' pockets at the expense of the Detroit citizens. And why should the article bear a Chicago instead of a Detroit date line? That, of itself, is suspicious. The fact is, such articles are sent out from a regularly established bureau maintained by the private interests in the hope of frightening other places against going into municipal undertakings and therefore lessening the field for money-making of the private interests.

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By the way, it wasn't municipal ownership that produced those bribes, totaling nearly a million dollars, that were alleged to have been paid to crooked officials for franchises in San Francisco. So long as there are valuable grants to be had by private, profit-hunting companies there will be efforts at bribery. The main peril of the public servant of the present day lies in the fact that he is surrounded by an atmosphere of graft made possible by the bad habit of allowing private capitalists to do the things for the people that the people ought to do for themselves.

Nor is it forgotten that Roosevelt said that the leaders of the big Chicago railroad strike of 1894 ought to be summarily <i>put to death</i>.	The Nazarene was an agitator, too, in his day, and was looked on as an undesirable citizen, with a result that is well known.
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Down With the Senate

By VICTOR L. BERGER

IN the state of Wisconsin we are about to elect a member of the United States Senate, a successor to John C. Spooner, resigned. It behooves us at this time to look into the matter of the existence of the United States Senate—the American House of Lords—the Millionaires' Club—or the Chamber of Trustocrats—as it is variously called.

We have nothing to say at this time about the candidates. I will only mention that the main candidate—the man who significantly enough is put forward by the reformers, and backed up by Senator Robert M. LaFollette—is Isaac M. Stephenson, a millionaire, and for years one of the main corrupters of Wisconsin politics, therefore very well qualified to take a position in that august body.

For the United States Senate, the “Upper House” of our national legislature, was created for the very purpose of representing the wealth and vested interests of the country, as Alexander Hamilton put it. And right from the beginning it was intended to “form a check upon the will of the people.” Therefore its selection was removed from the people as far as possible, and put into the hands of the respective legislatures.

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It is almost unnecessary to show what the United States Senate was from its beginning, and what it is now.

We all know that it was the stronghold of the slave barons, compelling the solution of the slavery question by force of arms. We all know that it is the bulwark of the railroads and trusts now.

The oil trust, the railway trust, the sugar trust, the steel trust, and every robber concern preying upon the common people have their representatives in the Senate.

It was and is the home, not only of men like Calhoun and Hanna, who were at least statesmen in their way, but also the roost of common thieves like Clark of Montana, Burton of Kansas, Bailey of Texas, Aldrich of Rhode Island, the abiding place of filthy money sharks like Platt and Depew of New York and Guggenheim of Colorado. Seats in the United States Senate are bought and were bought almost openly. There is hardly an honest or decent man in the United States Senate. There is scarcely a man in the United States Senate who would not have the time of his life in a revolution “to show why he should not be hanged”—if I may be permitted to borrow and adapt the phrase of Camille Desmoulins.

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Under these conditions, and in view of the fact that the Social-Democratic program stands for the abolition of the Senate, it is of great interest to see what several world-famed writers have to say on

the origin and the necessity of a second chamber—an “upper house”—in this country and elsewhere.

* * *

We will begin with the American writer, M. D. Conway.

Mr. Conway has made a careful treatise upon the subject of the United States Senate, and I quote the following from his valuable work:

“It was not at all necessary, when it was determined that the states should have a distinct representation in the congress, that they should also have a separate upper house. The separation into two houses was accepted upon the precedent of the British Parliament, and on no real grounds whatever.

“Of the original states, at the time of the adoption of the constitution, two had but one legislative chamber each, and the confederation of 1775 had no more. When the proposition was made to divide the congress into two branches, three states, the great state of New York among them, recorded their votes against it, and the delegation of another, Maryland, was equally divided on the subject.

“There seems, however, to have been very little discussion of the matter, which was quite overshadowed by the incomparable urgency of the only question—the relative power of the states and the general government—which really was discussed in the convention. The debates were in secret, and we have but brief notes of them; but a passage in the minutes, jotted down by one of the members, Chief Justice Yates, of New York, no doubt tells the whole story.—‘May 31, 1787. The third resolve, to wit: “that the national legislature ought to consist of two branches,” was taken into consideration, and without any debate agreed to.’ To this Judge Yates adds, in brackets: ‘N. B.—As a previous resolution had already been agreed to, to have a supreme legislature, I could not see any objection to its being in two branches.’

“So lightly was a step taken, which has proved to be of momentous consequence to America.”

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It is a notable fact that, while the founders of the American constitution were taking up this relic of feudalism and clothing it with formidable power, the English nation was already preparing the forces which were to reduce the House of Lords to the secondary position it now occupies. And as everybody knows, there is a strong tendency in England to abolish it altogether.

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After reading the statement of the American historian, it may assist us to consider the following from one of the ablest of recent writers on the English constitution, Mr. Bagehot.

Mr. Bagehot, who is a defender of the “upper house” to *some extent*, basing his defense upon the vices of the House of Commons, shows that since the reform act of 1832, when the House of Lords for the last time really tried conclusions with the House of Commons, and was compelled to yield, it has not even had a pretension to being an equal branch of the government. “The House of Lords has become a revising and

suspending house. It can alter bills; it can reject bills, on which the House of Commons is not yet thoroughly in earnest, upon which the nation is not yet determined.

"Their veto is a sort of hypothetical veto.

"The Lords say, 'We reject your bill for this once, or these twice, or these thrice; but if you keep on sending it up, at last we won't reject it. The house has ceased to be one of latent direction, and has become one of temporary rejectors and palpable alterers.'"

It is remarkable that it is impossible to find among the political thinkers in England a defender of the two-house principle on *theoretical* and *logical* grounds.

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Having considered the views of the ablest defender of the continued existence of the House of Lords, let us turn to those of one of the many distinguished advocates of the abolition of that house. I quote from Mr. Goldwin Smith, the famous Canadian scholar, formerly Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.

Professor Smith writes: "Not by reason or theory alone, but by overwhelming experience, the House of Lords stands *condemned*."

"Who can point out a single great reform, however urgent, necessary or humanitarian, however signally ratified afterwards by the approbation of posterity, which the House of Lords has not thrown out, or obstructed, and, if it could do nothing more, damaged and mutilated to the utmost of its power?

"To make legislation on any important question possible, it is necessary to get a storm sufficient to terrify the Peers. Thus, all important legislation is made *violent* and *revolutionary*. And this is your *conservative institution*."

* * *

The most profound theoretical statement on the subject comes from Mr. John Stuart Mill, who, in his admirable "Vindication of the French Revolution of 1848," in reply to Lord Brougham and others, expresses the following opinions:

"The great majority of mankind are, as a general rule, tenacious of things existing. Habit and custom predominate with them, in almost all cases, over remote prospects of advantage.

"The difficulty is not to prevent considerable changes, but to accomplish them when most essentially needful.

"Any systematic provision in the constitution to render changes difficult is therefore superfluous—it is injurious.

"It is true that in the times which accompany, or immediately follow, a revolution, this tendency of the human mind may be temporarily reversed—partially, we say, for people are as tenacious of old customs and ways of thinking, in the crisis of a revolution as at any other time,—on all points, *except* those on which they had become strongly excited by a perception of evils or grievances; those, in fact, on which the revolution itself hinges.

"On such points, indeed, there may easily arise, at those periods, an ardor of ill-considered change. And it is at such times, if ever,

that the check afforded by a second or 'upper house' might be beneficial.

"But these are the times when the resistance of such a body is *practically null*. The very arguments used by the supporters of the institution to make it endurable, assume that it cannot prolong its resistance in excited times.

"An 'upper house' which, during a revolutionary period, should resolutely oppose itself to the branch of the legislature more directly representing the excited state of popular feeling, would be infallibly swept away.

"It is the destiny of an 'upper house' to become *inoperative* in the very cases in which its effective operation would have the best chance of producing less harm than good."

* * *

And no doubt John Stuart Mill is right about the conservatism of the great masses. We cannot change by a legislative act or acts the habits and the mode of thinking produced by generations. The greatest force in existence in the cosmic world, as in the history of nations, is the force of inertia. This force which holds the globe in its place also prevents unnecessary revolutions.

If any counter-force is necessary, it should rather be in favor of motion than of a standstill.

All that is necessary to give expression to this terrific counter-revolutionary power of inertia would be to give the masses the widest chance to speak their will. Give the people the full referendum, and God knows progress will be slow enough. The referendum is the most conservative political power in existence, as the example of Switzerland proves, where it has been in use for years. And yet the referendum is infinitely stronger than all senates in the world, because no democratic power is great enough to resist it.

* * *

Why is it then that our plutocracy and our capitalists are afraid of it?

Why?

The answer is simple enough.

Because they feel that the present system has outlived its usefulness and has no more root among the masses of the people.

But we say: *abolish the senate*. And for a good substitute and the best possible check upon any whimsical or hasty legislation, or even crookedness of the legislators, give us the *referendum*.

The best cure for democracy invariably is *more* democracy.

Again we say: *Down with the senate! Up with the referendum!*

II.

IN order to fully understand the origin of the *two* chambers, or two houses of our legislative bodies, it may be interesting to look at the origin of parliament in England—the first constitutional government in Europe—and the one after which our government is largely patterned.

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So far as any clear impression arises from the hazy annals of the earliest parliamentary government in England, it is that the King called upon the leading noblemen of the realm to become his guests for a time, for purposes of consultation. There was very little consultation, but very much drinking, eating and hunting. The king considered it his duty to feast his guests in grand style. This was the first and only parliament.

To this assembly came groups of petitioners, deputations from the people. These, in order that their humble requests should be presented with some kind of regularity, had to organize their assemblies. They appointed some mouthpiece or “speaker,”—and this is how that most silent official of parliament bearing that name originated.

For it is in this group of deputations that we must recognize the embryo of the House of Commons. These petitioners or “commoners,” for a time, sat in the presence of the parliament of peers, until the latter thought it beneath their dignity to sit beside those of the common herd.

* * *

The separation probably occurred at the time when the “commoners” ceased to be a mere crowd of petitioners to their lordships, and showed signs of becoming some little factor in the government.

The House of Peers represented the supremacy of the aristocratic and clerical classes, of which the crown was the head.

The Commons represented the degree to which the people had managed to extort the first point, *recognition of their existence*, and also the recognition of the simplest rights implied in that existence.

* * *

A recognition of their existence—that is all the commons had for a long time.

And the lords?

* * *

For three centuries, dating from the Tudor period, the House of Lords was the most powerful branch of the legislature. For a century, at least, it had, through its nominees and dependents, the virtual control of the other branch. Yet the lords did nothing but—digest.

During the whole of that period, pressing subjects for legislation abounded, not only in the direction of political reform, but in all directions—legal, ecclesiastical, educational, sanitary, and economical. Yet, in all those centuries, who can point out a single great measure of national improvement which really emanated from the House of Lords?

Not one.

* * *

On the other hand, the House of Lords resisted progress of any and all kinds as a matter of course, even in the Nineteenth century.

As a matter of course, the House of Lords upheld the rotten boroughs and resisted the reform bill, till it was overcome by the threat of a swamping creation of peers, having first, in its wisdom, brought the nation to the verge of a civil war.

As a matter of course, it resisted the progress of religious liberty, because the privileged church was an outwork of the privileged class.

As a matter of course, it resisted the extension of habeas corpus and of personal liberty.

As a matter of course, it resisted the removal of restraints on the press.

As a matter of course, it resisted introduction of the ballot.

Yet that was all natural enough because these were measures and movements which threatened political privilege.

* * *

But the House of Lords has also resisted common measures of humanity, such as the abolition of the slave trade and the reform of criminal law. Romilly's petty theft bill, which stopped hanging as a punishment for stealing over six shillings, was thrown out by the lords; and among the thirty-two who voted in the majority on this occasion, were seven bishops. On all subjects about which popular opinion was not strongly excited, including many of the greatest importance to national progress, reformers in England have abstained from moving, because they despaired of overcoming the resistance of the House of Lords. And that will remain so until the Social-Democrats become a powerful factor in English government.

* * *

That is the history of the House of Lords in England.

The history of the United States Senate, if anything, is worse. The hereditary legislator in England is, no doubt, a thoroughly class-conscious exploiter. But *noblesse oblige*—they were not common grafters—at least not as a rule. But the class legislator in our Senate is not only a class exploiter—or the attorney and representative of a robber concern—but, as a rule, a grafter besides. Men like Clark of Montana, Burton of Kansas, Bailey of Texas, Aldrich of Rhode Island, Platt and Depew of New York and Guggenheim of Colorado, are not only the representatives of robber interests, but they are personally grafters themselves, with all the low instincts of thieves. There are a very few honest men in the Senate. And even those are very soon thoroughly spoiled by the make-up, by the history, and by the very atmosphere of that "august body."

If any one doubts this statement, let him read what any thoughtful writer has said about the United States Senate. Let him read the brilliant series of articles on "The Treason of the Senate," by that earnest and apostolic man, David Graham Phillips.

* * *

It is said there must be in a federal government some institution, some authority, somebody possessing a veto, in which the separate states composing the confederation are all equal. I confess this doctrine has to me no self-evidence. The state of Delaware is not equal

in power or influence to the state of New York, and one cannot make it so by giving it an equal veto in the Senate.

The other argument—the necessity of a counterpoise or counter-balance, or of a check against bad legislation—looks a little better. But if one considers it closer, it is even worse. Most good legislation is always opposed in the “upper house”—most of the bad legislation always originated there.

* * *

If there is any correction to be done in a democracy—then let democracy do it. If there is a corrective needed, let democracy provide for it.

Again I say: abolish the Senate. And for a good substitute and the best possible check upon any whimsical or hasty legislation, or even crookedness of the legislators, give us the *referendum*. The referendum in any country is stronger than all the houses of lords and senates in the world.

The best cure for any evils arising from democracy is—more democracy.

My Objections to Socialism

By A BUSINESS MAN

The alarming growth of Socialism in recent years calls for serious consideration by all who cherish our American institutions.

The Socialists are carrying on what they call a “campaign of education,” and they keep eternally at it.

We should meet this campaign with one of our own.

How are we to do this?

By exposing the fallacies of Socialism, to be sure.

To do this intelligently, we must acquaint ourselves with the answers of the Socialists to the principal objections to their theories.

With this in view, I addressed a short communication to a prominent Socialist some time ago with the request that he answer the following objections to Socialism:

Socialism would lead to Anarchism.

Socialism proposes an equal division of wealth.

Socialism would degrade woman and destroy the home.

Socialism is opposed to religion.

* * *

This is the way he answered me:

Anarchism proposes to let every man do as he pleases, and teaches that there shall be no law nor authority outside of the individual.

Socialism demands direct government by the people and the ownership by the people of all important industries, to be operated for the sole purpose of supplying the needs of the people.

To do this effectively, the workers must organize. Anarchists oppose organization.

Socialism would extend and perfect government by making it democratic and industrial.

Anarchism would destroy government.

Socialism is opposed to "dividing up."

Socialism demands that the mines, railroads and trusts be owned by the people, precisely in the same manner as our public schools, streets and public highways are now owned.

You haven't heard of the people "dividing up" the schools, streets, highways and bridges, have you?

Certainly not! They are public conveniences for the use of all, and even strangers are permitted to use the highways and bridges without let or hindrance. They serve the community at cost.

Aber! Coal mines, railroads, telegraph and telephone lines are also public utilities.

If you desire to use them, however, *you are obliged to pay tribute to private owners.* They make you "divide up."

These private owners are not in business to look after the needs of the people, but *to make profits*—forcing us to "divide up."

Only the people can operate public utilities at cost.

Socialism would protect the home.

Homes cannot be made, nor families properly cared for, by men who receive for their labor only a bare living.

Socialism proposes *better incomes* for working men; *less hours* of labor, *more education*. This would insure *more and better homes*.

Socialism demands *for woman* the right to vote, equal pay with men for equal service, and opportunity for self-support.

Isn't it nonsense to say that woman would be less moral *because* she could vote, had better pay, and was certain of a respectable living?

Both men and women would be relieved from the uncertainties of the struggle for existence, and would then be absolutely *free to marry for love alone*.

Socialism regards religion as a private matter.

It would be suicidal for the Socialist party to oppose religion.

Our enemies know this, and that is why they try to stir up religious strife among us.

We all desire good clothes, good homes, good books, good music and all the good things that go toward making happy homes and pleasant associations. These are the things Socialism strives to obtain for all alike, *regardless of race or religion*. All agree on this.

We have people of all shades of belief and unbelief in our ranks, and it would be foolish for us to wrangle about these matters.

We are striving for practical results that will benefit all—for *the true brotherhood of man on earth*.

* * *

After reading these strong answers to my objections to Socialism, I came to the conclusion that I had been *barking up the wrong tree*.

So I wrote to the Social-Democratic Publishing Co., 344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis., and asked them to send me about five dollars' worth of their best books on Socialism, and I got wise.

Go thou and do likewise.

Capitalist Morality

By EASTERN SOCIALIST

In a society founded upon the ideas of liberty and equal rights, such as ours is supposed to be—a society free from invidious distinctions of rank or caste—moral precepts, social virtues, and rules of conduct that function as agencies for the elevation of character and the advancement of individual well-being are of universal application. There can be no rules of conduct that are good to be observed by some members of such society and not by others. In a word, virtues, if they are virtues, are absolute.

We hear much of the virtue of economy, but nearly always in connection with workingmen. Certain Pharisees of the capitalist class are much exercised over the enormous proportions of the annual drink bill, and they seek to inculcate a respect for teetotalism in the minds of workingmen on the score of economy. They count the filthy dollars spent by workingmen for plebeian whisky and beer, and enter upon long disquisitions concerning the economic consequences of such extravagance. But they say little or nothing about the oceans of champagne and burgundy consumed by our rich parasites at their swell dinners. That which is loudly condemned as a vice in poor workingmen is glossed over, or passes entirely unnoticed in these rich tipplers, because, forsooth, the latter have money and can afford to make beasts of themselves!

Economy is not a virtue. Under proper conditions of life, economy is a duty, and there is no particular virtue in the performance of a duty—nothing for which men should be praised and made much of.

In our present capitalist society economy is like a disease, an abnormal diathesis indicating mental morbidity. Like the bubonic plague, it confines its attacks mainly to poor folk and those who are cursed with ill-nourished bodies. But the disease sometimes makes its appearance among the rich and well-nourished, in which event it excites ridicule, contempt or invective, and comes to be classed as parsimony.

Before his death, one could scarcely pick up a paper that did not contain some contemptuous allusion to the economical habits of Russell Sage, and Mrs. Hetty Green is a constant target for the scorn and ridicule of society, simply because she is well versed in the science of economy, and carries its teachings into the practical affairs of her life. She is excoriated as a niggardly, parsimonious old skinflint. Rich and poor unite in denouncing her economical vagaries, and eminent nosologists have not hesitated to classify such symptoms as she frequently exhibits as indications of pronounced mental degeneracy, accompanying reversion to a lower moral type.

And yet those actions which appear as symptoms of degeneration in these rich parasites are held up to workingmen as most worthy of imitation. Society calls Hetty Green a contemptible person because

she strives to be economical, and says to workingmen, "Go and imitate Mrs. Green as far as lies in your power, and we shall bless and admire you."

Such palpable inconsistencies as this do not appear to strike the average individual as at all out of place, which goes to show that our ideas of social morality have somehow been turned topsy-turvy. We spout about the "dignity of labor;" we praise "honest industry;" we tell workingmen to be temperate, frugal, industrious, thrifty—and to what end? That they may gain property for themselves, and thus maintain "dignity" without industry.

Our whole capitalist morality is centered on the one thought of gaining property; "competence" or "independence," it is called. And this means, simply and shortly, gaining the right to be incompetent and dependent! We thus exhibit the spectacle of a society preaching the absolute goodness of certain actions while bending all its energies and adapting its machinery to the end that those actions may be entirely avoided.

One of the principal spokes in the wheel whose turnings, we are taught, will drop the most worthy off at this high capitalist ideal, is economy. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Labor diligently and faithfully; be industrious, temperate and frugal; for these be virtues, indeed, and their practice is good for mankind. Let ye be persistent in the practice of these virtues, and your reward shall be—what? Release from all industry, and the attainment of a station in life where frugality becomes an object of contempt.

Said I not truly that economy is a disease?

Why should economy be worthy of contempt in the rich and of laudation in the poor?

Capitalism robs workingmen of what belongs to them and diminishes their power of consumption below their normal needs, and far below their productive capacity. Economy then falls in to gloss over this robbery and teach its victims to adjust their consumption to the means left in their possession; holding out as a reward a final balance between economic factors and something to lay by besides.

The same principle places much more than belongs to them in the possession of those who have been successful in taking advantage of it, and increases their powers of consumption far beyond their normal needs, while at the same time relieving them entirely from the necessity to produce.

The very first principle of economic science is complete reciprocity between production and consumption. The two factors must balance; the one must support the other. And force which operates to destroy this balance is an illegitimate factor, and a true science of economy will seek to restore equilibrium by removing the disturbing force. Capitalism introduces this disturbing force by creating a condition where great masses have their power of consumption reduced below the normal, while a comparatively small number of individuals are invested with supernormal power.

Positive morality teaches that all consumption should be normal. Let ye be temperate; do nothing in excess. This is good doctrine. There can be no doubt about it.

Suppose now we have a society the components of which are proportioned as to power of consumption, one million below normal, one thousand above normal. The moral object is normal consumption, while the economic necessity is equilibrium between consumption and production. The stale maxims of household economy may answer to delude the million individuals into the belief that they may deliver themselves from their subnormal condition and attain the moral object, but when we come to apply those maxims to the thousand individuals whose power of consumption is already above normal, we run foul of the economic necessity.

Should these persons observe the professed moral object of the society, the disequilibrium of economic factors would be greatly increased. "The security of property," "the well-being of society," "the preservation of order," and a thousand other cant phrases range themselves in opposition to the professed moral object, and impose upon the thousand individuals the duty of employing their supernormal consumptive power to its utmost, in the name of economic necessity.

Thus is developed contempt for the rich individual who carries the maxims of household economy into the conduct of his private affairs. He has a superior duty to perform, which duty is inconsistent with those maxims. *Noblesse oblige* puts on its modern capitalistic dress, and we find at one pole of our classless (?) society our orthodox economists teaching the maxims of frugality and thrift, and at the other pole announcing that the luxurious and extravagant expenditures of the rich are a blessing to the poor and for the benefit of society!

True economy is a normal, healthy attribute of a normal social condition. It is strictly true that it cannot be practiced except under normal conditions of life and income; conditions which relieve the individual from fear of being reduced to a state of material want. That which passes for economy, the disease that afflicts mankind under that name, is merely a species of bestiality. Its utterly inadequate character as a solution of the ills of poverty, its puerility when considered merely as a measure of relief, must become apparent to those who will take the trouble to think. But it has its place in the technique of capitalism, the inexorable lesson of which is "If you can live cheaper you must work cheaper."

And now the West Point cadets are hearing about it. Col. C. W. Larned, professor of drawing at the United States Military Academy at West Point, delivered a remarkable address in the Academy of Music one Sunday afternoon at the men's massmeeting. He condemned capitalism and concluded his address by saying: "There is but one great political question for the future—the equitable production and distribution of wealth. Socialism is a theory of social evolution. It will result from a gradual succession of changes brought about more or less rapidly by a process of agitation and conversion."

How They Do Things in Germany

A review of the distribution of literature during the recent German campaign will serve as a measure of its intensity. No previous campaign has ever brought forth such an abundance of leaflets and campaign literature.

The Magdeburg *Volksstimme*, for example, has recently reported that 1,071,000 leaflets and pamphlets, and a total of 2,034,255 pieces of campaign literature, were issued from its press alone. Other printing establishments of the party have furnished literature in similar quantities.

For Teltow-Beeskow were distributed a campaign pamphlet in an edition of 76,000 copies and 8 similar leaflets in 1,180,000 copies, and for Nieder-Barnim two of these leaflets in 821,000 copies, besides, of course, a great number of special leaflets in different places. The same is true of the whole province of Brandenburg, for which, besides 736,000 leaflets especially adapted to the district, the agitation committee of the province of Brandenburg distributed 856,000 copies of one leaflet.

The party headquarters sent out 968,000 illustrated leaflets for the general election, and 2,199,000 for

the secondary election. Besides this, 800,000 leaflets for women were issued and distributed. The *Vorwaerts* press printed 4,867,500 ballots, 98,700 posters, 8,695,400 flyers, election notices and wagon signs, in all 18,528,600 pieces of campaign literature.

To this must be added the Social-Democratic Campaign Handbook, containing twelve sheets, in an edition of 6,000 copies. The *Vorwaerts* also furnished the various electoral districts with 1,866,600 envelopes for the various campaign workers.

A gigantic achievement!

The *Vorwaerts* press in Berlin, for the general election issued 120 leaflets in an edition of 7,467,000 copies, and for the secondary elections 19 leaflets in 2,615,000 copies. Of these there were used in the

First district of Berlin, 4 leaflets, in 127,500 copies.

Second district of Berlin, 5 leaflets, in 457,000 copies.

Third district of Berlin, 6 leaflets, in 280 copies.

Fourth District of Berlin, 4 leaflets, in 880,000 copies.

Fifth district of Berlin, 8 leaflets, in 356,000 copies.

Sixth district of Berlin, 8 leaflets, in 865,000 copies.

Prof. Zueblin of Chicago university has stirred up some of the capitalist editors by suggesting motherhood pensions. The average modern mother is a victim of a vicious system, and she certainly needs con-

sideration. After she has forfeited her best years to bringing up a family while serving as a faded household drudge, she is a forlorn and pitiful wreck. Who better deserves a pension after all?

Why a Revolution?

By WILLIAM MORRIS

The word revolution, which we Socialists are so often forced to use, has a terrible sound to most people's ears, even when we have explained to them that it does not necessarily mean a change accompanied by riot, and all kinds of violence, and cannot mean a change made mechanically, and in the face of general opposition by a mere group of people, who may have, for the moment, managed to seize on the executive power. Even when we explain that we use the word revolution in its etymological sense, and mean by it a change in the basis of society, people are scared at the idea of such a vast change, and beg that you will speak of reform and not revolution. As, however, we Socialists do not at all mean by our word revolution what these worthy people mean by their word reform, I can't help thinking that it would be a mistake to use it, whatever projects we might conceal under its harmless envelope. So we will stick to our word, which means a change in the basis of society; it may frighten people, but it will at least warn them that there is something to be frightened about, which will be no less dangerous for being ignored, and, also, it may encourage some people, and will mean to them at least not a fear, but a hope. Only a revolution, that is, a change in the fundamental structure of society (peacefully brought about, let us hope), will save civilization. And I want to point out where, in my opinion, we fall short in our present attempts at decent life. I must ask the rich and well-to-do what sort of a position it is

that they are anxious to preserve at any cost? and if, after all, it will be such a terrible loss to them to give it up? and I must point out to the poor that they, with capacities for living a dignified and generous life, are in a position which they cannot endure without continued degradation.

Competition Is War.

Our present system of society is based on a state of perpetual war. I know you have often been told that competition is a good thing, and stimulates the progress of the race; but the people who tell you this should call competition by its shorter name of war, if they wish to be honest, and you would then be free to consider whether or not war stimulates progress, otherwise than as a mad bull chasing you over your own garden may do. War or competition, whichever you please to call it, means at the best pursuing your own advantage at the cost of someone else's loss, and in the pursuit of it you must not be sparing of destruction even of your own possessions, or you will certainly come by the worse in the struggle.

The War of Commerce.

You understand that perfectly as to the kind of war in which people go out to kill and be killed; that sort of war in which ships are commissioned, for instance, "to sink, burn and destroy." But it appears that you are not so conscious of this waste of goods when you are only carrying on that form of this sort of war called national rivalry, which in good truth is nowadays

the cause of all gunpowder and bayonet wars which civilized nations wage. That is what commercial war comes to when it has to do with foreign nations. That is how we live now with regard to other nations, prepared to ruin them without war, if possible—that is, without the expense of war—but with it, if necessary; let alone meantime the disgraceful exploiting of savage tribes, on whom we force at once our shoddy wares and our hypocrisy at the cannon's mouth.

Socialism Means Internationalism.

Well, surely, Socialism can offer you something in the place of all that. It can offer you peace and friendship in place of war. We might live utterly without national rivalries, acknowledging that no

community in civilization should feel that it had interests opposed to any other, their economical conditions being at any rate similar; so that any citizen of one community could fall to work and live without disturbance to his life when he was in a foreign country, and would fit into his place quite naturally. And so all civilized nations would form one great community, agreeing together as to the kind and amount of production and distribution needed; working at such and such production where it could be best produced; avoiding all waste by all means. Think of the amount of waste which they would avoid, how much such a revolution would add to the wealth of the world. What creature on earth would be harmed by such a revolution?

Of course, you know, the capitalist newspapers are simply published in the interests of all the people, and would not stoop to conspire against the working class.

AND YET, when the N. Y. legislature suddenly adjourned in a riot in order to prevent the introduction of resolutions in regard to the Moyer-Haywood case, *not a newspaper in New York mentioned the fact.*

AND YET, Roosevelt's gratuitous attacks on the kidnaped officials of the Western Federation of Miners, once calling them murderers and the second time undesirable citizens, met with not the slightest protest from capitalist newspapers, who should deplore the use of the president's prominence to judge men before they have come to trial.

AND YET, the Milwaukee *Sentinel* and other papers printed, at considerable length, the first day's

proceedings of the Adams trial, when the prosecution gave the charges in detail against the accused man, and did not so much as print a line of the rest of the trial, when the defense smashed the prosecution's charge all to pieces, and showed the animus of the mine owners' case against him, so that there was no conviction.

It makes one a little suspicious, don't you think? Almost seems as if there was not only a class prompting, but an underground understanding as well, eh?

When Roosevelt was police commissioner of New York he tried to introduce a new style of policeman's club—a club with iron thorns all around it, for the use of the police in dealing with strikers. And he is still trying to crown the workers with thorns!

Roosevelt Knew!

By FREDERIC HEATH

"On the night of March 14 (1904) about 100 members of the Citizens' Alliance held a meeting at Red Men's hall (Telluride), after which they armed themselves, searched the town, and took into custody about 60 union men and sympathizers. In some instances the doors of residences were forced open. The men who were captured were brought to a vacant store and about 1:30 o'clock in the morning were marched to the depot and loaded into two coaches. As the special train bearing them departed a fusillade of shots was fired into the air by the mob. **AMONG THE LEADERS OF THE MOB WERE BULKELEY WELLS, manager of the Smugler mine,** and John Herron, manager of the Tom-Boy mine. One of those deported was Stewart B. Forbes, secretary of the Telluride Miners' union. Another was A. H. Floaten, the local leader of the Socialist party and manager of the People's Supply company, the largest store in town. The door of his residence was broken open and he was found partly undressed, his wife having retired. A revolver was presented at him and he was wounded in the head by being struck with the butt of the weapon. He was marched from home without being allowed to put on shoes or hat. Fifteen members of the mob accompanied the train to Ridgeway, where the prisoners were ordered to get off and never to return to Telluride."—Carroll D. Wright's official report to the president on the Colorado labor disturbances of 1904, page 201.

We reprint the above because of a paragraph in Roosevelt's letter to the Chicago labor unions. That paragraph reads as follows:

"Let me repeat my deep regret that any body of men should so far forget their duty to their country as to endeavor by the formulation of societies and in other ways to influence the course of justice in this matter."

Now that Carrol D. Wright report was made to the president, and

along with it in the government publication is a letter of comment by Roosevelt in which he says expressly that he read the report "with the utmost care," to use his very words. Having read it with the utmost care he must have read the above in regard to Bulkeley Wells, rich mine owner and manager and officer in the state militia—as well as page after page of information equally as damaging to the mine owners' side. *Yet it was Gen. Bulkeley Wells who assisted the mine owners of Idaho to kidnap Moyer and Haywood* and who in person guarded the manacled labor leaders in the special train that spirited them out of Colorado and over the Rockies into Idaho. That very fact alone stamps the proceeding as lawless. Bulkeley Wells, the leader of a brutal mob in 1904, is up to his old tricks in the Moyer-Haywood case—for that case is but a sequel to the Colorado labor war of 1904. Is it impossible that the president should not know this? The formation of Moyer-Haywood societies all over the country, the holding of innumerable massmeetings of labor on the subject, has been with the sole object of making public the conspiracy of the mine owners, of breaking the conspiracy of silence maintained by the capitalist press, and to so familiarize the public with the case and all the hellishness connected with the prosecution of the men, that the capitalistic court out in Idaho will not dare to follow up its denial of the constitutional right of *habeas corpus* with a snap trial. The purpose of these organizations is not

to influence the trial, but to force a fair trial, well knowing that the mine owners' association is bent on rushing the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners to the gallows in order to break down that great labor organization. The president's pretention to virtuous in-

nocence is pretty thin, especially when it is remembered that he took a hand in the last Idaho campaign in order to keep the mine owners in control of state and courts, thus to help the prosecution of Moyer and Haywood.

Bryan's Stolen Thunder

By VICTOR L. BERGER

AT a Democratic banquet given in Chattanooga, Tenn., at which Bryan was present, John Temple Graves, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, and Democratic candidate for governor of Georgia, made a speech in which he proposed that Bryan and Roosevelt be nominated as Democratic candidates by the Democratic national convention.

To this Bryan replied in substance that according to his present judgment he would not propose Roosevelt at the convention. "Mind you, I say, according to my present judgment."

The accent, of course, is on "present." Bryan certainly wished to say that this might yet come about. And why not? If ever a man mourned over his stolen thunder, that man is Bryan.

And never did any man steal thunder more successfully than Roosevelt stole it from the tribune from Nebraska.

Upon the ignominious defeat of the conservative Democrats of the Cleveland stripe under their candidate Parker, the Radicals under the leadership of Bryan and Hearst raised a shout of triumph. Twice had the conservatives treacherously permitted the radical candidates to be beaten. But now the radicals had their revenge. Parker was even worse whipped than Bryan. Nothing was left for the Democratic party, as everybody supposed, except to trust its fate again to the radicals. William J. Bryan, twice defeated, was now the recognized "logical candidate" for a third campaign.

* * *

But "man proposes and God disposes." And "the man of destiny," Roosevelt, has drawn a black line right across all calculations.

When Roosevelt entered office he solemnly promised to follow in McKinley's footsteps. If this meant anything at all, it meant that he wished to be the servant of Mark Hanna and the big capitalists.

And yet, within two years, came the most startling change that has ever taken place in any American party. Slowly, at first, and then more and more rapidly, Theodore Roosevelt shook off the McKinley policy. And before his own party fully realized the fact, he stood as Bryan's competitor for the favor of the masses in a campaign against the plutocracy.

And since Bryan could only talk and promise, while Roosevelt could *act*, because he sat at the source of power, Bryan soon was left in the lurch.

Poor Bryan! Such is the irony of fate.

* * *

Thus we can see how easy it is for a president to outstrip his own party if he understands the popular trend and—handles the patronage and offices well.

The average business man in the Republican party—and this party is the business man's party—had looked upon Roosevelt with distrust and suspicion. He was nominated for vice-president at the Philadelphia convention to put him on the shelf and make it impossible for him to become a presidential candidate.

The "gray wolves" in the Senate had no doubt arranged this. But the result turned out differently.

For the unexpected happened. Roosevelt became president. He formed his own policy. He forced from his party, and even from the Senate, laws which are to them an abomination. And now Roosevelt even insists on dictating to the party who shall be his successor, since he himself cannot run again, according to his well-known statement on the eve of election. Roosevelt's candidate, as everybody knows, is Taft of Ohio. But already the leaders of the conservatives in Ohio have their knives out for Taft. They want to slaughter him at the party conventions.

* * *

In that case—this is the sense of Bryan's speech—in that case, it is possible that the Democrats may nominate Roosevelt. And why not?

Bryan maintains that Roosevelt is almost as good a Democrat as he is himself. And Bryan admits that he is about as good a reactionary as Roosevelt. Bryan admits that even the government ownership of railroads, which he proposed, and which is supposed to be the only "radical" Bryan plank, besides the referendum and the initiative, is at present out of the question, since the people want first to see how the Roosevelt regulation will turn out.

So it looks as if the conservatives among the Democrats and among the Republicans will get together, while the Roosevelt-Bryan Republicans and Democrats will form another camp. Even men like Watterson predict this. This would be quite logical and correct. But whether the thing will crystalize before the next presidential campaign, that is another question. Bryan has even proposed our Wisconsin senator, Robert M. La Follette, as a suitable candidate for the Republicans.

* * *

Truly, the Democrats are in a sad plight. Since the war of the rebellion, where they found themselves on the wrong side of the fence, they have been going from bad to worse. From Cleveland they swung to Bryan, and from Bryan to Parker—without in any case being able to get a foothold as a party. And now all they can do is to propose candidates for the Republicans, or to propose Republican candidates for themselves.

Of course, there remains William Randolph Hearst. But the Democrats cannot unite upon him. It is possible that Hearst will

be put up as an independent candidate by the municipal ownership leagues in New York, Chicago, and wherever he owns papers. But Hearst's candidacy would not greatly affect the situation, because everybody would **realize** beforehand that he could have no possible show of being elected.

President Theodore Roosevelt, in spite of his reactionary tendencies, is popular with all those who like his stand against the big capitalists and who do not know enough to understand the trend of the times and whither it leads. And I am sorry to say that such people still form the great majority of the nation. And those who *do understand* the trend of the times and do know where it leads, will, without doubt, vote the Social-Democratic ticket. So Hearst, at best, could only be the candidate of a small minority and, in case he should run as "an independent," could in no way hurt the chances of our party nationally.

* * *

The stand Roosevelt has taken in the Moyer-Haywood affair will, no doubt, weaken him with the trades unions. His defense—for he was compelled to defend himself in a letter to a trades union committee—is very weak in facts, although arrogant in language. It only shows that Roosevelt already realizes the grave error he made and also the growing meaning of the labor vote. Roosevelt's haughty answer has simply added fuel to the flames of righteous indignation. The whole affair cannot fail to *hurt* him, even with the *conservative* trades union vote.

* * *

So the chances of our party in the next presidential election are not at all bad—provided our membership all over the country, and particularly the men who are shaping the policies of the party, are wise enough to grasp the situation, and take up live issues. Let them find the issues of the day, get before the people with them, and handle them from a Socialist standpoint, without in any way forgetting or even trying to relegate to the background our permanent issue, the abolition of capitalism.

But let us select live issues and discard Socialist "theology" and tautology.

When you come to think of it, there ought to be some historic significance in the fact that it remained for the Socialists to bring about the abolition of the guillotine in France.

"Let us prey," said young Rockefeller at the bible class, and then thanked God for the great opportunities which American civilization presents.

By the way, tubercular consumption is not the only sort that plays havoc with the working class. The consumption of the wealth labor produces, by the capitalist class, also keeps the workers pretty pale.

There are no classes in society, declares just the class that sees to it that working people "stay in their place."

"For the Syndicate"

By FRANK ROSAMOND

The day was exceedingly hot. The road was parched and dusty. The corn was shriveling in the glaring sunshine.

A cloud cast a shadow on the distant hillside, and crept steadily toward us as a token of promise. The corn rustled as if whispering of the inevitable falling of refreshing raindrops. And so men also whisper among each other of the coming of a something which will make life worth living; which will help them on their way; which will lead them to higher and brighter thoughts of their fellowmen, and of life.

I lingered under the walnut trees to rest; the walnut trees where I played when a child; where I hulled their nuts and stained my fingers green; where I stopped to rest on my way to school.

Ten years had elapsed since I last saw the spot—not that I cared particularly for the spot—for the spot I really wished to see was the old farm and farmhouse. I wished to once more roam through the orchard. I wished to once more drink in the beauty of the garden. I wished to once more draw a cool drink from the well with the old-fashioned windlass.

I was thus meditating when a faint breeze bore to my ears the creaking of a cultivator. I looked around. A man and team were steadily approaching up one of the long corn-rows. The team was wet with sweat; and water could have been wrung from the man's clothing—what little he had on. He turned the team half round where what breath of air there was might cool their heads.

I spoke to the man when he looked in my direction.

His response was inarticulate, owing to his parching thirst.

He stepped to one of the trees and lifted a jug to his lips; it was water.

"Have a smile, stranger?" he asked kindly.

"Don't care if I do," I answered only too gladly.

I lifted the jug to my lips. The water was almost boiling.

And then I thought—thought that the pleasures of life are sometimes drank—the same becoming distasteful, unbearable in their increasing hotness.

"Rather tough working out here in the heat," I said by way of remark.

"Gotter stand it," he answered. "That's what we vote fur."

"Don't you own the farm you're on?" I asked.

"No," he replied, bitterly.

"Who does?" I asked.

"Syndicate."

Who owns the farm adjoining?"

"Syndicate."

"And the next?" I inquired eagerly; for it was my old home.

"Syndicate," he answered promptly.

"Any one working it?" I asked.

"Renter."

"Does he live there?"

"No—lives next place—runs two places."

"Must make a barrel of money?"

"Does—for the syndicate."

There was a brief silence.

"Well, got to keep up mi lick—won't get mi rent paid," he said as he took up the lines. "Hope you'll think over this syndicate business,

stranger." And, with a meaning glance, he bid me good-day.

As I approached my old home—the home where my brothers and sisters were born, and since cast out upon the struggling sea of life; where my father and mother died—I was overtaken by undescrivable wretchedness.

The weather-beaten house stood conscience haunting in its conspicuous barrenness. Tall weeds grew close around as if trying to hide from mortal eye the memories of the old home—the happiness of the long ago.

I dared not enter. I was haunted by an awful misery.

The corn grew close by the house, only leaving room for the teams to turn. Several tall weeds that had grown by the house, were lying prostrate—they who had tried to drown or hide the memory.

The dear old well was covered with boards, whereon were piled stones—a grave of the gift of the immortal.

The orchard was gone, save two old trees that had fallen into one another's arms, their limbs embracing one another in their sorrow.

A portion of the garden fence remained, whereon, and covering it, were matted vines of the morning-glory. I lifted up a portion of the vines. What remained of the fence was decayed and rotten. And then I thought and thought—thought that the old fence was as humanity—a

thing lost amid splendor, covered, refused the light by beauty; a thing lost in the darkness caused by one of the flower-bearing vines of the world's ornaments. They are the vines of materialism.

Looking down over the corn-field I could see where the old stable formerly stood. 'Twas where the corn grew tallest. It seemed to flourish over the spot—the ruins of part of our old home. And so man flourishes over the ruin caused by sad misfortune born of the monster of man's creation.

Oh, how sad it all was. How sad were the thoughts of living in such a world and trying to make the best of it.

Standing there with the thoughts of a lost life, of all that has been and will continue to be, unless people arouse to social and political action, I pitied humanity, I cursed greed and the profit system.

I thought of an enslaved people. I thought of liberty—not the liberty our forefathers fought for, but industrial freedom. I thought of once more making a defense for rights, for a mighty and just cause, though not with life-taking explosives, but with more practical warfare—the ballot-box.

And then I went my way realizing my environment had made me a Socialist—or was it my friend of the plow?—and that, a Socialist, I could help reconstruct environment.

They are still trying to disfranchise the working class under the guise of reforming politics. In Connecticut the "reformers" (in this instance the class-conscious "respectables") are trying to put through a law requiring candidates

to put up a heavy fee in order to be eligible for election. "If yo' haven't any money, yo' needn't come roun'!" Wage workers are merely tolerated, this here country belongs to the fellows that work the workers, y' know!

Class Struggle at Law

By CLARENCE S. DARROW

The following is taken from the address to the jury by Clarence S. Darrow of Chicago in the trial of Steve Adams, at Wallace, Idaho, a trial that was preliminary to the Moyer-Haywood case. Adams was arrested for the alleged killing of a claim jumper named Tyler, in a contest with residents of a certain district whose land was wanted by a big corporation. In the trial Adams showed that he was miles away at the time, and the jury failed to convict. His trial was pushed by the state so as to discredit him as a witness for Moyer-Haywood. He is expected to testify in the Haywood case that a false confession was extorted from him while in jail, which was intended to be used to bolster up the "confession" of Harry Orchard, on whose testimony Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were arrested and kidnaped. Among other things, Mr. Darrow said:

"Mr. Knight, in opening this case, has told this jury that in many respects it is a remarkable case. It is remarkable. In some ways I never heard, and I never read of a case like this. He has told you that able counsel have come here from other states and other cities to defend this common working man. It is not for me to say, nor for Mr. Richardson to say, whether counsel from other states are able counsel or not. But it is true, and I have no wish to deny it, that I came 2,000 miles to defend this case, and Mr. Richardson 1,500 miles for the sake of making a defense for a man who could not possibly pay either one of us for the services we render, according to the

standard that lawyers ordinarily set for their services. I do not mean to disguise the fact. I do not believe I could if I would. I do not propose to be like that bird who shoves his head into the sand and thinks nobody can see his body; because I know you gentlemen understand it. I am willing to concede the truth of every word that Mr. Knight has stated upon this proposition. Much as I love justice, much as I hate to see punishment of any sort, I have not the time nor the ability, even if I had the inclination, to go up and down this land and defend every poor man charged with crime throughout the length and breadth of the United States; and that is not the reason I am here; gladly would I do it if I could, and if I had the power and the time and the means. That is not the reason I am here, and that is not the reason that Richardson is here. Mr. Knight speaks truly—I have no desire to conceal it—when he says that back of this man are the funds of a great organization, the small contributions of thousands of working men to give him a better defense than the ordinary poor man placed on trial in the courts of this country, with his life in danger from the law, could have.

"There are hundreds of men throughout the length and breadth of the land, men who know no trade but work, men who get their small means by the sweat of their brow, who in some unfortunate moment fall into the clutches of the law, and are tried, condemned and executed almost without defense, because without means. And if it had been that Steve Adams must rely

upon himself alone, if he had had no relatives and no friends to speak for him or help him in his cause, he might have been like the rest.

"It is true, gentlemen, that a great effort has been made to defend him. It is true that I have been willing to leave my other affairs to come 2,000 miles into this little town, in the midst of these mountains, among unfamiliar people, and a jury that I am not accustomed to, for the sake of looking after his case; and Mr. Richardson has done the same. But that is not all; not only have we come here to give such aid, with such ability as we have in his defense, but the state of Idaho never yet prosecuted a man as it is prosecuting this poor, unimportant, almost nameless laborer: and they have shoved aside Shoshone county and its officers. They have employed as much ability as they could get locally, and they have gone to the capital of the state and employed as great a lawyer as there is in the state of Idaho, to ask for his blood. They have done more than that—the state of Colorado has been called upon, and months of the time of the greatest detective of the west have been given to bring him to the gallows. They have gone to the state of Washington and brought another, and used his time without stint for the same purpose, and they have gone to the state of Colorado and brought here the adjutant general of the state and one of the head officers of the Mine Owners' association, and brought his influence and his power and his money into this court to help convict this man.

"It is a remarkable case; it is unprecedented in the annals of criminal prosecution. I do not need to tell this jury that there is not a man in this courtroom who really cares to take Steve Adams' life. It is

not for him, an humble, almost unknown workman, that all the machinery of the state has been set in motion, and all the mines and the mine owners of the west have been called to their aid. Not that. It is because back of all this, and beyond and over it all, there is a great issue of which this is but the beginning. Because, beyond this case, and outside of this courtroom, and out in the great world, is a great fight, a fight between capital and labor, of which this is but a manifestation up here in the woods and the hills. You know it, I know it. They know it. There is not a man so blind, there is not a person so prejudiced or so bigoted as to believe that all this effort is being put forth to punish an unknown man for the murder of an unknown man.

"That is not all, gentlemen. I want to measure every word I say in this case, and although it may seem harsh, it is true. This prosecution, from beginning to end, is a humbug and a fraud. This prosecution, from beginning to end, is a crime, an outrage; there is not one jot of honesty, not one particle of sincerity, not the least bit of integrity in it, not one single moment from the day that this man was taken from his home in Oregon until now. And we say this, gentlemen, without any regard as to whether this man is innocent or guilty of the crime with which you are charging him; he is not being tried today for that. That is not the issue here. That is not the reason that calls these prosecutors from two or three states of the union, that sets this machinery in motion which would crush out his helpless life. Who is this man? What does it mean? If one of you were arrested, would any such power be brought against you?

"If it was, what would happen to

you? Would it make any difference whether you were innocent or guilty if the great machinery of the law were turned loose to crush you? Where is the poor man that could stand up against it? Where is the man who could be taken without process of law, sent to the peniten-

tiary, locked up for months without a charge, prosecuted by the greatest in the land and defend himself if he stood helpless and alone. If there ever was a cause or justification for poor men standing together, this case furnishes that justification."

Socialist "Slavery"

By A. H. FLOATEN

I heard the Rev. Frank Dixon's stock lecture on Socialism at Fort Collins and am sorry that a man can speak or write on a subject so important and be allowed to make such misstatements as he did. I hold that in justice to the public there are two things that ought to debar any person from addressing the public on any subject. One is ignorance and the other is misrepresentation of facts.

He said Socialism means that all property shall be owned by the government, and all shall be employed by the government. This is not true. Socialism means that all natural resources and the machinery of production, transportation and communication which are socially used, shall be owned and operated by the people, for the benefit of the people, instead of being owned for the profit of a few, by the few. But all wealth produced shall belong to and be the property of the individual that produces it or who gives services in exchange for it. For instance, I want to own my home, horses, carriages, automobiles, books, furniture, etc. I want to travel and see the world. I may be a farmer, so I can't make these things, nor do I own railroads and ships, so I have to do enough work farming, which will be of equal value with the things I want

to own and consume. But I will have the use of the land, free from interest and rent, upon which to work to pay for the things I want to own and use. I work for myself, and the value of the product is mine, and I can spend it as I see fit. The tools or means of production will be collectively owned, but the product will be the property of the individual who produces.

The only difference will be that every worker can always use the land, machinery and transportation without paying some capitalist for the privilege, and the worker cannot be refused a job. The workers will get the full value of their labor and there can never be an overproduction of things as long as there are people willing to work to get things.

Again he said, "Socialism means slavery," and afterward he said, "Socialism means absolute equality. Each would receive exactly the same wages. Socialism would pauperize everybody."

Will the reader please reconcile these statements? I can't. If I am your absolute equal, politically and financially, how can I enslave you? If I can work on a farm or in a factory and get paid for all I do the same as you do, how can I make you a slave? I can work when I want to and so can you. I

can quit when I want to and so can you. If you produce twice as much as I do, you get twice as much pay for it, but you can't keep me from producing what I can. You may have a home worth several thousand dollars and I may be a renter, yet you can't keep my child from attending school and getting what education he is capable of receiving, the same as your child. You may have lots of property and I may not, but I can go to the postoffice and send a letter for two cents the same as you can and use the postal system on the same terms as you. Why? Because the school and postoffice are owned and operated by the people, and we are on an equality as to the use of them. I don't have to pay you for the privilege of using the postoffice, nor do you have to pay me for your child going to school. We both have the use of them at what it costs to use them. If either you or I owned the school or the postoffice we would charge more than the actual cost. We would want profit, and because the people don't want to pay profit on education and communication they have made the

schools and postoffice public property. But because my child has an equal opportunity with your child to attend school it is not true that each will be equally educated. Under Socialism I would have an equal opportunity to use the land and factories, but I might do only half as much work as you, and, consequently, get only half as much pay. Again, can the reader tell me how it would pauperize everybody, as Dixon said, if everyone has an opportunity to produce, and gets the full value for his products? I can't.

Is it true that people are more ignorant and have poorer education since the public ownership established an equal chance for all in the common schools than they were before, when they paid private schools?

Lastly, in regard to exactly the same pay for the same time, as Dixon proclaimed was Socialism, let me say that I defy anybody to show from any scientific writer on the subject, or from any platform of the Socialist party in any nation that such is any part of the program.

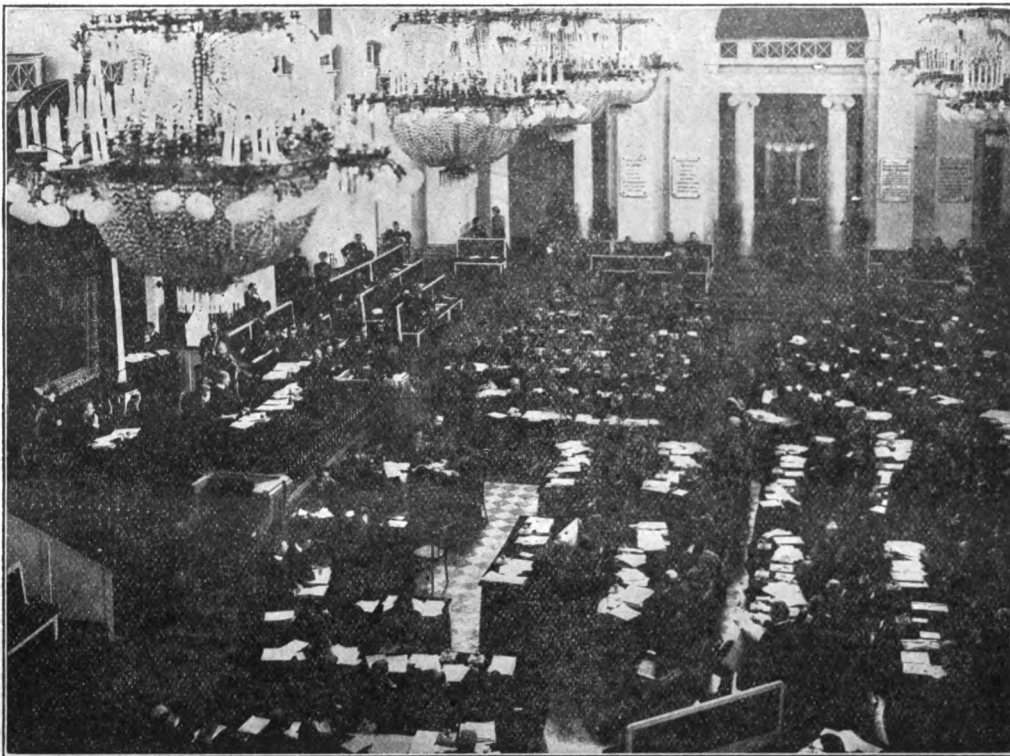
Bernstein has written the London *Labor Leader* to correct a misapprehension that has been circulating in the British press to the effect that his failure of re-election to parliament was due to party opposition to his "revisionist" attitude. As an effort has been made along the same line in certain quarters in this country, the following from his letter will be read with interest:

Will you allow me to tell my English friends, through your columns, that this suspicion is absolutely unfounded? At no time since the Socialists of Breslau have honored me by taking me as their candidate for the western division of the town has

there been more unanimity and zeal displayed by them at an election than this time. In not one instance was a dissenting voice to be heard, either in the public meetings or in the inner councils of the party there. Nor has the seat been lost by a decrease of votes received. This is, in round figures, the record of the votes given to Social-Democracy since I was their candidate there:

1902	14,700
1903	17,500
1907	19,600

The increase in 1907 against 1903 was in Breslau West about 12 per cent, whilst all over Germany the party increased its vote by only 8 1-3 per cent on the whole. The comrades of Breslau West have no reason to be ashamed of their record on Jan. 25.



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