

IN THIS
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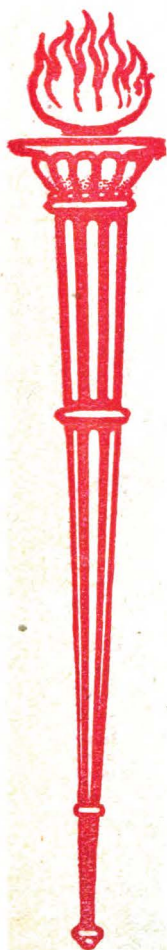
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Vol 2
no 7

THE VANGUARD

MARCH, 1904



OF EQUALITY--As if it
harm'd me, giving
others the same chances and
rights as myself--As if it
were not indispensable to my
own rights that others pos-
sess the same.

— *Walt Whitman.*

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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."

VOL. 2.

GREEN BAY, WIS., MARCH, 1904.

NO. 7

Despite our marvelous success and achievement, we have failed to secure equal opportunities to all, which is the radical aim and master passion of democracy. More than 70 per cent of the wealth of the United States, it is reckoned, is owned by 9 per cent of the families, while about 29 per cent of the wealth is all that is left for the 91 per cent of the population, and the tendency of industrial progress under the competitive system is to increase inequality of possessions.

If the present methods continue a few individuals and trusts will soon control the means of production and distribution, and this in an era in which money is the mightiest form of social influence and dominion. To those few individuals and corporations will belong an authority and power greater than any history makes known—an authority and power which are incompatible with political liberty and popular institutions.

Capital dictates even now in a large measure the policies of our national, state, and municipal legislative bodies. It enables the multimillionaires and the trusts to make or evade the laws. It controls most potent organs of public opinion, and is able to give to industrialism priority over the rights of man.

The most fervid advocates of the soundness of property rights are those who have made fortunes by bribing legislatures and municipalities, or by crushing competitors.

—BISHOP JOHN L. SPALDING.

Such an utterance as the above, "whosoever is content to scoff at the coming from so conservative a quarter during the past month, ought to awaken serious thought on the part of those who regard the industrial unrest and Socialist agitation of our day as the work of "calamity howlers" and the result of "class hatred" and prejudice against the rich. Bishop Spalding is no "agitator" or alarmist. He simply recognizes the fact that the economic situation has grown intolerable and fears that something terrible is going to happen. The Socialist agrees with the Bishop in part but sees in the recent developments of capitalism the hastening of its downfall and seeks to prepare the way for a peaceful transition to a new and better social order. The time is ripe for a great economic change. Industrial democracy is at hand; and, in the words of Emile Zola,

"whosoever is content to scoff at the new gospel—Socialism—is a fool. Whosoever treacherously stifles it is a criminal."

The objections to Socialism urged by the defenders of capitalism are for the most part objections to something which is called Socialism but which is foreign to it. One of the most common of these objections relates to "equality." The equality which Socialism demands does not mean that all shall share alike in the wealth of the country, much less does it imply a "dead level" of mental attainment or mechanical skill. Socialism does not propose "to divide all property into equal parts;" only the ignorant or untruthful will make such an assertion. The motto of Socialism is: "Everybody according to his *deeds*," which means that every

worker shall receive the full product of his labor or its equivalent in the necessities and comforts of life. The extent of that product will depend on the exertion of the worker himself.

SOCIALISM THE GOSPEL OF PEACE

Vandervelde, the Belgian Socialist leader, said recently in an address to the strikers at Brussels, "Let us take the motto which the Christians have abandoned, 'Thou shalt not kill.'"

Strangely enough the Socialists, who are sometimes supposed to advocate strife and violence, are the only class of people the world over who have stood consistently for peace and peaceful methods.

In spite of the peace tribunal at The Hague, in spite of all the sincere and insincere prayers for peace, the capitalistic order cannot give the world peace. Capitalism is essentially a contentious system. In the last analysis nearly all international complications arise out of the demand of capitalistic greed for larger markets and are the inevitable result of capitalistic exploitation. That is, the workers of the world, producing, as a rule, twice as much as they get in return, are continuously piling up a surplus,—the accumulation of things they need but cannot buy. Thus capitalism destroys its own market and is forced to undertake the conquest of foreign markets.

Socialism is essentially the philosophy of peace. Everywhere advocating a principle that guarantees to the laborers the full product of their toil, it strikes at the root of all war and furnishes the only possible basis of universal peace, that is, justice. Realizing that wars are but the result of the unjust demands of capitalism, the Socialists in every nation stand steadily against war. The So-

cialists of Japan recently passed resolutions declaring their adherence to the principle of universal peace, and this is their plea: give the workers of the world justice and there will be no cause for war.

So in the brutal fight between capital and labor within our own borders, and within the borders of other countries, the Socialists everywhere are the advocates of peace. They are accused by the unthinking of stirring up class hatred, but, as everyone knows who has studied the subject, the class struggle has existed since the beginning of human tyranny of which capitalism is the continuance. Socialists would abolish the class struggle by peaceful methods. They say to the workers: use the ballot rather than the strike and never the bludgeon or the bullet.

And what a splendid message is theirs! They demand the fulfilment of the holiest hope of humanity, of the prophets' vision and the Nazarene's teaching: "They shall beat their sword into plowshares, their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." "Blessed are the peacemakers," for *they shall have peace* T

Δ
"The Co-operative Commonwealth," says Gronlund, "will leave everybody at perfect liberty to work as much or as little as he pleases, or not at all, *but will make his consumption exactly commensurate with his performances.*" Thus Socialism will deal out equal and exact justice. It will treat the whole army of "hobos" and "loafers," whether of the "upper" or "lower" class, with impartiality by giving them what they are entitled to, no more, no less. And it will guarantee the honest toiler, whether of hand, heart or brain, his just due. It means that all shall have *equal opportunity* and

access to the sources of life. "Thereby it will afford the very mightiest stimulus for individuality to unfold itself. Property will belong to its possessor by the strongest of all titles, to be enjoyed as he thinks proper, but not to be used as an instrument of fleecing his fellows."



SOCIALISM AND THE CHURCHES

In an interview with the Rev. Frank Ballard in *Great Thoughts*, on "Religion and the Workingman," there are some sentences which should be pondered over by ministers and church members alike. "I honestly believe," says Mr. Ballard, "that if only the churches were Christian, the workmen would turn to them in a body. In all churches we have a nucleus who are genuine and devoted, but around this nucleus is a large percentage who sing one thing on Sunday and do a very different thing on the week-day."

But Mr. Ballard fails to explain this discrepancy between profession and practice on the part of church people. We do not believe that the majority of them wittingly and willingly play the hypocrite. They do not practice deception, adulterate goods and overreach their fellows in business because they are bad and want to act in an unchristian fashion, but because under the present economic system they feel compelled to resort to these means in order to "succeed" that is, to make money. Herbert Spencer tells that "as the law of the animal world is eat or be eaten so of the trading community it may be said the motto is, 'cheat or be cheated.'" Competition contradicts the ethics of Christ's gospel, compels men to violate the Golden Rule, and brings shame and confusion on the church.

There are, moreover, thousands of men who are in entire sympathy with the teaching of Christ and who give to the support of the churches, who remain outside the membership of these bodies because they feel the incompatibility between the demands of true religion and the demands of our industrial order. They know that in "business" they are obliged, if "successful," to disregard the precepts of the gospel, and they are unwilling to put themselves in a position where they would be open to the charge of hypocrisy.

Under Socialism a man will no longer feel that he must ride on the backs of others or others will ride on his back, but it will be to the interest of each and all to act in a brotherly spirit. The incentive to cheat and to obtain wealth by unjust means will be gone when honest industry alone is rewarded and the worker is guaranteed the full value of his labor.

Socialism does not propose to "change human nature" or make men moral by legislation. It simply proposes to do away with the necessity and possibility of one man succeeding thru the failure of another. It aims at equality of opportunity, economic freedom and justice for all. And if the churches understood Socialism and were really sincere in the prayer, "Thy Kingdom Come," they would be in the vanguard of this great movement for the abolition of capitalism and the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth, for, as Edmund Kelly says, "Christianity is only possible in a society organized to transact its business unselfishly."

Socialism alone will enable the churches to be Christian in deed as well as name, to win the confidence of men and go forward to a realization of their ideals of peace and good-will.

S.

A VISION OF TO-DAY

I passed the plate in church.

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

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

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

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

I saw the underpaid factory girl eking out her living on the street, and the overworked child, and the suicide of the discharged miner;

I saw poisonous gases from great manufactories spreading disease and death;

I saw despair and drudgery filling the dram-shop:

I saw rents screwed out from brother men for permission to live on God's land;

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

I saw ignorance and vice and crime growing rank in stifling, filthy slums;

I saw usury, spring from usury, itself again born of unjust monopoly and purchased laws and legalized violence;

I saw shoddy cloth and adulterated food and lying goods of all kinds, cheapening men and women and vulgarizing the world;

I saw hideousness extending itself from coal-mine and foundry over forest and river and field;

I saw money grabbed from fellow-grabbers and swindled from fellow-swindlers, and underneath them the workman forever spinning it out of his vitals;

I saw all the laboring world, thin and pale and bent and care-worn and driven, pouring out this tribute from its toil and sweat into the laps of the richly dressed men and women in the pews, who only glanced at them to shrink from them in disgust;

I saw these gifts of the wealthy and well-to-do given grudgingly from hoards so great that it could not be missed, as a bribe from superstition to a dishonest judge in the expectation of escaping hell.

I saw all this and the plate burned my fingers so that I had to hold it first in one hand and then in the other; and I was glad when the person in his white robes took the smoking pile from me on the chancel steps and, turning about, lifted it up and laid it on the altar.

It was an old-time altar indeed, for it bore a burnt offering of flesh and blood—a sweet savor unto the Moloch whom these people worship with their daily round of human sacrifices.

The shambles are in the temples as of yore, and the tables of the money-changers waiting to be overturned.—ERNEST CROSBY.

A GLANCE AT ENGLISH SOCIALISM

By REV. C. W. PORTER SHIRLEY

Anyone looking at England at the present time, when Mr. Chamberlain is stumping the country on the fiscal question, and the Nonconformists are fighting an iniquitous education bill, and the Cabinet in such a medley, would think that "Socialism" was a dead letter. Such, however, is not the case. No nation is so fully alive to its economic conditions as the English, and though there may be a great many questions more prominent, "The Socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange" is well to the front. Elections are being fought from time to time on a straight issue between capitalism and Socialism.

Harry Quelch, the editor of Justice, is perhaps the best known of the Parliamentary candidates. His ability as writer and speaker is of the first class. The S. D. F., as the Social Democratic Federation is known is the party which stands for scientific, uncompromising Socialism, and is fighting bravely and well the forces of capitalism. With such men as Hyndman, Belfort Bax, Walter Crane, H. Quelch, Dan. Irving, the S. D. F. is making itself felt in the country. The Independent Labor Party, with Kier Hardie at its head, is not doing so well as it might be. Its officials are somewhat given to trimming and opportunism. Still they are contesting several seats, and doing propaganda work for the movement.

Another party which has sprung into existence this last few months is known as the Labor Representation Committee. This is a party made up of trades unionists, whether Tory, Liberal or Socialist, and as a party is running candidates for parliament on Labor Questions only. Although not fighting as straight an issue as one would desire, it is doing some good in bringing the workers of England to think on questions affecting their interests and it is hoped that it will soon lead them to consider the conditions and principles of the competitive system.

In turning to journals connected with the movement, first and foremost comes "Justice" with Harry Quelch as editor dealing with the scientific aspect of Socialistic economics. Next we have the "Clarion" with Nunquam (Robert Blatchford) as the chief scribe, a paper with a circulation of 60,000 and dealing with the popular side of Socialism. Perhaps none has done more than Blatchford to popularize the Socialistic movement. His two books "Merrie England" and "Britian for the British" are known on every hand.

Coming to what may be termed the forces of Christian Socialism, we have in the van the "Christian Social Brotherhood" with the eloquent Baptist divine Dr. Clifford as president, and the Rev. Will Reason as secretary. Dr. Clifford stands out as being the finest specimen of a minister of the Gospel of Christ, who is working to make the principles of that Gospel the common elements of everyday life. The "Social Union" is also doing good work amongst the adherents and members of the Church of England. Whilst there is a great deal, for which one may be thankful, as regards the progress of the Socialistic movement in the ranks of the English clergy and whilst owing to such books as V. Rowntree's "Poverty of York" and General Booth's "Darkest England," some attention is paid to social reform, there is still a lot of intolerance shown to the minister who

dares to strike against the present competitive capitalistic system.

However we think we may say that the outlook for English Socialism is full of promise. Many factors are working for the realization of its principles. Conditions are such, that the consideration of social reforms are forced upon the workers, whilst the Socialist parties, each from its own stand point are pressing home the lessons to be learnt from every economic change.

What Hinders Socialism?

Judge W. E. Richardson, of Spokane, says:

Nine out of every ten men outside of the insane asylums would be Socialists today or in less than a year if it were not for prejudice. There is something for Socialists to learn from this fact. You may be a simon pure, class conscious, revolutionary scientific Socialist from now to the day of your death, but until you learn how to disarm and overcome the prejudice against Socialism that now exists in the minds of the majority of workingmen, you cannot be a successful worker in this cause. Tact, sympathy, common sense, forbearance, patience, courtesy—these are as necessary as scientific knowledge.

This is a timely utterance.

All Socialist workers should ponder it well.

To meet the situation is the special mission of THE VANGUARD.

It is an eye-opener.

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It is making many converts to the cause.

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THE RELIGION OF SOCIALISM

By GEORGE E. LITTLEFIELD



N the life and time of Jesus we have a pathetic illustration of how a sublime personality, representing Truth, was scorned and crushed by the insidious efforts of the Scribes and the Pharisees, in the name of law and religion. So today, in the name of law and religion, entrenched and servile priests and politicians would crucify those who stand for the truth and brotherhood that Jesus died for, and try to set back and destroy the mighty worldwide movement of Socialism which embodies the simple principles of Christianity and the best elements of every great human faith, and is to be their culmination and fulfilment.

For this is precisely the religious aspect of Socialism. The most deeply religious Socialists perceive the possibility of a new and greater universal religion rising out of a just and more abundant economic life. As the plant thrives and blossoms more beautifully under propitious conditions, so a grander, simpler, truer, unifying, scientific religious faith will gloriously burst into bloom in the Co-operative Commonwealth where, as in a garden of the gods, Brotherhood flourishes and the Golden Rule is practiced as spontaneously as flowers perfume the air.

This greater religion will probably not be Buddhism, Judaism, possibly not even Christianity; certainly not labeled Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, or Protestant, Episcopalian, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Unitarian or any of the other 300 and more sectarian names, but it will be the good and true and beautiful in all human aspiration, love and science blended with the greater knowledge, deed and promise yet to come. Real religion—the wonderful efflorescence of our coming nobler and higher socialistic civilization—this we anticipate.

And while we Socialists are not shouting, “Lord! Lord!” or standing, in the chief places thanking God we are not as other men, (all the while, as pillars of the church, strenuously upholding a dishonest industrial system that sanctions one class exploiting another by means of rent, interest and profit just as one tribe used to spoil another with arrows, spears, and boomerangs), nevertheless we are religious, most of us so deeply religious that conventional churches do not satisfy our souls; but our religion is only apparent by our struggle for justice, for industrial honesty, social and personal integrity.

Who are the real materialists and atheists, those who mouth the name of God and grovel and graft for gold, or those, like Socialists, who hunger and thirst and work for Righteousness and keep silent in their hearts the name of the Most Sacred?

So faithless are many professors of faith, so unjustly do they apply the forces of economic determinism under capitalism to make the masses, like their hypocritical masters, atheistic materialists, which leads them to mental, moral and physical degeneration, that Socialists with their real faith (altho professing no religiosity—sometimes professing the opposite of what hypocrites proclaim), would use the economic forces for liberty, soul-unfoldment, and the consequent, mental moral and physical

development of humanity.

Now if we Socialists lay the emphasis strongest on Righteousness, tho sadly we turn from the sanctuary and must condemn the abominations tolerated by posing apologists of a perverting sacerdotalism, nevertheless in our very ethical stand we are religious—vitaly, practically religious—and the time will surely come when our false accusers and calumniators will curse the day they ever cursed Socialism, and their misinformed and reviling dupes will be sorry and say they were always Socialists at heart anyway.

For Truth and Right will prevail, and woe to the man, woe to the church, woe to the party that, still malignant, slinks away into shame and oblivion. Their end will be as a feast of bitter herbs and the gall of remorse shall be their drink. But it is in our heart to forgive them, for they know not what they do.

THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW

Unnumbered soldiers load their guns	Lo! Greed and Hate march side by side
And stack them handy by;	Beneath the flag of Lust;
Five hundred million cringing clods	The sword of war is burnished bright,
For bare existence cry:	The spade resigned to rust;
A hundred royal rulers drain	While all the nobler arts of man
Their peoples' purses dry.	Lie prostrate in the dust.

Higher the serf shall surely climb,
To work his own release;
Then prayer and song shall celebrate
The monster War's decease,
And glad mankind at last abide
In universal peace.

—FRANK A. PUTNAM.

HOW TO ABOLISH CRIME

It is easy to see how to do away with what we call crime. It is not so easy to do it. It can be done by giving the people a chance to live—by destroying special privileges. So long as big criminals can get the coal fields, so long as the big criminal has control of the city council and gets the public streets for street car and gas rights, this is bound to send thousands of poor people to jail.

The only way on earth to abolish crime and criminals is to abolish the big ones and the little ones together. Make fair conditions of life. Abolish the right of the private ownership of land, abolish monopoly, make the world partners in production, partners in the good things of life.—Clarence S. Darrow.

SOCIALISM IN A NUTSHELL

THE EVILS IT SEES AND HOW IT WOULD CURE THEM

By A. L. BENSON, Editorial Writer Of The Detroit Times.

Address delivered before the Men's Club of St. Joseph's Memorial Church, Detroit, Sunday, Dec, 20, 1903.



IN ORDER that you may better understand what Socialism IS, perhaps it would be well to place your minds in a receptive condition by first telling you what it IS NOT. On this point, there is widely prevalent such a variety of grotesque and—to Socialists—humorous ideas of what Socialism really stands for that progress may be accelerated by clearing away a little of the dead timber that obstructs the view.

Socialism does NOT stand for "dividing up" property—stoutly as many conscientious, but misguided souls may contend to the contrary. Such a demand was never made by any Socialist platform, nor does the literature of Socialism teach or advise it.

Socialism has absolutely nothing in common with anarchy with which its name is so frequently linked both by the misinformed and the malicious. This, you can readily believe when you pause to consider that anarchy stands for NO GOVERNMENT, while Socialism seeks to establish a more highly organized and a more useful government than the world has ever seen.

Nor does Socialism stand for any of those various forms of violence, disorder, or armed revolution to existing government that characterize the "propaganda of the deed," which is the excuse for crime of the king-killing revolutionary communists of the old world, or of the mob spirit that tries to wipe out real or fancied wrongs with fire and blood.

So much for what Socialism IS NOT: now what it is: Socialism, broadly speaking, is of two kinds—Utopian and scientific. Utopian Socialism was the dream of men like Charles A. Dana, and those who went

with him to make the famous experiment in co-operative industry at Brooks Farm; of Thoreau, William Morris and others. Utopian Socialism never was of any economic importance; it is not of any economic importance now.

Scientific Socialism, with which I purpose to deal, was formulated about 50 years ago by a German Jew, named Karl Marx. It was evolved from the revolutionized economic conditions that followed the introduction of machinery into productive industry. And it was brought forth by a man who saw so clearly and was so well able to reason from cause to effect that 35 years ago, he foretold the colossal combinations of industry now known as trusts.

Marxian Socialism—for such it has come to be called—has identical fundamental aims and purposes, standing for the same things in all parts of the world. And for general definitions of what it is, let me refer you to some recognized authorities in the art of defining words and terms as well as to some noted students of the political economy:

The Encyclopedia Britannica says: "The ethics of Socialism are identical with the ethics of Christianity."

Webster's dictionary says: "A theory of society that advocates a more precise orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed."

Prof. Ely says: "Socialism is simply Christianity applied to every day life."

To be more specific, Socialism stands for these things:

The abolition of competitive, private capital and the substitution of public, co-operative capital. And in this connection, it is well to bear in mind the correct meaning of "capital" and "wealth" when used in their economic sense; the former meaning aggressive wealth, or wealth used in acquiring more wealth, and the latter merely as a product of labor. Socialism would not prevent an individual from owning his own house.

Socialism would also destroy the

wage system, by giving everybody free access to the tools of production and distribution, thereby obviating the necessity of compelling the worker to promise to give a part of his product to the man who owns the tools as the price of their use.

To support one's self being a duty, Socialism would give everyone the means with which to perform this duty by enabling him to demand work as a right, instead of begging it as a privilege, as is now the rule.

Socialism would give everybody free access to the land and all natural resources by abolishing private ownership in them and substituting ownership by all.

It would do away with the existing medium of exchange called money and substitute therefor, labor-time checks, certifying that the bearer had performed a certain number of hours of useful labor for society and was entitled to an equal number of hours of anybody else's product.

Socialism would prevent industrial panics by removing their cause—the inability of labor to obtain enough in the form of wages to buy back the very goods it produces.

It would prevent crimes of greed, not by changing human nature, but by ceasing to place a premium upon the things that greed does—in short, by removing the incentive to commit such crimes.

It would give every toiler the full product of his toil.

And lastly, it would place the control of the government in the hands of the working class who constitute 95 per cent of the population, instead of permitting it to remain in the hands of the 5 per cent who perform no useful labor.

This program, as you see, involves a revolutionary change in our industrial and economic systems. Revolutionary changes in anything are always to be avoided unless there be need for them. Let us see if there is need for the revolutionary changes demanded by Socialism:

The introduction of machinery has increased the productivity of labor thirty fold, and we have no less an authority than Mr. Gladstone for the statement that "by the aid of mach-

inery, the manufacturing power of the world is doubled every seven years."

In England alone, at the close of the last century, machinery was doing the work of 700,000,000 of men, or more than the adult population of the globe. And our own census reports tell us that in 1900, the aggregate motive power employed in manufacturing establishments in the United States was 11,300,081 horsepower, as compared with a fraction over two million horsepower in 1870.

If the capitalist system of industry were fair in its distribution of the products of labor, we might expect that the nine millions of horse-power of motive power that was applied to industry between 1870 and 1900, would either have made much richer the men who operated the machinery to which this power was applied, or else have enabled them to cut in two their own hours of labor. Yet so great an authority as John Stuart Mill says it "is questionable if any of the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being." And the financial condition of the workers is revealed by the census reports which show that the number who can afford to own homes is constantly decreasing, being 34.4 per cent in 1890 and 31.8 per cent in 1900. Add to this the known fact that while we are producing wealth with a degree of rapidity never equalled in any other age, the wealth of the nation is constantly concentrating into a fewer number of hands and it would seem to be apparent that the capitalist system contains some inherent weakness that requires a radical remedy if we are to avert the fate of those nations like Rome, Egypt and Persia that went down when a few had succeeded in acquiring most of the wealth of their respective countries.

At any rate, there are a number of learned gentlemen who believe there is something radically wrong with our way of doing things: Prof. Huxley is one of them. In an article published in the *Nineteenth Century* magazine in 1890, he said:

I do not hesitate to express the opinion that if there is no hope of a large improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family; if it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of a greater dominion over nature which is its consequence, and the wealth which follows upon

the dominion, are to make no difference in the extent and intensity of want, with its concomitant physical and moral degradation among the masses of the people I should hail the advent of some kindly comet which should sweep the whole affair away.

So much on the general subject of the deplorable nature of the existing conditions and the necessity for radical action. Now to take up the specific things that Socialism purposes to do and see if there be necessity for the doing of these things.

Socialism proposes to abolish the wage system. The United States census reports for 1900 show that the average annual product of each worker was valued at \$2,450, while the average annual wage was \$437. The worker is therefore receiving in the form of wages only about a fifth of what he produces, the remainder being wasted by the competitive system or going into the employers' pockets in the form of profits.

Socialism would give everybody a right to work for a living. Capitalism, while holding that every able-bodied man **MUST** make a living in some way or other, or go to jail for vagrancy, makes work a privilege that must be sought as a favor instead of demanded as a right.

Socialism would give everybody free access to the land and all natural resources. Capitalism lets a few live in luxury without labor from the revenue received as the price of permitting others to use certain lands to which they claim to have a title. Thirty-five and three-tenths of all the farms in United States are owned by landlords and the percentage of farms thus owned is constantly increasing. There is an abundance of desirable land not used, but none that is not taken—claimed by some one, Socialists contend that the Creator made the earth for human beings to live on rather than to enable a favored few to live without work and to that end, would restore land to its original purpose.

Socialism would abolish money as a medium of exchange and substitute labor-time checks. Trace a dollar from the time a laborer earns it until he spends it and you will see why: To get one dollar, a worker must create nearly \$6 worth of value as the census reports show, so he loses about 80 per cent of what he should receive at the start. Then he takes the dol-

lar's worth of value that he has created and tries to exchange it for a dollar's worth of someone else's value. But he doesn't get it. The wastes of competition and the profits of private capitalists are such that the thing he gets for a dollar really represents hardly more than 30 or 40 cents worth of the other's value, if so much. So the toiler produces \$6 worth of value to enable him to get less than a half dollar's worth of another's products. Socialism would give a man a labor-time check certifying that he had performed say 10 hours of useful labor. When he went to buy his supplies, he would find them all marked "8 hours" or "7 hours," instead of "\$2" or ".98 cents." The laborer would thus not only receive the full product of his toil in the first instance, but he would be able to exchange it for an equal amount of the product of anybody else.

Socialism would prevent panics by removing their cause—the failure by labor to obtain enough in the form of wages to buy back its own products.

Panics as we all well know, are caused by "overproduction"—at least our capitalist friends tell us so. But isn't it a bit strange to tell a man that he must starve because he has manufactured too much food and that he must go poorly clad because he has made too much clothing? The real cause of industrial depressions of the kind with which we are now threatened, is that the increased productivity of labor, due to the introduction of machinery, has enabled the world to produce more rapidly than it can consume—which would not be an unfortunate circumstance if everybody could work fewer hours a day, or fewer days in a year. But while the productivity of labor, according to the census reports, has increased about 600 per cent in the last 60 years, wages have increased less than 100 per cent, with the result that labor, unable to buy the very things it has produced, compels manufacturers to curtail or suspend production for a time on account of inability to dispose of their goods. To reduce wages, as many manufacturers are doing at present, merely greases the slide by intensifying the very condition that threatens disaster. With the worker receiving his entire product, as he would under Socialism, there could

never be an industrial depression, because everybody would be able to obtain the necessities of life by exchanging for them an equal amount of his own products. And since, even in times of industrial depression, the DEMAND for the necessities of life is as great as at any other time, it is plain that labor would always be kept employed making the things that society needs.

I have said that Socialism would prevent crimes of greed, not by changing human nature but by removing the incentive to commit such crimes. The Bible very truly says that "money is the root of all evil."

By abolishing money as a medium of exchange, Socialism would get rid of the root. Nor would the labor-time checks with which it is purposed to supplant money amount to the same thing, since there would be little if any barter and sale among individuals. Nobody would buy shoes of an individual and enable him to make a profit thereon, when he could as easily get them from the government at cost. The same fact applies to all articles of commerce.

In conclusion, I may say, that Socialists have no quarrel with the individual capitalist. Having in mind the statement made by Dun's Review a few years ago that 97 per cent of those who go into business fail sooner or later, they look upon him rather as a fellow sufferer. Of course, they have a quarrel—and a very violent

one at that—with capitalists who transgress all laws, human and divine in the pursuit of dollars that do not belong to them by any stretch of the imagination. But their chief quarrel is with the capitalist system. They believe that competition is war and that war is just what Gen. Sherman said it was. Therefore they seek to avert it by substituting co-operation. But the more advanced Socialists even look upon the competitive system with a certain degree of tolerance, because they regard it as an inevitable step in the world's search for a better way of managing industry. In other words, competition was the inevitable child of feudalism—inevitable because it was the best means that the people of 300 years ago could devise. In like manner, they regard Socialism as the next step in the onward march of progress and civilization. Believing, as we do, that Socialism is to be the child of capitalism, just as capitalism was the child of feudalism, we feel no more doubt about its coming than does the mother about the birth of her unborn child. For that reason, many of us are waiting with no trace of impatience for its coming—because nothing should be born until the proper time. The proper time for the birth of Socialism will be when the people are ready for it. And to make the people ready for it, by laying before them its superior advantages, is the task of those who see so many signs of the crumbling of capitalism.

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WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT

WENONAH STEVENS ABBOTT, Editor

Under this caption, inquiries will be answered as rapidly as possible. Communications for the editor should be addressed to Station M, Chicago.

Let's Talk It Over

Comrades, please sign communication with your names. I assure you these will not appear in full in my replies.

A. E., W. B., and others have asked why I am a conservative in all things pertaining to the political organization and a liberal as regards women's unions and clubs. I will answer this next month in order to explain fully I shall need more space than I can spare in this issue.

S. A. E. wishes to know whether women obtaining the right of suffrage would not promptly bring in a reign of justice. That word promptly complicates a reply. In their present apathetic condition, women are possibly as fit to vote as the average man and better able than many men who now have the right of suffrage. In any case, by any course of reasoning along lines of justice, we must concede that they are citizens and therefore entitled to aid in ruling. But in view of the fact that in at least one state women used their first ballots to defeat the more liberal party, which had given them the right of stepping from the class of "imbeciles, infants and tribal Indians," can we be sure they would be *prompt* about inaugurating an era of Justice? Let's admit that, like the men, they need to be educated to see the self-evident, and then continue the work of enlightenment.

X. Y. Z., asks: "Why work politically when the trade union movement is sure to eventually bring a Co-operative Commonwealth?" I am in sympathy with the trade unions, when they act sensibly; but I have never been able to understand the course of reasoning which makes them class-conscious every day except election day, and on that most important occasion splits them into factions which throw all power into the hands of these who are their economic opponents. This is the more

strange because they have awakened to the fact that an employer's interests are so opposed to theirs that it is not wise to have him in the union, even though he has been of their number and they know him to be a good fellow. If an employer can not represent them in minor affairs, why make him a representative in legislative ones? I am in no way certain that, under most favorable circumstances, this movement would bring a true Co-operative Commonwealth; but if it did, it would only be after the workers had learned that the best place for the manifestation of power is at the ballot-box. It is because I believe a ballot more powerful than a bullet that I continue to work for political regeneration.

THE EX-MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS.

Twenty-seven years ago, as he came into my room with a breezy, "Well, my little lady, they tell me you are trying to be sick," I first saw Dr. A. A. Ames, now unpleasantly before the public because the courts have released him from the penitentiary on a technicality. Several times he saved my life and, if I were going to trust myself to an Allopath or go under the surgeon's knife there is not in the U. S. a physician to whom I would as fearlessly entrust my life, so I am urged by more than the cry of justice and my natural disposition to espouse the cause of one who is in hard luck, to say something of the side of his nature regarding which the public press has been so silent since trouble came to him.

When I knew him, he was a fine-looking man, large of frame and heart, one of the only three handsome men I ever saw. Some folk claim to have seen scores, but from Atlantic to Pacific I have never seen a fourth worthy to go in their list. But even his friends were wont to say, "Doc is his own worst enemy." He did not learn to say "No" when a boy and that lesson is rarely mastered late in life.

When professionally engaged, is

very presence brought health and cheer. It is claimed that his own son was the only diphtheretic patient he ever lost, and then Dr. Ames was so busy with similar cases among the very poor—who could not possibly pay for his services—that blood poisoning began in the little throat before the father of the doomed babe knew that he was ill.

I do not remember the exact date when Dr. Ames was first elected mayor of Minneapolis, but the event made a great stir in the city and was the occasion of a public demonstration seldom equalled in that part of the country. There were always those who disapproved of his administration, but I never heard him accused of dishonorable action in those days, even by his political opponents.

During the campaign in which he ran for Lieutenant Governor against a wealthy mill owner, whose failure for a few cents on the dollar caused fearful suffering among the poor, but is supposed to have contributed to his millions and gave him that political pull which the legislature has since obeyed, the enthusiasm of the "lower classes" was unbounded. I have heard many of the people's idols speak, but never one who could so smile away the very hearts of those to whom he had given fully and freely. There was no trouble with the local vote, for that was held by sheer force of his personality. Had he been as well known throughout the state, no one could have defeated him and he would have continued in public life at that time. When a man who has held no higher office than the mayoralty is talked of as a Vice Presidential possibility (as he was in Cleveland's time,) there must be a cause. In his case it was his kindness to the poor.

Scores of anecdotes of Dr. Ames' humanitarianism occur to mind, but one must suffice because of the inelasticity of space. January of '84 was cold beyond the power of words to express; but one of its worst nights, when the mercury had dropped to thirty-eight below zero, a lantern was seen swaying to and fro in the bleak wind, evidently carried by one who was fighting his way step by step through the deep snow. A young machinist who saw the glimmer, wondered, watched to see that the one carrying it did not fall and

freeze to death, then wrapped up and went to investigate. He was not only anxious to befriend a wayfarer, but curious. An instant later he shouted: "Why, Doc, what on earth are you doing way down here such a night as this?" The doctor explained that he was going to a sick woman on Cedar Avenue—and I chance to know that she was one of his charity patients. "But why are you not riding?" "D, you think I'd take a horse out a night like this, when I might have to tie it for hours?" was the indignant response, as he vigorously stamped and swung his arm; to keep from freezing. There was no affectation in this. He had not enough "policy" for a politician, and was finally regarded as "politically dead" because of his inability to keep from saying what he thought.

Come what may, I can not believe that Dr. Ames will ever be other than a whole-souled gentleman, the idol of the common folk whom he has always befriended. Probably he has given his city what he believed was the wish of the majority, for he has always been too "liberal" in his ideas. But in a city which licenses brothels, is it strange that easy-going officials close their eyes to many irregularities? And can we be altogether surprised that one who is kept comparatively poor because of his charities, took advantage of his chance to secure a small part of the funds which gravitate into official circles?

Most heartily I deplore his wrongdoing, if it is a fact; and his down-fall is the more marked because of lifelong popularity and that of his ancestors. But is he not a product of the system? His natural impulses were uncommonly good. Why did he fall? Because the whole influence of our governmental life is to degrade those who occupy positions of trust, since it furnishes opportunity in that direction and no incentive in the other.

Like the rest of us, Dr. Ames had probably become accustomed to the betrayal of public trust and corruption no longer astonished him. After that, it was only a step to embracing the wrong which had ceased to be abhorrent to the general public. And who of us believes that the present spasm of municipal housecleaning will last, when the whole tendency is in the other direction? Above all, how dare a Minneapolitan—and I re-

gard myself as one though I left that city twenty years ago—dare censure? The city "holds up" its public women by means of the license exacted, thereby adding to its income a portion of the money gained by the sale of womanhood. Ames did irregularly what the public has done officially for years. He is a product of the system in vogue in Minneapolis, as well as that larger system which makes life a mad scramble for gold.

CHATS WITH YOUNG FOLKS—3

Why Astronomers Think Our Earth Is Old

Those wise men whom we call astronomers have for many ages studied the stars which they see through the huge telescopes. Each of them has told or written down what he saw, so the next generation has known what happened in the past. In this way men know how baby-worlds are formed. They have watched worlds in the school-boy stage rushing around with a hop, skip and a jump, running way out from the sun, then darting back again. (They call these young worlds, comets.) They have seen worlds get steady and settle down to their regular journey round the sun. They have seen worlds like ours, worlds that are younger, worlds that are older, and they have seen dead worlds. But in all the study, no one has ever seen a world which was made in a few days, so these men think our world was made just the same way that all other worlds are.

Do you think that a fair reason for their belief? Let's see. Suppose that you lived near a glass-cutter and often watched him at work. After a while you would notice that he worked very carefully, and that grinding and polishing is a slow process. Suppose that you see other glass-cutters and they all work in the same patient way, not one of them knowing how to make the real article by any quick process. If you enjoy watching this operation, perhaps you you will do it whenever you can, from the time you are a little child until you are old. Now imagine that you look over a diary kept by your father, and another that his father wrote, and still another that your great grandfather wrote, and in all of them you read of glass-cutters who take a very long time to make a beautiful dish.

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Would you not feel quite sure that all such dishes are made slowly?

If, after you had studied this process a great many years and failed to find one case where it varied from what your ancestors and you yourself had seen, some one told you that he had read of one man who made one dish very quickly indeed, that the dish turned out all right, but that after he did the one quick job, he stopped the method then used and spent years doing the thing he could as well do in a few hours—would you not think some one had made a mistake?

Well, that is what the wise men who watch world-making think. They believe the Great Ruler of the Universe does just as good work now as He ever did, so they feel sure that this earth was made as others are being made.

WOMAN'S NATIONAL SOCIALIST UNION

Finances permitting, there will be a national convention held in Chicago the first week in May, the time being so arranged because of its coincidence with the convention of the Socialist Party. If such a convention is held, all Socialists will be cordially invited to attend and all Socialist women, without regard to membership in the Union, have equal rights to the floor. If the men wish to speak, they must receive permission by vote of women present, because otherwise too many women sit back and refrain from discussions in which men join. This is to be a woman's convention.

The first meeting will be devoted to discussing the need of separate organization of women; and those women who have not yet realized this need are especially invited to be present and take part, for we all wish to see all sides of so important a question. At later meetings, among other things, we will discuss why it does not seem best for the Union to be auxiliary to the political movement, what local Unions have done to aid the educational and political work, how we can best reach youths and children, and such other matters as may be of general interest. This early, unofficial statement is designed to notify women to prepare to attend. Full particulars will be given

at the earliest possible date. Meanwhile if you think of anything helpful, call my attention to it promptly.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The result of the election of officers of the W. N. S. U. is the re-election of all the old officers as follows:

President Wenonah Stevens Abbott, Chicago, Ill., Vice-Pres.—Belle Kearney, Flora, Miss., Cor. Secy.—Marion H. Dunham, Burlington, Iowa, Rec. Secy.—Annie W. Clark, Columbus, Ohio, Treas.—E. M. Mason, Providence, R. I.

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Frances E. Willard ON SOCIALISM

Look about you, the products of labor are on every hand; you could not maintain for a moment a well-ordered life without them; every object in your room has in it, for discerning eyes, the mark of ingenious tools and the pressure of labor's hands.

But is it not the cruelest injustice for the wealthy, whose lives are surrounded and embellished by labor's work to have a superabundance of the money which represents the aggregate of labor in any country, while the laborer himself is kept so steady at work

that he has no time to acquire the education and refinements of life that would make him and his family agreeable companions to the rich and cultured? The reason why I am a Socialist is just here.

I would take, not by force but by the slow process of lawful acquisition, through better legislation as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plant that we call civilization, all that has been achieved on this continent in the four hundred years since Columbus wended his way hither and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give them the finest physical development, but not to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share alike the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practicable, indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism.

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 is the higher way; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our everyday living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.

Oh, that I were young again, and it would have my life! It is God's way out of the wilderness and into the promised land. It is the very marrow and fatness of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY exists for the sole purpose of abolishing the "cruel injustice" spoken of by Miss Willard. It demands that the workers shall receive the full product of their labor—their private property. It aims to extend and secure personal rights. It will **put a stop to "confiscation"** by ending the system which now compels the masses of the people to "divide up" their earnings until the nation's wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few. It will **save the home** by securing each worker an income sufficient to maintain a family in comfort and send his children to school instead of the factory. It will **abolish "graft," child labor and prostitution**—the direct results of capitalism. If you want **simple justice, industrial peace and a higher civilization, VOTE THE SOCIALIST TICKET**.

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SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS



To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as, the Social-Democratic Party.
NATIONAL SECRETARY: WILLIAM MAILLY,
 Rooms 303-304, McCague Bldg., Omaha, Neb.

NOTES OF PROGRESS

From every section of the country reports come indicating that the national convention of the Socialist Party in Chicago, May 1, will eclipse in interest the political gatherings of the year. It is pretty certain that every state will send its full quota of delegates. There will be also hundreds of visitors present from all over the country. The Socialist party is now regarded as the growing political movement that the old party managers dread the most.

The Socialists of Milwaukee are putting up a magnificent Municipal campaign with Victor L. Berger as their candidate for Mayor. Rousing meetings are being held nightly addressed by noted Socialist speakers such as Max Hayes, John M. Work, J. W. Slayton, Carl D. Thompson, Eugene V. Debs, Geo. D. Herron. A Milwaukee special to the Chicago Record-Herald, in a column article, discussing the situation and the probabilities of the outcome says: "Two years ago the Socialist party cast 9,000 votes in the city. Conservative judges estimate that the party has gained in the past two years from 2,000 to 4,000 votes; other claim the increase is nearer 6,000 to 8,000. It is held under present circumstances that it will not be surprising if the Socialist Party should elect a mayor of Milwaukee in April, with a city ticket as well. That the Socialists will have from six to ten aldermen in the next city council is admitted even

now, and there are those who say the representation will be larger than that."

The New Jersey State Convention of the Socialist Party met at Newark Feb. 21st and 22nd, with 104 delegates present. State Secy. Killingbeck reports that the convention was a most enthusiastic and harmonious one, and as one veteran said, "it was the best gathering of the kind he had attended in the state." Henry R. Kearns of Arlington was nominated for Governor, and a full delegation elected to the National Convention at Chicago, May 1.

The Michigan Socialist Party held its State Convention at Lansing, Feb. 25, 26, the attendance being large and the proceedings marked by determination and enthusiasm. The following state ticket was nominated: For governor, C. J. Lamb, Dryden; lieutenant-governor, J. A. C. Menton, Flint; secretary of state, H. P. Keaver, Laurium; treasurer, Martin Coonev, Saginaw; auditor general, D. B. Hovie, Grand Rapids; land commissioner, J. J. Stoll, Alpena; attorney general, Ira G. Mosher, Charlevoix; superintendent of public instruction, Wesley Emery; member state board of education, Geo. Perry, Gladstone; supreme justices, R. G. Kirsch, Manistee; J. D. Hunt, Jonesville, and Peter Kratt, Muskegon.

A news dispatch from Rome states the following: After a long struggle for a naval parliamentary inquiry, the Socialists at last have gained a victory. This inquiry was opposed by former Premier Zanardelli and his Cabinet and rejected by the Chamber of Deputies. It has now been decided by the Committee on the Navy of the Chamber of Deputies that this inquiry shall be held with the sanction of the Cabinet, and a bill authorizing it soon will be presented in Parliament." And the Socialists are everywhere gaining in Europe. The incoming of the democratic clay is breaking up the iron imperialism of the old-time rule.

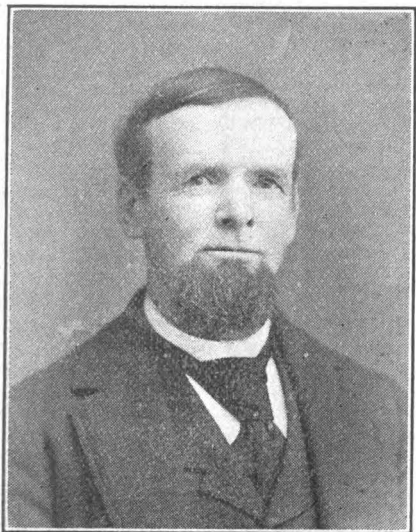
The Socialist movement in Spain is arousing the violent antagonism both of anarchists and republicans, opposition in which murderous assaults play a prominent part. The party now has 13 papers and 10 more are to be added on May 1.

MINNESOTA STATE NEWS

STATE CONVENTION

The Minnesota state convention of the Socialist Party was held in Minneapolis Feb. 21st and 22nd. F. A. Heliman acted as chairman the first day and M. N. Rogers on the second day. Fred Miller of St. Paul acted as Secretary throughout the convention with S. N. Rubin as assistant.

After the delegates were seated committees were appointed on credentials, amendments to the state constitution and platform, on rules and regulations and the press. The first



J. E. NASH, Minneapolis

day was consumed in hearing reports from delegates and adopting committee reports.

On the second day a state ticket was nominated, and state officials and delegates to the national convention elected. The state ticket is as follows: Governor, J. E. Nash, Minneapolis; lieutenant governor, O. E. Loftus, Sheboygan; secretary of state, J. E. Carlson, St. Paul; treasurer, C. E. Keith, Mankato; attorney general, G. W. Downing, Fergus Falls; railroad and warehouse commissioner Cicero C. Talbott, Minneapolis.

The following were chosen presi-

dential electors: E. Marshner, New Ulm; G. W. Bucklin, Austin; F. A. Wilson, Angus; E. B. Ford, Faribault; M. N. Rogers, Minneapolis; S. M. Holman, Minneapolis; F. A. Webster, St. Paul; E. L. Andrew, Scanlon; O. W. Nelson, Deerwood; H. P. Austin, Ada; B. W. Roberts, Minneapolis.

The following are the delegates to the national convention which meets in Chicago May 1: M. A. Brattland, Ada, Nicholas Klein, Wrenshall; J. E. Nash, Minneapolis; T. H. Lucas, St. Paul; A. N. Gilbertson, Willmar; Geo. B. Leonard, Minneapolis; S. M. Holman, Minneapolis; Alternates: E. Boskey, New Ulm, A. Hirschfield, Minneapolis; E. D. Cross, St. Cloud; E. B. Ford, Faribault; E. L. Anderson, Scanlon; F. G. Brower, Carlton; P. H. Zender, Austin.

S. M. Holman, who resigned as state secretary of the party, was presented with a gold watch by the convention as a testimonial of appreciation of the work he has done, the presentation speech being given by C. C. Talbott. Mr. Holman responded appropriately in a brief speech. J. E. Nash was chosen as the state secretary to take the place of Mr. Holman.

The convention unanimously extended a vote of thanks to State Organizer Klein for his efficient work in the state. The convention was most successful, the attendance exceeding in size the most sanguine expectations.

Minnesota State Organization Of the Socialist Party.

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Fred Miller, A. F. Morledge, St. Paul; S. M. Holman, Hazen M. Parker, M. N. Rogers, Minneapolis.

STATE SECRETARY: J. E. Nash, 45 S. Fourth St., Minneapolis.

STATE ORGANIZER: Nicholas Klein, Care State Secretary.

NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN: S. M. Holman, 11 Oak St. S. E. Minneapolis.

The Socialists of Minnesota are making arrangements for a great campaign. Three strong and effective organizers are already engaged. Comrade Nicholas Klein who has already organized twenty-seven locals in the state is to be kept at work steadily. Comrade Kirkpatrick who is now at work in Iowa, is to enter the state in April. And finally Comrade Carl D. Thompson has been engaged for an extended tour.

A SELECT LIST OF BOOKS FOR SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA

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The Real Religion of To-Day.

By Rev. William Thurston Brown. Shows how the Socialist movement embodies all that is vital in religion. "Real religion is something which finds a man, rather than something which he finds. It is the great, deep undercurrent which sets toward justice and truth and love. It is not the business of men to learn its creed. It is their business to respond to its compulsion."

Rational Prohibition

By Walter L. Young. An address before a meeting of temperance workers showing that it is impossible to suppress intemperance so long as people can make a profit out of selling liquor, and that the only rational prohibition is abolishing the profit system.

Woman and the Social Problem.

By May Wood Simons. Explains that the political and domestic subjection of women is due to their economic subjection to the men of the capitalist class, that political liberty alone would be of no real benefit to women, and that their complete emancipation can only be brought about through Socialism.

Socialism and the Home.

By May Walden Kerr. Tells how all the essentials of a happy home are destroyed by capitalism; how the economic dependence of women results in loveless marriages and equally degrading subjection outside marriage; how the one hope of woman's emancipation is in Socialism, and how women can help to hasten its coming.

Socialism vs. Anarchy.

By A. M. Simons. Explains the world-wide difference in aim and method between Socialism, which seeks through the united political action of the working class to transform government, and anarchism, which seeks through violence to abolish government.

The Man Under the Machine.

By A. M. Simons. A condensed and simple exposition of Socialism. Contents; The Life of the Workers Today; How the Laborer's Trouble Came; The Class Struggle; The Laborer of To-morrow. Over 30,000 copies already sold; just the book to give a new inquirer.

Socialism and Farmers.

By A. M. Simons. Proves that the farmer, instead of being independent as he supposes himself, is in fact a piece-worker at the mercy of the capitalists who control the means of bringing his product into the form in which it can be consumed and to the place where it is needed at the time when it is needed. The author shows the utility of money reform schemes and the real unity of interest between the farmer and the wage-worker.

Wage-Labor and Capital.

By Karl Marx. The great Socialist philosopher's theory stated in his own words. This is not an abridgment or extract from "Capital," but a translation of an essay by Marx, in which the theory of surplus value is explained in as simple a way as the nature of the subject permits.

The Mission of the Working Class.

By Rev. Charles H. Vail. A history of the growth of the Socialist movement. "Industrial democracy being in the line of evolution is certain of attainment. Democracy has already been obtained in politics and religion, and industry is passing through similar stages of development. The time has come for the manual and mental workers to unite and strike for liberty."

Socialism and Trade Unionism.

By Daniel Lynch, President of Union No. 11, Boston, Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America. With this is printed Trade Unions and Socialism, by Max S. Hayes, editor of the Cleveland Citizen. This booklet explains the present friendly relations between the organized Socialists and the Trade Unions.

The Kingdom of God and Socialism.

By Rev. Robert M. Webster. Shows by a careful study of New Testament passages that in each case the term "Kingdom of God" points to a new social order such as the Socialist Party is endeavoring to establish. Effective for propaganda among religious people.

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Various Voices

No captain of industry ever watered stock without intending to soak somebody.—CHICAGO RECORD-HERALD.

The greatest paradox of the age is the Christian individualist—the man who preaches of love and insists that hate is the cohesive force that holds society together.—IOWA SOCIALIST.

The preacher who proclaims that human nature cannot be changed is wasting good time trying to save souls from hell fire, and is drawing a salary under false pretenses.—SEATTLE SOCIALIST.

We do not know who would perform the dirty work under Socialism. But much of the dirty work, such as bribing juries and buying city councils, would not have to be done at all.—WILLIAMSPORT STATESMAN.

Does it hurt you when you think? If so you are afflicted with that common disease, called by medical men prosperitoritis. A liberal application of philosophus socialismus will relieve if not entirely cure the disease.—ERIE PEOPLE.

Dun's Review is pleased to report that "labor organizations are accepting reductions in wages without controversy." They are like the deceased wife of the old German who, when asked if she was "reconciled to die," replied: "Mein Gott, she het to be!"—THE PUBLIC.

Whether Socialism is right or wrong in theory, it offers the voter something more than a mere name. If the old parties see cause for alarm in its progress, they should lose no time in offering the voting masses something more than the spectacle of a mere scramble for office and devote themselves honestly to wiping out some of the glaring evils under which the masses are suffering.—BOSTON HERALD.

When it is clearly proved that one man, or a few men can run the business of a nation, that the much vaunted competition is not the life of trade, but a relic of savagery, then the people will say to the one man or the few men, 'We, the people, will own the business of the people, and not you, an individual.'—KIER HADDIE'S LABOUR LEADER.

"From Revolution to Revolution," George D. Herron's new pamphlet, is a masterpiece of pamphlet literature, a perfect classic, and should be read by every Socialist. Taking the ill-fated Paris Commune for his theme, the author deals with it in a manner that is as striking as it is new. With all the force of a latter-day Carlyle he points out the lessons which we may learn from that tragic episode. The pamphlet is well printed by the Comrade Co-Operative Co. (11 Cooper Square, N. Y.), and contains a striking portrait of the author. Price five cents.

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MINNESOTA STATE NEWS

(Continued from Page 23)

With this force of speakers and organizers, assisted by numerous local workers, no part of the state field will be neglected.

James F. Carey, five times elected socialist representative in Massachusetts, spoke in Minneapolis, Sunday March 6. It was a gala day for the workers and Comrade Carey, set forth the Socialist philosophy in a remarkably clever and effective way.

The state laws of Minnesota require that every candidate must pay from \$5 to \$50 for the privilege of allowing his friends to vote for him. An elector must pay \$50; candidates on the state ticket, \$50; State Senators and representatives, \$20; Municipal officers, \$10, and ward officers, \$5. There are eleven electors, seven state officers, and some fifty legislative officers to be elected in the coming fall campaign. Should the Socialists put up a full ticket, they would have to meet a total expense of nearly \$2,000. With the old parties, whose politicians may tap the resources of the monopoly or trust, this obstacle is very easily met. But with Socialists an initial expense of \$2,000 to simply open the campaign looks rather formidable. Which shows again that laws are made for the rich and not the poor. But this, too, the Socialists will overcome.

SOCIALIST SPEAKERS BUREAU

Comrade Nicholas Klein asks us to suggest that it would be a splendid idea for the Socialist speakers to form some kind of an association for the interchange of ideas. Some medium of discussion might be established thru which methods of organization, of preparation of Socialist lectures, of opening new territory etc. could be considered. Comrade Klein would be pleased to hear from Socialist speakers on this matter. He may be addressed care of S. M. Holman, 11 Oak St., S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.

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